Defence Reform and Gender

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About the Authors
Cheryl Hendricks and Lauren Hutton of the Institute for Security Studies.

As a leading African human security research institution, the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) is guided by a broad approach to security, reflective of the changing nature and origin of threats to human development. Over the past few years the ISS has developed substantial work with and through sub-regional organisations. The ISS continues to enhance its engagement with other civil society groups (mostly NGOs) and networks, most prominently as part of its work on arms management issues, defence sector engagement, anti-corruption initiatives and regional projects. In general the activities of the ISS have moved towards capacity building at a senior level. The Institute also engages on a collaborative basis with state institutions at national, regional and continental levels in Africa.

Editors
Megan Bastick and Kristin Valasek, DCAF

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The Gender and SSR Toolkit
This Tool on Defence Reform and Gender is part of a *Gender and SSR Toolkit*. Designed to provide a practical introduction to gender issues for security sector reform practitioners and policy-makers, the Toolkit includes the following 12 Tools and corresponding Practice Notes:

> 1. Security Sector Reform and Gender
> 2. Police Reform and Gender
> 3. Defence Reform and Gender
> 4. Justice Reform and Gender
> 5. Penal Reform and Gender
> 6. Border Management and Gender
> 7. Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector and Gender
> 8. National Security Policy-Making and Gender
> 9. Civil Society Oversight of the Security Sector and Gender
> 10. Private Military and Security Companies and Gender
> 11. SSR Assessment, Monitoring and Evaluation and Gender
> 12. Gender Training for Security Sector Personnel
> Annex on International and Regional Laws and Instruments

DCAF
The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) promotes good governance and reform of the security sector. The Centre conducts research on good practices, encourages the development of appropriate norms at the national and international levels, makes policy recommendations and provides in-country advice and assistance programmes. DCAF's partners include governments, parliaments, civil society, international organisations and security sector actors such as police, judiciary, intelligence agencies, border security services and the military.

OSCE/ODIHR
The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) is the main institution for the OSCE's human dimension of security: a broad concept that includes the protection of human rights; the development of democratic societies, with emphasis on elections, institution-building, and governance; strengthening the rule of law; and promoting genuine respect and mutual understanding among individuals, as well as nations. The ODIHR contributed to the development of the Toolkit.

UN-INSTRAW
The United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) is the only UN entity mandated to develop research programmes that contribute to the empowerment of women and the achievement of gender equality worldwide. Through alliance-building with UN Member States, international organisations, academia, civil society, and other actors, UN-INSTRAW:
- Undertakes action-oriented research from a gender perspective that has a concrete impact on policies, programmes and projects;
- Creates synergies for knowledge management and information exchange;
- Strengthens the capacities of key stakeholders to integrate gender perspectives in policies, programmes and projects.

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ACRONYMS

DDR	Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration
DoD	Department of Defence
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
MONUC	United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic Congo
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OECD DAC	Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNOCI	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire

Defence Reform and Gender

1 Introduction

Security sector reform (SSR) is an important component of peace-building, democratisation and development. As a major state security apparatus, the defence sector is a key focal area within SSR. Gender equity and diversity within the defence sector creates more representative and non-discriminatory defence forces, and increases the operational efficiency of the security sector at large.

For more information see Tool on SSR and Gender

This tool aims to contribute to an understanding of the relationship between gender and defence structures, and to highlight some practical steps that can be taken to transform the defence sector into a democratic, representative security service provider. The tool should be used with two points in mind: first, that there is no single process called 'defence reform', as the nature of such reform in each state will be influenced by nationally determined drivers for change, the domestic and foreign political environment and the strategic objectives of the state. Second, that defence reform in any context is shaped by the particular relationships between the armed forces, the society and the state.

The tool is designed for use by SSR practitioners and policymakers. As defence reform requires political leadership, it aims to introduce political and implementation actors to the need for a gender perspective in the conduct of reform activities. It therefore addresses both the technical aspects of defence reform, such as the conduct of defence review and recruitment policies, as well as more political level activities, such as civil oversight of the defence sector. Local ownership of SSR processes is widely acknowledged and advocated in current international discourse. National actors, located in government ministries, defence services, research institutions and civil society are therefore a target audience of the tool. The tool provides insight into defence reform processes and the manner in which women can be integrated into the armed forces and defence structures. It also highlights areas for advocacy and civil society mobilisation in the quest for democratically controlled armed forces.

This tool includes:

- An introduction to defence reform
- The rationale for why integrating gender strengthens defence reform processes
- Practical actions to integrate gender into defence reform initiatives
- An overview of particular gender and defence reform issues in post-conflict, transitional, developing and developed country contexts
- Key recommendations
- Additional resources

2 What is defence reform?

With a growing international consensus on an expanded definition of national security and the advancement of a new security paradigm, the defence sector is classified as being part of a 'wider security family'.[1] For the purposes of a discussion on defence reform, however, the defence sector consists of the armed forces (army, navy, air force; paramilitary and reserve units); defence intelligence; the relevant ministry for defence and offices within the executive branch charged with managing and monitoring the security forces (such as national security councils and the auditor general); the legislature; military justice mechanisms and civilian mechanisms of control, such as military ombudspersons and inspector generals; and civil society. Non-statutory forces are also particularly important in post-conflict environments, where there may be a need to demobilise and/or integrate non-state armed groups.

Defence reform entails the transformation of the defence sector of a given state so that the institutions are under civil control; abide by the principles of accountability and good governance; maintain an appropriately-sized force; have representative composition in terms of gender, ethnicity and other factors; are trained and equipped to suit their strategic environment (which may include contributing to peacekeeping and regional security organisations); and abide by international law, thus contributing to national and international goals of peace and security. Defence reform, therefore, requires a multifaceted approach, which seeks to find an optimal force design and improved efficiency while also developing and maintaining a professional, balanced and modern national defence force, representative of all groupings within a country. Furthermore, defence reform must give effect to national defence policies and principles of civil-military relations. In so doing, the armed forces should earn national and international respect as professional and reliable institutions.[2]

According to the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD-DAC), key issues of defence reform are:[3]

- *Developing democratic control over defence policy and the armed forces, including a constitutional and legal framework and civilian oversight and management.*
- *Strengthening the process for reviewing security threats and developing the capacity to respond to them.*
- *Delineating clear roles and responsibilities with the police for internal security.*
- *Introducing integrated approaches to policy development, military expenditure, human resource planning, and management of military assets.*
- *Encouraging civil society debate and citizens' awareness of and engagement with defence reform issues.*
- *Promoting reform in training and career development of military personnel, and career transition and resettlement plans for those leaving the armed forces.*
- *Promoting ethnic and social balances and equal opportunity policies in the defence sector.*
- *Strengthening regional arrangements for military cooperation, confidence building, arms control and disarmament.*

Defence reform in peaceful, stable states is generally a periodic process of reviewing and restructuring defence forces in response to altered risk and threat environments, or political impetus for change. The degree of reform is largely determined by the extent of change needed to improve the appropriateness, accountability, affordability and adequacy of the forces to the strategic environment. In some states this can be done through small piecemeal measures, such as changes to force posture and design.

For many post-conflict states, however, defence reform involves reshaping the entire security system, creating the mechanisms of civil control, building legitimate state institutions and the basic structures of the armed forces. In these countries, the defence forces have often been dominated by a particular ethnic group or aligned to a particular party. Civil wars also tend to produce other armed factions and non-statutory armed forces. It is common, therefore, for defence reform in post-conflict situations to be driven by needs of developing an integrated, representative and non-partisan force as part of greater nation- and peace-building exercises. The challenges represented by such widespread reform revolve primarily around capacity issues, human and financial resource constraints and trying to balance purely military power with civil control in an environment of weak public institutions that often lack legitimacy.

Defence reform is not just about changes in management or organisational structure. It is centrally concerned with changing power relations and often occurs within a highly charged and politicised environment. It frequently entails curtailing the power of security personnel and balancing the power and efficiency of the military with the democratic requirements of civil control and oversight. In order to ensure the institutionalisation of democratic defence reforms, the sustainability of the reform lies in changing the perceptions, mindsets and actions of the security actors through, for example, civic education programmes, diversity and gender sensitisation and capacity building, and through building effective oversight mechanisms. The greatest challenge for successful defence reform generally lies not in developing an appropriate force size and suitable force postures, but rather in building national consensus on security issues and changing the behaviour of the members of the armed forces towards the security environment of the state and its people.

Defence reform leads to greater efficiency and effectiveness of the armed forces. Defence forces and defence structures are redesigned to be appropriate to the needs of the geopolitical and strategic environment in which a state exists. Unnecessary defence expenditure is therefore cut back. The primary concern, though, is to create a professional defence force that operates within the legal environment and is held to account through democratic structures. The most essential benefit of defence reform is the provision of security services by the national defence structures that are bound by the same norms and principles as the rest of the democratic public services, and in a manner that is affordable and appropriate to meet the security needs of the state and its citizens.

As defence reform generally involves changes to organisational culture, policy, structure, behaviour, management, authorities and controls, it requires dedicated leadership, commitment and political will, communication and consultation. Reform processes are consequently an opportunity for the democratic transformation of the defence forces, making them more representative of and responsive to the national culture and character of the society.

3 Why is gender important to defence reform?

'Why must gender be integrated into the security framework? First, because gender mainstreaming and equality is a globally mandated requirement… Second, because it is important to use the pool of humanity, not just half of it: when men and women participate in decision-making, better results are achieved. Finally, from the practical side, involving gender perspectives and mainstreaming is 'operationally strategic' for efficiency and effectiveness.'

Giji Gya, 'The importance of gender in ESDP' [4]

Gender refers to the particular roles and relationships, personality traits, attitudes, behaviours and values that society ascribes to men and women. 'Gender' therefore refers to *learned* differences between men and women, while 'sex' refers to the *biological* differences between males and females. Gender roles vary widely within and across cultures, and can change over time. Gender refers not simply to women or men but to the relationship between them.

Gender mainstreaming is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. [5]

See Tool on SSR and Gender

Defence reform processes, as noted above, are concerned with re-conceptualising security and redesigning defence forces and structures so that they are suitable to the security needs of the state and its citizens. This should be accomplished in accordance with the democratic requirements of representation, accountability and transparency. The defence force in a democratic polity should reflect the society it is established to protect, including the defence of its core values such as citizenship and equality. A more balanced gender composition, in turn, favours cohesion and effectiveness in increasingly multidimensional peace operations.

It is important to note, however, that, although the presence of women is critical to creating a gender balance, this alone does not guarantee that defence reform or the defence forces will be gender responsive. A gender perspective in defence reform has to go beyond numbers. It must critically pose the questions: security for whom, and how? In *Gender Mainstreaming in Practice: A Handbook*, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) asserts that the goals of gender mainstreaming in terms of military and defence institutions should be the:

- Elimination of discrimination on the sole basis of gender within defence and military institutions.

- Integration of a gender perspective into research, policy and practice of defence and military institutions. [6]

Gender mainstreaming in the defence sector means bringing the experience, knowledge and interests of women and men to operations and is a means of re-conceptualising the policy, implementation and evaluation process. [7]

The following outlines a number of ways in which responding to gender supports the objectives and priorities of defence reform, in particular to:

- Respond to different security needs within society
- Respond to the changing nature and needs of the defence sector
- Improve operational effectiveness
- Create representative defence forces
- Strengthen democratic, civil oversight of the defence forces

3.1 To respond to different security needs within society

Defence reform must effectively respond to the needs of all in society. A person's security needs vary depending on factors such as sex, age, ability, sexual orientation, economic status, citizenship status, ethnicity and religion. Gender-based violence (GBV) remains a significant threat to human security in all parts of the world. Meintjes, Pillay and Turshen assert that there is no aftermath for women from violence after conflict, as GBV often persists and even increases after the fighting has stopped. [8] Ensuring the protection of women, both during times of conflict and in post-conflict situations, should therefore be a priority within a defence reform agenda that is cognisant of gender. Men are also victims of gender-based insecurities, in such forms as sex-selective massacres, forced recruitment into armed forces, male rape and gang-related violence. All these factors need to be effectively taken into account and addressed by the defence forces in conflict zones, and in all aspects of their operations.

3.2 To respond to the changing needs of the defence sector

The nature of warfare has undergone far-reaching changes since the Second World War: it is less dependent on the brute force of men on the battlefield and more reliant on technology and expertise that is to be found across the gender divides. In addition, 95% of the current conflicts in the world are inter-state or civil wars. [9] This has meant changes in the purpose, posture and structure of national armed forces, which are now spending less time and resources on protecting their own borders and more on international peacekeeping missions.

Peacekeeping, too, has become much more complex, such that we now see missions lasting for longer periods of time and peacekeepers involved in an array of tasks which go beyond providing traditional security to peace-building. Peacekeepers are called upon, for example, to provide services to local communities, to rebuild institutions and to ensure free elections. Diversity in force composition and gender mainstreaming in operations enables the defence sector to better perform such tasks.

Brigadier Karl Engelbrektson, Force Commander of the Nordic Battle Group, describes women's participation in peacekeeping operations as 'a key to success' in overcoming certain operational limitations of homogenous forces in tasks such as body searches and the interrogation of women.[10] Studies have shown that female peacekeepers can increase the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions because:

- Local men and women tend to see female peacekeepers as more approachable and less threatening than male peacekeepers.
- Female military personnel are needed at roadblocks, airports, etc. to perform body searches on women.
- The ability to work with local women's organisations and to gather information from local women enables the data for decision-making to be more detailed and accurate and therefore more useful.[11]
- Female peacekeepers may, when off duty, socialise with local women and talk with them about 'life behind the scenes'. This is another way for the mission to get further valuable information about what is going on in the host country.
- Female military personnel serve as monitors of excessive behaviour among male soldiers.[12]
- Female peacekeepers provide positive role models for local women to join armed and security forces.
- Both men and women who have been victims of sexual abuse are more likely to disclose this to female peacekeepers.

Anu Pillay, in a comparative study of peacekeeping missions, has described distinct advantages to the presence of women within peacekeeping operations. Analysing the UN Mission to South Africa, she cites women members who noted that 'the mission drew strength from what they termed *feminine traits*, including concern for the wider needs of the community, shedding symbols of status and power; networking; sharing information; making intuitive decisions; and using a hands-on approach'. In addition she contends that 'There were no incidences of abuse of local women reported, or undisciplined behaviour, the likes of which have tarnished peacekeeping operations elsewhere'.[13] The presence of women cannot guarantee that no sexual abuse will occur, but a strong presence of women seems to reduce the number of such incidents. For instance, UN and Liberian officials hope that the 103-strong, all-female Indian peacekeeping unit currently policing Monrovia will help to inspire Liberian women to join the police force, and limit sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers. The Liberian National Police received three times the usual number of female applicants in the month following their deployment.[14] The unit's functions include guarding the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, patrolling the streets, controlling crowds and responding to calls for armed backup from national police.[15]

However, women are still under-represented in the military component of peacekeeping missions (see Figure 1). This is largely because they are under-represented in the national armies that contribute troops and military observers to UN and regional peace operations. It is therefore imperative that national defence forces actively recruit more women (see Section 4).

Figure 1	Percentage of females in the military component of UN Peacekeeping Missions, April 2007 [16]			
Mission	Male	Female	Total	Percentage female
MONUC	17,017	301	17,318	1.73
UNMIL	13,766	294	14,060	2.09
UNIFIL	12,854	397	13,251	3
UNMIS	9,276	122	9,398	1.3
UNOCI	7,980	74	8,054	0.92

3.3 To improve operational effectiveness

Defence reforms are inherently connected with improving the professionalism, skills and suitability of the defence sector. As well as facilitating better peacekeeping ability, on a general operational level, increased representation of women has the potential to increase the efficiency of the armed forces because:

- It creates a larger human resources pool from which to select soldiers. The military can thus be more prudent in whom it employs, which, in turn, improves its capability.
- It maximises the potential skills base, drawing on the intellectual, practical/technical and social skills that may be more likely to be held by women.

Including women and other marginalised groups within society enables the defence forces to better deal with the complexities of current conflicts, especially where GBV has become a weapon of war and where human rights violations and humanitarian crises have become a mainstay of conflict issues to be dealt with. Incorporating democratic values and practices into the defence forces essentially enhances military readiness and effectiveness. HIV/AIDS, a huge challenge to military forces in many countries, also requires gendered responses that can address and change the sexual behaviour of men and women.

In addition, defence sector personnel themselves are often guilty of sexual harassment and GBV, perpetrated against both their colleagues and civilians. For example:

- In 2006, an independent study commissioned by the UK Ministry of Defence revealed that more than two thirds of servicewomen had a direct experience of sexual harassment.[17]
- In the 2006 student survey of the US military institute, the Citadel, 20% of the female cadets reported that they had been sexually assaulted.[18]
- A US Department of Defence survey from 2000 found that 80% of active-duty service member respondents had heard offensive speech, derogatory names or jokes about gay men and lesbians, and 37% had witnessed or experienced anti-gay harassment.[19]

In peacetime, human rights law creates obligations on states to eliminate human rights violations by defence forces. During armed conflict, many of the same obligations may be created by international humanitarian law. Even setting such obligations aside, it is clear that eliminating human rights violations creates more trusted and effective defence forces. Sexual harassment, for example, undermines an institution through a loss of productivity, lowered moral, absence from work, increased staff turnover, and hinders the integration of women. A study of the US military has shown a strong correlation between the high incidence of sexual harassment, lower combat readiness and a poor leadership climate.[20]

'I am not a victim of sexual harassment. When sexual harassment occurs in the United States Air Force, the Air Force and the citizens of the United States whom we serve are the victims. Because sexual harassment interferes with our military mission. It interferes with the job that I and other professionals have been highly trained to do. That is why it has to stop.'

Sergeant Zenaida Martinez [21]

3.4 To create representative defence forces and security organisations

A country's defence force should reflect the constituent identities within that society. This fosters representativeness, national ownership and, therefore, increases the legitimacy of the defence forces. Legitimacy in turn enhances the effectiveness of a defence force. Further, the military and defence management and other security agencies are workplaces that offer opportunities for citizens to gain education and international exposure and experience. When sections of society are in practice excluded from these institutions, they are being denied access to work and opportunities for educational and professional advancement.

The defence sector, internationally, and largely because of its historical construct, has not seen the same levels of gender equity as, for example, the development or political sectors. Women, as Figure 2 illustrates, are highly under-represented in the military. In many countries laws concerning the military explicitly discriminate against women, for example, by excluding them from combat. Women also tend to be under-represented in defence ministries and oversight bodies. Even without formal barriers, in practice there are often ceilings to women's career advancement, widespread sexual harassment and other forms of discrimination.

3.5 To strengthen democratic, civil oversight of the defence forces

'The legitimacy of existing governance structures and processes must be questioned when the interests and voices of over half the population are not reflected in the decisions made. This crisis of legitimacy is evident in the gendered nature of conflict; women rarely decide on or engage in wars but always suffer their consequences.'

Georgina Ashworth, 'Gendered Governance: An Agenda for Change' [23]

A key aspect of defence reform is increased civil and civilian oversight. Gender-sensitive women and men need to be included on parliamentary standing committees on defence and in civil society institutions, so that they can ensure that policies and programmes that the defence sector adopts respond to the different needs of men and women, boys and girls. Women's civil society organisations and research institutions that focus on the gender dimensions of security need to be drawn into civilian oversight processes, to ensure a holistic understanding of security is applied.

Integrating gender into defence reform processes opens opportunities for a much broader section of society to become active participants in the provision of security and in security decision-making structures. This is especially important when considering national ownership of the security institutions, for women make up 50% of society.

This, in turn, can lead to changes in the construct of security, and to a deepening of the fundamental shift from state security to human security. Human security incorporates the security of individuals and communities and broadens both the nature of security threats (to include food security, environmental security, GBV, etc.) and the actors involved in security (by including civil society organisations). Women's representatives (including women's human rights groups and research and policy institutes, as well as community-based organisations) bring these new perspectives to bear when assessing security threats and developing the capacity to respond to them.

Figure 2	Percentage of female soldiers in NATO countries' armed forces [22]					
Country	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**
Belgium	7.6	7.9	8.2	8.26	8.3	8.3
Bulgaria	-	-	-	4.2	6	6
Canada	11.4	11.8	12.4	12.3	12.6	12.8
Czech Republic	3.7	10	10	12.3	12.2	12.2
Denmark	5.0	-	5	5	5	5.3
France	8.5	10.8	11.2	12.8	12.8	13.3
Germany	2.8	3.7	4.4	5.2	6	6
Greece	3.8	3.8	3.8	4.2	4.3	5.4
Hungary	9.6	16	16	10	16	17.6
Italy	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5	1	1.6
Latvia	-	-	-	13.5	20	-
Lithuania	-	-	-	6	9	12.5
Luxembourg	-	-	-	-	-	5.7
The Netherlands	8	8.4	8.5	8.6	9	9
Norway	3.2	3.3	5.7	6.3	6.3	7
Poland	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.47	0.47	0.52
Portugal	6.6	6.6	8.4	8.4	8.4	12
Romania	-	-	-	3.9	5	5
Slovakia	-	-	-	6.1	7	7.7
Slovenia	-	-	-	19.2	15.38	-
Spain	5.8	9	10	10.5	10.7	13.5
Turkey	0.1	0.1	0.1	3.9	3.9	3.1
United Kingdom	8.1	8.3	8.6	8.8	9	9.1
United States	14	14	15	15	15.5	10.5

Having both a more diverse defence force as well as broader participation in oversight, in turn, produces changes in society's perceptions of who are the 'protectors' and who are the 'protected', and thus makes security the concern of all within society. Similarly, gender mainstreaming can alter the image of the military as an institution concerned primarily with violence and warfare to one in which is more reflective of peace-building and democratisation.

Addressing gender issues in defence reform is essential, within a model that is suitable to the local environment. There can be no single approach to integrating gender into defence reform. The approach adopted will depend to a large degree on the roles that women and men in any particular society want to assume in the security and defence constructs. Incorporation of gender into defence reform is, as pointed out earlier, deeper than the mere presence of women in the defence force, and the contribution of women can be made in a variety of different ways and forums.

Compliance with obligations under international laws and instruments

Taking the initiative to integrate gender issues into defence reform is not only a matter of operational effectiveness; it is necessary to comply with international and regional laws, instruments and norms concerning security and gender. Key instruments include:

- *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (1979)
- *The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* (1995)
- *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security* (2000)

For more information, please see the Toolkit's Annex on International and Regional Laws and Instruments.

4 How can gender be integrated into defence reform?

This section provides practical ways for successfully integrating gender into defence reform. There are four essential levels to defence reform, namely the political, institutional, economic and societal levels. Figure 3 provides an overview of the manner in which gender should be integrated at these different levels.

4.1 Integrating gender into the political level of defence reform

Defence reform, and by implication gender mainstreaming, must be 'directed by a clear mandate that is derived from the highest political level, and reflected in the vision and policies of a country's leadership'.[24] For it to be successful it requires the buy-in of the senior officials who often lead the process and of staff who need to see clear guidelines and strategies for how it will occur. It also requires strengthening democratic and civil oversight. The processes for achieving these outcomes – defence reviews, democratisation processes, civil society oversight and parliamentary oversight – are key entry points for addressing gender issues.

Defence review

'Governments have no monopoly of wisdom, and it is often useful to consult outside experts. The experience of discussing and defending proposals with outsiders is helpful, and usually produces a better result. Political lobby groups, and groups asserting that they represent, say, gender or ethnic interests, will generally offer their views, and it will be prudent to listen to them. If the review is a controversial one, such as when a regime has changed, wide consultation can be very important to its success.'

Global Facilitation Network on Security Sector Reform, Compendium of Good Practices on Security Sector Reform, 2005.

Part of the ordinary business of a defence ministry is continuously to adapt defence priorities, policies and programmes to changing global strategic realities. In the US, for example, the Pentagon produces Quadrennial Defense Reviews in which the senior leadership of the Department of Defense 'set[s] out where the department currently is and the direction we believe it needs to go in fulfilling our responsibilities to the American people'.[25] However, at times a more rigorous and comprehensive review might be needed.

There are basically three circumstances in which a defence review would be appropriate:

- Where there has been a fundamental change in the strategic situation, which requires, in turn, a substantial response (e.g. the end of the Cold War).

Figure 3   Integration of gender in the four levels of defence reform
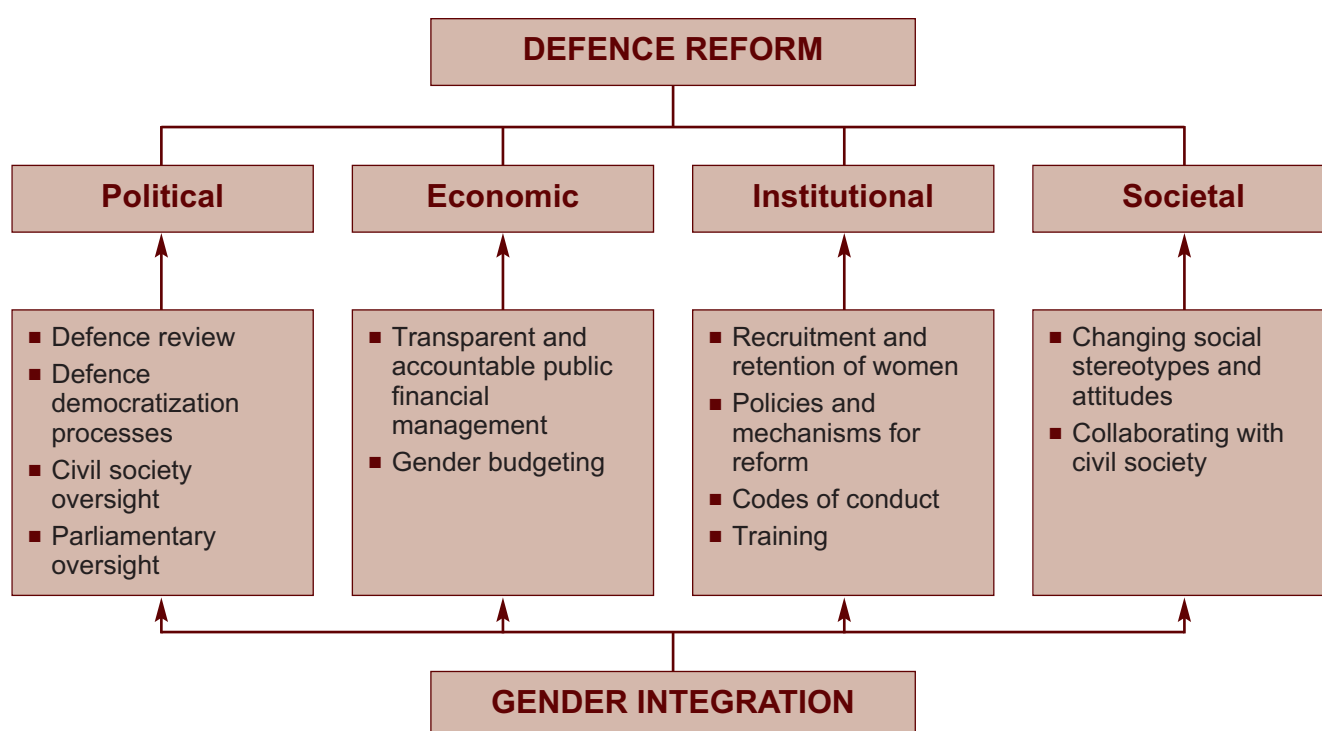
- Where the situation may not have changed greatly, but where the government believes a significantly different approach is needed (e.g. the immediate post-Clinton defence reforms in the US which focused primarily on revitalising the forces after the 1990s' budget cuts).
- Where there have been major domestic political changes impacting on the military, such as regime change or conflict resolution (e.g. Ugandan reforms under Museveni).

The first priority of a defence review process is to develop a clear and accurate analysis of the strategic situation inside and outside the country, forming the foundation for being able to match military means with geopolitical ends. A defence review fosters the development of a democratic security vision reflective of the security needs of the state and its citizens, which provides direction and strategic objectives for defence reform.[26]

Many developing and transitional countries have not undertaken participatory defence review processes. This may mean that defence policy and planning are not based on a realistic evaluation of the strategic environment and that there is limited assessment of the roles of the various security apparatuses. This has important implications for the budget process and the allocation of resources in highly constrained environments. An important starting point for lobbyists and advocacy groups would be to urge the armed forces to conduct defence reviews as the foundation for accurate risk assessment and resource allocation. In post-conflict states, defining national security priorities is important in order to transform the conflict role of the armed forces and to build renewed defence institutions based on the post-conflict strategic and political environment.

From a human security perspective and embracing a holistic and participatory form of democracy, gender perspectives need to be integrated into the process of conducting a defence review and constructing a national security vision. Both men and women, from all segments of society, should be involved. This ensures that the starting points for the purpose and structure of defence priorities, policies and programmes are truly reflective of the security needs of all of the people of the state. Furthermore, broad consultation in the development of defence policy creates a sense of national ownership of the means of force and contributes to national unity and cohesion through building national consensus on the purpose, structure and functioning of the state security apparatus.

How to integrate gender into the defence review process:

- Ensure that women, individuals with gender expertise and representatives of government ministries responsible for issues of women's rights, gender and youth are part of the formal review bodies.
- Build the gender capacity of the formal review bodies through gender training, briefings on gender and security issues, mentoring and other initiatives.
- Consult women and other under-represented groups within the defence forces as to barriers to their full integration and equitable advancement.
- Consult parliamentarians, including any parliamentary women's coalitions/caucus.

Box 1	Women's civil society engagement in defence reform in Fiji [27]

In the Pacific region, women have been greatly marginalised from formal decision-making structures as a result of the predominantly patriarchal governance structures. Yet, despite such obstacles, women have been instrumental in brokering peace during the height of crises in Bougainville, Solomon Islands and Fiji, and continue to play a vital role in building and sustaining peace in their communities.

Because of the recurring role of the military in addressing instability in Fiji, women learned to negotiate and communicate with the security forces. After discussions at a Peace Vigil led by women during the May 2000 hostage crisis, the National Council of Women Fiji made contact with the military. As a result, the Commander of the Republic of Fiji Military Forces brought together the members of the Military Council and other senior officers to meet with representatives of the Peace Vigil. The Peace Vigil delegation presented what became known as 'The Women's Letter'. It outlined the need for Fiji to return to parliamentary democracy, and for the military to uphold the 1997 Constitution as the supreme law of the country, as well as urging the military to respect human rights. While the letter was received respectfully and favourably, a critical lesson the women learned was to use the language of the military and security sector for future dialogue and peace initiatives.

In 2003, the National Council of Women and the Military Council held a national dialogue, which resulted in the Fiji Women, Peace and Security Coordinating Committee and the National Council of Women making formal submissions to the National Security and Defence Review. This reiterated the valuable contribution that women's networks can make from village to community and national levels to early warning interventions, while also identifying key entry points for women at local and national decision-making levels. The submission included the following recommendations:

- The Minister for Women should be included as a member of the National Security Council.
- The Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Women should be included as a permanent member of the National Security Advisory Committee.
- Women should be effectively and equitably represented on Provincial and District Security Committees.
- Women should be included in the National Security Assessment Unit.
- Gender balance in the decision-making levels of the security forces should be ensured, and efforts made to recruit women into the Republic of Fiji Military Forces.

- Stimulate national debate on the national vision of security through:
  - Consultations with a representative segment of civil society, including urban and rural women's organisations.
  - Municipal meetings with direct interaction between those leading the defence review and the public.
  - Parliamentary hearings and open debates.
  - Inviting submissions from civil society to the review commission.
  - Using the media to mobilise public debate on security and defence issues through newspaper articles and radio talk shows.
- Explicitly address gender issues in the review, and use gender-sensitive language.

See Tool on National Security Policy-Making and Gender

Defence actors may oppose consultation on the basis of a perceived lack of capacity by parliamentarians and civil society to engage on security issues. Civil society groups and parliamentarians can utilise networks such as the Global Facilitation Network on SSR and the African SSR Network to gain further knowledge and share experiences with other actors who have gone through defence review processes, building their capacity to address defence-related issues more effectively.

Defence democratisation processes

Defence reform experiences in the post-Communist states of Eastern Europe showed that with democratisation and civil control of the armed forces came more space for the integration of gender. In the traditional realist Cold War security paradigm, the armed forces represented a highly militarised culture. There was no place for civilians or women in the realms of defence and security. In the post Cold War period, the armed forces transformed into security systems more reflective of the society that they served, including in their personnel practices. The increasing proportion of female personnel in NATO forces, shown in Figure 2, testifies to this transition. The improvement of civil-military relations and increasing democratic control of the armed forces has in some countries also opened space for the participation of women in defence management and governance (see Boxes 2 and 3).

While increasing democratic control of the armed forces may open space for the integration of women, especially in civilian positions, restructuring the power distribution between the civilian and military authorities is often challenging for states emerging from military or autocratic rule.

How to integrate gender into democratic defence governance

- Conduct personnel audits to determine positions that do not need to be military appointments (civilians are after all cheaper than military staff).

Box 2	'Civilianising' defence in Estonia

After regaining independence in 1991, the Estonian political authorities decided to base the Estonian Ministry of Defence on 'civilianised' principles, as part of a larger campaign of de-Sovietisation of state structures. All ministries recruited new personnel in order to free themselves from the network of Soviet relationships and Soviet inertia.

The personnel restructuring introduced a greater civilian component within the Ministry of Defence. The Soviet-era thinking of defence planning as a military matter was replaced with a new understanding that defence was the responsibility of the democratically elected government, supported by the men and women within the Ministry of Defence. Currently, the employees of the Ministry of Defence are 52% women. Of these, 60% are between 21 and 30 years old; 25% are between 31 and 40; only three women out of 122 are older than 61.

Merle Maigre, NATO Liaison Officer Ukraine.

- Use affirmative action appointments in civilian defence structures and encourage the recruitment of women into the defence secretariat.

Civil society oversight of the defence sector

Genuine democratic governance of the armed forces relies on civil society input into policy-making processes and civil society monitoring of the defence forces. For civil society to play these roles in security governance: first, civil society needs to have the capacity to monitor the security sector and to provide constructive input into political debate on security priorities; and second, the political environment must be conducive to civil society playing an active role.

Women's organisations and other organisations that work on gender issues have specific expertise and access to information that make them valuable partners in defence oversight. They can serve as a link between the realities of the community level insecurities that men and women experience, and defence managers at the national level. The community-level security information they can provide can be of critical significance, both in identifying security threats and in monitoring the performance of members of the armed forces.

There can be particular obstacles to the participation of women in national political processes. For example, in March 2003 in Afghanistan, the Ministry of Women's Affairs and UNIFEM organised a programme on Constitutional Awareness to ensure that women's needs were included in the new Afghan Constitution. While participants were invited from the different provinces of Afghanistan, most of them could not come for reasons such as:

- Lack of security and the control of the local armed commanders in the provinces
- Lack of knowledge: the women did not know how to express themselves or did not have the courage to talk about their needs
- Inequality: the women did not have permission from their husbands/families to attend

Box 3	**Women defence ministers chip at Latin America's macho image** [28]

Military coups and murderous dictatorships once plagued Latin America and the region has a tradition of macho, charismatic strongmen. But women are increasingly giving orders on matters of defence.

In the last five years, five South American countries have named women to head their defence ministries for the first time: Chile, Colombia, Uruguay, Argentina and Ecuador.

These appointments underscore women's progress in recent years in the region, while also reflecting greater political control over the armed forces and the changed role of the military.

'This is indicative of a different vision of the armed forces (...) with improved civil-military relations and much more civilian control,' said Peter DeShazo, Americas program director at the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies. 'The naming of women ministers is symbolic of that process,' he said.

In 2002 Chile became the first Latin American country to appoint a female defense minister: current President Michelle Bachelet …

In Argentina and Uruguay, where military rulers also killed leftist dissidents in the 1970s and 1980s, former human rights lawyers are now running the defense ministries. And they both happen to be women.

In these three countries, as in much of South America, left-leaning governments are in place and advocating human rights and more gender equality…

Leftist President Rafael Correa named former teacher Guadalupe Larriva as the Andean country's first female defense minister. She died in a helicopter collision last week, just nine days after taking office.

'It's important for the ministry to be headed by a woman. Guadalupe's maternal heart was able to do more than the strong hand of the generals,' Correa said before naming another woman, university professor Lorena Escudero, to the post on Tuesday.

Reuters, 31 January 2007

- Poverty
- Lack of transportation [29]

This reinforces the importance of understanding and tailoring defence oversight processes to suit the conditions and needs of the communities whose input is sought. Donor and civil society support can be mobilised to overcome many of these obstacles, but a coordinated vision is required.

The larger obstacle to the integration of gender into defence policy and oversight processes can be lack of civil society capacity – in terms of human resources, time and financial constraints – to lobby for gender-sensitive policies and practices. NGOs and civil society groups may need support from defence experts in order to be able to engage meaningfully in defence related debates.

How to integrate gender into civil society oversight of the defence sector

- Facilitate interaction between women's groups and local security providers, for instance through their inclusion in local security committees.
- Build the capacity of women's organisations on security policy issues, including advocacy and oversight.
- Civil society organisations can also play a role in sensitising parliamentarians and others conducting oversight of the defence sector, to improve their capacity to integrate gender perspectives in oversight activities.

See Tool on Civil Society Oversight of the Security Sector and Gender

Parliamentary oversight of the defence sector

Although much that is parliamentary oversight is an *ex post facto* review of the activities of the defence sector, parliamentary committees can become key drivers for change and can utilise their monitoring and watchdog function to draw the attention of the executive to gender issues. Parliamentary committees can become useful tools to drive gender-sensitive reforms in the armed forces and are well situated to hold forces to account, for example, for incidents of GBV and discrimination.

See Tool on Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector and Gender

The caveat, of course, is that this pre-supposes the existence of relatively strong civil-military relations, generally found only in established democracies. In post conflict, developing and transitional states, a major emphasis should be on building the capacity of parliamentarians to conduct oversight of the defence sector.

Regardless of context, the following issues can be monitored by parliament and indicate ways in which parliament can drive for greater gender integration into the defence sector:

- **Interrogation of annual reports** – look out for the personnel numbers, noting whether or not they are disaggregated according to sex and rank. Such data can also be used to demand improved recruitment, retention and promotion practices to promote the inclusion of women and other under-represented groups. Note also any increases or decreases in the

male to female ratios and interrogate the reasons behind this.

- Utilise **visits to facilities and bases** to examine the physical conditions and infrastructure and whether, for example, provision has been made for separate barracks and hygiene facilities for men and women. It would also be necessary to determine if the facilities and infrastructure present any obstacles to women's full and equal participation, such as women's dormitories being placed at unnecessary distances from the training sites.

- Parliamentary committees can look into the **provision of women's heath care and related issues such as maternity leave**, as part of a larger oversight of the employment conditions and the distribution of employment benefits.

- In authorising **deployments**, parliament can ask the defence force to identify the manner in which gender considerations have been included in the planning of the operation. Issues could include logistical arrangements and supplies, utilisation of gender advisors and, especially in peace support operations, planning for interaction between the forces and men and women in the host population.

- Through the budget and the annual report, parliamentarians can also monitor the roll out of **training on human rights and gender equality**.

- A **parliamentary women's caucus or coalition**, or women, peace and security (UN SCR 1325) group, can take a lead in ensuring that gender issues are addressed in defence oversight.

4.2 Integrating gender into the economic level of defence reform

A primary concern of defence reform processes is improving the efficiency of the armed forces and ensuring that public expenditure on defence occurs within a framework of transparent and accountable governance. In many cases, especially in post-conflict states or states emerging from non-democratic regimes, the financial systems and controls are exercised at executive level, if at all. Generally, the economic dimension of defence reform is concerned with issues such as establishing a payroll system, improving procurement processes and embedding 'good' practices of public financial management.

Sound budgeting practices for the defence sector improve its accountability and ensure that the budget is aligned to the priorities of the armed forces, as determined through the defence review or defence policy-making process. Although of obvious benefit, many armed forces do not have sufficient financial controls and scarce resources are often misused for the procurement of means that make little contribution to security. The challenge, therefore, is to establish a system of public financial management for the armed forces that is in line with the financial management structures, systems and procedures of the state.

Gender budgeting

The armed forces often receive a large chunk of the national budget. For example, in South Africa, the Department of Defence receives the third largest budget allocation (R23.8 billion), more than double the allocation to health, just under double the education budget and nearly four times larger than the housing allocation.[30] The budget is the most important policy statement that a government makes. Progress towards human security at large, and gender equity in particular, has to be underscored by attaching budgetary funding to policy commitments.

Gender analysis of government budgets involves the examination of inputs, activities, outputs and impacts of government interventions, and provides comprehensive feedback on the effectiveness and

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Box 4	From gender budgeting to military spending: a bridge too far?

In 1996, at the National Government Conference of Commitments, the South African government committed itself to reducing military expenditure and reallocating resources to women's empowerment in recognition of the fact that women form the majority of the poor. At this conference, the chairperson made this request: 'We must ask departments to put their money where their mouths are, to take away spending in defence on corvettes which cost R434 million each, submarines which cost R1.1 billion each, and generals who cost R464 638 each per year.'

In the Budget debate on Defence and Intelligence in 1995, Joe Nhlanhla, Minister of Intelligence, was quoted as saying: 'The greatest future threats to the South African people are poverty, unemployment, homelessness and inadequate health services. There is no foreseeable external military threat as far as South Africa is concerned. A realistic threat analysis may thus allow a democratic state to reallocate resources from the security establishments to socio-economic development.' ANC policy, as reflected in the White Paper on Defence and the Defence Review, reiterated this understanding.

The Joint Standing Committee on the Improvement of the Quality of Life and Status of Women's CEDAW Report of 1998 says: 'In relation to the Budget, one of the key government commitments in the Beijing Platform for Action in 1996 was to decrease and reallocate military spending to support women's economic advancement. At present, South Africa is finalising agreement of R30 billion in relation to Defence when the Defence White Paper itself notes that the major threats crippling our nation's nascent democracy are poverty and crime, and not an outside threat to the Republic. This is just one glaring example of the reprioritisation that needs to happen within and across departments.' If this commitment had been given effect, the resources to address poverty, HIV/ AIDS and violence would have been able to make a major impact to save many lives.

Edited version of the presentation by the Hon. Pregs Govender (ANC MP), to the CGE Summit, 6 Aug. 2001. [33]

Figure 4	United States armed forces physical fitness requirements [38]	
Service	Requirements for perfect score of 300 by sex and event	
	Men	Women
Marines	20 pull-ups 100 sit-ups run 3 miles in 18 minutes	70 second flexed-arm hang 100 sit-ups run 3 miles in 21 minutes
Army	75 push-ups 80 sit-ups run 2 miles in 13 minutes	46 push-ups 80 sit-ups run 2 miles in 15:35 minutes
Navy	67 push-ups 100 curl-ups run 1.5 miles in 8:10 minutes	67 push-ups 100 curl-ups run 1.5 miles in 8:10 minutes

efficiency of public expenditure.[31] Gender analysis of the defence budget would seek to reveal to what degree men and women were equally benefiting from defence spending.

Questions to ask as part of a gender analysis of a defence budget would include:

■ To what extent did the general allocations equally provide for the security of women, men, boys and girls?

■ To what extent did the budget specify funds for women, men, girls or boys? (For instance, through earmarking funds to recruit more women; for maternity and paternity leave; for men's and women's health services.) Was the allocation of resources adequate for effective implementation?

■ To what extent did the budget specify gender-related activities, inputs and costs? (e.g. for gender training) Was the allocation of resources adequate for effective implementation?

■ To what extent did gender specialists/advisors participate in the budget cycle?[32]

Of particular importance is to consider gender budgeting in terms of the gendered outcomes of defence reform. For example, if defence reform results in the demobilisation or retrenchment of personnel, consideration needs to be made as to how this will affect men and women differently and the severance packages that will be needed to overcome any disparities.

A challenge for the integration of gender into defence budgets is to develop democratic governance structures and build the capacity of legislatures to be able to provide more than just a 'rubber stamp' on defence spending.

Practical tips for successful integration of gender into defence budgeting:

■ Situate the gender budget debate in the larger civil-military relations debate focusing on improving the

transparency, accountability and public financial management of the defence sector. This includes training parliamentarians on the role and function of parliament in oversight of defence expenditure and empowering parliamentarians to integrate gender considerations into budget debates.

■ Ensure gender budgeting is supported by sound research and reliable data.

■ Empower civil society to be able to conduct analysis of defence budgets and to follow findings with advocacy and lobbying campaigns

4.3 Integrating gender into the institutional level

The institutional dimension of defence reform refers to the structural and technical transformation of the defence force so that they meet accepted national and international standards. Anderlini and Conaway highlight the following steps in the transformation of security institutions:[34]

■ Transforming the structure of the military (e.g. down-sizing or integration).

■ Instituting new recruitment and training policies to 'professionalise' and 'modernise'.

■ Fostering a cultural transformation so that previously excluded sectors of society (e.g. ethnic or religious groups, women, etc.) are included in security forces and institutions are sensitive to their needs.

Much work has been done on the policy level to ensure that women can equally participate in the defence forces. However, the inclusion of women and other excluded groups into the armed forces and other defence institutions has to be accompanied by transformation within the defence sector itself. Mainstreaming gender cannot be a formulaic exercise, where more diverse people are simply incorporated into existing structures and the status quo largely maintained. Although there is a growing participation

by women, institutional reform needs to take place to ensure that the institutional environment is gender sensitive.

Recruitment, retention and advancement of women

In a study conducted on NATO in 2000, Helena Carreiras observed that 70% of women remain concentrated in support services. Only 7% occupied positions in the more operational areas. The participation of women in the operational ranks was particularly affected by military organisational features, especially the 'Conscript Ratio'. The study showed that the more a force relied on volunteer personnel the higher the percentage of women.[35]

Defence forces must improve their ability to recruit and retain women, persons from different ethnicities and persons of all sexualities. This should lead to an identification of some of barriers to recruitment and retention of under-represented groups, and the formulation of policies and procedures for redress.

Target setting

National defence force human resource policies should set specific targets and time frames that can be monitored for creating a more diverse defence force. These targets should be aligned with international, regional and nationally identified targets for gender representation. For example, the target set by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) for women's representation is 30%. How these targets are to be reached and the mechanisms to do so must be identified in the strategic planning processes of defence departments. These plans need to be continuously reviewed by the department, gender commissions and parliamentary oversight committees to take timely account of constraints and changes needed to meet the goals.

To date, the 30% mark has not been reached by Southern African countries, indicating that closer oversight is required in this regard. The Committee of Women in NATO Forces regularly publishes comparative statistics on women's participation in armed forces, as well as data on entrance criteria to military academies, maternity/paternity leave provisions, women's access to the rank of general and number of female generals, women's access to submarine service and combat positions, and the percentage of female personnel deployed on mission.[36] Other regions should follow suit in the collection and dissemination of this data, for this in itself can exert pressure on countries to make more concerted efforts at balanced representation of men and women.

Recruitment

To meet targets for women's recruitment, recruitment drives specifically directed at women are needed. These campaigns, conducted, for example, at schools and through the media, need to identify why women's services are valued and the opportunities that would be afforded to them. British recruiting campaigns in the 1990s included a female soldier coming to the aid of a female rape victim in a war-torn scene. According to Brown, 'in the post-Cold War era, women in the military may have special, new roles, ones that are specific to them as women and as caregivers and protectors of other women'.[37] While designed to appeal to women, recruitment drives must depict women in a variety of different functions – as pilots, naval commanders, officers – signalling that women can advance beyond traditional support service functions.

Selection

Selection criteria must be evaluated to ensure that they are non-discriminatory. Selection is usually made on the basis of educational qualifications, experience and basic fitness tests. Ensuring that selection criteria meet the action needs of the position, and that there are different physical testing standards for men and women – with standards that women should realistically be able to meet – is a key enabler of women's recruitment. Each branch of the US armed forces, for example, has slightly different physical fitness test requirements for men and women (see Figure 4).

Box 5	Increasing the recruitment and retention of women in the armed forces of Hungary [39]

Hungary successfully raised the participation of women in its armed forces from 4.3% in 2005 to 17.56% in 2006. Since combat positions were opened to women in 1996, women are able to occupy any position within the Hungarian armed forces.

Hungary's strategies to increase recruitment, retention and deployment of women include:

- Military Service Law that upholds the equal rights of men and women and guarantees non-discriminatory promotion based on professional skill, experience, performance and service time.
- An Equal Opportunity Team and Equal Opportunity Plan created within human resources.
- A Committee on Women of the Hungarian Defence Forces, established in 2003 to ensure equal opportunities for men and women. The Committee conducts research and holds meetings with servicewomen to gather experiences, from which they prepare analyses of the status of gender equality, including problems and recommendations for change.
- A network of women's focal points established at unit level.
- Steps to improve resting and hygienic conditions in the units.

| Box 6 | UK Equal Opportunities Commission and sexual harassment in the armed forces [40] |

The UK Equal Opportunities Commission (now part of the Equality and Human Rights Commission) was the independent, public body mandated to work towards the elimination of discrimination and to promote the equality of opportunity between women and men.

In 2004, after several high-profile cases of sexual harassment and a high number of complaints, the Commission embarked upon a formal investigation concerning sexual harassment against women serving in the armed forces. The investigation was suspended on the condition of the armed forces' fulfilment of an *Agreement and Action Plan to Prevent and Deal Effectively with Sexual Harassment in the Armed Forces.* The Action Plan has three phases, over three years:

- Diagnostic and data gathering.
- Period for the Ministry of Defence to review the information collected and to propose a programme of future work, including outcomes and targets to be achieved, to the Commission for agreement.
- Implementation and monitoring phase.

The Action Plan specifically includes undertaking a sexual harassment survey, convening focus groups, determining a standard for recording sexual harassment complaints, appointing an external reviewer to assess the handling of complaints and increasing the number of female trainers. In June 2008, the Commission will conduct a final review of Ministry of Defence and armed forces' performance to determine whether they have successfully reformed as required under the Agreement, including achieving the agreed outcomes.

However, best practice in selection should focus on the standards met after training, rather than on initial requirements. This provides for a more level playing field for all.

Advancement

Many militaries still place restrictions on what roles women can perform and have ceilings for their level of advancement within the decision-making ranks of the military. Policies that restrict women from combat or from rising to the highest ranks should be reviewed and amended.

Women must receive the necessary educational and training opportunities that afford them the qualifications for advancing. They must also have institutional support mechanisms to facilitate their advancement. More importantly, women who have the necessary qualifications and experience must be provided the opportunities to utilise them. Affirmative action policies for the promotion of women into decision-making structures should be in place. In addition, there must be clear, transparent and widely available information for performance assessments and for promotion criteria. Promotion criteria should also take into account the particular skills that women bring to the defence force.

Creating a conducive environment

Specific strategies need to be devised not only to recruit, but to retain women in the defence forces. Equal pay for equal work and access to the same incentives (pensions, subsidies, etc.) must be the norm. Care needs to be taken that there are appropriate facilities for women in barracks and that uniforms and equipment are amenable to their physical structure.

Women still largely assume the bulk of family responsibilities. Women and family-friendly policies go a long way in attracting and retaining women, for example: providing nursing and day-care facilities, allowing parents to work flexible hours, and maternity and paternity leave. Family commitments can also make it difficult for women to be posted outside of their hometowns, let alone deployed overseas, and this both affects their chances for promotion and often is a contributing factor to their leaving the defence force. More creative ways therefore need to be introduced to mitigate against this, for example, by ensuring that their families are adequately taken care of in their absence, and that parents who are deployed can have home leave with their families.

To retain women, defence forces need to provide a positive working environment. At a minimum, they must ensure that:

- The climate of the force discourages sexual harassment and stereotyping of women.
- Women are encouraged to take on leadership roles and a broad range of tasks, including operational functions.
- There is a forum in which female personnel can address any individual and work-related grievances.

Policies and mechanisms for institutional reform

All defence force policies must be reviewed in order to ensure that they are gender sensitive. Gender audits can be a useful process to inform policy review processes.

> **See Tool on SSR Assessment, Monitoring and Evaluation**

Specific policies should also be in place on issues such as sexual exploitation and abuse, sexual harassment and equal opportunities. These policies must be popularised so that employees are aware of their rights and responsibilities. Defence forces should adopt a 'zero tolerance' approach to sexual harassment and sexual exploitation and abuse, and

ensure that offenders are disciplined. These policies should make provision for the protection of whistle-blowers, and have clear and independent complaint, investigation and disciplinary procedures. A hotline to report cases of sexual harassment and sexual abuse is recommended (see Box 6).

In order to mainstream gender into the institution, gender focal points and Equal Opportunity directorates, with clear mandates, need to be established. These departments must be provided with sufficient authority, finance and capacity to fulfil their mandates. The defence forces can also consider annual Women's Peace Tables, as convened in South Africa, where women from the military and civil society get together to discuss and develop common peace agendas.

Codes of conduct

'I will treat all people fairly and respect their rights and dignity at all times, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, culture, language or sexual orientation.'

Code of conduct for uniformed members of the South African defence force [41]

Developing and popularising a code of conduct can be an important mechanism for entrenching a new culture in the armed forces and for revitalising and renewing the dedication of the forces to the principles enshrined in defence policy and legislation. Defence forces' codes of conduct are an opportunity to:

- Set out the rules and standards of behaviour as regards sexual discrimination, sexual harassment, and sexual exploitation and abuse.
- Reinforce the seriousness of these acts, and thus help to change attitudes amongst defence forces personnel.
- Underscore both individual criminal responsibility and command responsibility for such acts, and signal that there will be no impunity.
- Demonstrate to the public that the defence forces are committed to protecting women and children, and promoting the participation of women – thus building trust.

When such issues are included in a code of conduct, this should be reflected in defence force regulations detailing the punitive measures for different offences.

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security, although not directly addressing issues of GBV or gender-based discrimination, commits participating states to the implementation of recruitment practices that are consistent with obligations and commitments in terms of human rights and fundamental freedoms.[42] Relating this to international legal standards, by implication the Code of Conduct commits OSCE states to removing any obstacles to the promotion and participation of women in defence. Article 30 of the code commits OSCE states to instruct armed force personnel in international law, rules, conventions and commitments, ensuring that the personnel are aware that they are individually accountable for their actions.

Box 7	Ghana's Code of Conduct for Armed and Security Forces [45]

Ghana regularly contributes troops to UN missions and has prioritised integrating the UN rules and regulations that dictate the standards of behaviour for armed forces in peace support operations into the national code of conduct. The following extracts are taken from the Code of Conduct of the armed and security forces of Ghana:

Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
The following must be avoided:
> *Any exchange of money, employment, goods or services for sex*
> *Any type of sexual activities with children (persons under the age of 18 years)*
> *Any other form of humiliation, degrading or exploitative behaviour*
> *Any sexual favour in exchange for assistance*
> *Any type of sexual misconduct that damages the image, credibility, impartiality or integrity of the forces that deployed you*

Discipline
Exhibit highest standards of discipline. All acts of indiscipline to be viewed as an affront to cohesion of the force and offenders will be severely punished.

Male/Female Relationship
Healthy and professional interaction between males and females to be encouraged. No immoral relationship to be encouraged among troops.

Rules for Code of Conduct
Do not engage in immoral acts of sexual, physical or psychological abuse or exploitation.
Respect and regards the human rights of all.

Box 8	Sexual and reproductive health training for armed forces personnel [48]

For over ten years, the UN Population Fund has supported projects aimed at promoting sexual and reproductive health among armed forces personnel. These projects have been implemented by the national armed forces of countries ranging from Benin, Ecuador, Madagascar, Mongolia and Paraguay to the Ukraine. The projects contain strong components of training and awareness-raising on a variety of issues, such as HIV/AIDS prevention, maternal health and GBV.

Ecuador: *Sexual and Reproductive Health for the Armed Forces and the National Police* (1999-2001)

This was the second phase of a project that started by focusing on strengthening maternal health. It targeted young students in military schools, conscripts and officers through different initiatives:

- Including issues of gender equality into the curriculum of military schools.
- Training instructors on how to teach these issues, including participatory teaching methods.
- Parent education programme, including discussions on self-esteem, psychological and biological changes during adolescence and conflict resolution.
- Integrating issues of reproductive health, gender equality, sexuality and love into the military training curriculum for conscripts and officers. Also introducing participatory teaching techniques.
- Providing a whole range of reproductive health services, including vasectomy.

The results included a significant increase in the demand for vasectomies, a rare occurrence in a country where discussing this topic is often taboo. A decrease in fertility rate among beneficiaries was also reported.

Lessons learned include:

- More support and advocacy at the highest military ranks and among commanders of military bases would strengthen the project.
- In a military context where high turnover is common, training must be offered on an ongoing basis to be effective.
- Training capacity should be institutionalised to avoid reliance on external consultants.
- Participatory teaching methods, such as drama, games, audiovisuals, and written exercises, stimulate attendance and classroom discussion.
- Use of existing educational materials and sharing lessons learned with other sexuality education projects – such as by the Ministry of Education – helps reduce cost and redundancy.
- Expanding the range of reproductive health services beyond family planning can expand the client base and help encourage men's health seeking behaviour.
- Look to the specific needs of the region (in this case, high unmet demand for contraceptives and high cancer rates for women) as a way to find effective entry points into the area of reproductive and sexual health.
- Ensuring sustained supplies of reproductive health commodities, including condoms, is a critical aspect of such projects. Sending young recruits and officers to purchase condoms in commercial pharmacies is not a viable strategy.
- The concept of gender equality can be learned, even in a traditional male dominated institution such as the armed forces. However, gender equality remains an abstract notion if detached from issues of reproductive and sexual health and rights.
- A viable strategy for institutionalising such a project is to integrate education in reproductive health into training academies for officers, non-ranking officers and conscripts, rather than limiting it to students in military schools.
- Monitoring and evaluation are vital to the project design, requiring the budgeting of human and financial resources, supervisory responsibilities and evaluation indicators.

The code of conduct could be used as a tool to advocate for military training on GBV and to implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325.

Several UN entities and national defence forces have adapted their codes of conduct to incorporate the specific principles outlined in the UN Secretary General's bulletin on special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and abuse (see Box 7).

'The intention of the Secretary-General in promulgating the bulletin on protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse was to ensure that all categories of personnel serving under the United Nations flag would be fully aware of the standards of conduct expected of *them, and that they would abide by them in the area of prevention of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. In addition, the Secretary General calls on Member States to incorporate the core principles enshrined in the bulletin into the standards and codes of conduct for their national armed forces and police forces.'* [43]

The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations established conduct and discipline units in November 2005 to strengthen accountability and to uphold standards of conduct in UN missions. The conduct and discipline units operate as an additional oversight mechanism on UN personnel, outside of the structures of the troop contributing states. Through the conduct and discipline units, generic training on the prevention

of sexual exploitation and abuse has become mandatory for all peacekeeping personnel; procedures for the investigation of misconduct are being standardised; and a global database on misconduct allegations and cases is to be operational by the end of 2007.[44]

Training

Training courses in the defence sector must also incorporate training on gender responsiveness, gendered outcomes of conflict and gender mainstreaming at all levels for all personnel. All need to be familiar with what gender is and why it is important, as well as how gender equity improves the performance of the defence forces.

See Tool on Gender Training for Security Sector Personnel

According to the conclusions of a meeting of officials from 22 troop and police contributing states, a pre-deployment training plan for peacekeeping should:

- Incorporate training to address language barriers, cultural sensitivity, civic responsibility, human rights and gender-awareness.
- Engage nationally available gender expertise in the ministries of women/gender affairs or women's NGOs to support pre-deployment training.
- Integrate gender-awareness in the curricula that shapes the long-term education of military personnel, to ensure lasting impact.
- Provide foundation skills to women military officers to enhance their selection for peacekeeping.
- Include regular review of gender training outcomes to identify and remedy training gaps and other support needs. [46]

Personnel working with disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programmes particularly need gender training in order to recognise and meet the needs of female ex-combatants and women associated with armed groups, and those of boy and girl child soldiers. Masculinities also need to be taken into account, to ensure men are supported to move from a warrior identity to a more appropriate role, and to engage men in prevention of GBV (see Box 8).[47]

4.4 Integrating gender into the societal level of defence reform

Changes in the societal level of defence reform should encompass changes in the way society views defence forces and increased cooperation between the defence forces and civil society.

Women's participation in the defence force has been conditioned by the view that society as a whole has had of the defence sector: as a site for the construction of masculinity and not an appropriate space for women. Social change is thus a prerequisite for

success in recruiting and retaining women in the forces. However, this is not a sequential process of change in society first and then in the military. Changes in military culture and women's increased participation also produce change in the way that society views the institution.

The South African Defence Force produces a magazine called 'Soldier' which regularly features the differing roles that women play in the defence force. This goes a long way towards challenging the stereotypes of women in the defence force. Women's visibility in the defence force must be regularly portrayed in the media if societal perceptions are to change. It must become commonplace to see the added value that women bring to defence reform.

The defence force needs to reach out to civil society organisations that are engaged in peace and security to see how capacity to combat security threats can be reinforced by drawing on the participation of the community. New security forces in post-conflict countries should draw on the expertise of women's groups who have often been working through the conflict to provide security for women and children and to build peace. They are able to provide insights as to the plight of communities, particularly women and children, and in turn can act as a monitoring mechanism to ensure that strategies agreed upon are being implemented. These engagements provide legitimacy to the defence force and promote democratic practices within the sector.

See Tool on Civil Society Oversight of the Security Sector and Gender

5 Integrating gender into defence reform in specific contexts

5.1 Post-conflict countries

Defence reform is an important aspect of post-conflict stabilisation, with DDR of former combatants in many cases an urgent priority. For post-conflict countries, defence reform must address all four A's: appropriateness, accountability, affordability and adequacy. This implies significant political, economic, institutional and social reforms. Since women are both participants and victims of the conflict, it is important that their particular needs and roles are addressed and their full participation ensured from the onset of the peace process and throughout DDR and SSR.

Including women in DDR in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is still in the process of implementing DDR and developing a policy framework for new defence institutions.

DRC has been embroiled in conflict since gaining independence in 1960. The defence force of the Mobutu Sese Seko regime was patrimonial, partisan, non-accountable, and involved in many human rights abuses. In the conflict following Mobutu's overthrow, more than 3.8 million people are thought to have died,[49] and the violence in DRC continues.

Where were the women?

Reports on the victimisation and violation of women during the DRC conflict were numerous. It is estimated that over 40,000 women and girls were raped by soldiers (including some peacekeepers) and that women and girls were kidnapped to serve as sex slaves, porters, cooks and cleaners.[50] Women and children were also combatants, both forced and voluntary, in the various armed factions. In addition, women formed an array of groups that lobbied for an end to the conflict.

However, when the peace process began, women appeared to become invisible again. They had demanded to be included in the Inter-Congolese Dialogue but there too, women only constituted 10% of the delegates. This exclusion has been followed by a low level of women's representation in decision-making structures during the transition and after the 2006 elections.

Women and DDR

In DRC, the thousands of women and girls who are said to have 'accompanied male combatants' were marginalised in the DDR process and their needs overlooked. Schroeder noted in 2005 that individuals who had qualified as 'target groups' for DDR benefits had mainly been armed men, with little consideration given to the much wider range of actors who do not share common characteristics, needs or vulnerabilities.[51] The requirement that one must carry a gun to qualify for disarmament negated non-armed roles that women played within the armed conflict. Stereotypes of women's roles in the armed conflict persist and inhibit both women's willingness to come forward and present themselves for disarmament, and those engaged in DDR processes from recognising women and girls as groups needing to be included.

Women's exclusion from the DDR process in turn restricted their chance to be integrated from armed factions into the national army. To date, only 1,271 women have been integrated into the Congolese national army, and only 2,584 women have been demobilised and reintegrated into their communities.

A period of post-conflict reconstruction provides a unique opportunity for changing prescribed gender roles and for mainstreaming gender. In DRC's DDR process, this was essentially a missed opportunity.

! Tips and lessons learned

- It is important for women to be represented in decision-making forums at the outset of the peace process so that their needs are identified and addressed.

- Gender experts and expertise should be deployed in the planning, design, implementation and assessment of DDR processes. Sex-disaggregated data must be collected and used to develop a clear picture of all ex-combatants, dependents and others associated with armed groups. DDR must take account of the differing needs of all these groups. The UNDDR *Integrated Demobilisation and Reintegration Standards* and the UNIFEM Checklist on *Gender-aware Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration* are important reference tools for planning DDR programmes in a gender-sensitive manner.

- All DDR staff should receive training related to gender issues so that they are able to plan, implement and assess programmes in a gender-sensitive manner.

- Public information, training and awareness efforts should be extended to women leaders, organisations and advocates on the technical and procedural aspects of the DDR process to ensure that women participate in decision-making and understand their entitlements.[52]

- Processes should be established for women's groups and women ex-combatants to provide information on perpetrators of GBV. This information should be used to vet applicants to join the national army, as well as for prosecution.

- In the wake of conflict, mechanisms to provide justice to survivors of sexual violence are an urgent priority, including prosecution of perpetrators and their responsible superiors, victim assistance and reparations.

5.2 Transitional countries

'Transitional countries' are those that have recently emerged from repressive regimes, and whose democratic institutions remain fragile. SSR may be needed to help consolidate democracy and build a rights-based culture. Defence reform in this context is also related to increasing representation and strengthening oversight mechanisms.

Defence reform in post-apartheid South Africa

In 1994, South Africa underwent a transition from an apartheid state to a democratically ruled government. Women were an integral part of the decision-making process for the new Constitution, which was based on the principles of non-discrimination, non-sexism, human rights and democratic accountability. In order to uphold these principles, South Africa initiated a series of normative and institutional restructuring processes that included affirmative action and gender mainstreaming. Reforming the South African National

Defence Force (SANDF) was designed to: establish civilian control over the defence force; realign the objectives of the defence force with that of the new government; create a non-partisan, non-sexist and integrated force; and rationalise the defence force without undermining defence capability.

The Defence Policy, adopted in 1996:

- Began with the premise that national security must be 'broadened to incorporate political, economic, social and environmental matters'.[53] Adopting a human security perspective, it perceived the greatest threats to the country as emanating from poverty, lack of development and high levels of crime.
- Established the basic framework for democratic control of the armed forces: that the Minister of Defence would be accountable to Parliament, that Parliament would approve the annual Defence Budget and that a Joint Standing Committee on Defence would be established by Parliament to provide oversight.
- Noted that the SANDF must be broadly representative of the South African population and 'acknowledges the right of women to serve in all ranks and positions, including combat roles'.[54] To accomplish this level of representation, the Minister was tasked with implementing an affirmative action and equal opportunities programme and establishing a Gender Sub-Directorate within the Department of Defence (DoD).

Opportunities and challenges

South Africa's transition provided the opportunity for gender equity to be inserted as a primary target for the country as a whole, and for the new defence force in particular. Although the SANDF has come a long way in its transformation process, including incorporating women into its ranks, it still lags in achieving a 30% representation of women (the target set in the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development) and women still face many obstacles in their pursuit for equity.

In 2006, a Gender Mainstreaming Audit of the SANDF was conducted. The table below illustrates the glaring lack of women in the top management structures of the SANDF. There are no women Lieutenant Generals and only one Major General (who is also the SANDF's Chief Director of Transformation Services). In June 2007, eight new women Brigadier Generals were appointed, bringing the number to 25.[55] Women have made inroads into technical and skilled positions, but the pace of transformation is slow, both in terms of numbers and cultural change.

Level	Male	Female	Total	Total % female
Top management	15	2	17	11.6
Senior management	269	31	300	10.3
Middle management	6,595	1729	8,324	20.8
Professional/skilled	17,484	7,270	24,654	29.5
All staff	59,668	17,301	76,969	22.5

Although the DoD has the policy framework for gender mainstreaming in place and has a Gender Focal Point, a Gender Forum, Gender Mainstreaming Advisory Council and the Equal Opportunities and Affirmative Action Board, policy enforcement and institutional capacity problems persist. For example, the Audit report notes that:

> 'there is generally inadequate capacity to support effective gender mainstreaming in the DoD. This relates to capacity in terms of skills, knowledge (legal/policy compliance requirements and theoretical frameworks) and the amount of human, financial and logistical resources devoted [to] the coordination of gender programming and compliance monitoring in the DoD.'[56]

Although women are deployed on peacekeeping missions, their representation as military attachés has been negligible. This is surprising since this role has been particularly highlighted as one in which women could make a valued contribution to peacekeeping.

A major part of creating gender equity is changing organisational culture. However, women in the SANDF still note the persistence of sexism and sexual harrassment, the lack of equal promotion opportunity and the continued prevalence of a macho culture. Women's incorporation does not automatically change these expressions of patriarchy, and it is these aspects of gender mainstreaming that the SANDF still needs to pay concerted attention to.

Tips and lessons learned

- Women's representation at the peace-making table is a crucial determinant for their role in the new society being forged.
- The design of policies and the establishment of institutional mechanisms for gender mainstreaming is a necassary but not sufficient condition to effect gender equity in the defence forces. These policies must be popularised and their implementation monitored. Institutions set up to effect equity must be adequately staffed and funded.
- Changing the institutional culture is the most important aspect for gender mainstreaming in transitional countries. This, however, takes time and dedicated resources.

5.3 Developed countries

Defence reform in developed countries is largely concerned with creating armed forces appropriate to new international challenges such as peacemaking and peacebuilding.

Defence reform in Sweden

Current defence reform in Sweden had its starting point in 1999, with comprehensive changes to the force posture of the previously neutral state. The Swedes wanted to transform 'from a defence force

against invasion to a mobile, flexible operational defence, which can both defend Sweden and take part in international operations'. This expanded dual tasking of the Swedish defence establishment has occurred within fiscal constraints as military expenditure in Sweden has steadily decreased from 2% of GDP in 1999 to 1.4% of GDP in 2006.[57]

Personnel

Although compulsory conscription was limited to men, women have been admitted to military service in Sweden, including officers' training, since 1980. This is indicative of the changing strategic environment in which Sweden has found herself: not only had the security threats changed but the technology and skills needed had as well.

Much of the focus of Sweden's defence reform process has been on improving the efficiency of human resource management while downsizing. It was estimated that Sweden needed to decrease its defence force employees by 25%, or about 5,000 full time employees, half of whom would be professional officers.[58] The reasons for such personnel re-structuring include the need to be able to recruit and train officers for the new intervention-geared defence system. This requires officers that are willing to serve abroad, which young officers are more willing to do.[59]

This restructuring opens space for a greater number of women to become officers. In December 2006, 19% of employees in the Swedish Armed Forces were women and 81% men.[60] However, only 4.5% of professional officers are women.[61] Whilst this demonstrates that there is still much to be achieved, at the start of the reform process in 1999, women made up only 2.5% of the armed forces. Already there is talk of a plan to recruit more women when officer recruitment is resumed.[62]

Equal opportunities and gender mainstreaming

In 2006, six high-ranking commanders were selected for a 'Gender Coach' programme on equal opportunity.[63] The purpose of this programme is to sensitise high-level officers so that they, in turn, pass their knowledge to their departments and equality of opportunity aspects can be taken into account in every type of decision, allocation and operation.[64] Furthermore, 240 sexual harassment advisors have been trained, and all new recruits receive training in the Swedish Armed Forces' zero tolerance for sexual harassment programme.[65] The number of reports of sexual harassment decreased from 16 in 2005 to 10 in 2006.[66]

The Swedish Armed Forces have also taken on the mainstreaming of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 into their activities. Every soldier going on an operation or mission undergoes at least three hours of training on 1325 and gender and, since 2005, gender training has been included in all military schools and at all levels of study.[67]

Access to decision-making power

Remarkable strides have been made by women in Sweden in utilising the space in the defence and security debates to extend their role as security decision-makers. In 2003, the Minister for Defence, Foreign Minister and the head of the Authority for Crisis Management were all women.

! Tips and lessons learned

■ Integrating gender into the armed forces involves more than just allowing women to join. Gender training and other institutional changes need to support any such endeavours.

■ Gender equality must be integrated into all aspects of training and operations.

■ Women's access to decision-making power at executive level is important, and can provide the necessary political will to drive gender integration.

Box 9	Swedish operational success stories

EUFOR RD CONGO

In 2006 the Swedish armed forces contributed to the European Union military operation in DRC (EUFOR RD Congo), a deployment that included a Gender Advisor to the Operational Commander. The primary purpose of this was to operationalise Resolution 1325. At first, the work of the Gender Advisor focused on training the forces to integrate gender responsiveness into their everyday activities, but later moved to working with local non-governmental organisations and women's groups to inform them of EUFOR objectives and activities. Through integrating gender, EUFOR found that work with local women's groups became an unexpectedly valuable source of information and intelligence. The EU assessed that the work of the Gender Advisor led to an increase in operational efficiency, and has decided to include this way of working in forthcoming peacekeeping missions.[68]

Afghanistan [69]

On 24 April 2006, *a*lmost 50 Afghan women sat around a table. They were teachers and students from the Balkh University in Mazar-i-Sharif who had come to meet the Swedish force cooperation group Military Observation Team (MOT). The Swedish cooperation group was unique in two respects. First, the group consisted only of women, and second, they had no geographic responsibility, unlike other MOT groups. Instead their area of responsibility was women.

In Afghanistan, women are normally kept separate from men in public. For a military unit consisting only of men, it would have been virtually impossible to talk to a woman. Although easier for foreign women to do so, it is still not easy. The MOT team's role was to relay information that they obtained from Afghan women, so that the Afghan political institutions and international aid organisations could make use of it.

6 Key recommendations

1. **Ensure defence reform promotes gender equality:** Ensure that defence reform reflects the democratic character of the society and encompasses measures to promote equal gender relations through, for example, recruiting more women and maximising both their potential and contribution to the defence forces.

2. **Have an inclusive defence review:** Utilise the defence review process to formulate a democratic vision for the security forces. Include a wide range of stakeholders, such as women's groups and others working on gender issues.

3. **Integrate women into defence forces and security institutions:** Actively recruit women into defence structures and ensure that women are represented in defence decision-making bodies. Set targets, monitor the integration of women and address obstacles to their retention and advancement.

4. **Mainstream gender in defence forces:** Include gender training at all levels and for all defence force personnel. Recognise the equal rights and different needs of men, women and lesbian and gay people, both within defence forces and in the communities they serve.

5. **Prevent and punish gender-based violence by defence force personnel:** Develop a code of conduct that prohibits sexual discrimination, sexual harassment and sexual exploitation and abuse. Ensure that there is no impunity for such conduct.

6. **Strengthen parliamentary oversight of gender issues in defence reform:** Parliaments should monitor defence departments' annual reports, deployments for peacekeeping, and ensure that there are policies and mechanisms in place to create gender equality. Include gender-sensitive women and men in parliamentary standing committees on defence.

7. **Strengthen civil society oversight of gender issues in defence reform:** Foster the capacity of civil society organisations, including women's groups and others working on gender issues, to engage meaningfully in defence debates. Ensure their inclusion in defence reform processes.

8. **Conduct gender analysis of the defence budget:** Improve parliamentary and civil society capacity to interrogate defence budgets and to scrutinise for adequate gender budgeting.

7 Additional resources

Useful websites

Centre for Democracy and Development –
http://www.cddwestafrica.org

DCAF – http://www.dcaf.ch

Bonn International Centre for Conversion –
http://www.bicc.de

Institute for Security Studies – http://www.issafrica.org

Siyanda – Mainstreaming Gender Equality –
http://www.siyanda.org/about.htm

UN-INSTRAW *Gender and Security Sector Reform* –
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