

GENDER & INCLUSIVITY IN PEACE & SECURITY



Quaker
Council for
European
Affairs



Newcastle
University



Economic
and Social
Research Council



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GENDER & INCLUSIVITY IN PEACE & SECURITY

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Acronyms

AU	African Union
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
EUPOL	European Union Police Mission
GPPAC	Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflicts
LGBTQI+	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, questioning and “plus,” which represents other sexual identities including pansexual and asexual
NAP	National Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PSVI	The Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict Initiative
QCEA	Quaker Council for European Affairs
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UACES	University Association for Contemporary European Studies
UN	United Nations
UNSCR	UN Security Council Resolution
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

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ABOUT



Project rationale

Since 2000, and the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), peace and security institutions have been required to integrate gender perspectives into their work at both an organisational and operational level. Twenty years on, and with nine further WPS resolutions,¹ this project addresses some of the remaining practical challenges to achieving this goal. Specifically —

- an understanding of why gender and inclusivity matter for peace and security which is transformative, rather than reformative;
- an inclusive approach to leadership on gender issues which acknowledges and meaningfully includes a myriad of actors from the local level upwards, including women and women's organisations;
- and for individuals working within peace and security organisations to realise this change, a central challenge remains overcoming the structural but also personal resistance they face.

The overarching aim of this project is to fill an existing gap by producing content of use for people tasked with working on gender issues at a national, regional and international level (for example, at NATO, the UN, the EU, in Foreign Offices, Ministries of Defence, or in peace and security operations). More specifically, this guide can be of use to people 'on the ground' in conflict settings, in both civilian and military operations, both in leadership positions but also those acting as gender advisors/focal points. This guide and the three accompanying YouTube videos are intended to offer practical tools and strategies for end users with the inclusion of case studies.

Funded by the Economic and Social Sciences Research Council (ESRC) Impact Acceleration Account *Transition 2019: Newcastle University* (ES/T501827/1), this project builds on an existing collaboration between Katharine A. M. Wright, Senior Lecturer in International Politics at Newcastle University and Olivia Caeymaex, the Quaker Council for European Affairs' (QCEA) Peace Programme Director. In November 2018 they co-organised a successful workshop, 'Towards an Inclusive Peace and Security: taking stock and sharing lessons on the gender dimension' at Quaker House in Brussels, bringing together peacebuilders, practitioners, military personnel, civil society and

academia to discuss the challenges to realising an inclusive peace through the UACES Gendering European Studies Network. One key outcome of the discussions was to reinforce the findings of Katharine A. M. Wright's research² that finds individuals responsible for gender issues within both institutional and operational settings face significant resistance in their day-to-day work at both a structural and individual level, and that leadership on the Women, Peace and Security agenda is critical to its effective implementation.

This project has therefore produced actionable guidance for individuals tasked with supporting gender in peace and security institutions and operations to navigate these obstacles. This includes the three short films to accompany this best practice guide, which focus on the following three themes —

1. **Gender and Inclusivity Matter for Peace and Security**
2. **Gender and Leadership: Practising Inclusivity in Peace and Security**
3. **Overcoming Resistance to Work on Gender: Strategies and Approaches**

To watch the videos, scan the QR code below or visit www.qcea.org/gender.



Project partners

About the Quaker Council for European Affairs

The Quaker Council for European Affairs (QCEA) is a non-governmental organisation which works to bring a vision based on the Quaker commitment to peace, justice and equality to Europe and its institutions. It has been based in Brussels since its foundation in 1979. QCEA's Peace Programme seeks to create a new narrative around European security which emphasises sustainable peacebuilding and a human-centred, inclusive approach to conflict prevention and resolution.

Gender equality has been at the heart of Quaker leadership for almost 400 years. For example, leadership was open to women from the very beginnings of the Quaker movement in the 1650s. In stark contrast to the time, a large number – possibly even the majority – of leading Quakers were women, they travelled alone, and published – both very rare in Europe at that time. For many Quakers, both historical and contemporary, the inclusion of women is part of what is now called the 'Testimony of Equality'. This sits alongside the Quaker Testimony Against War, later called the Quaker Peace Testimony.



**Katharine
A. M. Wright**
Newcastle University
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Katharine is a Senior Lecturer in International Politics at Newcastle University (UK). Her research and teaching focus on gender and security, exploring gender in institutional settings at an international level, for example at NATO and in EU foreign and security policy. She has published widely on issues surrounding Women, Peace and Security, Feminist Foreign Policy and digital diplomacy. This includes her co-authored monograph *NATO, Gender and the Military: Women Organising from within*. She is currently a lead convener of the UACES Gendering EU Studies Research network and Chair of the International Studies Association Committee on the Status of Women.



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Olivia joined QCEA in October 2016 as the head of the peace programme and she currently serves on the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) steering committee. She has over ten years' experience in peacebuilding. Olivia previously worked as the Special Assistant to the United Nations Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General for West Africa and the Sahel, based in Dakar. Her prior work at the United Nations headquarters includes experience at the United Nations University looking at issues such as modern slavery and crimes against humanity, as well as at the Peacebuilding Support Office and the Policy Committee Secretariat at the Executive Office of the UN Secretary-General.



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Clémence joined QCEA in April 2019 as the Peace Programme Assistant. She holds a master's degree in Conflicts and Development with a specific focus on post-conflict issues, peace processes and crisis recovery. Before working for QCEA she contributed to the conflict transformation and social cohesion work of Search For Common Ground in Lebanon. She used to work for the French youth interfaith movement Coexister, which creates social links between young people from different religious backgrounds. Clémence also has research experience at the Center for International Crisis and Conflict Studies (CECRI), where she worked on subjects such as dealing with the past, reconciliation and conflict resolution as well as peacekeeping.

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For feedback and comments on drafts of this guide: **Laura Davis**, Senior Associate, European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO); **Cynthia Enloe**, Clark University; **Quaker United Nations Office** (QUNO) in Geneva; **Fleur Heyworth**, Head of Gender and Inclusive Security at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP); **Chris Kremidas**, whole-of-society expert; **Jeremy Lester**, Clerk (Chair) of QCEA; **Kékéli Kpognon**, Senior Human Rights Programme Officer at QCEA; **Andrew Lane**, Director of QCEA; **Hanna Muehlenhoff**, Lecturer in European Policy and European Integration, University of Amsterdam; **Tuuli Raty**, EU Policy and Advocacy Officer, Saferworld; **Women in International Security** (WiIS) Brussels.

For interviews: **Amina Abdulkadir**, Peace and Development Research Center (Somalia); **Betty Adera**, Ms President Talent Show (Kenya); **Nereah Amondi Oketch**, Ms President Talent Show (Kenya); **Myriam Bacquelaine**, Belgian diplomat; **François Cornet d’Elzius**, Belgian Ambassador to the Political and Security Committee of the EU; **Laura Davis**, EPLO; **Udé Fati**, Voz di Paz (Guinée-Bissau); **Marc Fiedrich**, Service for Foreign Policy Instrument, European Commission; **Roberta Guerrina**, University of Bristol; **Toni Haastrup**, University of Stirling; **Jacqueline Hale**, Save the Children; **Umelkheir Harun**, Ms President Talent Show (Kenya); **Theo Hollander**, Interpeace; **Clare Hutchinson**, NATO; **Frenny Jowi**, Media Focus Africa; **Jude Kirton-Darling**, former Member of the European Parliament (S&D); **Chris Kremidas**, whole-of-society expert; **Andrew Lane**, QCEA; **Jeremy Lester**, QCEA; **Annick Masselot**, University of Canterbury (New Zealand); **Hanna Muehlenhoff**, University of Amsterdam; **Hannah Neumann**, Member of the European Parliament (Greens-EFA); **Helena Nolan**, Irish Ambassador to Belgium; **Sarah Pelham**, Oxfam; **Irene Nyakerario Mayaka**, Ms President Talent Show (Kenya); **Anna Waruguru Kiai**, Ms President Talent Show (Kenya).

GENDER AND INCLUSIVITY MATTER FOR PEACE AND SECURITY



The Women, Peace and Security Agenda

Gender has always mattered to peace and security but the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) in 2000 was ground-breaking. This was the first time the Security Council, the arbiter of international peace and security, had recognised the value of gender. This has created a momentum for the integration of gender perspectives in the field of peace and security.

Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, nine further resolutions have been adopted to both reaffirm and widen the scope of the WPS agenda. The WPS agenda acknowledges the gendered nature of peace and security, including the disproportionate impact of conflict on women, and their crucial role in resolving it through women's participation, along with the value of a gender perspective. These ten Women, Peace and Security resolutions are binding on UN member states, the UN and parties to conflict.

The WPS agenda remains a central framework for realising a gender just and inclusive peace and security. Yet the agenda must be understood as more than just the Security Council resolutions in order to realise its transformative potential. This is both because of the limitations on what the Security Council can agree to but also because of the wider knowledge base and expertise located in civil society at a transnational but also local level, which overcomes some of the Resolutions' shortcomings. Given this, it is worth reflecting on the circumstances which led to the adoption of UNSCR 1325 and the important role of a network of actors working both within UN structures and outside: member states, civil society, academics and critical actors at the UN itself. The formation of such a coalition of interested parties working together at the Security Council was unprecedented.³ Importantly, civil society were present through the NGO Working Group on WPS, an umbrella organisation which brought together interested NGOs to lobby for, draft and redraft the final Resolution.⁴ They envisaged the transformative potential of UNSCR 1325 not as a tool to 'make war safe for women', but through acknowledging the different and disproportionate impact on women, and women's role in conflict prevention and resolution.⁵ Civil society continue to play an important role in helping to realise the Women, Peace and Security agenda at a local, national, regional and international level through advocacy and is a significant source of knowledge and expertise.

The limitations to the WPS resolutions are premised on the nature of the Security Council itself, which speaks to both wider institutional but also specific resistance to integrating gender.⁶ Even those fully equipped with an understanding of the value of a gender perspective may struggle to get transformative language adopted against this backdrop.⁷ For example, any discussion of the arms trade and militarism was off the agenda at the Security Council because some members found the topics “too political”.⁸ There is therefore an absence from UNSCR 1325 of the Security Council’s own responsibility under the UN Charter to support the establishment of arms regulations systems.⁹ Another key silence is any mention of ending war, despite this being a foundational part of the Security Council’s brief.¹⁰ These omissions and silences draw attention to the contradiction between the Security Council with an implicit support for a militarised interstate system, and the normative underpinnings of UNSCR 1325 on women and armed conflict, a discord which has emerged precisely because of the challenges to women’s security which result from the current setup of the international arena.¹¹ It also contributes to the existence of “diverse and divergent” interpretations of the WPS agenda in different settings,¹² and this can be a strength of the agenda.

As we mark the 20th anniversary of the WPS agenda, over 80 member states have adopted National Action Plans (NAPs) on WPS,¹³ along with regional organisations including the European Union (EU), African Union (AU) and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). The UN also has a key role in implementing the agenda, including in peacekeeping operations. While those advocating on gender issues in some settings may find other mechanisms more useful in their strategising than the WPS agenda,¹⁴ the international commitment to the WPS resolutions is important. Yet despite these commitments we remain a long way from a gender just and inclusive peace and security. The challenges we focus on in this guide are —

- an understanding of why gender and inclusivity matter for peace and security which is transformative, rather than reformative;
- an inclusive approach to leadership on gender issues which acknowledges and meaningfully includes a myriad of actors from the local level upwards, including women and women’s organisations;
- and for individuals working within peace and security organisations to realise this changes a central challenge remains overcoming the structural but also personal resistance they face.

What do we mean by gender and inclusivity?

Gender is based upon socially-constructed perceptions of the activities and actions appropriate for every gender. It is also relational, which means that masculinities and femininities do not exist independently. Gender is therefore understood not as a lived identity (although it is also that), but as a structure of power. Understanding gender as central to hierarchical power relations means moving beyond seeing gender as a dichotomous variable, loosely synonymous with ‘sex’, but as a means to engage with how masculinities and femininities shape both day-to-date interactions and institutions, often (but not always) with masculinities valued over femininities.

Gender is important but it is also something which intersects with other areas of injustice such as race, poverty, or ongoing violence. This is understood as intersectionality, a term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in the 1980s,¹⁵ and an analysis also articulated by the Combahee River Collective (although they did not coin term itself) through a similar concept of “interlocking oppressions”.¹⁶ This means that it is not possible to say “there’s a race problem here, a gender problem here, and a class or LGBTQI+ problem there. Many times that framework erases what happens to people who are subject to all of these things”.¹⁷ As a result, the understanding of discrimination against any marginalised group is rendered obsolete if we do not pay attention to how sub-groups within these wider groups experience subordinating structure. More attention to intersectional approaches is necessary for an inclusive approach to peace and security and requires a commitment to paying attention to “the needs and wants of ‘others’”.¹⁸ Working only on gender parity while neglecting these other factors, which could include race, sexuality, class, disability or other categories of discrimination, will also not provide the desired results.

Understanding gender within an intersectional lens means taking an inclusive approach to peace and security. One of the reasons inclusivity is essential as part of any process is because it addresses an intrinsic root cause of conflict: inequality. Access to political processes is also a basic right which must be upheld. But the answer to how to “leave no one behind” and be inclusive is not always self-evident. It involves

identifying those who have a claim to an issue as a first step which requires in-depth knowledge and analysis. This also means, as we go on to discuss in respect to leadership, engaging different actors in a sensitive and understanding manner. Investment in these different aspects is invaluable for the well-being of any given process and is a first step to ensuring change will be owned and last.

“Women’s participation is key to sustainable peace... the participation of women at all levels is key to the operational effectiveness, success and sustainability of peace processes and peacebuilding efforts. Mediators, facilitators and leadership in peace operations must be proactive in including women in all aspects of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

GLOBAL STUDY ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325¹⁹

The importance of inclusivity is reflected in the 2015 Global Study on the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda undertaken by UN Women. The study found that the universality of UN norms and values must be understood in a localised context rather than through a ‘one size fits all’ approach, with diversity requiring inclusivity of a range of perspectives in peace-making and with that the inclusion of women and diversity among women should be reflected in the peace process.²⁰ On any given issue, one should ask themselves: *Who is not being heard? Who is not in the room? Who has the power?*²¹

The inclusion of women and other marginalised groups should be a goal in and of itself. This is in contrast to arguments for the inclusion of women based on the idea that they bring something ‘different’ or of ‘further value’ to an institution, operation or situation. This ‘effectiveness argument’ constitutes women as resources which is problematic because it does not necessarily change the approach to

peace and security, thus security policies are not really transformed.²² It is also problematic for the women recruited this way who can be tokenised and struggle to perform the difference expected of them, they have after all signed up to the same institutional values as men working there.²³ This means that ‘added value’ often translates into an ‘added burden’ for women, rather than a focus on transforming the work environment so it is attractive for all.²⁴

Research has shown the utility of using a gender perspective to understand the wider impact of peace and security operations and the way in which peace and security institutions function. The inclusion of a gender perspective in planning peace and security operations draws attention to the wider economic, societal and political impact of such interventions (whether military or civilian). For example, Cynthia Enloe²⁵ demonstrates that the personal is not only political, but international too. This approach helps us to take seriously the gendered implications (whether intended or not) of our work. Building on Enloe’s work, Katharine Moon²⁶ draws attention to the importance of gender for understanding inter-state relations. In her case study of US-Korea relations in the 1970s, she demonstrates how the regulation of women sex workers by both the US and Korea around the US military base served to transform these women into positive ambassadors for Korea, with practice reinforcing policy. However, what was of diplomatic benefit for Korea and its international standing ultimately came at a significant personal cost to the women. A gender perspective then shows us that interventions in the form of peace or security operations can have wider impacts on the society on the receiving end of them, and that often these are gendered. It is necessary therefore to consider the broader gender impact of peace and security initiatives.

“The process of realizing gender equality and empowering women and girls is really the process of the world progressing toward equality, development and peace – or stated in other words the process of every person obtaining ‘shared security’.

LI YINGTAO
PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
BEIJING FOREIGN STUDIES UNIVERSITY²⁷

Peace and security institutions as gendered spaces

It is clear that peace and security interventions have gendered impacts, but beyond this the peace and security institutions themselves, (which includes, militaries, government departments concerned with foreign affairs, development and defence, along with regional and international organisations, NGOs and civil society organisations) are gendered. By this we mean the way they include, or exclude, gender from policy processes and practices contributes to the way in which power is structured and normalised.²⁸ This means that institutions ‘are substantively, not just metaphorically, gendered’.²⁹ One way to expose how institutions are gendered is to ask “where are the women?”.³⁰ In so doing, you also expose the position of men within the institution and uncover who has access to power, supporting an understanding of gender as a structure of power. It might be that an institution has a gender balance, but when you ask where the women are, you find they are in support roles rather than decision making positions with access to power.

The gendering of institutions manifests in fluid, intersecting and contradictory ways, but largely in a manner that privileges those individuals or groups in positions of power within organisations – these are usually, though not always, men. As a result, patterns of inequality, disadvantage and subordination result from this gendered privileging. Gender and gendered identities are intertwined in the day-to-day activities of the institution, rather than pre-existing in society or fixed to individuals.³² Gender can therefore be viewed as an organising principle,³³ built upon “organisation history and associated with a different configuration of personal experiences”.³⁴ For example, at the UN level, a study by Ingvild Bode³⁵ demonstrates how the institutionalisation of gender inequality through practice has maintained barriers to women reaching leadership positions. While Annica Kronsell’s research on EU Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) points out that the institution “is sexed because male bodies dominate the organisations studied, yet this remains invisible through normalisation”.³⁶ It becomes the norm therefore not to question the dominance of men in such spaces and to take this for granted, yet to work towards a gender inclusive peace and security we need to question what we take for granted.

“While centuries of activism for women’s rights have effected significant changes in leadership in many institutions around the world, political institutions are only slowly beginning to reflect leadership structures somewhat in line with how the populations themselves are composed.

AZZA KARAM
SENIOR ADVISOR ON CULTURE,
UNITED NATIONS POPULATION FUND (UNFPA)³¹

By understanding institutions as gendered spaces we gain an understanding of how different individuals, institutional cultures and organisational structures shape policies.³⁷ Institutions do not operate in a bubble, rather they reflect wider social hierarchies and reproduce gender norms through including or silencing gender from the policymaking process.³⁸ For example, Carol Cohn’s study of US nuclear planning programmes in the 1980s found that the language used by practitioners was deeply gendered and reflective of the all-male environment they operated within. The language used described the first bomb dropped on Bikini Atoll as a “real babe”, and used sexualised language to describe weapons, such as “pat the bomb”. The symbolic equation of weapons with women’s bodies made them seem controllable. This language also served to distract from the human impact of weapons, with large scale civilian casualties described as ‘collateral damage’. This study shows us how the language used in relation to peace and security can be deeply gendered, as Cohn describes the impact of this is to create an insider community and to distance those working on the issues from the impact of their work and the affected communities. Harmful gender norms in security institutions have a very real impact on (conflict-affected) communities, because they can serve to disconnect policy makers and practitioners from thinking through the personal cost for those people on the receiving end of their work.

“The message has to be, ‘Be part of the security agenda’, and the security agenda naturally has to address gender.

STEVEN STEINER
GENDER ADVISOR, UNITED STATES INSTITUTE FOR PEACE ³⁹

Being seen to do ‘gender work’ also looks good for individuals and institutions. So while many states and regional and international organisations have committed to implementing the WPS agenda, it is important that we look beyond the surface to interrogate what purpose is actually being served. To ask if these initiatives are aimed at transforming peace and security, or are being used as tools to better serve existing approaches which have marginalised women without transforming institutional structures. One pertinent example is military recruitment, specifically the recruitment of women, which for NATO and a number of states⁴⁰ has become part of the focus of their WPS work. This rests on the assumption that the women recruited can bring about the change expected of them, which has been proven false given they signed up to exactly the same values as men who are recruited and also go through military training.⁴¹ This use of WPS will not bring about change in line with the aspirations of the agenda to transform the current understanding and approach to peace and security, which often falls back on militarism and military responses.

In understanding international peace and security as gendered, we also see how relations between states, the practice of international relations, and international interventions themselves are gendered. States, along with regional and international organisations can benefit from the perception that they are ‘doing WPS’, even if a particular initiative falls short of the WPS agenda. This is born out in a study by Katharine A. M. Wright of a NATO Public Diplomacy initiative focused on Afghanistan.⁴² The digital diplomacy initiative which utilised a range of social media including YouTube and Twitter told ‘NATO’s story of Afghanistan’ with a core section focusing on NATO’s role in empowering Afghan women through WPS. The reality of this claim was undermined by the marginalisation of Afghan women, who were not given a voice in the story, and therefore it ran counter to the purpose of the WPS agenda. Rather, the perception that NATO was ‘doing’ WPS served as an effective ‘good news story’ for NATO, even when the

reality belied this. This use of the WPS agenda could risk discrediting it over time if not accompanied by other more substantive actions to bring about significant institutional and wider cultural change.

“The world has never yet seen a truly great and virtuous nation because in the degradation of women the very foundations of life are poisoned at source.

LUCRETIA MOTT (1793-1880)
QUAKER, ANTI-SLAVERY ACTIVIST
AND PROPONENT OF WOMEN’S RIGHTS

This is one example of the problematic ‘masculine protection logic’ which runs counter to the aspirations of the WPS agenda. As Iris Young describes, “in this patriarchal logic, the role of the masculine protector puts those protected, paradigmatically women and children, in a subordinate position of dependence and obedience”.⁴³ The role of states or regional/international organisations adopting the role of ‘masculine protector’ to ‘save’ women in distant countries has been critiqued for reinforcing, rather than challenging gendered hierarchies because often this comes without any real commitment to gender justice⁴⁴ and works against the aspirations of the WPS agenda to transform the practice of peace and security. It is also necessary to consider that the foundation of states, and their actions often make them culpable in exacerbating gender inequalities.⁴⁵ For states or international/regional organisations to work towards gender justice, they need to adopt a role as allies to the cause, rather than change agents in and of themselves because they are often complicit in the actions which need challenging.⁴⁶

Gender therefore matters for the practice of peace and security because it is integral to how institutions and operations function, even if it is not immediately visible. A gender perspective means understanding gender as a structure of power and questioning what can easily be taken for granted. It also means turning that gender perspective back on our own institutions and asking just who is benefiting from ‘doing’ WPS? And what can be done to make WPS more inclusive?

GENDER AND LEADERSHIP: PRACTISING INCLUSIVITY IN PEACE AND SECURITY

“The point is not for women simply to take power out of men’s hands, since that wouldn’t change anything about the world. It’s a question precisely of destroying that notion of power.

SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR
IN AN INTERVIEW WITH JOHN “TITO” GERASSI, 1976

Much of the recent impetus behind the WPS agenda has emphasised the role of leadership in advancing it. In part because there is a concern over the lack of implementation of WPS policies, which can be attributed to a lack of political will. The UN Security Council Resolutions encapsulating the WPS agenda have built upon the pillar of participation to recognise both leadership, and specifically women’s leadership, including at a local level, as key to implementing the agenda. Resolution 2493, adopted in October 2019, presents a more inclusive understanding of what leadership on WPS looks like, and —

“...strongly encourages Member States to create safe and enabling environments for civil society, including formal and informal community women leaders, women peacebuilders, political actors, and those who protect and promote human rights, to carry out their work independently and without undue interference, including in situations of armed conflict, and to address threats, harassment, violence and hate speech against them.”⁴⁷

It is important to also stress that creating these environments requires long-term (core) funding to women’s rights organisations. The Council of the European Union Conclusions on WPS reasserts that the successful implementation of the WPS agenda relies on “the strongest possible political leadership and commitment”⁴⁸ and also stresses the need to —

“...support women’s leadership and participation in all stages of peace processes both through diplomacy and financial support. The EU will strive to include and enable the participation of more women as mediators, chief negotiators and political representatives, including within its own structures. Recognising that women’s peace efforts at the local and national levels are critical for conflict resolution, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction, the EU will support these initiatives, including at the grassroots level.”⁴⁹

Both Resolution 2943 and the Council Conclusions acknowledge that leadership on WPS comes in many forms, and emphasise the importance of leadership from civil society and the local and grassroots level. These are both welcome acknowledgements and a first step towards challenging the fact that many of the conversations on WPS happen at the highest (rather than local) levels.

The role of leadership on WPS must therefore move beyond solely elevating (often white privileged) women into leadership positions within national and regional/international organisations. More pressingly, it is necessary to listen to and include local women and women's rights organisations who are already active and powerful agents for peace and security in fragile and conflict affected countries.⁵⁰ This involves a shift in power to national and local women's organisation in order "to strengthen agency, amplify voice, build on collaborative opportunities including women-led coalitions and feminist practices".⁵¹ The international community therefore needs to do more to support local innovation and ensure their participation in both the planning and implementation of international responses, and support their access to local mediation and conflict resolution processes.⁵² A recent report titled *Beyond Consultations*⁵³ found that most consultations with women's rights advocates in fragile and conflict affected states are extractive, rather than inclusive, with input not acted upon and no feedback fed back to the women or women's organisations. This works counter to an inclusive peace and security.

“It is now an established narrative in the conflict and peace studies literature that many ‘official’ mediators are men. By official, I am talking about the ones who get face time and recognition for the agreements that count. Those men bring their own experiences to bear in these processes. I think this is expected. It is unsurprising then that many agreements seem to absent the reality of women's lives and experiences.

TONI HAASTRUP
SENIOR LECTURER IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS,
UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING⁵⁴

Women in leadership

Leadership globally remains a deeply gendered space, with men overrepresented and women underrepresented in decision making spaces. Below are some statistics to illustrate the point —

- Between 1992 and 2018, women constituted 13 per cent of negotiators, 3 per cent of mediators and only 4 per cent of signatories in major peace processes.⁵⁵
- A diverse range of women's voices in fragile and conflict affected states are not heard and the most marginalised, particularly rural women and grassroots organisations are under-represented in consultations on decision-making processes.⁵⁶
- Only two women have ever served as chief negotiators (Miriam Coronel Ferrer of the Philippines and Tzipi Livni of Israel), and only one woman (Coronel Ferrer) has ever signed a final peace accord as chief negotiator.⁵⁷
- As of January 2019, women served as Head of State or Government in 19 countries, including in two post-conflict countries (Ethiopia and Serbia). The global average of women ministers is 20.7 per cent compared to 18.3 per cent in conflict and post conflict countries.
- As of January 2019, only 24.3 per cent of parliamentary seats globally are held by women. For conflict and post-conflict countries, this ratio is even lower, at just 19 per cent.⁵⁸
- As of 2020, all current EU Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions are led by men.⁵⁹
- Women currently only account for 30% of the staff of the ten civilian CSDP Missions.⁶⁰
- The UN has never had a woman as Secretary General.
- NATO has never had a woman as Secretary General.

Peace and security is still an arena marked by reports of the ‘first woman’ in post, and there will be many more to come. Some recent ‘firsts’ —

- In January 2019, the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) became the first peacekeeping operation to not only be led by a female Special Representative but to have a female Force Commander and a Female Senior Police Advisor.⁶¹
- In January 2020, Norwegian Vice-Admiral Louise Dedichen became the first woman to serve as a Military Representative to NATO.⁶²

Leadership as a gendered concept

As we have shown gender is important and integral to understanding peace and security, therefore leadership at all levels on gender issues is necessary to realise an inclusive vision of peace and security. Moreover, leadership itself is a gendered concept and the way it is practised can serve to silence and exclude women and marginalised groups, serving to reinforce rather than transform the current peace and security apparatus. In particular, working against the call to include civil society leadership in the implementation of the WPS agenda.

Given this, it is important to stress that leadership comes in a number of guises, whether it be in formal roles such as a President or Prime Minister, CEO or Company Director, manager or head of section, or at a more local level as a conflict mediator or local women's organisation. Leadership can also be something individuals embody in informal roles, be it within the organisation they work for or outside, for example, as an activist or campaigner. Some people are said to be natural leaders but as we explore here, who can be perceived as a 'good' leader is deeply gendered and contributes to understanding the over representation of men in decision making spaces across peace and security, be it in mediation or peace processes, or in regional/international organisations.

Institutions at all levels, from the local to the international, including organisations, peace processes and mediation, are both sustained and reproduced through the performance of gender roles by individuals. Those individuals who do perform their gender in accordance with gender stereotypes pose no challenge to an institution, rather they serve to "sustain, reproduce and render legitimate" institutional structures based on gender categories.⁶³ This matters both for understanding how leadership and institutions are gendered, but also because these processes contribute to entrenching gender categories and norms more widely.

“It is not only male dominance in terms of numbers that can be eschewed. Rather, at the heart of the matter is a seeming persistence to uphold and defend a culture which sees women as either too weak to take responsibility, or too strong and thus requiring systematic pushback. If no woman is safe no society can be. In other words there is no shared security in a space where any woman feels insecure.

AZZA KARAM
SENIOR ADVISOR ON CULTURE,
UNITED NATIONS POPULATION FUND (UNFPA)⁶⁴

Qualities which are traditionally associated with leadership (e.g. assertiveness and authority) are read differently depending on the gender of the person displaying them. Such qualities are power-seeking, agential and gendered as masculine. The result is that women exhibiting these qualities in leadership roles, even if they are a necessity, face repercussions. For example, they risk being framed in a negative light as “bitter, quarrelsome and selfish”.⁶⁵

When women become leaders in any institution, be it a formal organisation or as part of a peace process, they are limited by what has been termed the 'gender double bind'. They are on the one hand required to embrace characteristics associated with their femininity (for example, traits such as compassion, communality and empathy) often constructed as outside or in opposition to the 'traditional' conception of a leader and are non-agential.⁶⁶ Moreover, given any leadership role requires an individual to possess ambition, this is also read differently depending on a person's gender. Women leaders who go against their gender stereotype are perceived as less effective than men in leadership who exhibited the same masculine typed qualities. This means that gender stereotypes can prevent those who identify as women from being perceived of as effective leaders.⁶⁷

Women therefore have a difficult task to manage gender expectations, seeking to find an, arguably impossible, ‘acceptable’ balance between masculine and feminine typed traits. It is this entrapment which defines the gender double bind for women leaders. Ultimately, it contributes to women internalising the idea that they are less capable of assuming leadership roles, which means they are less likely to identify themselves as leaders or put themselves forward for leadership positions.⁶⁸

The ‘glass cliff’ is another issue which impacts women in leadership positions. Research has demonstrated that women are more likely to be selected for high-level leadership positions during times of crisis, with the opposite true of men.⁶⁹ This is likely a result of the stereotype that women will ‘clean up’ the mess which has been created. It is particularly damaging because such roles are inherently risky and prone to failure, which then has repercussions in terms of perception of women’s suitability for leadership. It is necessary therefore to be reflective on just why and when women are put forward for leadership roles, and when they are to ensure they have the best opportunities and support to perform and thrive.

As well as being gendered, institutions are also racialised and this impacts upon leadership. Research has shown how gendered and racial stereotypes construct and reinforce the power hierarchies underpinning institutions on the basis of gender and race.⁷⁰

An intersectional approach, as outlined by Crenshaw⁷¹ and others demonstrates how identity categories (including race and gender) are connected but also help to constitute each other. This helps to explain why it is that patterns of leadership vary “among women” as well as between genders.⁷²

Gendered expectations on women in leadership roles manifest themselves in terms of the issues women are expected to be concerned with, and in particular an assumption that women will act for women. Yet some women stay silent on gender and equality issues because they are concerned that their actions will be dismissed if they are perceived as acting ‘like (and for) women’.⁷³ This feeds on from a false dichotomy between ‘high’ order issues (e.g. security and defence, the economy), which have remained squarely the prerogative of men and ‘low’ order issues (e.g. women’s human rights, equal pay) where women’s contributions are often concentrated when expertise is

sought.⁷⁴ This is not to say that gender equality is not important, it is, but it matters who speaks about it and who is assumed to have expertise on it by virtue of their gender. Women leaders therefore have to navigate broader societal expectations reinforced through the presentation of expertise in society at large, through the media and also academia.

The role of leadership in advancing gender and inclusivity

As we have shown, gendered perceptions of leadership have contributed to a deficit of women in leadership positions and have served to limit the issues women leaders can be seen to act on within decision making spaces. We now turn to examine the role of leadership in challenging this and realising the integration of a gender perspective and a more inclusive peace and security. We also consider what understanding leadership as a gendered concept tells us about the role men can play as leaders and allies on gender and inclusivity.

We have shown that leadership is deeply gendered in the way it is performed and perceived by both men and women, this means it is necessary to look to transform how we value different and diverse leadership styles. Indeed, if we are to open up leadership roles to women in a sustained way then challenging the current narrow understanding of leadership is necessary and that means transforming institutional culture surrounding peace and security.

“Leadership is not only about politics, power or making good decisions; it is a process of educating and changing stereotyped prejudices by creating inclusive situations where everyone counts. One role of a leader is to create a good role model for younger women.

OLA AWAD
PRESIDENT OF THE PALESTINIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS
MEMBER OF MIFTAH’S GENERAL ASSEMBLY⁷⁵

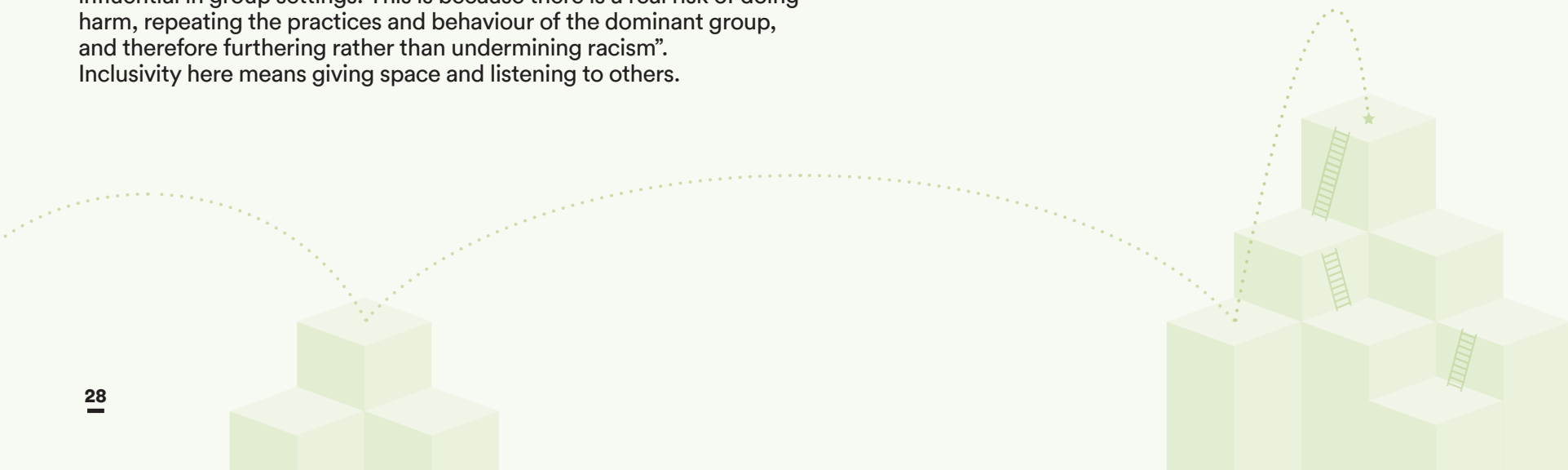


A gender inclusive leader should allow space for critical voices around them to call out their blind spots, this should include where applicable meaningfully consulting with women and women's organisations in conflict-affected settings. This is because if you are in a position of power, you have benefited from privilege and it takes courage to be able to see where you might benefit from a system which disadvantages others. This should not be understood as a personal slight but as about a system which has been built from a particular world-view which puts women and other marginalised groups at a disadvantage because there was not space for them at the table when it was conceived of. Undoubtedly different voices and perspectives matter but most important is listening to, and hearing, the voices of people who do not look like you. This means providing a safe space for those individuals to be able to speak up, while also acknowledging the labour and strength it takes for them to speak truth to power. It also requires accepting that what is said or expressed might not be articulated along known frameworks or categories, thus accepting difference in the way things might be expressed is part of practising inclusivity.

There can also be times and situations when leadership is not the answer to a problem, or rather you are not the best person to lead in a particular situation and should step back to provide space for others to come forward. For example, white people working on racial justice issues. As Andrew Lane reflects,⁷⁶ for white people "this can feel strange if we are used to being part of a privileged group, and being influential in group settings. This is because there is a real risk of doing harm, repeating the practices and behaviour of the dominant group, and therefore furthering rather than undermining racism". Inclusivity here means giving space and listening to others.

Similarly, when working on gender equality issues, it is necessary to ensure that women and/or the group of people affected have space to articulate their own expertise and experiences on an issue. When institutions develop policies or responses in fragile and conflict affected countries, it is crucial to meaningfully involve and consult local women's organisations,⁷⁷ as they have often worked for decades on gender equality issues, and therefore have the expertise on the gender-related and other drivers of conflict in that context. Most importantly, consultation with women and women's organisations should not be restricted to 'women's issues', for example, gender-based violence, rather they should be included and consulted on broader political, social and economic issues.⁷⁸ This also involves a recognition of the importance of developing long-term and meaningful dialogues, which may entail supporting women to strengthen their technical skills, for example in disarmament or peace processes.

In meaningfully engaging with women and women's organisations or other affected groups, you may well come across realities which are difficult for you or your organisation to acknowledge and act upon. It is important that you do so, this is part of practising inclusive leadership, which sometimes somewhat counterintuitively means practicing support, not leadership. In some cases this may mean not acting on your own feelings in order to actively listen to what you are being told. This means recognising when you are finding it difficult to listen to others' concerns, and resisting the urge to move onto 'safer' territory.⁷⁹





EU support for Security Sector Reform (SSR) in Afghanistan

A study by Nadine Ansorg and Toni Haastrup⁸⁰ identifies how the EU successfully considered the insecurities brought on by the conflict, along with identifying the sources of gendered inequalities within Afghanistan. It also supported the recruitment of women police officers into an institution typically dominated by men.

WHAT CAN BE LEARNT FROM THIS?

Individual leadership played an important role here, specifically Pia Stjärnvall, Former Head of Mission EUPOL Afghanistan, and a number of high-ranking officials within the Afghan government. Stjärnvall brought her expertise on gender and Afghanistan to bear on her role leading Europol (in a previous position she had been instrumental in Finland's support for the Afghan National Action Plan on WPS). In EUPOL she identified the key actors who she would need buy-in from to successfully implement gender mainstreaming. As a result she built relationships both with the Afghan government and civil society, along with gaining political support for certain aspects where necessary. The importance of building local knowledge into EUPOL's work, through the employment of a local Gender and Human Rights Expert, in order to ensure the work was both gender sensitive and inclusive was another means to ensure wider 'buy in' for the work.

→

Men leading on gender issues

The emphasis within WPS on women's leadership, identifies the under representation of women and over representation of men in leadership roles within peace and security decision making spaces. This by implications means that the subsequent and related call for leadership on WPS implies that at least some of this leadership must come from men (because it is men that predominately occupy leadership roles within most national, regional and international peace and security organisations). While it is important to make space for women and women's organisations as we outline above, men also need to take a leadership role on this issue and create space as allies for gender justice to become a priority of peace and security, including in part through better representation of women. This is acknowledged in the EU Strategic Approach to WPS which outlines the need to engage "men and boys as positive agents for change, addressing the need to address and transform gender stereotypes and societal exclusion mechanisms".⁸¹ Moreover, in recent years there has been an increase in men taking up roles responsible for supporting WPS or the integration of a gender perspective in peace and security institutions. Others may not have an official responsibility but may wish to act as allies to the WPS agenda. So what are these societal expectations on men and how are they gendered? And how do they impact men working on gender issues specifically?

As we have outlined, leadership is deeply gendered, which impacts the way all genders experience, and are perceived, when taking on such roles. There are therefore some unique challenges faced by men engaged as allies in support of a gender and inclusivity in peace and security. Here, it is worth noting that the gendered nature of leadership, and the assumption that men fall more 'naturally' into leadership roles because they can draw on the 'patriarchal dividend' giving them access to social and political capital, means that men can and often are deemed more credible and legitimate to an audience in a way that women are not.⁸² A gender sensitive and inclusive leadership is far from the norm in peace and security institutions, and working towards it will often mean going against the grain of accepted practice and acknowledging this privilege.

→

“A gender-responsive leadership is a prerequisite for effective mainstreaming of gender perspectives, leading ultimately to better achievement of our policy objectives. Gender mainstreaming is a shared responsibility; I plan to lead by example.

JOSEP BORRELL
HIGH REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND SECURITY POLICY⁸³

When we consider engaging men as allies in creating a gender just and inclusive peace and security, it is necessary to consider what motivates them to participate. Table 1 (page 34) is useful for considering different sorts of ally-ship to show how it relates to men's advocacy on gender issues within peace and security, with a need for us all (men but also women) to work towards a 'social justice' approach to being an ally.⁸⁴ This means being motivated by the need for a gender and inclusive peace and security environment to the benefit of all (rather than 'for women' or 'my wife/child'), being an ally to this issue (gender and inclusivity in peace and security), and equipping ourselves with a knowledge of the structural challenges impacting our work (as this guide outlines) with the aim to empower all of us. It also means acknowledging your own privilege, accepting critique and learning from mistakes because we all make them.

Men doing gender work can use their positions to challenge mindsets and the perspectives of resistance colleagues. However, they need to be cautious of how they go about doing so. There is a danger that speaking to other men, listening to and being influenced by other men (rather than women colleagues) reinforces gendered ideas about whose voices are important, for example, men over women, and whose ideas get respect and credibility within an organisation.⁸⁵

This means it is necessary to get as close to a gender balance as possible when organising events, or in consultations, while this can be challenging, representation matters. In aiming for gender balance at an event, it is important to be aware of how gender shapes participation and to ensure you take a proactive, rather than reactive approach. For example, one barrier is the expectation that if you invite 50% women you can expect to get those 50% accepting your invitation or showing. Rather, to achieve gender balance you need to invite closer to 65% women in order to get those 50% women to show up and a gender balanced event. This is because there are often structural barriers to women's participation which means that they are more likely to drop out of such commitments. We know that women disproportionately engage with unpaid caring work, making their participation more precarious.⁸⁶ Integrating gender and inclusivity into our work therefore needs to be done at the planning stage and throughout in order to achieve the desired outcomes.

The issue of men-only spaces or panels at peace and security events, consultations or peace processes goes beyond *just* representation. Research has demonstrated in academic settings that in conference sessions dominated by men as presenters, the atmosphere is likely "to be more aggressive with more arguments and interruptions". In contrast, on panels which reached a gender-balance, questions are likely to be "more constructive and often complimentary".⁸⁷ This does not mean that all men create hostile environments, but that evidence suggests that men only environments can contribute towards them and this is worth taking note of and working to avoid scenarios which might lead to this. The creation of an inclusive environment therefore relies on having representation from a range of groups, including women.

There is also evidence that the inclusion of women makes peace deals more likely to endure,⁸⁸ not because women necessarily bring something different to the table (they don't always) but because such an approach is likely to have consulted widely with the affected population and be more inclusive. For example, peace processes which have meaningfully included civil society actors such as religious groups, women's organisations, and human rights groups are more durable.⁸⁹

TABLE 1

Inspiring Ally Development model

adapted from Edwards, 2011⁸⁴

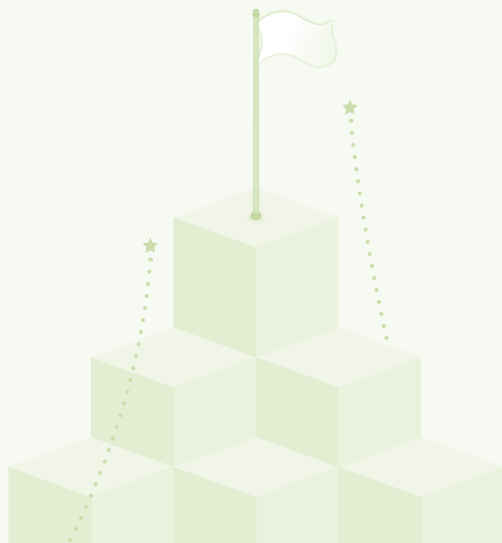


	Self-interest		Altruism	Social justice
Motivation	Selfish – for people I know and love (<i>my wife, my mother, my children</i>)		Other – I do this for them (<i>for the women</i>)	Combined – selfishness and altruism – we do this for us (<i>working towards a gender inclusive peace and security environment that benefits us all</i>)
Ally to...	A person (<i>a woman</i>)		Target group (<i>women</i>)	An issue (<i>gender and inclusivity in peace and security</i>)
Relationship to system	Not interested in systems – just stopping the bad people (<i>it is a few ‘bad eggs’ who cause the problems, rather than a failure of the current peace and security system</i>)		An exception from the system, yet ultimately perpetuates it (<i>a ‘good man’ – but reinforces stereotypes on women as vulnerable and in need of protection</i>)	Seeks to escape, amend and/or redefine the system (<i>considers what the structural challenges are to women’s full representation and a gender just and inclusive peace and security</i>)
Privilege	Doesn’t see privilege – but wants to maintain <i>status quo</i>		Feels guilty about privilege and tries to distance self from privilege	Sees illumination of privilege as liberating
Power	I’m powerful – protective		Empower them – they need our help	Empower us all
Admitting mistakes	I don’t make mistakes – I’m good, and perpetrators are just bad people		Difficult – struggles with critique or own issues – highly defensive about behaviour	Seeks critique and admits mistakes – has accepted own ‘isms’ and seeks help
Focus of the work	Perpetrators		Other members of the dominant group	My people – doesn’t separate self from other agents

Moving towards a social justice model of engagement, as outlined in the table, by men but just as importantly women in promoting gender inclusive peace and security is necessary to realise change. This is perhaps the most challenging engagement given it requires men (and also women) to reflect on their own privilege, it also does not give any easy answers because it challenges the current structures and practices of peace and security. Therefore to engage effectively as a leader in this area it is necessary for men (but also women) to acknowledge their privilege, learn from mistakes (we all make them) and view the problem as one based in systems and structures, rather than something attributable to ‘bad’ individuals in order to create an inclusive peace and security environment in whatever setting they are operating within.

“Women don’t need to find a voice, they have a voice. They need to feel empowered to use it, and people need to be encouraged to listen.”

MEGHAN MARKLE
DUCHESS OF SUSSEX AND ACTRESS



The Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict Initiative (PSVI)

Launched by the UK in 2014 with then-Foreign Secretary William Hague and Angelina Jolie leading on it and a high-profile London summit, PSVI made important progress early on, including a UN Security Council resolution and an international protocol which has led to sexual violence convictions. It appeared to be an exemplar of how strong political leadership could lead to change. PSVI provided a huge public relations ‘coup’ for the UK⁹⁰ but fell short in matching domestic priorities on sexual violence, with the absence of consideration of domestic violence and funding cuts to women’s refuges within the UK.⁹¹ Further, as a recent UK aid report finds, since Hague stepped down in 2014 a lack of leadership and funding has decimated PSVI’s efficacy for survivors on the ground.⁹²

WHAT CAN BE LEARNT FROM THIS?

Jolie’s celebrity status and Hague’s political clout had an important role in galvanising attention to the issue of sexual violence in conflict globally,⁹³ but PSVI’s impact has been short lived and failed to live up to aspirations for a survivor centred approach. In this case, meaningfully consulting the experts and organisations in fragile and conflict-affected communities, including women and women’s organisations, who have been working on this issue for decades and providing funding to them would have provided an inclusive approach to leadership. In addition, conceptualising an initiative which relied so strongly on the leadership of particular individuals by association inevitably meant that when those individuals stepped back there was a void and momentum was lost. It is necessary therefore to think through the (unintended) consequences of any similar initiative to ensure it consults widely with relevant stakeholders and practices inclusivity in leadership, bringing others on board.

OVERCOMING RESISTANCE TO WORK ON GENDER: STRATEGIES AND APPROACHES

“One is often complicit in creating the very world that one finds so dismaying.”

PROFESSOR CYNTHIA ENLOE
RESEARCH PROFESSOR,
CLARK UNIVERSITY, USA ⁹⁴

Over the last 20 years we have seen some progress on the Women, Peace and Security agenda globally but much still remains to be done. Today, a number of states have adopted a ‘feminist’ foreign policy or policies (including: Sweden, Canada, France and Mexico) and many are seeking to integrate gender concerns into their approach to external relations. Seemingly paradoxically, we are also witnessing significant pushback on issues related to gender and women’s rights across the world. Gender work could not be more important, yet at the same time it has never been so challenging to do ‘gender work’.

The appointment of Gender Advisor or Gender Focal Points at the UN, EU, NATO and within states at an organisational and operational level is progress and to be welcomed. Yet these individuals face challenges in their day-to-day work and our purpose here is to examine ways to overcome these. There is also a danger that these individuals come to embody the institution’s commitment to gender equality at the expense of real transformative change.⁹⁵ It is necessary to exercise caution that the creation of these roles does not let others off the hook for their own responsibilities in terms of understanding gender sensitivities and implementing them in their day-to-day practice.⁹⁶

There remain systemic problems with the devaluing of gender work, despite its elevation as an issue central to international peace and security through the WPS agenda and a Security Council mandate. At the international, regional and national levels, many organisations are struggling to move beyond rhetoric to practice. While, as we have discussed above, it is beneficial for many institutions to be seen ‘to be doing’ gender work, the reality for many of those within these institutions tasked with gender work can often be a lack of support and sometimes tacit or more explicit resistance. For example, a lack of political will among leaders to implement WPS and the associated structural change can be a key institutional barrier, often accompanied by underfunding of gender initiatives.⁹⁷

Resistance can be felt at different levels both personally but also at an organisational/structural level, and can manifest in different ways either as passive or active resistance. A report by New America identifies five assumptions among policymakers which are a barrier to WPS work at an institutional level —

1. that gender equals women;
2. a wider knowledge deficit on what WPS is;
3. an assumption that adding a ‘token’ women to an event means a gender perspective is covered, and
4. the gender advisor has no power with an organisation; and
5. gender is relevant to only a limited number of issues.⁹⁸

While often the institutional and individual resistance are inseparable, there are specific examples of how resistance can be felt at a personal level. For example, a passive and itself gendered example of resistance could be a colleague making a flippant reference to your work on UNSCR 1325 as “that Resolution, whatever it’s called, you know ‘12345’”, or commenting on the fact you are (by their perception) “young to be doing this work”, thus seeking to undermine both the credibility of the work you are doing and your own expertise. More active resistance could be being excluded from meetings where you should be present, or a refusal to sign up to or support gender initiatives. At the more extreme end it could be seeking to shut down the WPS or gender related initiative you are working on or withholding funding for it. Resistance could also come in the form of ‘strategic inefficiency’,⁹⁹ for example, when you raise an issue the institutional response might be slow, cloaked in layers of bureaucracy which requires you to chase and chase again.

“It is important to know that when you make an environment so toxic that people fear to discuss the issues that affect them, they’ll act silently in negative ways.

VICTOR OCHEN
FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
AFRICAN YOUTH INITIATIVE NETWORK¹⁰⁰

The causes of such resistance are often not a result of the individual who is enacting them. Institutions are never loyal to individuals, however much we may perceive that our values are reflected in them, rather they seek to reproduce themselves and as a result change in whatever form it comes (even for the better) will be resisted. If we consider who institutions were built for and whose interests they were intended to serve then we begin to understand why what can often seem like common sense is met by either active or passive resistance. The EU’s ‘founding fathers’ or the five men who signed the Declaration of the United Nations in 1942, for example, reflect a different time period but are also the foundations on which these institutions were built. As we discuss above, institutions are gendered both in terms of who is represented within them and the way in which they operate, including through perceptions of leadership. Resistance then stems from broader power structures and gender hierarchies which are embedded in the foundations of our institutions, even if we can feel it very personally.

The repercussions of resistance can also be gendered for those experiencing it. Another form of resistance which many women will experience, is being present in a room but not being heard. Chris Kremidas is a whole-of-society expert and though not working specifically on gender, believes integrating a gender perspective is part of making training effective and describes an example of this.¹⁰¹ In a training session he was running a woman proposed an idea which was being ignored by the rest of the room. In the break, Chris asked a man in the room to go back in and present the exact same idea the woman had put forward. He did and the men in the room immediately decided it was a brilliant idea, the woman thought her idea had been stolen. Here Chris intervened and explained that the woman has been pushing this idea all morning. As he reflects, “was it part of the technical police training that had to happen? No. But was it important for them to learn how to tap into all the talent in the room? Yes”. The men were not necessarily conscious that they were excluding the women, and arguably it was not intentional, but the impact was that her contribution was excluded. It is also likely to have made that woman feel isolated in that situation and less likely to contribute going forward. It is necessary therefore to reflect on what can be our own complicity in reinforcing resistance, and being conscious of just whose voices are being heard.

Men can face a different sort of resistance than women doing gender work, who are often assumed to have expertise on gender by virtue of the fact they are women. Men, in contrast, are held up as experts.¹⁰² The resistance men experience is therefore also gendered. For men doing gender work, this often comes with an assumption that they have become ‘feminised’ and that this is a negative attribute. Katharine A. M. Wright, Matthew Hurley and Jesus Gil Ruiz,¹⁰³ for example, examine the experiences of ‘gendermen’ at NATO and this quote from a man doing gender work speaks to their findings —

*“...other people are not convinced, even my colleagues make a lot of jokes about me: ‘You are ‘genderman’, have you shaved your legs?’ These are jokes, but sometimes, inside their brains, there is some kind of truth. They don’t believe in this. Now seeing a man [doing this work], I think they will open their eyes a little bit more”.*¹⁰⁴

This quote also points to the assumption that men doing gender work are often perceived as necessary to draw attention to the importance of gender to other men. This is, in and of itself, a gender assumption which needs to be challenged because it undermines the work and expertise of women. If you are a man doing gender work it is important to be conscious of this and to seek to challenge the notion that women’s expertise is of less value which is implicit in this reasoning. This may not be your view but the way institutions are gendered means this is a perception which can easily become reinforced through your actions. Amplifying the voices, work and contributions of women colleagues is one way to challenge this and is a way to move towards the Social Justice model of allyship outlined in Table 1 (page 34).

For gender work to be effective it is necessarily political because it advocates change to make our institutions more inclusive. We know that the political is personal. Individuals tasked with this role are pushing for change within institutions designed to replicate themselves. It is inevitable that they will experience resistance and that this resistance will feel personal. Gender work is draining, it is tiring and it often makes you angry.

“When haters go after your looks and differences, it means they have nowhere left to go. And then you know you’re winning!”

GRETA THUNBERG
CLIMATE CHANGE CAMPAIGNER¹⁰⁵

So while it feels personal, and we know that the personal is political, the resistance to gender work is not about you, it is about a system which has been built from a particular world-view which we know puts women and other marginalised groups at a disadvantage because they were not at the table when it was conceived of. It takes a significant amount of labour and strength to speak truth to power, and ultimately this is what gender work requires.

When you raise a problem, you become the problem to be managed.¹⁰⁶ Gender work often involves raising problems. You are pushing for change against a structure which is built to reproduce itself and you will need to build a support network around you to make this work bearable and to provide perspective on the changes you are supporting, even if you cannot see them from your close vantage point. These allies and friends can be within your own organisation, or outside of it. Progress can and is being made, however slow it may feel and we can learn lessons from what has not worked. It is important that those doing gender work do not get fatigued because too much is at stake. This work could not matter more than it does at this current time.



UN 'HeForShe' campaign

The 'HeForShe' campaign¹⁰⁷ has been successful in galvanising states and global leaders to come out in support of gender equality, including Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, and President Ernest Bai Koroma of Sierra Leone. These individuals are held up as exemplary individuals and states are encouraged to recruit more men including through holding public events to encourage men to become 'HeForShe'. However, the targeting does not support a social justice model of allyship, rather it seeks to define the problem as attributable only to "the behaviour of certain 'deviant' states and men".¹⁰⁸

WHAT CAN BE LEARNT FROM THIS?

It would seem that engaging key leaders as allies in advocating for gender in peace and security is a good approach, and it can be, but consideration needs to be given to the nature of this engagement to ensure it supports the transformation of institutional structures, rather than reinforcing existing gender hierarchies. HeForShe's focus on 'failed' masculine behaviour and pointing to a few 'bad' men or states in terms of who is working against gender equality and oppressing women implies that the issue is an individual one which serves to depoliticise it. It is an example of the 'Altruism' approach described in Table 1 (page 34). This approach deflects from the fact that this is a structural problem which requires the deconstruction of existing gender hierarchy, including within those states who sign up to 'HeForShe'.¹⁰⁹

RECOMMENDATIONS

for gender inclusive leaders —

1 Gender is not optional and should remain at the top of your agenda

Among team members, reinforce the message that meaningfully engaging with gender advisors/colleagues working on internal gender mainstreaming is not an optional extra. Gender mainstreaming is everyone's responsibility and it is not possible to opt out. This includes the requirement to conduct gender sensitive conflict and context analysis, and meaningfully consulting local women and women's rights organisations when designing policies and responses in conflict-affected countries on all issues.

2 Acknowledge your privilege and listen to people who don't look like you

Give credit where it is due, and if as a leader you are personally benefiting from the perception that you or your organisation are 'doing' a gender perspective or WPS then you need to question if you're doing it right. If you are, then that entails acknowledging the work of the women (and some men) which you are building on. There is no such thing as a single WPS 'poster person', this is collective work that has been going on for a long time. A gender inclusive leader should allow space for critical voices around them to call out their blind spots, this should include where applicable meaningfully consulting with women and women's organisations in conflict-affected settings.

3 Learn from mistakes

Integrating a gender perspective or mainstreaming WPS should feel uncomfortable. It will be some of the most difficult work you do because by extension you are seeking change in an institution designed to preserve itself. Inevitably, mistakes will happen and it is important that as a gender inclusive leader you allow space to both reflect on and learn from these.

4 Be patient and persistent

Changing established systems, challenging social norms and behaviours takes time and setbacks and resistance are to be expected. However, with patience and commitment to the issue you may see change during your time in a leadership position, however incremental, but in any case you are contributing to creating an enabling environment for others to continue to build on so hold strong.

5 Know that language matters

Be conscious of the ways in which gender initiatives are explained and framed in your work environment and ensure you are not inadvertently reinforcing gender stereotypes in your own practice or language. This means being conscious of the ways in which leadership is inherently gendered in the way it is perceived and sometimes practiced.

for overcoming resistance
to gender work —

1 Build a supportive network in or beyond your particular institution

This could be external to your organisation working in a cognate area, or within a different section within your organisational structure. It could also be in the digital sphere and social media can provide a space to find others (for example, through Facebook groups). These individuals should also be committed to gender work and will provide opportunities to problem shoot particular issues, they will also provide perspectives on your achievements – something that can be difficult to see when you are working closely on an issue.

2 Leverage external scrutiny of your institution

The WPS agenda is a global agenda. Civil society and academia have an important role in holding peace and security institutions to account for their implementation of WPS. Engaging them can be one way to address structural resistance by providing outside pressure for your organisation to do more or do better on its engagement with WPS, whether you are operating within a conflict-affected setting or at the organisational level.

3 Engage with internal and external resources to learn from others

This is helpful for overcoming both personal and structural resistance because what you are experiencing is nothing new and has happened before to others either with your institution or in different contexts. It could mean participating in training programmes or workshops, or joining relevant Facebook groups or following civil society, academia and others working on gender in peace and security on twitter. Social media can be particularly useful if you lack institutional support to attend training or external events and can provide sources of information and expertise from actors who you may not meet in your day-to-day work, for example, women's organisations in conflict-affected societies.

FURTHER RESOURCES

Accompanying video clips

This guide is accompanied by three short films hosted on YouTube with interviews with individuals involved in, or with expertise on, realising gender and inclusivity across peace and security settings. The films are intended for use by organisations and individuals to support learning on the value of gender and inclusivity for peace and security, for example, through training.

The three short films cover the following topics —

1. **Gender and Inclusivity Matter for Peace and Security**
2. **Gender and Leadership: Practising Inclusivity in Peace and Security**
3. **Overcoming Resistance to Work on Gender: Strategies and Approaches**

To watch the videos, scan the QR code below or visit www.qcea.org/gender.



Recommended reading

The references in this guide (see *page 54*) indicate the sources we have used to produce our findings and recommendations. In addition, the UACES Gendering European Studies Network maintains a current reading list of academic work on gender and EU foreign and security policy. This reading list, as well as a full reference list for this publication, can be accessed online at www.qcea.org/gender.

Links to further studies and toolkits

Beyond Consultations: A Tool for Meaningfully Engaging with Women in Fragile and Conflict-Affected States

The tool was developed jointly by Gender Action for Peace and Security (GAPS), Women for Women International, Amnesty International, Womankind and Saferworld and draws on extensive research conducted in over 13 countries and interviews with 225 women.

<https://bit.ly/2ZlafFr>

International Civil Society Advocacy Network: Better Peace Initiative

This tool provides practical guidance on the inclusion of women peacebuilders in peacemaking, mediation processes and sustaining peace through identifying ongoing barriers and effective strategies to overcome them.

<https://bit.ly/2Zm3Ee3>

→

New America: A Guide to Talking Women, Peace and Security Inside the US Security Establishment

Based on research with policymakers in the US, this report, co-authored by Heather Harburt, Elizabeth Weingarten and Carolina Marques de Mesquita, identifies current understandings of WPS among this community and offers suggestions on how to change the conversation to ensure a gender perspective is taken seriously.

<https://bit.ly/36eXoWR>

Oxfam's Guide to Feminist Influencing

This guide is designed to help Oxfam staff apply feminist principles and practices to campaigning (including digital and public campaigns), policy, advocacy and influencing but has lessons for anyone doing gender work in a peace and security setting.

<https://bit.ly/2yhEKRu>

Quaker Council for European Affairs: Race and Privilege in Europe

Authored by QCEA Director Andrew Lane this booklet has been written to help white people educate themselves about racism. It acknowledges the link between racism and privilege and that this is a difficult topic to talk about.

<https://bit.ly/2zSCmkM>

UK Stabilisation Unit: Gender and Conflict: Making Elite Bargaining Processes More Inclusive

Produced by Professor Jacqui True, University of Monash for the UK Stabilisation Unit, this paper is also available in a policy facing document and outlines how to implement a gender sensitive analysis in pursuing peace.

<https://bit.ly/2Zjvw2a>

UN Women: Global Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325

The UN organisation dedicated to gender equality and the empowerment of women has a range of resources and studies to draw on. In particular, their report on Women, Peace and Security published in 2015 provides an excellent overview of the challenges and progress to implementing the agenda across the globe. It is an important read for anyone engaged in work on gender in peace and security.

<https://bit.ly/2WPO8W9>

for more information
on this project visit
www.qcea.org/gender

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Traps and double-binds.
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This timely guidebook maps
the operational landmines
planted to dilute, sideline
and deter even genuine
efforts to create gender justice.

Reading this deeply-informed book
will make us each less likely to be
coopted and more likely to act as
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CYNTHIA ENLOE

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