Integrating Gender in Post-Conflict Security Sector Reform

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About the Author

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Megan joined DCAF after working in Geneva with the Quaker United Nations Office's Human Rights and Refugees Programme. Previously, Megan worked in Australia as a lawyer, and as an International Humanitarian Law Officer with the Australian Red Cross. Megan holds a Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Laws from the University of New South Wales (Australia) and a Masters in International Law from the University of Cambridge

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1.   Introduction[1]

The importance of security sector reform (SSR) has increasingly been emphasized in international engagement with post-conflict countries[2]. In February 2007 the United Nations Security Council stressed that 'reforming the security sector in post-conflict environments is critical to the consolidation of peace and stability, promoting poverty reduction, rule of law and good governance, extending legitimate state authority, and preventing countries from relapsing into conflict[3]. National governments also identify SSR as a key tool in consolidating their authority and healing divisions of the past.

In parallel, many governments and UN and donor agencies have emphasized women's participation and efforts to achieve gender equality as crucial elements of post-conflict reconstruction. In 2000 the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on 'Women, peace and security[4], highlighting the interdependence of post-conflict gender equality, peacebuilding and security. Women are acknowledged as playing important roles in peacebuilding and in sustaining security on a communal level. Gender inequality is understood to inhibit development and violence against women to be a pervasive form of insecurity with widespread ill-effects across society. There is also growing awareness of the need to address the particular experiences of men and boys, both as victims and as sources of insecurity.

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[2]   The term 'security sector reform' has been in general public use since 1998 when it featured in a speech by Clare Short, then British Secretary of State for International Development; there is, however, no single accepted definition. See Brzoska, M., Development Donors and the Concept of Security Sector Reform, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) Occasional Paper no. 4 (DCAF: Geneva, 2003), p. 3. The Development Aid Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) prefers the term 'security system reform'. OECD, Security System Reform and Governance, DAC Guidelines and Reference Series (OECD: Paris, 2005), <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/8/39/31785288.pdf>, p. 20. Under most accepted definitions and as further explained in this chapter, the term covers a reform and renewal process—with both normative and efficiency goals—covering all state institutions and agencies of defence, security, law and justice and any non-state actors with important roles or influence in these fields. On SSR see also Hendrickson, D. and Karkoszka, A., 'The challenges of security sector reform', SIPRI Yearbook 2002: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2002), pp. 175-201; Caparini, M., 'Security sector reform and NATO and EU enlargement', SIPRI Yearbook 2003: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2003), pp. 237-60; and Caparini, M., 'Security sector reform in the Western Balkans, SIPRI Yearbook 2004: Armaments, Dis-armament and International Security (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2004), pp. 251-82.

[3]   UN Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, UN document S/PRST/2007/3, 21 Feb. 2007. The UN documents cited here are available from <http://documents.un.org/>.

[4]   UN Security Council Resolution 1325, 31 Oct. 2000.

SSR is a process of transformation: sometimes rapid, sometimes gradual and incremental. It brings opportunities-and responsibilities-to create more inclusive and less discriminatory security sector institutions. One relevant issue is ethnic representation within security services: in a multiethnic state security services need to reflect the composition of society if the population is to have confidence in them, and if they are to be able to fulfil their mission[5]. Equally, for security services to be representative, trusted and effective, they must include women as well as men. SSR strategies that promote the recruitment of women in security services, and ensure that women participate equally in security decision making, contribute to creating an efficient and legitimate security sector. More broadly, the integration of gender issues into SSR processes increases responsiveness to the security needs and roles of all parts of the community, strengthens local ownership of the reform process and enhances security sector oversight. It is a key condition for achieving successful and sustainable SSR through a legitimate and locally owned process.[6]

This chapter explores the case and methods for addressing gender issues in post-conflict SSR processes, drawing upon experiences in Afghanistan, Kosovo, Liberia, Peru, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Timor-Leste, and potential models from Serbia and South Africa. Section II further defines the concepts of SSR and gender, as well as their relationship to each other. The rationale for and experiences of gender mainstreaming in SSR and promoting the full and equal participation of men and women in SSR processes are discussed in section III, with practical examples from post-conflict settings. Section IV focuses on promoting women's participation in post-conflict security services. Section V examines some challenges for key post-conflict SSR and SSR-related activities, including gender dimensions in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) processes, transitional justice and justice reform. Section VI summarizes the case for integrating gender into future SSR programming and policymaking and outlines the key opportunities and challenges.

2.   Gender and Security Sector Reform

While SSR can be defined in broader or narrower terms, there is an emerging consensus on a governance-based approach that defines the security sector as comprising all state institutions and other entities with a role in ensuring the security of the state and its people, including justice and penal institutions, non-state armed groups and civil society organizations providing security services or engaged in oversight activities[7]. By keeping the focus on individuals and communities, distinct

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[5]   DCAF, 'Backgrounder: multiethnic armed forces', Mar. 2006, <http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/kms/details.cfm?id=18416>.

[6]   In 2006 the Council of the European Union (EU) emphasized that gender perspectives should be incorporated in all the EU's policies and activities on SSR. Council of the EU, 2760th Council Meeting, General Affairs and External Relations, General Affairs, Brussels, 13 Nov. 2006, Press release, <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=PRES/06/302>. Similarly, in its Feb. 2007 debate on SSR, the UN Security Council recognized 'inter-linkages' between SSR and 'other important factors of stabilisation and reconstruction, such as . . . gender equality'. UN Security Council (note 2).

[7]   On SSR see Hänggi, H., 'Making sense of security sector governance', eds H. Hänggi and T. H. Winkler, Challenges

from the state, as the ultimate beneficiaries, and by stressing the potentially important roles of civil society groups in both oversight and security provision, SSR allies itself with the aims of a 'human security' approach[8]. Anchoring SSR in the values of human security in turn helps to ensure that SSR does in fact address the needs of the entire population, including women, girls and boys.

In the aftermath of armed conflict, SSR is an essential part of peacebuilding: to prevent the reoccurrence of conflict and to enhance public security, which in turn creates the conditions for reconstruction and development work. In such contexts, SSR has some features that are less present or even absent in non-conflict affected settings[9]. Provision of physical security is likely to be heavily prioritized, with SSR commencing while some parts of the country are still experiencing violence. Post-conflict SSR may thus prioritize security sector capacity building over community-level security initiatives and judicial and legislative reform. Immediate SSR efforts may have to proceed before a functioning national government is in place and before the results can be legitimated through an electoral process, which reinforces the need to include opposition political groupings, civil society organizations and other community representatives.

In post-conflict contexts, local and donor agendas may need to include special features. Transitional justice mechanisms, such as truth and reconciliation commissions (TRCs) and special judicial processes to address crimes committed in the conflict, are increasingly seen as a necessity to promote national reconciliation and cohesion. SSR can only succeed as a long-term process, sustained by local stakeholders and external supporters alike.

2.1 'Gender' and Security

The concept of 'gender' was developed during the 1970s to mean the roles and relationships, personality traits, attitudes, behaviours, values, relative power and influence that society ascribes to men and women. Generally speaking, 'gender' is understood as referring to learned differences between men and women, while 'sex' refers to the biological differences between females and males. Gender differences – or 'gender roles' – are not static; they vary across cultures and within cultures according to such factors as class, sexual orientation and age. The concept of gender has been widely adopted within academic literature and development programming as a way to understand the different roles and behaviours of men and women within their particular social context. Using gender as a point of reference highlights that differences between the sexes are not immutable and may change, for example during periods of armed conflict or as a result of development interventions.

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of Security Sector Governance (DCAF: Geneva, 2003), pp. 17-18.

[8] For a discussion of the human security concept vis-à-vis SSR see Law, D, M., 'Human security and security sector reform: contrasts and commonalities', Sicherheit und Frieden, vol. 23, no. 1 (2005).

[9] The analysis here draws on Law, D. M., The Post-Conflict Security Sector, DCAF Policy Paper no. 14 (DCAF: Geneva, 2006), <http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/kms/details.cfm?id=25252>, pp. 2-3, which, in turn, is based on case studies of Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Haiti, Kosovo, Sierra Leone and Timor-Leste.

In SSR, attention to gender highlights the fact that forms of insecurity experienced by men and women are not only different, but different because of the social processes and structures within which men and women live. Although there are significant numbers of exceptions, the overwhelming majority of the victims of rape are women and of armed violence are men[10]. These vulnerabilities result from a range of differences in the way that lives of men and women are shaped, including their relative access to power and resources. Likewise, the roles that men and women perform as security providers, in security forces and institutions or as perpetrators of violence, reflect social processes and can be subject to change.

2.2   Gender and (In)Security in Post-Conflict Settings

In post-conflict settings, the incidence of violence against women and children is often higher than preceding the conflict. The UN's group of independent experts on the impact of armed conflict on women observed that during armed conflict 'violence against women comes to be an accepted norm[11]. Sexual and domestic violence continues and increases in the post-conflict period, fuelled by the availability of weapons, trauma among male family members, and lack of jobs, shelter and basic services[12]. Lack of livelihood opportunities and the post-conflict influx of mostly male international personnel make women and girls particularly vulnerable to sexual exploitation and to being trafficked[13].

Not only do women, men, boys and girls experience security differently, but key challenges to state security in post-conflict contexts are also linked to gender and require gender-responsive SSR. The linkages between masculinities, youth and gun violence are well documented[14]. The Small Arms Survey observes that 'gender ideologies-particularly those that associate masculinity with power-offer crucial

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[10]   A World Health Organization (WHO) study of 52 countries notes that 90.4% of firearms deaths are male. WHO, World Health Report database, cited in WHO, Small Arms and Global Health (WHO: Geneva, 2001, p. 3. As none of the countries included in this survey was engaged in civil conflict, these estimates exclude deaths due to armed conflict.

[11]   Rehn, E. and Johnson Sirleaf, E., Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building (Progress of the World's Women 2002, vol. 1) (UN Development Fund for Women: New York, 2002), p. 13. There is an extensive literature on violence against women in conflict. See e.g. Bastick, M., Grimm, K. and Kunz, R., Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector (DCAF: Geneva, 2007); UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), The Shame of War: Sexual Violence against Women and Girls in Conflict (OCHA/IRIN: Nairobi, Mar. 2007); and Ward, J., If Not Now, When? Addressing Gender-Based Violence in Refugee, Internally Displaced, and Post-conflict Settings: A Global Overview (Reproductive Health for Refugees Consortium: New York, 2002). For analysis of gender-based violence against men and boys in armed conflict see Sivakumaran, S., 'Sexual violence against men in armed conflict', European Journal of International Law, vol. 18, no. 2 (2007); and Carpenter, C. R., 'Recognizing gender-based violence against civilian men and boys in conflict situations', Security Dialogue, vol. 37, no. 1 (2006), pp. 83-103.

[12]   Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf (note 10), p. 16.

[13]   See e.g. UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), 'Human trafficking and United Nations peacekeeping', DPKO Policy Paper, Mar. 2004, <http://www.unmikonline.org/civpol/gender/doc/Human_trafficking.pdf>.

[14]   E.g. Dowdney, L., Children and Youth in Organised Armed Violence (COAV), 'Neither war nor peace: international comparisons of children and youth in organised armed violence', COAV Report, 2005, <http://www.coav.org.br/>. The term 'masculinities' indicates that 'there are many socially constructed definitions for being a man and that these can change over time and from place to place. The term relates to perceived notions and ideals about how men should or are expected to behave in a given setting.' Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, Masculinities: Male Roles and Male Involvement in the Promotion of Gender Equality, A Resource Packet (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children: New York, Sep. 2005), p. 5.

insight into why many marginalized young men see violence as an attractive means of achieving manhood and respect[15]. SSR efforts should, however, not treat young men primarily as a security risk and women and girls primarily as victims. To do so risks ignoring the vast majority of men who are not violent and undermining women as providers of security[16]. Brigadier General Karl Engelbrektson, Force Commander of the Nordic Battlegroup, has emphasized the importance of women's everyday roles for an armed force tasked to create security: 'Understanding the role of women is important when building stability in an area . . . If women are the daily breadwinners and provide food and water for their families, patrolling the areas where the women work will increase security and allow them to continue. This is a tactical assessment . . . Creating conditions for a functioning everyday life is vital from a security perspective[17].

A gender-sensitive SSR approach needs to address the patterns of vulnerabilities of women, men, girls and boys as well as the resources available to them and the strategies that they employ for their own security. SSR programmes based on such understanding will be more targeted and responsive, and thus more effective and sustainable. Moreover, security institutions that are seen to listen and respond to the needs of all parts of the community will be perceived as more legitimate and accountable.

2.3 Principles for Integrating Gender in Security Sector Reform

'Gender mainstreaming' is a holistic approach to ensuring that gender issues as they affect both men and women are comprehensively addressed in SSR. In 1997 the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) adopted gender mainstreaming as a strategy to be systematically used in all areas of work throughout the UN system, in particular in development, poverty eradication, human rights, humanitarian assistance, budgeting, disarmament, peace and security, and legal and political matters. ECOSOC defined gender mainstreaming in this context as:

> 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. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and

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[15] E.g. Dowdney, L., Children and Youth in Organised Armed Violence (COAV), 'Neither war nor peace: international comparisons of children and youth in organised armed violence', COAV Report, 2005, <http://www.coav.org.br/>. The term 'masculinities' indicates that 'there are many socially constructed definitions for being a man and that these can change over time and from place to place. The term relates to perceived notions and ideals about how men should or are expected to behave in a given setting.' Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, Masculinities: Male Roles and Male Involvement in the Promotion of Gender Equality, A Resource Packet (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children: New York, Sep. 2005), p. 5.

[16] The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue stresses that 'attention has to be given to men's resiliency, i.e. the factors that lead the majority of men, even in settings where armed violence is prevalent, to resist resorting to gun violence'. Widmer, M., Barker, G. and Buchanan, C., 'Hitting the target: men and guns', Revcon Policy Brief, June 2006, <http://www.hdcentre.org/files/MenandGuns.pdf>, p. 3.

[17] Engelbrektson, K., 'Resolution 1325 increases efficiency', Good and Bad Examples: Lessons Learned from Working with United Nations Resolution 1325 in International Missions (Genderforce: Uppsala, 2007), p. 29.

men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality[18].

Gender mainstreaming has since been adopted by other international and regional organizations and institutions (such as the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the World Bank and the Economic Community of West African States) and by individual governments, to be applied in their overseas development work and in domestic programmes. As gender mainstreaming has evolved, it has become better understood that other factors-such as race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and age-interact with gender in any society, and that gender mainstreaming must take these other factors into account to be effective. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, for example, implements 'age, gender and diversity mainstreaming' as an integrated approach.

In SSR, gender mainstreaming means assessing the impact of all SSR policies and activities on women, men, boys and girls at every stage of the process. For example, in an SSR assessment, gender mainstreaming would lead to inclusion of questions and mechanisms to identify the different insecurities facing men, women, girls and boys.

A second approach to ensuring that SSR programmes take account of the different needs and roles of men and women is to ensure that both men and women participate and are represented. As women continue to be under-represented in SSR processes, efforts should be made both to increase women's presence and representation in public institutions concerned with security and to give women's civil society organizations a voice in SSR.

3. Gender Mainstreaming and Promoting Women's Participation in Post-Conflict Security Sector Reform

3.1 Gender Mainstreaming in Security Sector Reform

In order for SSR to recognize and respond to the particular needs of men and women, those designing SSR processes must be alert to gender issues and willing and competent to undertake gender mainstreaming[19]. Gender insights can then be applied to the analysis of security deficits, the content of SSR policies and the design of implementation processes.

Gender mainstreaming in SSR requires mechanisms to ensure that a broad range of men and women are consulted and participate in SSR, so that the particular concerns of women and men may be identified. The content of 'gender issues' and the means to address them can be identified only by the men and women

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18   UN Economic and Social Council, 'Agreed conclusions 1997/2', UN document A/52/3, 18 Sep. 1997, p. 3.

19   A key resource in this regard is Bastick, M. and Valasek K. (eds), Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit (DCAF, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe/Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights and UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women: Geneva, 2008).

Table 1. Examples of gender activities within security sector reform programmes

Internal activities	External activities
Gender mainstreaming within security institutions	
• Gender awareness training • Sexual harassment training • Codes of conduct • Gender advisers • Ressources, such as manuals, on how to integrate gender issue	• Initiatives to prevent and respond to gender-based viloence • Training on interviewing victims of rape, human trafficking etc. • Training on gender for civil society organizations involved in oversight of security institutions
Promoting participation of women within security institutions	
• Measures to increase female recruitment, retention and advancement • Family friendly human resources policies • Support for female staff associations and women's caucuses	• Collaboration with women's organizations for information gathering, referral of victims, drafting security policy etc. • Training for women's organizations on security sector oversight

Source: Adapted from Valasek, K., 'Security sector reform and gender', eds M. Bastick and K. Valasek, Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit (DCAF, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe/Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights and UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women: Geneva, 2008).

who are the beneficiaries of SSR, not assumed or imported from outside. Thus the substance of SSR programmes should address the concerns raised by both men and women. The resulting requirements could range from initiatives to improve street lighting to the establishment of community policing forums to technical training for police on interviewing male and female victims of sexual assault. A wider range of such possible prescriptions is given in Table 1. Monitoring and evaluation of SSR results must focus on how gender issues are being addressed and the degree to which men and women are participating in the SSR process and the reformed security institutions.

3.2 The Challenge of Women's Participation in Security Sector Reform

The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has identified the 'core values' for SSR as 'to be people-centred, locally-owned and based on democratic norms and human rights principles and on the rule of law[20]. Each of these values represents an imperative for both men and women to fully and equally participate in SSR. A process cannot be people-centred if the needs of half the people are not represented, or democratic if half the population has no voice in it. Local ownership, described by Laurie Nathan as 'both a matter of respect and a pragmatic necessity' can be deepened and strengthened by including women as owners[21]. The OECD's SSR guidelines state that 'Ensuring women's participation beyond the grass-roots enhances the legitimacy of the [SSR] process by making it more democratic and responsive to all

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[20] OECD (note 1), p. 22.

[21] Nathan, L., No Ownership, No Commitment: A Guide to Local Ownership of Security Sector Reform (University of Birmingham: Birmingham, May 2007), p. 3.

parts of the affected population[22]. Human rights principles require that states ensure that women are not excluded from public processes, including in security decision making[23].

However, post-conflict SSR processes tend to be planned, agreed and implemented by men. This is true both as regards the personnel of donors and institutions supporting SSR and the individuals involved in countries undergoing SSR processes[24]. While the reasons for this vary from case to case, a number of common factors conspire to ensure that women are rarely in decision-making positions. The first is women's comparative lack of participation in government security agencies, in particular at the highest levels-whether in SSR donor states or states undergoing SSR. As of January 2008, women ministers in 185 countries held 1022 portfolios. Only 6 of these were portfolios for defence and veteran affairs[25]. Few countries emerging from conflict have women in senior ranks in the security services. When SSR is heavily weighted towards security sector capacity building, as it tends to be in the wake of conflict, women are less likely to be involved through the external and internal agencies engaged in reform or from inside the security services. Second, while the proportion of women in parliament has greatly increased in many post-conflict states, women rarely chair the defence and security committees or take part in special commissions appointed to deal with security issues[26]. Third, all too often SSR is planned and implemented in a manner that excludes meaningful civil society input. When civil society organizations are given a voice in SSR this can be a means for strong participation and representation of women.

A gender-aware SSR design will both devise measures to involve women from all sectors of the community and be welcoming to such initiatives taken by women themselves. Planning and implementation should include actions that promote broad participation in SSR: national dialogue and consultation, public hearings

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[22] OECD (note 1), p. 42.

[23] Article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (opened for signature on 18 Dec. 1979 and entered into force on 3 Sep. 1981), which has been ratified by 185 states, requires state parties to ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right to participate in the formulation and implementation of government policy, to hold public office and to perform all public functions at all levels of government. UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (note 3) reaffirms 'the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building' and urges states 'to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict'.

[24] That the overwhelming majority of personnel in international and other agencies who work on SSR programming is male is often remarked on, by both women and men, in discussions around gender and SSR. This chapter focuses on the participation of the women of countries undergoing SSR. However, analysis of women's participation in SSR agencies, barriers thereto and how it impacts on the gender responsiveness of programming would be of interest.

[25] Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and the UN Division for the Advancement of Women, 'Women in politics: 2008' (map poster), Feb. 2008, available at <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnmap08_en.pdf>. Taking an example from national security institutions: in Serbia in 2005 women constituted 19.68% of the total number of employees of the Ministry of Interior, but only 15.81% of authorized officers and 7.83% of executives. Novovic, S. and Petrovic, D., Women in Policing (Republic of Serbia Ministry of Interior Police College: Belgrade, Apr. 2006), pp. 35–36.

[26] Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) world surveys on women in politics over 25 years have shown that women are still largely absent from, or under-represented in, parliamentary defence committees and rarely occupy the function of presiding or deputy presiding officer or rapporteur in such committees. Of 97 parliaments that provided data on women in parliamentary committees for the 1997 IPU survey, only 3% had a woman chairing their defence committee. DCAF and IPU, Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector: Principles, Mechanisms and Practices (DCAF and IPU: Geneva, 2003), p. 47.

and discussion in the media, and including civil society representatives in bodies planning and executing SSR. This may require efforts to convene focus groups and other meetings at times and locations and in languages that are accessible for women and men who might otherwise be marginalized from the process. Special steps to ensure women's participation may include sessions dedicated to addressing women's security concerns, ensuring that the ministry of gender or women's affairs is formally involved in SSR at a decision-making level and a caucus within parliament to develop a shared platform on gender and security issues.

Involvement of civil society organizations in security sector oversight, and empowering parliamentarians to be sensitive to gender in their oversight functions, can help to ensure that SSR processes mainstream gender issues[27]. In order to allow women parliamentarians to be engaged in SSR there must of course be enhanced women's participation in parliament itself-an illustration of how SSR requirements go hand in hand with improving women's access to public decision making and policy formulation more generally[28].

3.3 Women's civil society groups in security sector reform

The roles that women play in provision of security within their communities should be recognized and supported in SSR. Women's groups often provide a range of services to victims of violence, such as shelter, legal advice, and medical and psychological assistance. They can work with formal security services in providing information about local-level security threats and in implementing security initiatives. For example, in a 2004 study of reintegrated former combatants in Sierra Leone, 55 per cent of the respondents indicated that women in the community played a significant role in helping them reintegrate, compared to 20 per cent who were helped by traditional leaders and 32 per cent by international aid workers[29].

Women's civil society organizations can be important partners in ensuring local ownership of post-conflict SSR. In Liberia, for example, women's groups that throughout the 1989-2003 civil wars worked for peace continue to work on post-conflict reconstruction, reconciliation and promotion of women's rights. In December 2006 Liberian women's civil society groups called on their government and the international community to 'increase the role of women in security sector reform by engaging women-led civil society organizations in: transforming public perception of the military and police, strengthening disarmament, and recruiting women for the armed forces and police[30]. In February 2007 a joint delegation of

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[27] For detailed guidance on integrating gender in civil society and parliamentary oversight of the security sector see eds Bastick and Valasek (note 18); and DCAF and IPU (note 25).

[28] Strategies to promote the participation of women in parliaments are available from the IPU, <http://www.ipu.org/>; International IDEA, <http://www.idea.int/>; and the International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics, <http://www.iknowpolitics.org/>.

[29] Cited in Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA), The Role of Parliaments in Conflict Management and Peacebuilding, Occasional Paper Series no. 13 (AWEPA: Amsterdam, Sep. 2006), <http://www.awepa.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=338>, p. 70.

[30] Hunt Alternatives Fund, Initiative for Inclusive Security, 'The initiative for inclusive security civil society consultation: women civil society leaders' recommendations for the Government of Liberia and the international

female government officials and civil society leaders addressed donors to Liberia at the World Bank. The women's input stressed the interconnectedness of security, economic development, health and education. They urged that Liberia's SSR process embrace a broader view of human security in the light of the increasing incidence of gender-based violence and insecurity in local communities. They made concrete recommendations as to how the SSR process could be more effective and responsive to gender issues, including that: (a) penal reform address the needs of male, female and youth prisoners; (b) training for the security forces include trauma counselling; and (c) anti-corruption measures combat requests for sex as well as for money. They urged that women be full partners in the creation of the national security policy and defence strategy and recommended that the Governance Reform Commission, responsible for SSR, involve gender experts in its planning. They underlined that women should be recognized and more extensively involved in 'managing security risks', given their skills, for example, in advancing local reconciliation, connecting local communities with national government and reaching out to youth[31].

The energy and focus of Liberian women's civil society in demanding full access to the SSR process has produced some results and signs that, in reforming its security sector, Liberia is responding to women's security needs. A Women and Children Protection Section of the Liberian National Police has been established, with officers specially trained in the handling and management of cases of sexual and other forms of gender-based violence[32]. A Women and Children's unit has been formed in the Liberian prisons, and prison officers receive training on gender and sexual-based violence[33]. Liberia has adopted a 20 per cent quota for women's inclusion in the police and armed forces. A boost to recruitment of women in the Liberian police has come from India. In January 2007 the UN's first all-female peacekeeping contingent, made up of 103 Indian policewomen, was deployed in Liberia. The Liberian National Police received three times the usual number of female applicants in the month following their deployment[34].

The Liberian women's movement, where women's activists work with government officials, demonstrates how gender can be a shared platform for vertical cooperation between government, political party and local levels; and how women's networks can operationalize the linkages between local security and justice concerns and SSR. These networks allow women's groups to facilitate dialogue between local communities and SSR policymakers and practitioners and help SSR processes respond to the communities' own needs, dynamics and resources. The participation

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community', Washington, DC, 12 Dec. 2006, <http://www.huntalternatives.org/download/333_microsoft_word_ 12_12_06_civil_society_recommendations_for_ejs.pdf>.

[31] Hunt Alternatives Fund, Initiative for Inclusive Security, 'Priorities for reconstruction: input to the Liberian Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy (IPRS)', Washington, DC, Feb. 2007, <http://www.huntalternatives.org/ download/380_microsoft_word_preparatory_conference_iprs_recommendations_final.pdf>.

[32] UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), 'New women and children protection section for Liberia's police', Press release, 1 Sep. 2005, <http://www.unicef.org/media/media_28159.html>.

[33] UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), 'Outcomes of gender mainstreaming by the Office of the Gender Adviser: UNMIL, 2004-2006', <http://www.unmil.org/documents/OGA_Achievement_2004_2006.pdf>.

[34] Guéhenno, J. M., Statement to the UN Security Council, Debate on Women, Peace and Security, UN document S/PV.5766, 23 Oct. 2007, p. 5.

of women in Liberia's new security services helps to imbue them with public trust and legitimacy.

The participation of women's organizations in the 1996-98 South African Defence Review could be used as a model for promoting civil society involvement in SSR in countries emerging from conflict[35]. At the insistence of women parliamentarians, among others, the Parliamentary Joint Standing Committee on Defence called for a national consultation as part of the defence review process. A variety of measures were taken to ensure public participation, including using military aircraft and buses to transport religious and community leaders, non-governmental organization (NGO) activists and representatives of women's organizations to regional meetings and workshops. Grassroots women's organizations drew attention to previously ignored security issues, such as the plight of dispossessed communities whose land had been seized for military use and the sexual harassment of women by military personnel. The participatory defence review helped to build national consensus around defence issues in South Africa and generate legitimacy for the new security structures. The South African National Defence Force introduced a number of initiatives and mechanisms to promote gender equality, in accordance with the defence review's explicit commitment to the constitutional principles of non-discrimination on the basis of sex, race or sexual orientation.

3.4 Women parliamentarians in security sector reform

Women in parliament also have distinctive contributions to make to SSR. Female parliamentarians, being as diverse as their male counterparts, will not necessarily advocate any one particular approach to SSR. However, as pointed out by Gertrude Mongella, President of the Pan-African Parliament, 'the participation of women not only provides equal opportunity on a practical level, but also offers a new perspective and diversity of contributions to policy-making and priorities for development[36]. After the Rwandan genocide, electoral reforms introducing legislative quotas helped to make Rwanda the world leader in terms of women's representation in parliament, with 48.8 per cent of parliamentarians being women[37]. Female parliamentarians established the first parliamentary caucus that reached across party lines and included both Hutus and Tutsis. It addressed issues of women's security, regardless of their ethnic or party affiliation, initiating laws on women's right to inherit property and widows' right to claim property from their deceased husband's male relatives, and on gender-based violence[38]. A 1999 survey of 187 women politicians from 65

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[35] Anderlini, S. N., Negotiating the Transition to Democracy and Reforming the Security Sector: The Vital Contributions of South African Women (Hunt Alternatives Fund, Initiative for Inclusive Security: Washington DC, Aug. 2004), pp. ix, 23-25.

[36] Cited in AWEPA (note 28), p. 61.

[37] Inter-Parliamentary Union, 'Women in national parliaments', 31 Dec. 2007, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>.

[38] In many post-conflict contexts, where male heads of household are dead or missing and displaced populations are returning home, reform of land laws and procedures for demonstrating land ownership are urgently needed. See Luciak, I. A., 'Conflict and a gendered parliamentary response', UN Development Programme (UNDP), Apr. 2006, <http://www.parlcpr.undp.org/docs/conference/Luciak.pdf>, p. 39; AWEPA (note 28), p. 66; and Powley,

countries, including conflict-affected countries in Africa, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, recorded their perceptions of how women's involvement in politics makes a difference. Women pointed to tangible achievements in the areas of social security, gender equality, fighting violence against women and children, employment, services, the environment and-although to a lesser extent as yet-arms control and conflict resolution[39].

Serbia has developed capacity-building programmes that might usefully be replicated in post-conflict countries to support the full participation of women in SSR[40]. In Serbia, women in the ministries of defence and interior, and female parliamentarians, political and NGO activists and journalists are trying to insert their particular perspectives on security into the SSR process. In 2007 the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence initiated a programme to increase the visibility of women in the security sector and strengthen their engagement in its reform. Women are brought together in a series of seminars to discuss human and global security, multinational security organizations, peacebuilding, and the role and contribution of women. In a second phase, the women more specifically examine the role of women in reforming security agencies, with an emphasis on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Serbia and the Western Balkans[41].

4.   Promoting women's full and equal participation in post conflict security services

4.1   The challenge of women's participation in security services

The under-representation of women in SSR, as noted above, is related to the scarcity of women in the senior ranks of the security services in post-conflict countries (see Table 2, which includes figures from some other transitional, developing and developed countries for comparison). In some cases, women are formally barred from working in the police and other security services, but most often they are under-represented because of informal barriers to recruitment and an internal culture that makes it difficult for women to advance or unlikely that they will stay. In a democratic state women have a right to participate in security sector institutions as an aspect of their citizenship. In principle, all positions within the security services should be open to all citizens, regardless of gender, political affiliation, class, race religion. The UN Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women affirmed this in its comment on participation of women in the military: 'The military is important to women in their role as citizens . . . Since

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E., 'Rwanda: the impact of women legislators on policy outcomes affecting children and families', UNICEF, Dec. 2006, <http://www.unicef.org/sowc07/docs/powley.pdf>, p. 11.

[39]   Inter-Parliamentary Union, Politics: Women's Insight (IPU: Geneva, Jan. 2000), p. 5.

[40]   Whether Serbia is a 'post-conflict country' is debatable, but the relevance of the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence's programme stands regardless.

[41]   Petrovic, N., Program Coordinator, Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence, Personal correspondence with the author, 7 Nov. 2007.

Table 2. Percentage of female officers in the police force of select countries

Country	Year	Percentage of female police officers
Post - conflict		
South Africa	2006	29
Cyprus	2006	16
Sierra Leone	2006	15
Kosovo[a]	2006	14
Transitional and developing		
Jamaica	2001	18
Czech Republic	2001	12
Venezuela	2002	10
Romania	2005	8
India	2006	2
Developed		
Australia	2002	29
Canada	2006	18
Sweden	2001	18
United States	2006	12-14
Finland	2004	10

[a]Although listed among independent countries here, Kosovo did not declare its independence until 17 Feb. 2008.

Source: Denham, T., 'Police reform and gender', eds M. Bastick and K. Valasek, Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit (DCAF, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe/Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights and UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women: Geneva, 2008).

the military constitutes an important element of State order, decision-making and governance, all citizens should be concerned about the kind of military they have'[42]. Security Council Resolution 1325 calls for women's participation in mechanisms for the management and resolution of conflict, of which participation in security services is an aspect. More broadly, the composition of security forces should be a mirror of society at large: women's participation is crucial to creating structures that are representative, and thus trusted and legitimate.

Women are also an important human resource pool of skills that are increasingly needed in security institutions. The very positive experiences of involving women in peacekeeping have underscored the operational benefits of women's inclusion in such military tasks[43]. Engelbrektson describes women's participation in peacekeeping operations as 'a key to success' in overcoming certain operational limitations of purely male forces, such as the searching and interrogation of women[44]. The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations has set a target of ensuring that 10 per

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[42] UN Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Implementation of Article 21 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: analysis of articles 7 and 8 of the convention, CEDAW/C/1994/1, 30 Nov. 1993, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/cedaw/13/cedawc1994-4.htm>. See also Klein, U., 'The gender perspective of civil-military relations in Israeli society', Current Sociology, vol. 50, no. 5 (Sep. 2002), pp. 669-86. Klein suggests that without the experience of participation in the military, women are less able to raise their voices in security discourse.

[43] The practical benefits of women as peacekeepers are discussed in e.g. Vlachová, M. and Biason, L. (eds), Women in an Insecure World: Violence against Women—Facts, Figures and Analysis (DCAF: Geneva, 2005); GenderForce: Sweden, 'From words to action', 2005, <http://www.genderforce.se/>; Valenius, J., Gender Mainstreaming in ESDP Missions, Chaillot Paper no. 101 (EU Institute for Security Studies: Paris, May 2007), p. 28; and Pillay, A., Gender, Peace and Peace-keeping: Lessons from Southern Africa, Institute for Security Studies (ISS) Occasional Paper no. 128 (ISS: Pretoria, Oct. 2006).

[44] Engelbrektson, K., quoted in GenderForce: Sweden (note 42).

cent of peacekeeping police and military personnel are women.

The benefits of increased participation of women in policing are also well documented. Research conducted both in the United States and internationally clearly demonstrates that women officers' style of policing uses less physical force, is less likely to use it to excess and is better at defusing and de-escalating potentially violent confrontations with citizens. Additionally, women officers often possess better communication skills than their male counterparts and are better able to earn the cooperation and trust needed for a community policing model[45]. Where women are victims of sexual or domestic violence, there is overwhelming evidence-including from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, India and Sierra Leone-that they are more likely to report this to a female police officer or to a women's police station or family unit than to a male officer within a traditional police structure[46]. The UN's Model Strategies and Practical Measures on the Elimination of Violence against Women in the Field of Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, endorsed by the General Assembly, urge states: 'To encourage women to join police services, including at the operational level[47].

4.2   Women's participation within post-conflict security services

A number of countries emerging from conflict, like Liberia (discussed above), have prioritized the recruitment of women in their security services. The high incidence of violence against women, in particular domestic violence and rape, in post-conflict settings has in some cases created strong demand for police services that meet women's particular security needs inter alia by employing female officers. Addressing family violence has been prioritized in reform of the security sector in Afghanistan, Kosovo, Liberia and Sierra Leone, each of which has established specialized police units for the purpose.

Many post-conflict countries have little tradition of women in uniform, and social attitudes are the major barrier to women's full and equal participation in security services. However, the post-conflict period can be one of opportunity for women. Changes in gender roles during armed conflict, when women often take on new responsibilities for ensuring their family's safety or themselves join armed groups, can contribute to a new recognition of the contributions women make to security. Living through a conflict offers women new skills, knowledge and leadership regarding security issues and new insight into the armed forces' relationship with the community[48]. SSR processes can build on and support any such positive changes

[45]   Lonsway, K. et al., National Center for Women & Policing, 'Hiring & retaining more women: the advantages to law enforcement agencies', spring 2003, <http://www.womenandpolicing.org/pdf/NewAdvantagesReport.pdf>, p. 2.

[46]   See e.g. Suddle, M. S., 'Reforming the police forces of South Asia', Strengthening the Criminal Justice System: From the ADB Regional Workshop in Dhaka, Bangladesh, 30-31 May 2006 (Asian Development Bank: Manila, Jan. 2007), p. 56; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf (note 10), p. 73; Kandaswamy, D., 'Indian policewomen practice policing and politicking', Ms. Magazine, winter 2004; and Fakondo, K., Personal interview, 17 Sep. 2007, quoted in Denham, T., 'Police reform and gender', eds Bastick and Valasek (note 18).

[47]   UN General Assembly Resolution 52/86, UN document A/RES/52/86, 2 Feb. 1998, annex 8.

[48]   Anderlini, S. N. and Conaway, C. P., 'Security sector reform', Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for

in women's status during the conflict. In rebuilding security institutions, SSR should include a range of measures to increase the recruitment and retention of women and to create a work environment that is supportive of women not only in police and defence forces, but also in intelligence services, penal services, border authorities, the judiciary and the institutions that manage them. These include setting targets for women's recruitment and recruitment strategies designed to attract women. Linkages with DDR programmes (see section V) may facilitate integration of female former combatants into new security services.

Such strategies have been implemented in Kosovo, with mixed success. In the immediate aftermath of the March-June 1999 NATO military operations significant efforts were made to recruit women as cadets in the new basic policing programme. There had been no female police in Kosovo before the conflict[49]. In the first years of the new police training courses, as many as a third of the graduates were female, and currently some 14 per cent of the Kosovo Police are women. Efforts to persuade women to join Kosovo's Border and Boundary Police Training Unit failed. Women's stated reasons for not joining included that their family or husband would not permit them to work so far from home-giving some insight into the social barriers to women's full and equal participation in all arms of the security services[50].

In Afghanistan also, efforts are being made to attract more women to the police. Given the separation of the sexes in Afghanistan, women are uniquely qualified to handle female victims of crime and female suspects. Persistent sexual violence against women is considered to be a cause of the sharp increase in recent years in the number of Afghan women attempting suicide by setting fire to themselves, or being murdered in so called honour killings[51]. This situation adds grave urgency to the need to ensure women's access to appropriate police services. Women are also required for day-to-day policing activities. Male recruits for the Afghan National Police in Uruzgan have complained that they are unable to perform body searches of persons wearing burkas at checkpoints due to the lack of female colleagues, and security is as a result jeopardized by men passing disguised as women[52].

So far, however, success in recruiting women to the Afghan police has been limited: by July 2007, 71,147 rank-and-file police had received training, of which only 118 were women, and there were only 232 female police in the whole country. Recruitment and training strategies specifically for women are necessary if women are to attain leadership positions. Efforts to attract more women now include a women's dormitory at the Kabul Police Academy and a pilot project offering regional training so that women are not required to live away from their families

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Advocacy and Action (Hunt Alternatives Fund and International Alert: Washington, DC, 2004), p. 35.

[49] Novovic and Petrovic (note 24), p. 35.

[50] Mackay, A., 'Border management and gender', eds Bastick and Valasek (note 18).

[51] Amnesty International, Afghanistan: Women Still Under Attack—A Systematic Failure to Protect (Amnesty International: London, May 2005), pp. 23-25; and Integrated Regional Information Networks, 'Afghanistan: honour killings on the rise', 15 Sep. 2006, <http://www.irinnews.org/report.aspx?reportid=61698>.

[52] Interview reported by Verwijk, M., Senior Policy Officer, Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, quoted in Valasek, K., 'Security sector reform and gender', eds Bastick and Valasek (note 18).

for long periods of time[53]. The United Nations Population Fund is supporting the establishment of Family Response Units in the Afghan National Police. These units are staffed by female police officers, who receive training to enable them to react to violence against women, children in trouble and kidnappings; to provide support to female victims of crime; and to interrogate, detain and investigate female suspects[54].

However, women's participation alone is not enough. As an NGO has reported from Sierra Leone, 'although female police officers have been hired, and the lower ranks of the [Sierra Leone Police] have been trained in gender sensitivity, the commanders have not. Female police officers are sometimes expected to do little more than cook lunch for the male police officers[55]. This underlines the need for recruitment measures to be supported by women-friendly cultural change throughout security institutions, and from the highest levels. This itself demands gender mainstreaming measures. Training for all staff on human rights and gender issues, internal codes prohibiting discrimination and sexual harassment, and transparent and non-discriminatory promotional structures are necessary conditions for successfully integrating women into security services and benefiting from their integration.

5. Gender and specific post-conflict security sector reform issues

5.1 Integrating gender in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration

There are strong linkages between SSR and DDR within the framework of post-conflict peacebuilding, such that the OECD DAC affirms that 'the two issues are often best considered together as part of a comprehensive security and justice development programme[56]. In recent years, greater awareness of the magnitude and various forms of women's and girls' participation in armed conflicts has led to a realization that DDR plans have often failed to cover them[57]. An estimated 88 per cent of girl soldiers were denied access to DDR programmes in Sierra Leone between 1998 and 2002[58]. The need for gender-sensitive DDR programmes was affirmed in UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which encouraged 'all those involved in

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[53] International Crisis Group (ICG), Reforming Afghanistan's Police, Asia Report no. 138 (ICG: Brussels, 30 Aug. 2007), pp. 10-12.

[54] UN Population Fund, 'Afghanistan's first family response unit open for business', 24 Jan. 2006, <http://www.unfpa.org/news/news.cfm?ID=740>.

[55] Refugees International, 'Sierra Leone: promotion of human rights and protection for women still required', 18 Mar. 2004, <http://www.refugeesinternational.org/content/article/detail/949/>.

[56] OECD, OECD DAC Handbook on Security System Reform: Supporting Security and Justice (OECD: Paris, 2007), p. 105. See discussion in Bryden, A., 'Understanding the DDR-SSR nexus: building sustainable peace in Africa', Issue Paper, Second International Conference on DDR and Stability in Africa, Kinshasa, 2-14 July 2007, <http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/kms/details.cfm?id=34308>, p. 5.

[57] McKay, S. and Mazurana, D., Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives During and After War (Rights & Democracy: Quebec, 2004), p. 14.

[58] Statement by Paterson, M., Senior Advisor, Gender Equality Division, CIDA, 'Forum report', Women and Leadership: Voices for Security and Development, Ottawa, 28-29 Nov. 2002, p. 20.

the planning for disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants[59]. The UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) checklist on Gender-aware Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration and the UN's Integrated DDR Standards (IDDRS) now provide detailed guidelines on addressing the particular needs of women and girls during demobilization and reintegration[60].

Women and girls have often had difficulties in meeting the traditional selection criterion for DDR programmes, namely that they should surrender a weapon or be able to prove their military rank or recruitment. While some women were combatants, many more were deprived of their social support systems through the demobilization of male combatants upon whom they depended. As stated in the IDDRS: 'If the aim of DDR is to provide broad-based community security, it cannot create insecurity for this group of women by ignoring their special needs[61]. Recognition of the extra categories of female beneficiaries proposed in the IDDRS, 'female supporters/females associated with armed forces and groups' and 'female dependants', is designed to ensure that women and girls are not overlooked.

Even when women and girls are included in such schemes on paper, experience from the DDR programmes in Liberia and Sierra Leone suggests that they may fail to enrol in DDR programmes for various gender-related reasons, such as fear for their safety-including risks of sexual violence-owing to the presence of large numbers of male ex-combatants at the encampment site, and fear of the social stigma attached to women who participated in armed conflict or who were associated with armed groups[62]. This underscores the need for DDR programmes to include specific information addressing women's concerns and communication methods that reach female combatants and supporters directly.

In Liberia, local women's organizations were a key partner in designing and distributing DDR information. An initial needs assessment estimated that some 2,000 female combatants would undergo DDR. In 2003 women's groups organized under the banner Concerned Women of Liberia and became involved in DDR. Working with the UN mission and the Ministry of Gender and Development, they helped to design an awareness campaign using print media and radio to encourage women and girls to participate in the DDR process[63]. By February 2005, 22,370 women

[59] UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (note 3).

[60] UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 'Gender-aware disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR): a checklist', 2004, <http://www.undp.org/cpr/cpr_all/4_cross_cutting/4.1_gender/1_UNIFEM_DDR_Checklist.pdf>; and UN Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Resource Centre, 'Integrated disarmament, demobilization and reintegration standards: women, gender and DDR', 2006, <http://www.unddr.org/iddrs/05/index.php?search_phrase=Women_gender_and_DDR>.

[61] UN Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Resource Centre (note 60) p. 11.

[62] McKay and Mazurana (note 57), p. 101. See also Mazurana, D. and Carlson, K., From Combat to Community: Women and Girls of Sierra Leone (Hunt Alternatives Fund, Initiative for Inclusive Security: Washington, DC, Jan. 2004), p. 3; Coulter, C., '"Bush wives" marginalized in rehabilitation programme', New Routes, vol. 11, no. 4 (2006), pp. 4, 10; and Bouta, T., Frerks, G. and Bannon, I., Gender, Conflict, and Development (World Bank: Washington, DC, 2005), p. 18.

[63] UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations: Progress Report (United Nations: New York, 2005), pp. 31-32.

> **Gender is also for men and boys**
>
> *Masculinity and violence*
>
> Notions of masculinity are often linked with possession of weapons. In order to transform a violent masculine identity into a non-violent one, it is important to consider men's gender identities, roles and relations, and how these link to the perpetration of sexual and gender-based violence.
>
> *Male victims of sexual and gender-based violence*
>
> Men and boys are vulnerable to sexual violence inflicted by other men during military conscription or abduction into paramilitary forces, sometimes as part of initiation and integration rituals. It is essential to pay special attention to male victims of sexual and gender-based violence. Male victims are more unlikely to report incidents, as such issues are taboo in most societies.
>
> *Men's traditional roles*
>
> Male ex-combatants who are unable to fulfil their traditional role (i.e. as breadwinner of the household) often face an identity crisis. This can lead to an increase in domestic violence and alcohol and drug abuse. Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes should not reinforce stereotypical men's roles, but rather encourage proper counselling mechanisms and flexible socioeconomic support. This is an important aspect of preventing further perpetration of sexual and gender-based violence.

Source: Adapted from United Nations, Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards (IDDRS) Operational Guide, <http://www.unddr.org/iddrs/og/OG_5_10.pdf>, p. 195.

and 2,440 girls had been disarmed and demobilized, of a total of 101,495 persons in the DDR programme. Women associated with fighting forces as well as female combatants were recognized[64]. By the end of 2006, 13,223 of these women had been 'reinserted', mainly into agriculture, formal education or vocational training[65].

Gender-sensitive DDR is also about recognizing and meeting the particular needs of men and boys, and responding to their roles and available choices in their community. The IDDRS Operational Guide highlights three areas in which 'Gender is also for men and boys' (see box above). For disarmament to be effective, it may be necessary to provide incentives that replace the prestige and power of owning a weapon for a man[66]. Involving communities in weapon-collection processes can be a way to shift social pressures from approval to disapproval of men's possession of weapons. In the demobilization of male combatants, support should be provided that addresses the likelihood that they have suffered or perpetrated sexual violence. Nathalie de Watteville notes that 'unemployed, demobilized young men, socialized to violence and brutality during war, are more likely than others to form gangs, particularly in urban areas, and can pose a constant threat to the security of women and children'. In addition to economic reintegration programmes for male ex-combatants that provide an alternative base for living, psychosocial services for them must continue during the reintegration phase.

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[64] UN Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Resource Centre, Country programme: Liberia, 1 June 2007, <http://www.unddr.org/countryprogrammes.php?c=52>; and UNMIL, Disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and rehabilitation, 1 June 2007, <http://www.unmil.org/content.asp?ccat=ddrr>.

[65] UN Mission in Liberia (note 32).

[66] United Nations, Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards (IDDRS), Module 5.10 Women, gender and DDR, <http://www.unddr.org/iddrs/05/download/IDDRS_510.pdf>, p. 18.

5.2   Integrating Gender in Transitional Justice and Justice Reform

'Transitional justice' is increasingly seen as essential for post-conflict states, to set the scene for eventual reconciliation by establishing a process of accountability and acknowledgement, and to deter the reoccurrence of violence and thus ensure sustainable peace. Transitional justice may be pursued through temporary, specifically created bodies-such as ad hoc criminal tribunals, truth and reconciliation commissions and reparations programmes-or a state's permanent justice mechanisms. In post-conflict contexts, transitional justice mechanisms are often part of a broader process of justice reform (discussed below) and are closely linked to wider reforms of the security sector.

Transitional justice has come to play a role of particular importance in addressing wartime sexual and gender-based violence against women. The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) broke new ground in securing the first convictions for rape and other forms of sexual violence as war crimes, crimes against humanity and acts of genocide. The jurisprudence of the ICTY and ICTR has been crucial in developing recognition and understanding of different forms of sexual violence in conflict as crimes under international law. However, the international tribunals have been less successful in protecting and supporting victims of sexual violence. A number of witnesses for the ICTR, for example, were threatened or killed before or after testifying at the tribunal. Witnesses are reported to have received inadequate preparation and to have experienced aggressive cross-examination during the trials, which left them feeling re-victimized and humiliated. A decision by a survivor to testify sometimes led to her abandonment by her spouse or expulsion from her community. Women who contracted HIV/AIDS as a result of rape were not always provided with adequate treatment.

Some progress in addressing these problems has been demonstrated by the Special Court for Sierra Leone, which, for example, dedicated experienced women investigators to investigate crimes of sexual violence, adopted a gender-sensitive interviewing method to ensure that victims of sexual violence felt comfortable reporting crimes, and emphasized witness preparation. Nonetheless, the risk remains that a prosecution process leaves victims stigmatized within their communities and feeling that they did not have an opportunity to fully tell their story, or that justice was not delivered (especially when a conviction is not secured). There has been a growing acknowledgement that 'gender justice' cannot be achieved through judicial processes of accountability alone.

Truth-telling bodies seek to provide a space for victims to tell their stories by officially recognizing and condemning the wrongdoings, and to prevent abuses from reoccurring by confronting impunity. Their comparative flexibility and informality give them the potential to be more sensitive than are criminal legal processes to gender issues. The more recent TRCs, including those in Peru, Sierra Leone and Timor-Leste, demonstrate how TRCs can take steps to address the particular experiences and justice needs of women. Thematic hearings dedicated

to women, according to Ruth Rubio-Marín, 'have offered wonderful opportunities to give women voice, but also to ensure that this voice transcends and reaches the public . . . and to render women's sexual violence explicit'. Other mechanisms used to activate gender mainstreaming in TRC work include the formation of special research teams dedicated to women (in Timor-Leste) and the dedication of some of the chapters in the final reports of commissions to recording violence against women and its diverse impact on their lives (in Peru and Sierra Leone). In Sierra Leone, the TRC reached out to women's organizations to include them in the process. As a result, women's groups were very active in raising awareness about the TRC's work, testifying in the hearings, assisting victims of sexual violence, making recommendations for a reparations programme and pressuring the government to implement it.

A glaring absence in much analysis of transitional justice and gender is understanding of the particular needs of men and boys. The Sierra Leone TRC did prioritize male survivors of sexual violence as a category of victim in its recommendations for reparations. However, given that all the incidents of rape and sexual slavery reported to the TRC were committed against women and girls, it might be concluded that insufficient effort was made to encourage men and boys who suffered sexual violence to come forward.

Simultaneously, in recognizing the particular impact of armed conflict on women and girls it is necessary to go beyond sexual violence. Peruvian women, while welcoming the work on sexual violence by their TRC, have expressed concern that this focus has led to deprioritization of other women's experiences, such as those of refugee and internally displaced women, women who became sole breadwinners as a result of human rights abuse against spouses, and women prisoners. These points illuminate at least two challenges: how to ensure that gender justice also delivers justice to male victims; and how to ensure that mandates and mechanisms for transitional justice are developed in a participatory manner, so that they address the local communities' own priorities for justice and reparation.

Beyond transitional justice, countries emerging from conflict tend to be in urgent need of reforms across the justice sector. If the reformed justice sector is to have credibility and legitimacy in the eyes of the community, including those of women, the reform process must include the participation, and address the needs, of all segments of society with emphasis placed on identifying laws and practices that discriminate against particular men or women.

Laws to punish gender-based violence are also often inadequate and lagging behind international human rights standards. Some of the first legislation passed in post-conflict Rwanda and Liberia were new laws addressing rape. The process for educating and appointing judicial personnel should also be scrutinized and measures put in place to encourage equal participation and ethnic and religious diversity of men and women within the judiciary and legal profession.

6. Conclusions

Gender has been recognized as a crucial factor in development for over 20 years but is making rather a late entry into discourse and policymaking on SSR. While many donors that support SSR also do extensive work to support gender equality in post-conflict contexts, the two areas of work are often planned and implemented independently of each other.

The main challenges to successfully integrating gender are to some extent those that have hampered SSR in so many post-conflict contexts: an impatience to complete programmes, leading to insufficient local ownership; and assumptions that models that have been used elsewhere can be replicated without due regard to context. Consultation and dialogue with a larger range of stakeholders do not necessarily demand large financial resources, but they do take time and a personal commitment by many individuals. Gender issues are often of great cultural sensitivity, so while external actors can encourage and support, initiatives must be led by local stakeholders.

It is these local stakeholders who represent the most important resource and opportunity for integrating gender in post-conflict SSR. In many countries that are emerging from conflict, parliamentarians, women working in security services, civil society organizations and others are voicing demands for gender-responsive SSR. As policies and approaches to SSR are increasingly codified by international organizations and donors, steps to ensure the integration of gender should be embedded in standard operating, monitoring and reporting procedures and training.

SSR has much to gain by integrating the gender dimension. By drawing on the full participation of both men and women it can become more responsive to local needs, more legitimate and better able to address the range of security and justice priorities that coexist in communities. In post-conflict contexts, working with women's groups and others marginalized from pre-existing power structures can build public trust, help to ground SSR in inclusiveness and improve provision of security and justice across all parts of the community. Conversely, SSR approaches that ignore gender will fall short of achieving their goal of effective and accountable delivery of security to all.

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