



04.

Inclusion of Women Builds Trust and Legitimacy



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Nations**

Why We Do This

Fragility, conflict and violence massively disrupt development. But in response, too often we focus on the urgent, not the important. One essential building block for stability is to foster functioning, accountable national security sector institutions that are sustainably financed. The United Nations, in partnership with the World Bank, has commissioned a cadre of experts and research institutions to develop nine policy briefs on the role of security sector reform and governance (SSR&G) in preventing conflict and sustaining peace. Together, these briefs offer a timely analysis of the risks of weakened, dysfunctional security institutions, of the exorbitant cost of predatory behaviour by security providers, and of poor public financial management of security expenditures. They explore new SSR&G solutions in which the UN and the World Bank may cooperate to help countries build more affordable, accountable, and inclusive institutions that support them to transition out of fragility and create safer environments conducive to sustainable development and well-being.

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Good Governance in National Security –
Nine Policy Briefs on Building Stronger Institutions
that Deliver Genuine Security to All –
04. Inclusion of Women Builds Trust and Legitimacy

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Executive Summary

Gender inequality within the security sector is a critical issue with far-reaching implications for conflict prevention and societal resilience. This policy brief aims to explore the intricate relationship between gender inequality, gender norms, and the impact of the security sector on conflict prevention and resilience. Drawing upon case studies, United Nations experiences, and extensive research, this document offers recommendations to the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank Group (WBG) for advancing gender-responsive Security Sector Reform (SSR) as a crucial tool for conflict prevention and resilience-building efforts.

Gender equality within the security sector is not just a matter of fairness; it is essential to strengthen conflict prevention and societal resilience. Evidence suggests that the involvement of security sector actors in Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV) exacerbates resentment and distrust, fuelling recruitment into armed groups in conflict-affected regions. Moreover, militarism and excessive military spending disproportionately harm marginalised groups and escalate conflicts. Conversely, numerous studies demonstrate that gender equality enhances operational effectiveness and fosters societal trust within the security sector. Furthermore, patriarchal masculinity culture legitimises violence and contributes to conflict, with security sector abuses more prevalent in environments where these norms are entrenched.

To address these challenges effectively, the United Nations and WBG should prioritise gender responsive SSR in policies, norms, and programmes aimed at preventing conflict and fostering social resilience. Specifically, initiatives should focus on transforming harmful gender norms and patriarchal masculinity within the security sector. This entails reducing militarism and conducting gendered analyses of security needs and budgets as explicit priorities for SSR support. At the operational level, integrating gender norms and power relations into security sector analyses is crucial. Moreover, inclusive SSR and national security policymaking should prioritise the participation of diverse civil society groups, women's organisations, and peacebuilders. Advocating for diversity, including meaningful participation of women, within the security sector can enhance legitimacy and trust. Efforts to prevent and hold security sector personnel accountable for SGBV, must be prioritised.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CRSV	Conflict-related sexual violence
DPO	United Nations Department of Peace Operations
GBV	Gender-based violence
JAF	Jordanian Armed Forces
LGBTIQ+	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and additional sexual & gender persons
MoD	Ministry of Defence
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (of the OSCE)
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PER	Public expenditure review
SAF	Serbian Armed Forces
SCR	Security Council Resolution
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SGBV	Sexual and gender-based violence
SPU	Special Protection Unit
SSG/R	Security sector governance and reform
SSNPS	South Sudan National Police Service
SSPDF	South Sudan People's Defence Forces
SSR	Security sector reform
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNMISS/RoLAS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan, Rule of Law Advisory Section
UNMISS/UNPOL	United Nations Mission in South Sudan, United Nations Police
UNSOM	United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
WB	World Bank
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

Introduction

In the last 20 years, we have witnessed a burgeoning of research and programming that explores the relationships between gender equality and peace, including the importance of women's participation in political processes and public institutions. Advocacy around the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda has in recent years arguably shifted from emphasising mere protection (against, for example, conflict-related sexual violence) to women's participation and leadership in peace processes and peacekeeping, and to women human rights defenders.

Policy and practice around gender-responsive security sector governance and reform (SSG/R) have both shaped and responded to these developments. Early work on gender and SSG/R within the United Nations (UN) system, notably the 2012 *Integrated Guidance Note on Gender-Responsive SSR*, helped put women's participation in post-conflict security sector institutions and security sector reform (SSR) processes on the United Nations peacebuilding agenda. However, gender-responsive SSR is yet to be framed through a conflict prevention lens. This paper is a first exploration of these intersections: examining how promoting gender equality in SSR processes and international support to SSR contribute to preventing conflict and sustaining peace, and how it can be done better.

The paper has been divided into five sections, where Section I contextualizes gender-responsive SSG/R within the evolution of the WPS agenda, and identifies the missed potential for prevention. Section II examines how gender inequality and rigid gender norms influence ways in which the security sector can fuel grievances that lead to violent conflict and how a gender-responsive security sector can be a source of societal resilience to conflict. It highlights examples of how the security sector plays both positive and negative roles, building a more complete understanding of security sector-related risks and conflict drivers. Section III explores the priorities for United Nations and World Bank (WB) SSR support that arise from this knowledge, offering key strategies and associated good practices for gender-responsive SSR. Section IV has a specific programmatic focus, proposing some critical assessment questions and indicators that could strengthen United Nations and World Bank work. Section V sets out overarching recommendations to the United Nations and the World Bank on improving support for SSG/R as a tool for gender-responsive conflict prevention.

1.1 Scope and methodology

This policy brief is part of a broader series developed to strengthen partnerships between the United Nations and the World Bank in sustaining peace. Their joint project seeks to build a common understanding of key security sector-related risks and conflict drivers and to articulate SSG/R policy options and programmatic interventions to support people-centred SSG/R initiatives in fragile, conflict-prone and violent settings. These policy briefs aim to contribute to expanding the policy space by providing a range of alternatives to the standard SSG/R solutions and creating room for integrating SSR and development policies.

This policy brief, focused on gender, explores the following core questions:

- What are the key principles, standards and concepts underlying United Nations and World Bank SSG/R approaches to gender and the prevention of violent conflict?
- How does gender shape security sector-related risks and conflict drivers (including consideration of gender norms and gender inequality in the security sector and gender-based violence committed by security sector personnel)?
- How does gender equality in the security sector contribute to building resilience to conflict?
- Building on this analysis, how can the United Nations, partners and governments better integrate gender into the analysis of security sector-related risks and conflict drivers?
- What are the entry points in SSG/R programming for the United Nations, the World Bank, partners and governments to identify and address such risk factors?
- How can progress in addressing risk factors through gender-responsive SSG/R support be measured?

This policy brief was developed through an interactive, consultative process combining desk reviews, interviews with United Nations staff in a range of country offices, consultation with members of the United Nations SSR Task Force and input from the United Nations SSR Advisory Network from May to September 2021.

1.2 Policy context

The United Nations and the World Bank have each developed conceptual and political frameworks concerning *inter alia* peace and security, fragility and conflict, sustainable development, and SSG/R that recognise the importance of gender analysis and gender-responsive interventions. While **Annexe 1** offers a summary of these frameworks, **Annexe 2** explains the key gender concepts used in this paper, with examples of how they operate in the security sector.

Over the last seven years, in particular, strong progress has been made in integrating the key insights and commitments of the WPS Agenda into the United Nations' peacebuilding and SSR policy architecture. In policy and guidance on SSR, there is a welcome recognition that women's equal participation in the security sector is necessary for both operational effectiveness and legitimacy. Security Council Resolution (SCR) 2151 (2014) on SSR highlighted that "an effective, professional and accountable security sector without discrimination and with full respect for human rights and the rule of law is the cornerstone of peace and sustainable development and is important for conflict prevention".¹ Building on this, SCR 2553 (2020) recognised the centrality of women's participation in the security sector and called on states to support it, reaffirming "that the promotion of women's full, equal and meaningful participation in the security sector makes an important contribution to building inclusive, accountable and legitimate institutions that more effectively protect populations and promote lasting peace".² Significantly, then, SCR 2553 (2020) makes the connection between women's participation in the security sector, the legitimacy of security sector institutions and peace.

In United Nations SSR policies, guidelines and resources, there is an increasing recognition of the importance of thinking about masculinities in the security sector, as an enabler of achieving women's participation and gender mainstreaming. Yet, understanding of the connections between gender equality, masculinities and prevention of conflict, both in the security sector and in relation to working with the security sector to build stability, is not reflected in current approaches to SSR.

The landmark 2018 United Nations-World Bank report *Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict*³ presents a more conceptually rich

analysis of connections between gender equality and violent conflict and explores the connections between masculinities, gender norms and conflict.⁴ Yet, these insights are not applied with any consistency or depth to *Pathways for Peace's* analysis of the role of SSR in conflict prevention. The contemporary emphasis on women's agency in peacebuilding and new evidence and perspectives on the gendered institutional culture within security sector institutions explored in this paper invite a closer examination of how SSR can more holistically address the gendered characteristics of grievances related to justice and security. The subsequent World Bank Group *Strategy for Fragility, Conflict and Violence's* conflict prevention pillar recognises gender inequality and patterns of discrimination as "aggravating factors" in fragile situations, problematising "regressive gender norms, including those related to masculinities".⁵ The Strategy commits to a "special focus" on gender throughout all of its engagement in countries characterised by fragility, conflict and violence⁶ and looks to further develop tools to systematically apply a gender lens in analysis and to implement targets for projects addressing gender.

Thus, both within the United Nations and the World Bank, the policy building blocks are in place to leverage the gendered dynamics of the security sector and SSR with a view to conflict prevention. The United Nations and the World Bank have much to bring to each other in terms of understanding, approaches and experience. This includes the World Bank's comparably deeper conceptual engagement with gender norms and masculinities and the United Nations' well-developed tools for WPS analysis and monitoring and its extensive experience supporting women's participation in the security sector. The following looks more closely at these connections between gender, security and conflict prevention, to draw out key priorities for both the United Nations and the World Bank.

2. What We Have Learned About How Gender Shapes Security Sector-Related Risks and Conflict Drivers

This section examines how gender dynamics intersect with security sector governance to create or mitigate conflict risks. Drawing on qualitative and quantitative data and evidence, this section first looks at macro-level analyses of relationships between gender equality, gender norms and conflict, and explanatory models for these relationships. It highlights evidence connecting types of gender norms with violence and evidence from conflict contexts as to how gender dynamics influence the conflict. It then turns to evidence around how abuses and other forms of problematic behaviour by the security sector can contribute to violent conflict, tracing the gendered dimensions and exploring new research that illustrates the influences of patriarchal masculinities and rigid gender norms within the security sector. It argues that feminist critiques of militarism provide an overarching explanation for some of the problems observed. Finally, it looks at how the security sector can play more positive roles in conflict prevention and community cohesion, through being diverse and inclusive, and recognising and supporting women's community-based conflict resolution mechanisms.

These insights set the stage for Part III, which picks up many of these issues, exploring how the United Nations, the World Bank and other international actors can better integrate and operationalise this knowledge in supporting SSG/R programming.

2.1 The relationships between gender equality, masculinities, and conflict

There is well-established research on the relationship between gender equality and peace: a correlation between gender inequality and a society's propensity for civil or inter-state conflict. *Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict* highlights that the degree to which women are excluded from the

political, economic and social life of society is a key factor influencing its propensity for conflict.⁷

Building on the extensive research establishing these relationships, a recent quantitative analysis of statistically significant correlations between gender equality and conflict indicators published by the Georgetown University's Institute for Women, Peace & Security concluded: "[N]arrowing of gender gaps in education, employment, financial inclusion, and political participation, as well as reduced rates of adolescent fertility and intimate partner violence, are significantly associated with lower levels of organized violence."⁸ The increasing marginalisation of women in public life is an early warning of the potential for societal conflict to descend into violence. Kapur and Rees cite as an example that immediately prior to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, the number of women in Parliament fell from above 25 per cent to below 6 per cent.⁹

In addition, surveys consistently show that men and women differ in their attitudes towards war and the use of military force, with women being less likely to favour the use of force in response to threats. This gender difference in attitudes is smaller when a military force is proposed with humanitarian objectives. However, these gender differences in attitudes, while present, are highly variable across time, difference and culture. This counters any argument that women are always more peace-loving than men. (Many examples exist of women playing roles in inciting communal violence.¹⁰) The gendered differences in attitudes on security issues are, according to Eichenberg and Read, most pronounced in countries with higher political engagement of women (in the sense of women frequently discussing politics and attempting to persuade family and friends of their political views).¹¹ This provides a strong argument for the importance of women's meaningful representation in

political decision-making as well as for the importance of civic political education.

There is a robust body of evidence connecting propensity to armed conflict and violence with the prioritizing of patriarchal masculinities.¹² As summarised by Klugman, Nagel and Viollaz:

A key argument is that attitudes and gender norms are intertwined with the normalization of violence. ... This is not about women being inherently more peaceful, but rather about adverse norms, ideas, and beliefs regarding gender and gender roles that can foster a “toxic masculinity” ... [H]ighly patriarchal societies that embrace traditional gender roles and stereotypes linking masculinity to toughness and bellicosity implicitly categorize men as superior to women and increase the risk of violent resolution of conflicts... such attitudes legitimize the use of force as a tool of diplomacy. ... are less likely to negotiate civil conflicts. ... [A] highly patriarchal society internalizes and normalizes violence against women and implicitly sanctions the use of violence and domination of women, increasing the risk of conflict.¹³

There is a more specific body of work exploring how violent extremist organisations use notions of masculinity to appeal to men and male youth and the different motivations and experiences of men and women in supporting and joining such groups.¹⁴

These relationships between patriarchal masculinities and violence should be understood in a contextualised manner. The social, cultural and political expectations and pressures placed on men and women influence the extent to which violent masculinities are expressed. As was said in *Pathways for Peace*, while “perpetrators of violence are predominantly men, as are most members of violent extremist groups, gangs, militias, and armies ... the vast majority of men do not perpetrate violence, young men are not inherently violent, men actively participate in peace building”.¹⁵ In analysing what drives men towards violence, the concept of “thwarted masculinities” is sometimes used. This describes “the experiences of men who are unable to conform to standards of manhood imposed by their societies, for example, because they are unable to find work, get married or support a family.”¹⁶

Research in Uganda and Somalia revealed how ongoing conflict made it difficult for men to fulfil their traditional

gender roles of protecting and providing for their family, but that joining the military or an armed group offered a means to “recover lost masculinity”.¹⁷ Likewise, in Syria, where demographic, socio-economic and infrastructural changes made it difficult for men to meet traditional expectations of “manhood”, the salary and position offered by armed groups was an alternative path by which to be a breadwinner and protector.¹⁸

Understanding masculinities and femininities as sets of ideas and expectations working in relation to each other, it is to be expected that roles and norms around femininity are also implicated in violence and conflict. Deeply rooted discourses of women as weak and defenceless are used to prop up and perpetuate masculinities that valorise men using violence to protect women. The protection of women from threats such as sexual violence “becomes a key motivation for fighting and therefore a key cause for making and continuing wars, either explicitly (as a rallying cry) or implicitly (as an internalized metric of masculine sacrifice)”.¹⁹ Both women and men shape and sustain these ideas of manhood and womanhood at household, community and national levels. This is illustrated by examples of women encouraging male family members to take part in violent communal conflict or extremism or deriding men who refuse to do so.²⁰

If SSG/R is to play an effective role in conflict prevention, it must be grounded in a strong understanding of these relationships between gender roles, gender equality and conflict. The following subsections consider how actions of the security sector might drive men (and women) and nations towards forms of masculinities that advocate the use of violence and how the security sector is also vital to resilience.

2.2 How gender shapes security sector-related risks and conflict drivers

Pathways for Peace explored the evidence of linkages between government abuse, such as violations of physical integrity, indiscriminate state violence against civilian populations, civilian victimisation of particular ethnic groups, violent coercion and physical repression, and the increase in the scope and intensity of a population’s grievances, the risk of onset and escalation of violent conflict and the risk of terrorist violence.²¹ There is also evidence

that violence, repression and persecution by police and military forces against family members and friends can lead people to join violent extremist groups.²²

This section examines how gender-related factors contribute to security sector risks and conflict drivers. It identifies the distinct ways through which sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) is perpetrated by security sector actors, and how gendered security practices and poor response to SGBV in communities, fuel conflict. Also, it draws connections with research that interrogates masculinities and gender norms within the security sector, and how these influence the likelihoods of misconduct. It goes on to contextualise these dynamics with broader critiques of militarism and its impacts on societies, local and international.

2.2.1 Sexual and gender-based violence by the security sector

SGBV committed by members of the security sector is a potent driver of violence and radicalisation. Armed insurgencies in both Nepal and Sri Lanka had comparably high proportions of female personnel which was linked in part to prior experiences of sexual abuse at the hands of state forces in the respective countries. For example, Saferworld research in Nepal shows that nearly 25 per cent of female combatants had joined the Maoist People's Liberation Army because of sexual abuse and rape at the hands of state security agencies.²³ Similarly, in Sri Lanka, rape by security and peacekeeping forces and the likelihood of facing social ostracism were reported as one of the primary reasons for women becoming anti-government combatants.²⁴ Such sexual victimisation of women by security sector personnel can mobilise men to take up arms, reinforcing norms which frame men as protectors. More so, emotions play a powerful role in fuelling violent conflict. As *Pathways for Peace* observed, "Collective feelings of humiliation and injustice ... can be especially potent motivating factors."²⁵

State security forces, including military and law enforcement services (border guards, police, etc.), are frequently cited in global data as key perpetrators of conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) against civilian populations. The Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict Dataset indicates that state militaries are more likely to be reported as perpetrators of sexual violence than either rebel groups

or militias.²⁶ The United Nations Secretary-General's 2023 report on CRSV lists State security forces credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for patterns of rape or other forms of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Myanmar, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Syria.²⁷

On a more quotidian basis, the sexual harassment, exploitation and abuse that women and girls face by male members of the security sector and the complicity of the security sector in prostitution, sexual abuse and human trafficking undermine community trust in security services.

These problems are compounded by, in many contexts, the lack of effective accountability of security sector personnel for SGBV crimes, due to weak internal and external accountability mechanisms.

2.2.2 Gendered security practices

Security sector abuses often manifest in gendered ways. Men and boys are more likely to be stopped and questioned, searched or detained by police or militaries. Such security practices often disproportionately target men based on age, class, ethno-racial, political and religious profiling.²⁸ Such discriminatory practices contribute to alienation and resentment. Individuals and groups identifying themselves in opposition to the state that discriminates against and victimises them. That is, gendered security practices can fuel sentiments of injustice among targeted groups, contributing to their engaging in violence against the state.

In some cases, such practices have played a role in driving young men towards extremism.²⁹ In Tajikistan, for example, the fact that police would target young men with beards, at times forcibly shaving men's faces, is identified as a contributory source of grievance.³⁰ Extremist groups have exploited such incidents by using video and images of alleged or actual arbitrary arrests, detentions and extra-judicial killings by the police, to recruit new members.³¹

The impact of gendered practices can be subtler. For example, some Muslim communities in Great Britain felt aggrieved by airport body scanners being used on women,³² illustrating how security measures that appear gender-neutral, may produce unequal impacts. Further,

it underscores the need for considering how different communities would approach apparently “gender-neutral” practices.

Patriarchal masculinities and rigid gender norms in the security sector

Globally, key security sector institutions remain overwhelmingly male-dominated. Data on gender parity is incomplete, but – for example – estimates of women in police forces globally find their representation to be between 6 per cent and 48 per cent; and women make up an average of only some 10 per cent of military personnel among NATO member countries and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) participating states.³³ A 2016 evaluation of 47 Council of Europe member states found that only 37 per cent of Supreme Courts’ judges were female.³⁴ The lack of representation of women is even more visible at senior decision-making levels. Evidence is building that this underrepresentation of women in the security sector is both a cause and consequence of the persistence of patriarchal masculinities and rigid gender norms, which contribute to abusive conduct by security sector personnel.

Notions about what it means to be a “good” soldier, police officer, prison guard, etc. are often linked to particular perception of manhood, which includes a willingness to use violence. The low representation of women in the security institutions and the performance of masculinity by male and female security personnel forge the institutional cultures of the security sector which are often described as highly “masculine”. Security sector institutions, particularly militaries, often overtly invoke ideals and language connected to masculinity to recruit, indoctrinate and motivate personnel. Gender norms in the security sector are not, of course, disconnected from gender norms in wider society: there is a continuum between both. The institutional barriers, constraints and discrimination against women joining the security sector and the gender stereotypes that influence how security services are delivered are embedded within the wider social and cultural gender norms, further contributing to a system that is unsupportive of women’s retention and promotion to senior and leadership positions.

When security sector personnel commit abuses or allow abuses to go unchecked or unpunished, a range

of factors are contribute – not least accountability, oversight and all the other components of good security sector governance. A body of work examines how both gender norms working at the institutional level and individual attitudes within the security sector contribute to such abuses.

Research looking at individual-level factors offers important insight into why some members of a security sector institution commit abuses and others (even in the same unit) do not and offers some explanation of why abuses occur even in generally well-governed institutions. New evidence developed within the framework of the Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations in partnership with DCAF indicates that gender norms influence security sector personnel’s individual-level beliefs about the appropriateness of abuse of authority, showing a correlation between a culture of patriarchal masculinity and the likelihood of security sector actors committing and/or condoning abuses.

Huber, Karim and Pruett conducted a survey experiment study with 1,899 security sector personnel in four countries. They asked participants how they would react to several events in the context of a peacekeeping mission and assessed them against scales measuring toxic masculinity and belief in gender stereotypes and traditional gender roles about women. Some scenario events involved “taboo behaviour” for peacekeepers, such as injuring someone during a protest, drunk driving, corruption, and engaging in sexual abuse and exploitation. The survey responses indicated that the security sector personnel who reported holding rigid views in terms of gender stereotypes and women’s roles were:

...more prone to escalate a security situation, were less likely to believe that taboo behaviour was serious and were less likely to report colleagues that engage in taboo behaviour... [and] respondents with toxic masculine views were more likely to escalate security situations and less likely to report colleagues’ taboo behaviour.³⁵

Importantly, Huber, Karim and Pruett’s study found that although female respondents reported themselves less likely to escalate security situations, they were not more likely than male respondents to believe that taboo behaviour was serious or to report it.³⁶ Women’s participation in the security sector brings benefits connected

to trust and effectiveness (discussed below). But this is further evidence that women's presence alone does not prevent abuses by security forces: it is necessary but not sufficient. Patriarchal norms are often reproduced by female security personnel too. Prevention of abuse by the security forces, rather, should focus on ensuring that the institutional culture within security sector institutions is not characterised by norms that link masculinity with domination, virility and rape culture, nor fixed in stereotypes and traditional gender roles about women.

The foregoing demonstrates, first, how abuses by the security sector, which we know contributes to conflict and extremist violence, are often highly gendered. At times, they involve SGBV, or they target men and boys. Then, it demonstrates that abuses by the security sector are more likely where patriarchal masculinities and rigid gender norms are entrenched within its institutional culture. It follows that for SSG/R to play an effective role in conflict prevention, it should include measures to transform gendered cultural norms and practices in the security sector.

Inadequate security sector response to sexual and gender-based violence in the community

As discussed above, beyond being a perpetrator of SGBV, the security sector's failure to effectively prevent and respond to such violence is itself a driver of conflict. SGBV is generally poorly handled by police and other security actors, for reasons linked both to institutional culture, broader social norms and stigma. Data from 57 countries suggest that on average only 11 per cent of women who experience sexual assault report it, compared to 38 per cent of women who would report a robbery.³⁷ Where sexual violence against men is recorded, the number of victims tends to be significant but reporting rates to authorities are estimated to lie between just 3 and 10 per cent.³⁸ As regards CRSV, evidence suggests that both women and men face distinct risks of sexual violence in conflict settings. For example, research in the Democratic Republic of the Congo found that half of male and three-quarters of female ex-combatants and a third of all women surveyed reported experiencing sexual violence.³⁹

The United Nations Security Council has recognized SGBV as both a threat to peace and security, and a driver of conflict. Empirical research observes a correlation

between higher levels of violence against women and the likelihood that a nation-state is non-compliant with international norms, has poor relations with its neighbours and behaves less peacefully in the international system.⁴⁰ Localised research explores the causative dynamics that can exist between SGBV and conflict. For example, in some contexts, sexual abuse of a woman from another clan or group can trigger inter-clan conflict.⁴¹ Terrorist entities have used human trafficking and sexual violence not only as a tactic to intimidate populations and decimate communities, but to incentivise recruitment and to fund other terrorist activities.⁴²

Empirical evidence also testifies that SGBV (whether or not committed by security sector personnel) can act as an individual push factor for women, girls, men and boys to join armed groups. In Colombia, for example, domestic and intra-familial violence is one of the leading factors for both girls and boys to leave home to join armed groups and gangs.⁴³ The dynamics of the relationships between SGBV victimisation and involvement in conflict vary between contexts. In general, however, women and girls who experience, or are threatened with violence, are more likely to drop out of school and to be less economically independent and more socially isolated.⁴⁴ World Bank research in Tajikistan identified women who are economically and socially vulnerable, as vulnerable to radicalisation as well.⁴⁵

Given this, SSG/R should address SGBV as an integral aspect of good governance of the security sector: providing security to all.⁴⁶ The foregoing demonstrates that improving SGBV prevention and response is also an important aspect of how SSR can contribute to the prevention of security sector-related triggers of fragility, conflict and violence.

Militarism as a root cause of conflict

Integral to a gendered understanding of conflict is the understanding of the gendered nature of militarised power relations. The term "militarism" is used to describe "the intrusion of military considerations into the process of political and diplomatic decision-making", and more generally, the adoption of military values, beliefs and mentalities into civilian daily life.⁴⁷ In feminist analysis and activism, masculinities and the systems of dominance that underlie gender inequality are deeply entwined with

militarism and, therefore, with the structures and processes that prioritise military responses to conflict and drive immense defence spending.

As the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) explains, "Militarism and cultures of militarised masculinities create a climate of political decision-making in which resorting to the use of force becomes a normalised mode of dispute resolution."⁴⁸ Concurrently, on a broader social level, militarism sustains the structural inequalities that operate to entrench gender inequality, exclusion and marginalisation and so increase the potential for violent conflict to occur.⁴⁹

Commitments to reduce military expenditures and control the availability of armaments were included in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action,⁵⁰ and measures to advance global disarmament objectives are outlined in the United Nations Secretary-General's disarmament agenda. The shortcomings of militarised approaches to handling conflict were emphasised in the conclusions of the United Nations Advisory Group of Experts on Peacebuilding's report *The Challenge of Sustaining Peace*:

International actors, including within the United Nations system ... in general, too often prefer militarized responses. While these can prove effective in the immediate context of halting violence, they tend to address symptoms rather than root causes. The very nature of such responses, with their emphasis on short-term security and their correspondingly heavy resourcing needs, can sometimes detract support and attention from achieving sustainable peace.⁵¹

With this understanding, preventing armed conflict requires reconsidering the appropriateness, or inevitability, of using armed force or violence to resolve disputes. This is, of course, the conceptual foundation for much community-based mediation and conflict resolution work (discussed below).

In countries around the world, women's opposition to militarism is focused on challenging the scale of defence spending. This should be more explicitly recognised as an SSR agenda. As discussed in the policy brief "Rightsizing security institutions," inflated security spending is frequently taking funds away from other sectors such as justice, health, education and infrastructure, which should deliver important public goods. Feminist research and

advocacy frequently underline the social and environmental costs of overspending on military resources and highlight its gendered impacts: that excessive military spending disproportionately harms women, boys, girls and others in society more likely to be dependent on social spending.⁵²

Despite the economic downturn triggered by the COVID-19 pandemic, global military expenditure in 2020 rose to USD 1,981 billion, an increase of 2.6 per cent in real terms from 2019.⁵³ The relationship between defence spending and spending on areas such as health is not directly inverse. Countries with an "average" level of militarisation have been judged to have, for example, on average the highest levels of health security, in terms of capabilities to protect their populations against natural and human-made threats to their health; of the most militarised countries, a third have poor health security.⁵⁴ Yet empirical analysis demonstrates that higher militarisation is significantly correlated with higher gender inequality and a lower level of female labour force participation rate (controlling for major variables such as conflict, democracy level, regime type, fertility rate and urbanisation rate).⁵⁵ As highlighted earlier, these factors, in turn, are associated with higher levels of organized violence."⁵⁶

Confronting militarism has diverse SSR dimensions. United Nations norms and principles on SSR that call for strengthened governance, transparency and civilian oversight of security forces, including of all forms of security and military spending, are important principles to restrain militarism. Likewise are disarmament, addressing small arms and light weapons, and working to orientate militaries towards protection and peacebuilding. For SSR, recognising that militarism is a root cause of conflict demands care that SSR programmes do not, for example, inadvertently contribute to any inappropriate militarisation of law enforcement nor divert resources that would be better spent on other social needs. Moreover, in processes of financial rightsizing of security spending, the costs in other areas of public goods should be understood through a gendered lens (discussed in Section IV).

2.3 How a gender-responsive security sector builds resilience to conflict

This part explores how the security sector can play a constructive role in conflict prevention and peacebuilding by advancing gender equality, supporting women-led initiatives, and fostering inclusive, community-based approaches. It highlights how good security sector governance, when inclusive, rights-based, and accountable, contributes to both resilience and gender equality.

While previous sections examined security sector-related risks and conflict drivers, this section focuses on the security sector's potential as a site of transformation. The problems highlighted earlier underscore the importance, from a conflict prevention perspective, of the security sector being rights-respecting, being held accountable for SGBV and other abuses, and robustly preventing and responding to SGBV within the communities they serve. Militarisation, as a root cause of conflict, should be resisted and reduced, including by setting security sector expenditures at appropriate levels. These should be key priorities for any SSR process. Strategies to address them are discussed in Section III.

Additionally, scholarship and practical experience highlight two further dimensions of particular importance from a gendered perspective on conflict prevention:

- that security sector institutions are inclusive, including (but not limited to) women, so as to build their legitimacy and trust with communities; and
- that security sector institutions create support and space for women-led conflict prevention and conflict resolution.

The following explores the evidence for how these directly contribute to resilience to conflict. Section III offers suggestions to support these priorities within SSR processes.

2.3.1 An inclusive security sector

It is broadly accepted that when a security sector institution is representative of the diverse community it serves, including gender, it is more approachable and trusted by that community. The community's reporting of crime and co-operation with police are likely to improve where

both men and women feel comfortable engaging with police. For instance, where a female victim of sexual violence can report to a female officer or when a person can engage with the police in their own language. Openly lesbian, gay, bisexual or trans police officers can help police to reach out to those communities and fight homophobic violence. A diverse police service has a deeper understanding of communities' needs and so can build stronger relationships with them. The OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) research on gender and diversity among justice system actors likewise confirms that gender balance and minority representation in justice systems contribute to the perceived fairness of outcomes and that workplace diversity can help the justice sector overcome implicit bias and unconscious stereotyping.⁵⁷

While it is difficult to identify comparative cross-national data that compare distinct axes of diversity with public trust, there are compelling smaller-scale studies that evidence the positive effects of having female personnel. Evidence from Israel and Iraq suggests that people prefer police officers from their own ethnoreligious group and that perceptions of police inclusion affect how citizens relate to the state.⁵⁸ Experimental research in Mexico shows that female police officers increase perceptions of police respect for civil liberties and reduced perceptions of corruption.⁵⁹ Research in Pakistan on counterterrorism likewise found policewomen to improve operational effectiveness "by building trust with local communities, more effectively de-escalating violence, and collecting vital intelligence that men could not ... cultivat[ing] a more collaborative relationship between the police and citizens, who otherwise typically see the country's police forces as corrupt and inefficient."⁶⁰ Increased inclusion of women in the police force in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, was perceived to help overcome the dominance of local power relationships that excluded women and other disadvantaged groups.⁶¹ Research in Lebanon on public perceptions of security providers found that women and men had greater trust in female police officers and that both men and women support less "hard" policing for a more gender-equal police force.⁶²

Evidence suggests that female police officers tend to display different behaviours – although it is important not to assume that all women possess the same skills or have specific skills (such as responding to victims of SGBV) without training. In some contexts, female

officers are associated with less use of force and fewer citizen complaints than male officers.⁶³ Police managers in South Africa and the United States report that female officers often have better communication skills and are viewed as more accessible by complainants.⁶⁴ Greater representation of women is also a practical necessity for policing, with women officers better placed to screen female suspects, interview women victim-survivors and perform searches of women. Analysis of the impact of increasing the proportion of female police officers in the United States finds that not only does it increase reporting of violent crimes against women, but it contributes to significant declines in intimate partner homicide and non-fatal domestic abuse. These benefits were seen even where the increase was a result of externally imposed orders to increase the number of female personnel.⁶⁵

At the same time, instances of all-female police units using heavy-handed tactics to suppress feminist protest⁶⁶ illustrate that mandates, orders, training and institutional culture – rather than gender – are the most important determinates of how police engage with communities.

Beyond the domestic context, there are diverse anecdotal reports from peacekeeping and other types of international operations of the operational benefits of all-female or mixed-gender teams. These usually emphasise improved access to local populations.⁶⁷

United Nations normative framework on SSR already emphasises removing legal, institutional and regulatory barriers to women's equal participation in the security sector. The importance of this for trust between the security sector and the communities, underscores that this should also be an SSG/R priority through a conflict prevention lens.

2.3.2 Women's conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms

Community-based security mechanisms provide peaceful ways of dispute resolution and peacebuilding. These initiatives have been well recognised in United Nations and World Bank reports and incorporated in policies concerning conflict prevention. Accounts of the contribution of such peace initiatives, particularly the ones led and integrated by women around the world, attest that "women's groups offer alternative, creative, and complementary approaches to those used at both the national and international levels for preventing violence

escalation."⁶⁸ Women's conflict prevention and resolution activities at the local/community level are diverse. They include establishing early warning systems that relay information to the national level about conflicts emerging in the provinces, mediating local conflicts, promoting confiscation of small arms, and organising reconciliation ceremonies and political activism for peace. They often intervene in the gendered dynamics of conflict, as in Burundi, where there are active efforts to prevent young men from joining armed groups and initiatives to promote less violent models of masculinity.⁶⁹ In Somalia, women are able to work across clan divisions more easily than men and have opened up inter-clan dialogue on peace.⁷⁰ Women in Colombia and the wider region have monitored, mobilised, lobbied and negotiated for ceasefires and peace.⁷¹ Indeed, there are accounts of such women's peace making from and across every region.

While the contribution of women's peace-making is emphasised in multiple global and regional policies, there has been little specific emphasis (or data) on women's participation in the security sector provisions of peace agreements or the development of national security policies and strategies. A welcome exception is Mali's WPS framework, which commits to measures to ensure and monitor the participation of women in the mechanisms of the National Council for SSR.⁷² Gordon's analysis of SSR processes in Nepal, Sri Lanka, Kosovo and Colombia observes that even in places where women were active combatants in large numbers during the previous conflicts, they have been marginalised in SSR processes. Gordon argues that; rather than enable gender equality, SSR tends to "help security sector institutions construct and reconstruct gender power relations, reinforce gendered dynamics of exclusion".⁷³ Women and women's civil society organisations remain routinely excluded from strategic decision-making processes about the future of the security of their countries.⁷⁴

SSR processes can have varying levels of engagement with community security mechanisms and with the non-state actors and informal institutions that provide security. Recognising the importance of such community-based mechanisms, especially those of women's civil society, in strengthening governance, ownership and participation in the country's security and in the overall conflict prevention should be an impetus for SSR to engage with such mechanisms and to ensure the participation of women as peacemakers in security policymaking processes.

3. Implications for the United Nations and World Bank Support for Prevention Through Gender-Responsive Security Sector Governance and Reform Support

This section provides an overview of key strategies and associated good practices to address the security sector-related risks and conflict drivers identified above: patriarchal masculinities and gender-discriminatory security practices; exclusion of women and other groups; and SGBV by the security sector. It draws out potential entry points to challenge the excessive militarisation of security services. It then broadens its focus to consider how United Nations and World Bank support for SSG/R can more holistically strengthen communities' and nations' resilience to violent conflict, focusing on two key issues identified through consultation and research: inclusive SSR processes and national security policymaking.

As the World Bank Strategy for Fragility, Conflict and Violence observes, preventing conflict requires both "tackling risks and grievances early on, and strengthening sources of resilience".⁷⁵ The following applies to this dual approach: proposing ways in which the United Nations and World Bank approach to SSR, through focusing on gendered institutional culture, gender norms, gendered violence and gendered inclusion, can more effectively address conflict risk factors and leverage existing sources of societal and institutional resilience.

3.1 Increasing meaningful participation of women and broader diversity and inclusion within the security sector

Enabling the full, equal and meaningful participation of women in the security sector should be a high priority for any SSR programme, for a range of reasons related *inter alia* to human rights, democratic legitimacy and

operational effectiveness. United Nations programmes to support gender-responsive SSR or WPS implementation often include support for women's recruitment or capacity building for female personnel. From a conflict prevention perspective, women's full inclusion brings benefits associated with trust, community relations and outreach. For this, it is important not only to have a balance between male and female staff, but also to ensure that personnel are diverse in terms of ethnicity, religion or belief, linguistic group, and other factors, in a manner that reflects broader society. Thus, it is appropriate to frame increasing participation of women as a critical dimension of the broader need for security sector institutions to be inclusive and representative of their communities.

Many states are taking steps to increase the number of women in the security sector, in particular, in police forces, militaries and peacekeeping operations. The Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations is playing a catalytic role in raising visibility, generating robust data, building knowledge and funding new initiatives. It confirms that in many countries women in the security sector remain disproportionately overrepresented in low-ranking positions. It also states that women leave prematurely as a result of discriminatory attitudes and policies and difficulties combining working practices with family responsibilities (compounded by cultural norms that regard childcare as primarily a mother's role, rather than one to be shared equally between parents). This has led to an emerging shift from "helping" women fit into male-dominated work environments, to recognising the need to transform structural conditions that sustain the overrepresentation of men (and generally men of only certain racial/ethnic/religious/cultural groups) in the security sector. Therefore, mechanisms to encourage and

enable male staff to share family and other care responsibilities – rather than only accommodating women to do so – are a critical aspect of a transformational agenda.⁷⁶

Key factors for achieving security sector institutions staffed by diverse women and men that have an inclusive institutional culture are outlined below.

A. Inclusive recruitment

- Eliminate legal obstacles to women and to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and additional sexual and gender persons (LGBTI+) serving in all roles.
- Ensure that the fundamentals are in place for women, such as separate sleeping and sanitary facilities from men, and uniforms and equipment that are designed to fit.
- Communicate what support is in place for parents and others with caring responsibilities.
- Evaluate recruitment requirements and processes to eliminate bias and to attract a more diverse pool of applicants. For example, validate the requirements for each job to ensure they do not unfairly exclude women (for example, by having physical, psychological or experience requirements that are not actually needed).
- Use targets for the recruitment of underrepresented groups, such as women of colour and/or women from minority communities.

B. Inclusive retention, promotion and career advancement

- Analyse the root causes of women and other groups' underrepresentation in different ranks, in different functions, and in different geographical locations. For this, one needs both sex-disaggregated data to serve as baselines and meaningful qualitative data. See the section on Assessment Tools in **Annexe 3**.
- Continue to set clear goals or targets for women and other underrepresented groups' promotion and deployment: for example, a specified "critical mass"; equal representation with men; targets within specific "non-feminised" roles (e.g. pilots, engineers); specified percentage increases in women's participation at specific levels. See Case Study A for an example of success in this approach in the Jordanian Armed Forces and Case Study C on page 16 showing progress in the Somali Police.

- Remove direct and indirect barriers to women's advancement, such as a requirement to resign if pregnant, and eliminate inflexible training and progression paths that do not allow for parenting responsibilities or career breaks.
- Design processes to create a "pipeline" of women and other underrepresented groups who could achieve senior leadership/command roles. Consider extra support such as mentoring, reserved places for women on training courses and international deployments, and specific career development assistance. See Case Study C for an innovative approach to "cross-training" women in Ghana.
- Actively counter formal and informal practices that limit women's involvement in security institutions under the guise of "protecting" female personnel from difficult or dangerous tasks.
- Design human resources and management policies, processes and infrastructure to support gender equality and diversity. Prioritise supporting all those with parental and other caring responsibilities – women and men – and encourage men to be equally responsible for care. Institutionalise support for careers through policies and resources for staff recruitment and retention, professional training and leadership development, inclusive infrastructure, care services through the deployment cycle, etc. Guarantee, expand and promote the use of paid leave schemes, including parental (maternal, paternal, adoption, miscarriage) leave, health leave and compassionate leave.
- Strengthen the transparency and integrity of assignment and promotion processes, ensuring diverse promotion boards.
- Support networks or associations for women, people who identify as LGBTI+, etc. to enable them to formally or informally mentor and support each other and to communicate key issues of concern to leadership.

C. Safe and non-discriminatory workplaces

- Take firm action against sexual, gender-based and other forms of discrimination, harassment, abuse, exploitation and violence perpetrated against persons both within the institution and outside of the institution (discussed below).

Greater detail specific to different types of security sector institutions can be found in the *Gender and Security Toolkit*.

Case Study A: Increasing the participation of women in the Jordanian Armed Forces

The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), along with NATO and a range of bilateral partners, has been supporting the increased integration of women in the Jordanian Armed Forces (JAF) to make it a more gender-responsive military sector and increase representation of the communities it serves.

Until the 1990s, women in JAF were limited to medical and administrative roles. A Directorate of Women's Military Affairs was established in 1995 and achieved progress in removing barriers to women serving. The Directorate worked on amending internal procedures and regulations to involve women in non-traditional roles, developed training and capacities of new female recruiters, and introduced women to field and managerial roles. Jordan's operational engagements in counterterrorism, in the International Security Assistance Force and Resolute Support Mission in Afghanistan, and in response to Syrian refugees entering Jordan provided a range of contexts where having female personnel was recognised as bringing distinct operational benefits.

Progress on increasing the number of women (in non-medical roles) from 0.7 per cent in 2006 to a target of 3 per cent (by 2021) was initially modest. In 2017, Jordan became one of the first countries in the Middle East to adopt a National Action Plan on WPS. This highlights the need to advance the effective participation of women in the security and military sectors and to improve the sectors' gender responsiveness, especially towards women's specific security needs. By 2020, the percentage of women in JAF, both military and civilian, had increased to 9%. JAF is seeking to further increase its proportion of uniformed women, particularly in field units, and striving towards 25% female participation in peacekeeping operations.

JAF's initial gender mainstreaming efforts in support of the National Action Plan on WPS were outlined in its Annual Work Plan for the period 2019-2020, under the Memorandum of Understanding between JAF and UN Women and supported by the international partners – Canada, Finland, Norway, Spain, and the United Kingdom. The Annual Work Plan is focused very strongly on capacity building of staff and the institution to undertake gender mainstreaming activities, as well as preliminary measures to increase women's participation. This partnership with international donors and the Jordanian National Commission for Women has enhanced JAF's progress on the WPS Agenda and on national ownership and accountability.

Through the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020-21, UN Women provided technical support and weekly psychological support sessions to build the capacity of JAF cadres to find a balance between the nature of their work during the COVID-19 crisis and their family life, as well as to deal with work stress. This extended to a series of mentoring sessions for women who were deploying or preparing to deploy, as part of their preparation process. To this end, UN Women and international partners worked with JAF and the Public Security Directorate to develop a personal preparation guide to support women selected for UN peace operations.

At a strategic level, with UN Women's support, JAF conducted a Gender Impact Assessment in 2020 to inform the formulation of its Gender Mainstreaming Strategy 2021-2024. The objective of the strategy, which was approved in 2021, is to strengthen and institutionalise gender mainstreaming as a key component of JAF's strategies, policies and operations and to achieve gender responsiveness and meaningful participation of women in the security sector and peace operations. The Gender Mainstreaming Strategy was enhanced by the creation of a Gender Office and the appointment of a Gender Adviser and Gender Focal Points in 2020. In addition, in 2020, with the support of international partners, UN Women created and conducted a five-day Gender Advisers/Gender Focal Points training course for gender staff. The course training framework and curriculum have now been adopted by JAF and incorporated into its training programme.

Case Study B: New skills and increased advancement potential for female Ghanaian soldiers deployed in peace operations⁷⁷

Deployment of formed troops to peace operations provides greater opportunities for cross-training and cross-working than soldiers typically have in-country. Formed troops often return from deployment with broader skill sets and working experience than required for their primary functions within the Ghanaian Armed Forces (GAF).

Colonel William Nortey, who commanded GAF Battalion (Ghanbatt) 84 in UNIFIL (June 2017-July 2018), committed to cross-training soldiers under his command, partly because more women had been assigned to his battalion than his Order of Battle permitted. Many female soldiers in the formed troop required new skills to be it for the purpose of the mission. The cross-training included capacitating female soldiers as drivers, guards, operations assistants, patrol commanders and cooks and capacitating male soldiers to serve as cooks and waiters. While this was not immediately welcomed by all male troops, the result was positive. Ultimately, both male and female soldiers recognised that cross-training and cross-working could contribute to their re-deployment eligibility as well as their advancement potential within the GAF.

Lt. Col. Abbas Atuluk, Commanding Officer of Ghanbatt 86 in UNIFIL with 116 female soldiers (approximately 14%), has trained all personnel, men and women, for the primary roles required in the area of operation. In this context, women, who usually come from combat support and combat service support units, have been trained for patrolling, observation posts and guard duties among others. This initiative has facilitated the deployment of female soldiers to forward positions.

In addition to cross-training, soldiers in peace operations work with colleagues from all over the GAF, as well as soldiers from other countries and civilians within the host country, giving them international exposure and improving their communication skills. Commanders consider positive performance evaluation reports from peace operations to assess soldiers on subjective criteria when they return to Ghana. While promotion within the GAF does not specifically consider peace operation deployment, effective performance and proficiency in military skills are taken into consideration. Deployment in peace operations provides female soldiers with opportunities to fulfil forward roles that they had not had at home. As such, deployment could be a positive factor in enabling more women to access and succeed in leadership positions.

Case Study C: UN support to gender-responsive reform in the Somali Police

The United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) has advocated and provided technical support to increase women's participation in the Somali Police. UNSOM Police supported the development of new guidelines to ensure that recruitment and selection processes are clear, valid and consistently applied. These guidelines aim to provide an acceptable set of criteria for the enlistment of qualified men and women into the Somali Police based on equal opportunities. UNSOM Police also advised on the establishment of Vetting and Recruitment Committees in three Federal Member States to ensure increased diversity and to promote female candidates among the police recruits and trainees. In Hirshabelle State, this resulted in an increase in female candidates from 3% to 11%. In addition, UNSOM Police supported the creation of units in police stations to handle SGBV cases and set up a WhatsApp platform for UNSOM, African Union and Somali Police Gender Focal Persons and Child Protection Officers to share information on SGBV cases and also to help improve their working relationships.

3.2 Transforming harmful gendered norms and practices within the security sector

The impetus to transform gendered institutional culture comes from the need to build more diverse and inclusive security sector institutions, discussed above. The prevalence of patriarchal attitudes and toxic masculinities within the security sector is associated with abuse by security sector personnel, including SGBV and other gendered practices that alienate groups within the community, and can drive them towards armed groups and violent extremism. Understanding the connections between gender, the security sector and conflict demands that transforming harmful gender norms and practices within the security sector is a priority for conflict prevention.

Initiatives focused on transforming patriarchal masculinities within the security sector are new and often experimental. However, there is a more sustained practice in other fields (mostly in programming around health) in developing and evaluating interventions that seek to challenge and redress harmful and unequal gender norms, roles, and unequal power relations that privilege men over women. The lessons learnt can be applied to SSG/R programming with security sector personnel that seeks to transform patriarchal masculinities:

- Programmes and interventions engaging men and boys need to be intentional in promoting gender equality by explicitly focusing on harmful gender norms and challenging unequal gender power relations that privilege men or subordinate women.
- Gender-transformative programming requires a balance between appealing to men to effectively engage with them and challenging men to contest gender inequalities. It needs to monitor any adverse or unexpected outcomes that may result from intervention.
- Promoting gender equality by engaging men and boys requires diverse partnerships, including between organisations working on men and boys and feminist organisations.⁷⁸

It is always important to keep in mind that harmful gendered norms and patriarchal masculinities are shaped and expressed both in the minds and behaviours of individuals and in the policies, culture, what is done and

how at institutional levels. As the work by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) “Targeting Men, Transforming Masculinities” emphasises, men and masculinities programming must recognise that patriarchal masculinities are embedded in institutions, and so go beyond a personal emphasis on men and ‘their’ masculinities.⁷⁹

3.2.1 Engaging leadership

Institutional change, especially in hierarchical and tradition-bound institutions such as those in the security sector, requires committed leadership. Leadership should set out the institution’s mission and vision around inclusion, diversity and equality. Leaders should show they believe in inclusion, diversity and equality through actions and behaviour, such as:

- speaking publicly and consistently about the value of a diverse workforce and the rejection of discrimination, bullying and harassment or attitudes that cultivate these;
- engaging in visible and “hands-on” leadership of organisational initiatives to reduce gender disparities and strengthen inclusion and diversity;
- resourcing initiatives to strengthen inclusion, diversity and equality;
- making continuous and substantive time investments in mentoring women and individuals from other poorly represented groups.

Experience and research suggest the following strategies to engage leadership and encourage support for inclusion, diversity and equality:

- Messaging the importance and value of these initiatives in terms of security/defence capability: e.g., the personnel needs of the organisation, the risk of “missing out on talent,” the need to recruit the best, and the operational benefits of diversity.
- Messaging inclusion as a question of fairness. Research shows that men who are attuned to recognizing issues of fairness are much more likely to become a champion of gender equity in the workplace.⁸⁰
- Referring to multinational WPS policy frameworks, which chime with the nation’s political aspirations.

- Presenting clear data that demonstrates the underrepresentation of particular groups at different levels and in different parts of the organisation, and facilitating women and others from underrepresented groups to share their personal stories, such that leaders gain insight into gender and other forms of institutional bias of which they may be unaware. Research has shown that men's awareness of gender disparities is an important indicator of whether or not they will be inclined to support gender initiatives.⁸¹
- Identifying among senior leaders, individuals to act as WPS champions. They should be asked to do specific things to support women and support the institution's WPS goals, such that "leadership" on WPS and gender equality is "translated" into concrete actions and behaviours. Examples include leaders speaking publicly about the importance of equality in the armed forces, participating in mentoring events, speaking during training.

"Leadership" should also be understood broadly, not simply to include generals, heads of police and other senior commanders and managers, but leaders at all levels. In many security institutions, it is the organisational subgroup (e.g., squad-level unit, specialised branch or subsection) that plays a central role in defining how soldiering, policing, treatment of prisoners or other justice- and security-related activities are performed in practice. These internal subcultures, and attached identities, can be actively or passively resistant to change seen as being imposed from above or from the civilian sphere and can be conducive to abusive or criminal behaviour if oversight fails. However, subgroup and peer-to-peer dynamics can also be drivers of positive change and mutual learning and support among colleagues.

3.2.2 Challenging militarised security practices

Changing institutional culture requires a fundamental shift in incentive structures - one that moves beyond a narrow focus on women's inclusion to examine how masculinities and male-dominated power dynamics are reinforced and rewarded within security institutions. While strong leadership on gender equality has been demonstrated in many police and militaries over the past decade, there has been less attention to shifting gendered security practices. For example, what sort

of behaviours win awards and promotions? How are traditionally "softer" security or community engagement practices that build community trust and cohesion recognised and rewarded? What training is prioritised and for whom? Research with the military in the Netherlands and the police in France has shown that training for military peacekeepers and police officers, respectively, may over-emphasise combat skills, contributing to an increased likelihood to resort to the use of force.⁸²

From a gender perspective, one area of focus is how performance evaluations recognize and value the particular skills that women and different groups of people might bring to the security sector, and assess leaders on how well they foster inclusion and gender equality.⁸³

3.2.3 Using gender training as a space to question dominant forms of masculinity

Gender training is a widely adopted tool within the security sector to enable personnel to understand and help implement gender policy, recognise specific gendered security issues, and build buy-in to gender equality strategies. Yet, exercises that lead trainees to reflect on their own ideas about gender are often left out, seen as being too difficult or time-consuming. Yet, there is a growing call for gender training to be more "transformative": trainees gaining a new sensitivity in recognizing gender inequality around them and seeing how they are constrained or privileged by their gender roles. Case Study D on page 19 shares an example of this in training for the Pakistan police.

The *Gender and Security Toolkit* brings together some of the training techniques used successfully with security and justice personnel to facilitate reflective training on gender.⁸⁴ (It is recommended that this type of training be conducted only by experienced and confident gender trainers, after appropriate discussion with those responsible within the institutions concerned.)

- Focus on participants' own gendered experiences of frustrations, needs and vulnerabilities, and set learning objectives that help men recognize the personal costs they suffer due to gender bias. Research suggests that when men recognize that gender disparities harm men—not only women—they will be more motivated to correct them.⁸⁵ Use experiences to

which trainees can relate as entry points to discussing gender norms and expectations. For example, in many countries male former military personnel face difficulties in civilian reintegration. They may “deal with” trauma in ways considered acceptable to “hard masculinity”, such as violence, risk-taking behaviour, substance abuse or suicide. Direct the conversation to ensure that it does not reaffirm dominant or harmful gendered behaviour, rather, illustrates how restrictive gender roles are problematic for everyone, men and women.

- Allow space for “taboos” to be confronted and then deconstruct them. Men’s fear about their loss of status and privilege is a major barrier to men’s support for gender equality.⁸⁶ It can be effective to allow training participants to express openly their

opposition to an aspect of gender policy, such as the inclusion of women or LGBTIQ+ persons in the military, and then guide trainees to recognise that the improvements that enable equality and inclusion benefit them also.

- Create a safe, confidential training space where there are no “wrong things to say”. Men’s fear of “making mistakes” concerning gender and of other men’s disapproval constrains them from supporting gender equality.⁸⁷
- Use reality-based scenarios. Scenario-based problem solving, role play and using complex real-life situations can create space to discuss moral and legal dilemmas, and open possibilities to identify discriminatory attitudes.

Case Study D: Masculinity training for the Pakistan police⁸⁸

In Pakistan, the NGO Rozan seeks to improve police response to gender-based violence (GBV) against women and girls by encouraging the police to reflect on their own masculinities and attitudes towards gender. Over 98 per cent of police in Pakistan are male. Since 1999, Rozan has been running its *Rabta* (“connection”) police training programme in partnership with the National Police Academy, National Police Bureau, Islamabad Police and provincial police departments.

Recognizing that achieving change within the police would require a sensitive entry point, Rozan developed a three-day attitudinal change module. The module was developed by an interdisciplinary team, including psychologists, anthropologists and sociologists, to recognize the diverse factors that contribute to police attitudes and behaviours towards women. The workshops are non-confrontational, aiming to strengthen life skills before broaching the more sensitive issues of gender and GBV. The training covers three components: self-awareness, life skills and social awareness. It begins by exploring “how men themselves understand masculinity, in terms of societal expectations and norms about male behaviour. The module leverages this awareness to discuss the social roles and expectations of women” (Khan and Bashir, 2011: 1). Roleplay is used to encourage trainees to think about life skills needed in policing work, such as “how to articulate their needs assertively, express anger constructively and non-violently, manage stress, empathize with others and handle relationships effectively” (Khan and Bashir, 2011: 2).

After three years of delivering the module within the National Police Academy, Rozan spent three further years handing the course over to police facilitators. From 2012, the training was delivered by Pakistan’s police training academies as part of the curriculum for recruits and serving police officers. Subsequent assessment of the training by Rozan documented greater demand within the police for further gender-related training and more openness to discussing GBV. This is important progress in the context of a militarized policing culture and a male-dominated service.

Sources: Interview with Babar Bashir, Managing Director, Rozan, 6 November 2018; S. Khan and B. Bashir (2011) “Promising Practice Case Study: *Rabta* Police Training Programme: Pakistan,” London: Social Development Direct; Saferworld (2014) “Masculinities, conflict and peacebuilding: Perspectives on men through a gender lens”, London.

- Use mandates and mission goals to reflect on implicit gender bias. For example, use the fact that security providers are mandated to protect all individuals, but some groups continue to suffer violence – such as SGBV, street harassment or sexual exploitation – to draw out awareness of gender bias in whose security needs are recognised and why.
- Consider focusing on SGBV by security sector personnel. Using sexual harassment and abuse of women or LGBTIQ+ persons by security sector personnel can serve as an uncomfortable yet effective discussion opener.

3.3 Strengthening the prevention of and accountability for sexual and gender-based violence by security sector personnel

SGBV can drive individuals towards armed groups and be part of patterns of marginalisation that leave individuals vulnerable to radicalisation. As discussed in the preceding section, SGBV committed by security sector personnel has even more pronounced effects in fuelling grievances that contribute to conflict. For this reason, this section focuses on preventing and responding to SGBV by security sector personnel. Extensive resources exist elsewhere on building capacity among police, in prisons, in the justice system and elsewhere in the security sector to address SGBV more generally.⁸⁹

In many SSR contexts, preventing SGBV and building complaints and accountability mechanisms with integrity have been recognised as critical priorities to re-establish community trust in security sector institutions. In Liberia, for example, gender reforms within the police included establishing a Gender Affairs Section with the responsibility to respond to complaints against police personnel of sexual harassment, domestic violence, and persistent non-payment of mandatory child support.⁹⁰ Sierra Leone's police reform likewise focused on addressing sexual harassment, abuse, and exploitation by police.⁹¹ Accountability for CRSV by military personnel has been just one area of focus in gender-responsive SSR support by the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), as outlined in Case Study F on page 42.

The following sections outline four areas for attention in United Nations SSR support: Codes of conduct,

policies and training; vetting of personnel; and complaints mechanisms.

3.3.1 Codes of conduct, policies and training

Each security institution should have clear policies (or internal guidelines, directives, standards or codes of conduct) prohibiting any form of gender-related discrimination, harassment or abuse, as well as any abuse or discrimination based on actual or perceived sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression, or factors such as race, ethnoreligious background and disability. To implement these policies, there needs to be clear and practical guidelines that address such matters as (as appropriate to the context):

- types of prohibited behaviour – such as paying for sex, directly or indirectly; sexually abusing adults; or having sex with persons under the age of 18;
- places that are out of bounds while working (e.g., brothels and strip clubs);
- clear procedures for complaints, investigation, and discipline;
- the obligation of any person who knows that instances of abuse have occurred to report it to a superior or (as appropriate to their position) investigate it; and
- that any person in a position of command who fails in their responsibility to prevent or punish sexual exploitation or abuse will be held accountable.

Training is required to create an organisational culture in which all personnel understand and implement these policies, and where commanders, supervisors and managers monitor compliance by their personnel, putting a stop to and punishing misconduct as necessary.

3.3.2 Gender-responsive vetting

Effective vetting is vital to screen for individuals with histories of gender-based misconduct. Standard and enhanced background checks should include:

- Detailed personal interviews with an applicant, including questions relating to the foregoing;
- Interviews with people who know the applicant, including his/her spouse or partner;
- Psychological testing;

- A review of the applicant's social media activity and membership in social and political organizations;
- Checks on the applicant's address to identify possible emergency calls regarding violent incidents; and
- Where the applicant is transferring between forces or from another public sector job, a review of their conduct history.⁹²

Enhanced internal vetting procedures should be implemented for staff applying for posts where they will have close engagement with groups likely to be vulnerable, such as children, detainees, victims of sexual violence, sex workers, and undocumented migrants and refugees.

3.3.3 Complaints mechanisms⁹³

Robust, accessible, and gender-responsive complaints systems are central to professional and accountable security institutions. In many countries, when there is misconduct by a member of the security services, citizens must first take their complaint to the service itself. Being open to complaints from the public and having efficient and effective procedures to respond, investigate and discipline are crucial to any service's professionalism and integrity. There should, additionally, always be the possibility of filing a complaint directly with an independent body, such as an ombuds institution or complaints commission, or prosecutor.

To ensure that complaints procedures in the security sector are accessible and gender-responsive, the following provisions should be in place:

- Multiple ways to lodge complaints, including using a toll-free number or a free postal address, or by e-mail;
- Ideally, female officers being available to take a complaint from a woman or girl;
- A requirement stipulating that no officer may refuse a complaint or attempt to dissuade a person from filing a complaint;
- A records system that identifies whether the complainant has any relationship with an officer (for example, to identify domestic abuse);
- The possibility of making a complaint in one's own language and/or without having to write it down;
- Procedures to allow a complainant to lodge an anonymous complaint, recognising that members of marginalised communities, in particular, may not feel safe identifying themselves;

- The possibility of a complaint being made by a victim's partner, family member, friend or another representative; and
- A system whereby traceable and confidential records are kept of all complaints made.

Gender-responsive complaints are one of the issues addressed in a regional *Manual on Combating Gender-Based Discrimination, Sexual Harassment and Abuse* described in Case Study E on military cooperation on gender integration in the Western Balkans.

Those investigating complaints should recognise that security sector personnel often commit abuses where they think they will get away with it. Complaints may well come from individuals within a community who are generally perceived as lacking in credibility, including individuals who engage in some level of criminal behaviour and those from stigmatised communities. Complaints from all individuals must be investigated with an equally high level of rigour and professionalism. Complaints systems must be designed in ways that protect whistleblowers and complainants from retaliation by those accused of wrongdoing or by senior staff.

Specific protocols should be in place to guide the handling of a complaint of sexual violence. These should include protocols governing the interviewing of victims, referrals for social support and the collection of forensic evidence. Where a member of the institution is the alleged perpetrator, special attention should be paid to whether physical protection is necessary for the victim and witnesses.

Internal and external monitoring of the handling of complaints concerning members of the security sector is critical. Complaints processes should be actively scrutinized through both internal mechanisms and independent external ones to ensure that they are accessible, fair, efficient, timely, and robustly address SGBV and other gender-related misconduct.

Moreover, an absence of complaints, or an absence of complaints by women, people who identify as LGBTI+ and minority groups, must not be interpreted as a sign that there are no problems. On the contrary, it may indicate a lack of faith in the effective handling of complaints by the security sector. As such, wherever possible internal complaints data should be compared with data collected from external oversight bodies and other independent sources.

Case Study E: UN support to initiatives to promote regional cooperation on gender among militaries in the Western Balkans

Since 2009, UNDP SEESAC has been working with four Ministries of Defence (MoDs) and Armed Forces in Southeast Europe and the Western Balkans to support gender integration: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, North Macedonia and Serbia. These Ministries of Defence have embarked on a long-term transformational effort to make their institutions gender-responsive. The following are examples of both national and regional initiatives to integrate a gender perspective in the military, thus contributing to SSG and conflict prevention capacities in the Western Balkans region.

Ministry of Defence of Montenegro: A gender-sensitive survey on employees' job satisfaction

Human resource management plays a significant role in the armed forces, regardless of the phase of SSR. Knowledge of the job satisfaction determinants, experience regarding gender-based discrimination and attitudes vis-à-vis gender-responsive policy implementation can guide strategies to achieve greater compatibility between female and male employees and the organization and improve the functionality and efficiency of the entire system.

The MoD of Montenegro is committed to improving working conditions for women and men. As part of its *Gender Equality Policy*, the 2019 *Action Plan for the Implementation of the Human Resources Management Strategy* in the MoD and Armed Forces envisaged conducting a gender-sensitive survey on employees' job satisfaction.

In close cooperation with the MoD, SEESAC provided seven tailored training courses for selected MoD and Armed Forces personnel responsible for the survey. These courses enabled the participants to develop the scope of the survey; strengthen their data collection, data analysis and reporting capacities; and develop the survey instruments (questionnaire, guidelines for focus group discussions and in-depth interviews). The survey used a mixed methodology (both quantitative and qualitative) to enable deeper insights and disaggregated inputs from male and female staff.

The MoD derived multiple benefits from conducting the job satisfaction survey and continued to conduct research of this type in 2020 and 2021.

Montenegro shared its knowledge regionally, participating in training for the MoD of North Macedonia, which is to embark on a similar survey in 2021.

MoD of the Republic of Serbia: Gender training manual

In 2016 gender trainers from the MoD of the Republic of Serbia and Serbian Armed Forces (SAF), with SEESAC technical assistance, prepared a comprehensive guide for gender training programmes. The *Gender Training Manual for MoD and SAF* supports a standardized approach that is completely tailored to the needs of MoD and SAF staff.

"In a simple and illustrative way, the Manual provides a better understanding of the complex and sensitive topic of gender-based discrimination. Only knowledge and perception of things from different perspectives, that is, the ability to "walk in other people's shoes" can contribute to the improvement of human rights. In this sense, the Manual represents a significant step in that direction." - MoD Gender Trainer

The Gender Training Manual is widely used by gender trainers to prepare and deliver gender awareness training courses, briefings and seminars for officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers, and civilians in the MoD and SAF. Updating of the manual is planned for 2021.

Standardization of training and updating of the existing and preparing new gender training manuals is on the agenda of all four MoDs. Good practice examples are being shared through the SEESAC facilitated [Regional Security Sector Reform Platform](#) and the Regional Network of Military Gender Trainers.

“Through training courses, we encourage people to think about gender equality and the stereotypes that are deeply rooted in the society. I was not familiar with the topic, and now, through working with people, I have changed personally and pay attention to things that I was not able to recognize before. The most important thing is that changes in the units are visible, they are discussed, and opinions are exchanged.” - Gender Trainer in the Air Forces

Regional manual on combating gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment and abuse

The four MoDs initiated work on a regional [Manual on Combating Gender-Based Discrimination, Sexual Harassment and Abuse](#) in 2019. This joint knowledge tool aims to help practitioners as well as the general workforce in the military to recognize, address, process and, most importantly, reduce and ultimately eradicate gender-based discrimination in the military.

The MoDs recognize that developing the Regional Manual is not an end, but rather the beginning of outreach work to increase the capacities of the entire system, including MoDs and AFs, to recognize and address gender-related discrimination, harassment, and abuse. As a follow-up to the finalization of the Regional Manual, promotion activities are planned on both regional and national levels, plus targeted actions through training and work on developing the appropriate internal procedures to address cases of gender-based discrimination, harassment and abuse.

Regional Platform on Gender Equality in the Military in the Western Balkans

The *Regional Platform of Gender Equality Mechanisms, Decision Makers and Military Commanders in MoDs and Armed Forces* represents the backbone of regional cooperation on gender equality in the military in the Western Balkans. The platform, through meetings that have been held regularly since 2012, gathers four MoDs from the Western Balkans, facilitating dialogue on gender equality in the military and allowing for cross-fertilisation of policies and practices and joint planning of activities. Approximately 30 participants from four MoDs and AFs participate in the platform and regularly share their experiences in integrating a gender perspective in SSR.

Within this regional platform, working groups are created to focus on priority issues. A Regional Network of Gender Trainers was established to advance the understanding of gender equality among MoD and personnel. Regional research, such as on the position of women in the armed forces, facilitated the development of MoD and Armed Forces personnel capacity on methodologies, collection and analysis of data and monitoring of progress. A dedicated regional working group has produced a Regional Manual to guide the MoDs and the Armed Forces in establishing a zero tolerance towards gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment and abuse. To secure the sustainability of action, a dedicated regional working group on gender perspective in military education and training has been established, which will prepare a baseline overview and suggest recommendations to policymakers.

The platform does not only facilitate regional cooperation but contributes to confidence-building and standardization of approaches to gender integration in militaries across the region.

The UNDP SEESAC project ‘*Strengthening of Regional Cooperation in Mainstreaming Gender in the Security Sector Reform in the Western Balkans*’ provides a platform for sharing experience and knowledge exchange on gender equality in the military. All gender-related activities mentioned in the practice examples provided in the text are wholly owned and implemented by the MoDs and Armed Forces of the participating countries.

3.4 Strengthening internal and external oversight and accountability⁹⁴

Monitoring of complaints is but one aspect of the critical roles of internal and external oversight mechanisms which shape the institutional culture and performance of security sector institutions. Beyond focusing on SGBV and other forms of gender-related misconduct, oversight mechanisms have the potential both to direct and support the transition to a more inclusive institutional culture, through scrutiny of the following:

- implementation of institutional policies on gender equality, diversity, inclusion, and the like;
- the quality of services provided to specific groups, including women, LGBTIQ+ people, minorities, including but not limited to the handling of SGBV;
- in a military context, gendered impacts of operations;
- human resource management and workforce diversity, including the recruitment, retention, pay equity and advancement of women and other underrepresented groups.

Periodic gender audits, gender assessments and climate surveys are useful tools to benchmark and systematise monitoring.

The United Nations and other international partners can offer technical advice and capacity building of internal oversight actors within security sector institutions (such as Inspector Generals and Audit Offices) and external oversight actors (such as ombuds institutions, National Human Rights Institutions, WPS monitoring bodies, and parliamentary committees).

3.4.1 Mandate and powers for inclusive oversight

Minimum standards for effective oversight, in terms of independence, rights to inquire and inspect, power to make recommendations and so forth, are critical for oversight of gender, diversity and inclusion aspects of security sector institutions. There are additional characteristics of the mandate which are important from a gender perspective. For example, the legislation or regulations of an oversight body can address gender and diversity issues in the following ways:

- Include specific reference to the institution's responsibility to promote gender equality and ensure non-discrimination;
- Refer to the responsibility to review, monitor and report on the implementation of national human rights and gender equality laws and (if applicable) WPS National Action Plan, with the inclusion of civil society participation; and
- Require representation and participation of women and men within the institution and among its members and governing body.

3.4.2 Internal structures and processes for inclusive oversight

Oversight institutions can themselves take steps to ensure they have the capacity to monitor gender and diversity issues.

- Publicly committing to gender-responsiveness through a mission statement or committing themselves to a gender-responsive approach and non-discrimination through, for example, a statement of values. Adopt policies and procedures to implement this, and to oneself to be held to account for so doing. This could include a gender strategy or action plan, setting out activities, timelines and responsibilities, as well as a framework for monitoring and evaluating activities.
- Undertake a strategic planning process, drawing on research and consultations with women's organisations, LGBTIQ+ organisations and other community groups involved in anti-discrimination work to develop priorities for work on gender and diversity issues.
- Establish institutional structures with dedicated funding and staffing for gender and specific diversity issues. This can include creating a department, division, unit or centre focused in whole or in part on gender issues; defining roles within the institution dedicated to gender equality; and/or setting up gender focal points mandated to support gender mainstreaming. Such departments and roles need to be at an appropriate level of seniority and properly resourced to be able to exert influence.
- Take steps to achieve equal representation of women and men at all staff levels and on governing boards.

(Note that for certain roles, including the monitoring of detention conditions and treatment of women prisoners, international standards require female inspectors). To create a work environment that supports equal opportunities for women and men, oversight institutions should, like security sector institutions, develop and implement policies to recruit and promote underrepresented groups, ensure flexible, family-friendly working conditions, and prevent and effectively address sexual harassment in the workplace.

3.4.3 Capacity building of oversight bodies

Individuals and bodies that play a role in the monitoring and oversight of security sector institutions may require training on gender, inclusion and diversity issues appropriate to their specific role.

The issues outlined above under “Engaging leadership,” such as highlighting the types of informal and formal discrimination that women tend to encounter in the workplace, would also be useful. Such training might also include the following:

- Relevant national and international laws;
- Institutional policies and directives, as well as how to implement them (for example, through gender mainstreaming);
- Evidence as to how the crime or insecurities the institution is dealing with have differential impacts on women, men, girls and boys, LGBTI+ people and in different parts of the community;
- International best practice for handling specific forms of SGBV, hate crimes, complaints of SGBV against security sector personnel etc.;

- Technical skills-building around collecting and analysing sex-disaggregated and other gender-related data, and support to ensure information management systems can produce and analyse data disaggregated by sex and other characteristics; and
- Technical skills-building for external cooperation.

3.4.4 External co-operation by oversight bodies

Oversight institutions should ensure they engage with (depending on their mandate) a range of external groups, and that this engagement is consequential – in terms of having an impact and being followed up. One would expect to see structured cooperative relations, including regular meetings and exchange of information with the following:

- Specialized government bodies that address discrimination, equality, etc. (such as Discrimination Commissioners, Gender Equality Councils).
- NGOs, including women’s groups and victims’ rights groups - which exercise informal oversight over the security sector, highlighting shortcomings and advocating for change. Civil society oversight roles tend to be best developed in relation to policing, especially when police are required to report to and co-operate with community-policing forums, local security committees or civilian oversight boards. NGOs can provide formal oversight institutions with information and often have the specialized knowledge and human resources with which to support awareness-raising and training activities.
- Women’s, LGBTIQ+ and other staff associations in the security sector.

Case Study F: UN interventions to support gender-responsive security sector reform in South Sudan⁹⁵

The United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), UNDP and UN Women have provided support for gender-responsive SSR in South Sudan, including as it relates to SGBV, CRSV and gender mainstreaming in the security sector. The below initiatives are illustrative of some of the practical steps taken by UNMISS and the UN Country Team to support national stakeholders.

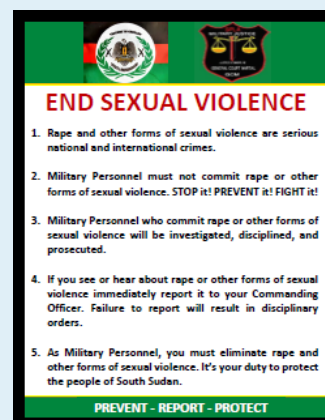
Action plans on addressing CRSV:

UNMISS's Office of the Senior Women's Protection Advisor worked closely with the South Sudan People's Defence Forces (SSPDF), the South Sudan National Police Service (SSNPS), and opposition forces to develop and implement targeted commitments from parties to the conflict at senior and operational levels to combat CRSV and transform combatants' approach to preventing and responding to CRSV, including through ongoing training of security sector personnel. Its engagement on CRSV with all parties to the conflict constitutes regular platforms of dialogue to discuss CRSV incidents attributed to each group, as well as accountability measures.

Key messages for military personnel and mobile military court martials:

The UNMISS Rule of Law Advisory Section (UNMISS/RoLAS) worked with the SSPDF's Military Justice Directorate to develop a training programme to assist Judge-Advocates to improve practice-based skills to promote accountability for CRSV. The 20-session, solutions-based training programme was developed to assist Judge-Advocates to bridge the gap between theory and implementation and identify practical solutions, based on best practices and international standards, to promote accountability for CRSV. At the end of the training programme, Judge-Advocates developed "Five Key Messages to Prevent Rape and Other Forms of Sexual Violence" (*Five Key Messages*) for distribution and awareness-raising among SSPDF military personnel to end rape and other forms of sexual violence. The *Five Key Messages* are:

- Rape and other forms of sexual violence are serious national and international crimes.
- Military personnel must not commit rape or other forms of sexual violence. STOP it! PREVENT it! FIGHT it!
- Military personnel who commit rape or other forms of sexual violence will be investigated, disciplined, and prosecuted.
- If you see or hear about rape or other forms of sexual violence immediately report it to your Commanding Officer. Failure to report will result in disciplinary orders.
- As military personnel, you must eliminate rape and other forms of sexual violence. It's your duty to protect the people of South Sudan.



Subsequently, UNMISS/RoLAS assisted the Military Justice Directorate in printing pocket-sized cards and posters with the *Five Key Messages* for distribution among military personnel (see card imagery above).

UNMISS/RoLAS also provided support to the Military Justice Directorate to conduct mobile military court martials to enforce military discipline and increase public trust in the SSPDF by curbing the culture of impunity among soldiers and holding military personnel accountable for violating national law. During the court martial proceedings, copies of the Action Plan against CRSV were distributed among commanders and pocket-sized cards with the *Five Key Messages* were distributed among the soldiers and civilians that were present. UNMISS/RoLAS has also partnered with the GBV-Sub Cluster of South Sudan to identify and liaise with organizations to provide victim and witness support services during the court martial hearings.

Gender-responsive programming within the prison service:

Since 2018 UNMISS/RoLAS has provided support to the National Prisons Service of South Sudan through training of officers on SGBV. Training was organized in Bentiu, Malakal and Juba to equip Prisons Service officers with relevant skills to address SGBV cases occurring within the prison system. Additionally, technical assistance was provided to the Prisons Service leadership which led to the establishment of a Prisons Service Gender Unit in 2019, with ongoing support from UNMISS/RoLAS to link the Gender Unit with relevant national stakeholders,

including the Women and Juvenile Department of the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, and international stakeholders such as UNICEF.

Gender-responsive policing and justice:

UNMISS UN Police (UNMISS/UNPOL) and UNDP provide training support to the SSNPS on a wide range of gender-relevant topics, including gender sensitivity, community policing and appropriate management of cases of SGBV. UNMISS/RoLAS has used community police training to acquaint police officials with the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) “One Stop Centres” to encourage police to direct victims of GBV in need of medical, legal or psychosocial support to the One Stop Centres to access free-of-cost services.

UNDP, in partnership with UNFPA, provided support for the development of the Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Welfare’s 2017 Standard Operating Procedure for prevention, protection and response to GBV. This was followed by support for the drafting of the 2019-2022 SSNPS Action Plan to Address CRSV. UNDP, UNMISS/RoLAS and UNMISS/UNPOL are likewise providing support for the development of a Standard Operating Procedure for the SSNPS Special Protection Unit (SPU). The establishment and operationalization of the SPU, under the Community Policing Directorate, was supported by UNDP and UNPOL. The SPU offers specialized management of cases involving SGBV- including reporting, investigation, prosecution and ensuring the registration of cases in court. Other initiatives include the establishment of a GBV Court in Juba to oversee SGBV and juvenile cases, resulting in increased efficiency and effective delivery of justice to the survivors as more cases are registered, adjudicated and concluded; infrastructural support, to include building and equipping SPU centres and ensuring the operationalization of the SPU coordination office in Juba; and capacity building and continued mentorship of justice actors on responses to SGBV and the strengthening of referral mechanisms.

UNMISS/RoLAS and UNDP deploy civilian mobile courts throughout South Sudan to reduce case backlogs, especially for SGBV and capital cases. UNDP also supports ongoing dialogues between security personnel and civilians to enhance gender-responsive service delivery to the community.

Supporting women in the security sector: UNMISS’s Gender Affairs Unit is engaged in efforts to increase networking among women across security sector institutions, as well as to highlight the professional accomplishments of female personnel to support their visibility and promotion. UNMISS/UNPOL participate in a variety of initiatives to build confidence and inspire young women to join the police service. One example was a “peace walk,” on which 100 female police officers were joined by UNPOL counterparts in a peace walk through the streets of Aweil in Northern Bahr el Ghazal. UNDP training in six states targets senior and middle-level officers to support the transformation of leadership and empowerment of female police and prison officers.

Gender mainstreaming SSR:

UN Women, UNDP and UNMISS have collaborated on the development and implementation of a Peacebuilding Fund Project on *Gender Mainstreaming in Security Sector Reform*. The project has three gender-relevant outcomes: (1) security sector interventions are informed by the security needs and priorities of women and girls; (2) communities are empowered to voice and assert their rights to protection and institutions are equipped to respond to community security needs in an inclusive and gender-responsive manner, and (3) coordination mechanisms among key security sector institutions are improved to address the security needs of individuals and communities in a gender-responsive and inclusive manner. As part of the project, a joint security needs assessment was conducted in 10 states to identify security threats and issues facing individuals in communities, especially women and girls and other marginalised groups; and joint gender analysis and mapping of the security sector and its laws, policies, procedures and processes will take place at national and state levels to understand the extent to which they address the security needs identified in the assessments. A new PBF project, *Women in South Sudan’s Security Sector: A Path to Inclusive and Transformative Leadership*, is currently being implemented.

3.5 Supporting inclusive, participatory security sector reform

The conflict resolution literature and practice reviewed in Section II identifies the critical role played by women's organisations in conflict mediation and early warning, dispute resolution and peacebuilding. These insights have been translated into a range of United Nations approaches to support women's meaningful participation in mediation, peace agreements and WPS National Action Plans.⁹⁶ The United Nations can play comparable roles in systematically supporting women's participation in SSR, as part of United Nations facilitation, coordination, and public communication, awareness-raising and outreach regarding SSR processes. There should likewise be focused tracking of the participation of women and civil society in SSR.

It is important to keep a distinction between women's participation in the security sector, women peacekeepers, and women's participation in SSR processes. All are important and not unrelated; but a commitment to, for example, recruit more women to police and armed forces is not equivalent to women's participation in an SSR process on a political/strategic level.

3.5.1 Civil society engagement in SSR and women's participation in SSR decision-making

United Nations SSR support can include facilitating broad-based SSR consultations with rural and urban community-based organisations and community leaders, including diverse women's organisations and representatives of LGBTIQ+ communities and anti-discrimination organizations; soliciting submissions from such organizations and academics; and encouraging the participation of parliamentary women's caucuses. Touchstones should be that participation of representatives of diverse groups in SSR, and policymaking more generally, should be:

- comprehensive – in sufficient number;
- meaningful – in decision-making roles and having influence; and
- throughout the whole process – from inception to development, finalisation and evaluation of policy.

Some states and NGOs are advocating for a 50 per cent quota for women in SSR processes. Entry points should be sought to link community-based conflict prevention and resolution initiatives with justice and police reform.

Networking and political advocacy efforts among women leaders at the national, regional, and global levels can also increase women's participation in SSR.⁹⁷

Alongside civil society engagement, United Nations leaders should advocate for women to hold formal positions within SSR policymaking, implementation and monitoring bodies, and explore ways to incentivise this. Women's participation could be increased by:

- the United Nations providing context-specific incentives to overcome barriers to women's participation, such as need-based financial compensation, transport, childcare, translation and access to digital tools;⁹⁸
- including positions within SSR bodies for representatives of the ministry of gender/women and representatives of national women's CSO networks and other CSOs;
- including "gender expertise" in the criteria used to identify members of relevant committees.

Women involved in SSR could be offered expert training on key thematic issues under discussion and technical public policy skills.

3.5.2 Protection of women peacebuilders

A critical aspect of enabling inclusion in SSR processes, and of supporting women's conflict prevention activities is protecting the women who do this work. As a recent ICAN report explores, women peacebuilders face enormous dangers and often sexualised threats: threats of rape and murder, and to target children and other family members, kidnapping, torture, harassment, surveillance and intimidation. They are in some contexts persecuted by state police and intelligence services.⁹⁹ Protecting peacebuilders requires political commitment and legal action, but security sector institutions also play important roles.

In SSR, technical assistance could focus on helping to develop systems to identify and respond to the threats to women peacebuilders. This would include mechanisms to ensure that all threats and security incidents are taken seriously and investigated fully, activating referral mechanisms with clear roles, responsibilities, and paths of communication (admittedly difficult where state forces are themselves persecuting peacebuilders). Civil society recommendations include to:

- Establish and facilitate open channels of communication with the security sector, including local liaison

officers and protection specialists, and referral mechanisms that are accessible to women peacebuilders.

- Develop Minimum Security Operating Standards, designed to establish standard criteria for security arrangements to ensure the safety of women peacebuilders.

International actors can also work with national human rights institutions to build their capacity to monitor and report on the situation of women peacebuilders, coordinate the state's response to threats against them; and evaluate the efficacy of the state's response. They can support the review and revision of laws that criminalize, prohibit or stifle women peacebuilders' work, particularly counterterrorism laws.

United Nations agencies should be able to provide for the security needs of women peacebuilders to enable them to contribute to peace and security decision-making.¹⁰⁰

3.5.3 Supporting gender-responsive national security policymaking

United Nations approaches to SSR recognise the critical and catalytic role national security policies and strategies can play in building a security sector that is legitimate, trusted and responsive: a security sector that is a source of resilience to conflict rather than generating conflict risk. National security policy is a critical entry point for mitigating tendencies towards excessive militarisation – for shaping security with a view to defence capacity being just one aspect of security capability. *The Gender Policy of the United Nations Department of Peace Operations (DPO)* envisions “development of gender-sensitive national security policies, strategies,”¹⁰¹ and United Nations policy regarding CRSV tasks missions' SSR components to “support the development of inclusive and effective national defence and security institutions”¹⁰² but what this means and how it is achieved has received little explicit attention in United Nations guidance or scholarship.

The principles for gender-responsive national security policymaking should be applied to any SSR processes, to ensure that SSR is inclusive, human-security oriented and in all regards integrating a gender perspective.

From a conflict prevention perspective, a gender-sensitive national security policy should mitigate the security sector-related conflict risks outlined above: SGBV and poor response to SGBV, including CRSV, gender-discriminatory security practices, patriarchal masculinities, and excessive militarism. Additionally, it implies national security policies

and strategies that foster the role of the security sector as a source of resilience to conflict: inclusion and support for community-based security mechanisms.

Gender-responsive national security policymaking was the subject of a 2008 Tool published by DCAF, OSCE ODIHR and UN INSTRAW.¹⁰³ This identified three requirements. The first, that national security policymaking should be diverse and inclusive, entails applying the principles outlined above concerning inclusive, participatory SSR. Others are discussed in turn below.

National security policy and strategy that substantively addresses human security needs with a gender perspective

The United Nations can offer technical support and capacity building to help national stakeholders develop a security policy that holistically promotes human security, with a gendered perspective. National security policies and strategies can:

- Identify and address the root causes of communities' insecurity as part of the strategies to achieve the national security policy goals, acknowledging that investment in healthcare, poverty reduction, education, social services etc. are critical to achieving national security;
- Reinforce the primacy of civilian-led, human-rights orientated approaches to security provision, explicitly committing to promoting human rights and making links to human rights monitoring mechanisms;
- Progress disarmament, prioritising effective regulation of small arms and light weapons and arms transfers, and national divestment from arms acquisition;
- Recognise the importance of achieving equality between men and women, and social, racial, religious and ethnic groups as a matter of national security, and commit to tackling SGBV as key priorities;
- Commit to gender mainstreaming all aspects of security policy and implementation;
- Reinforce the WPS Agenda and national structures for its implementation;
- Recognise and support the roles played by community-based security mechanisms;
- Outline roles for civil society and other non-state accountability mechanisms to allow them to contribute effectively to the oversight and accountability of the security sector.¹⁰⁴

National security policy and strategy that directs non-discrimination and gender-responsiveness within security sector institutions

United Nations technical support should actively attend to how new national security policy and strategy can contribute to transforming gender-discriminatory practices, patriarchal masculinities, and excessive militarism in the security sector. National security strategies can:

- Recognise and commit to eliminating sexual and racial discrimination, SGBV and other human rights violations by and within security sector institutions;

- Commit to achieving women's full and equal participation in security sector institutions, setting out concrete targets and mechanisms;
- Commit to the adoption and implementation of institutional codes of ethics and conduct, prohibiting sexual and racial discrimination, sexual harassment and other forms of SGBV;
- Outline and commit to full support of internal and external discipline and accountability mechanisms.

Case Study G outlines how the United Nations was able to offer gender-responsive support to the development of Burkina Faso's National Security Policy and Strategy.

Case Study G: UN support to the development of Burkina Faso's National Security Policy and Strategy

Like other countries in the Sahel region, Burkina Faso is experiencing an increasingly challenging security environment. Since 2014, the country has entered a cycle of more frequent terrorist attacks. The northern parts of the country, bordering Mali and Niger, are particularly at risk as a result of the spill over of their conflicts.

In October 2017, Burkina Faso convened a National Security Forum. This sought to develop a new vision for SSG in Burkina Faso and to chart a path for SSR. Over 600 representatives from various state institutions, civil society and academia participated. One of the outcomes was the prioritisation of elaboration of a National Security Policy (NSP), a national security strategy and sectoral strategies and implementation plans. A further aim was to consolidate trust between the security and defence forces and the population.¹⁰⁵

In 2016, Burkina Faso's Head of State asked for UN support for the reform of the security sector. The UN was able to provide advisory and technical support and facilitate experience sharing with other countries in the region and beyond. Prominent in UN support was encouraging measures to ensure that the national security policymaking process were inclusive of the full diversity of society. Regional consultations included measures to seek out the voices of women, men and youth, among others. Structures for consultation included both women and men, women's organisations and youth organisations. Among topics explored in the process was gender, and threat assessments disaggregated by gender in order to best grasp people's expectations and priorities.

The UN paid special attention to working with the Parliament's Defence and Security Committee, including providing capacity building and mentorship of its sole female member, to enable her to take the lead in ensuring the inclusion of the theme of democratic governance of the security sector throughout the process. The UN also paid special attention to civil society organisations who after continuous advisory and capacity building support, ended up setting up the Security Sector Governance and Reform platform.

In 2021, Burkina Faso validated a new National Security Strategy. The Strategy includes a range of provisions that speak to inclusion, gender perspective and women's participation. As conditions for its implementation, the strategy calls for a national education system that promotes inclusive cultural values and for a judicial framework that guarantees equity and social inclusion. Inclusion is imperative for a strong and peaceful nation, in which all layers of the population regardless of politics, ethnicity, religion, culture, region, gender and socio-professional situation should participate in security governance. Security actors, especially decision-makers, should also take into account a gender perspective and seize any opportunity to promote women's participation in national security matters.

4. Strengthening Security Sector Assessment and Monitoring Through a Gender Conflict Prevention Lens

Improving the substance and content of the analysis on which SSR support efforts are based is a key ambition of this project. Associated Policy Briefs on Building Stronger Institutions that Deliver Genuine Security to All are focused on these aspects: 1. “*We Must Think and Work Politically*” and 3. “*Assessing Risks, Preventing Grievances*.”

This section examines the intersections of these guidance products from a gender perspective, proposing assessment methodologies and indicators that hone in on security sector-related conflict risk factors.¹⁰⁶ It places particular emphasis on a much neglected but critical arena – fiscal analysis of the security sector.

4.1 Gendering assessment and monitoring of security sector-related conflict risks

As outlined in the upcoming policy brief 2. “*World Bank/ United Nations: Towards shared understandings of power dynamics*,” the United Nations and WGB apply at least five different assessment frameworks and tools to fragile and conflict-affected states with, in the case of the United Nations Common Country Analysis, different analytical processes applied within them. As any standardized assessment framework for SSR is developed, approaches refined within tools for gender analysis of conflict and gender assessment of security institutions should be incorporated. **Annexe 3** presents a summary of these tools, plus an outline of good practice in disaggregating data using intersectional gendered approaches. Beyond these country-level assessment processes, gendered security sector-related conflict risks can be assessed through assessments underlying national security policymaking (discussed in Section III sub-section 5 above) as well as, for example, institutional gender assessments, community safety audits, and WPS consultations. Case study H on page 54 explores how the Gender Self-Assessment methodology was used with security sector institutions in Ukraine and the impact of this gender assessment on the SSR process.

Where Political Economy Analysis (PEA) is applied, it should be intentional about analysing gender roles and relationships between different groups and seek to identify incentives available for security and political leaders to make choices that lead to more gender equality in the security sector and society.¹⁰⁷

The United Nations DPO and UN Women have developed a joint methodology on gender-responsive conflict analysis, which could be integrated into SSR planning tools. This sets out a process of identifying gender factors that contribute to or fuel conflict and gender-specific drivers for peace. These factors and drivers will differ between and within any context. As a starting point, however, the analysis of how gender shapes security sector-related risks and conflict drivers presented in Section II of this paper implies the importance of assessing the following:

- Security sector inclusion
- SGBV by the security sector
- Patriarchal masculinities and rigid gender norms within the security sector
- Adequacy of security sector response to SGBV
- Prevalence of militarism
- Strength and influence of women’s conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms.

Table 1 on page 32 on page proposes questions that might be added to United Nations and World Bank assessment frameworks to identify these risk factors. These could be explored through a range of methodologies, including surveys and focus groups.

Table 1 also proposes indicators that could be used as benchmarks for SSR programming that address these dimensions. In reality, there is not a linear relationship between assessment questions and indicators - because the programmes, processes or activities that are developed based on the assessment determine which indicators will be relevant. Nonetheless, Table 1 offers ideas to consider.

Many WPS and gender equality indicators frameworks are already in use. **Annexe 4** gives an overview of these and highlights good practice in combining qualitative and quantitative indicators for gender mainstreaming and promotion of gender equality within security institutions, sharing sample indicators for gender-responsive SSR and considering how indicators for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development can be used in association with gender-responsive SSR programmes.

In Table 1, indicators are grouped following the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)'s categorisation of human rights indicators as structural,

process and outcome indicators.¹⁰⁸ Structural indicators capture the acceptance, intent and commitment of a country's government (or a security sector institution) in taking measures that comply with international instruments, as well as regional and/or national legal frameworks. Process indicators assess a country's efforts (or those of a specific security or justice institution) through its implementation of policy measures and programmes to advance gender equality or integrate a gender perspective. Outcome indicators assess the results of a country's government (or a security sector institution) in advancing gender equality or integrating a gender perspective within the security and justice sector.

Table 1: Sample questions and indicators to assess and monitor security sector-related risks and conflict drivers

Conflict risk dimension	Sample assessment questions	Sample indicators
Security sector inclusion	- How many and what percentage of men and women serve in a) operational roles and b) as leaders in each security sector institution? Can this information be disaggregated by other measures of inclusion, such as: race, ethno-religious background, indigeneity, sexual orientation, gender identity or disability? Can this information be compared to men/women working in other public agencies? - Do security sector institutions have any restrictions to serve based on sex, race, ethno-religious background, indigeneity, sexual orientation, gender identity or disability? - How does public trust in the security sector differ between men and women, of different ages and characteristics, such as race, ethno-religious background, indigeneity, sexual orientation, gender identity or disability?	Structural: Whether or not legal frameworks and institutional mechanisms are in place to promote, enforce and monitor equality and non-discrimination on the basis of sex in the security sector. Presence of legislative restrictions on who can serve in security sector institutions or exceptions to human rights law for security sector institutions. Process: Number of security sector institutions that have assessed barriers to inclusion of a) women, and b) minority groups; and per cent of assessment recommendation implemented within two years. Number and types of actions initiated by leadership to improve institutional culture towards promoting gender equality, diversity and inclusion. Outcome: Proportion of men/women in leadership positions in each security sector institution. Public trust in the security sector – disaggregated by sex as well as characteristics, such as age, race, ethno-religious background, indigeneity, sexual orientation, gender identity and disability.

Conflict risk dimension	Sample assessment questions	Sample indicators
SGBV by the security sector	- What measures are in place to prevent SGBV by security sector personnel (e.g. vetting, codes of conduct, policies, training, monitoring)? - What accountability mechanisms are in place to respond to SGBV by security sector personnel (e.g. complaints mechanisms, victim support, independent disciplinary processes)? - How effectively do internal oversight processes (e.g. audit offices, Inspectorate Generals, military judges) and external oversight processes (e.g. national human rights institutions, ombuds offices, parliament) monitor and act on SGBV by security sector personnel? - What forms of misconduct by security sector personnel are being reported by credible sources (e.g. independent human rights NGOs and institutions)?	Structural: Number of security sector institutions that have criminal accountability mechanisms in place that penalize personnel for any form of abuse, bullying, harassment or discrimination based on gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, race, ethno-religious background, age, or disability. Process: Number of security sector institutions that implement vetting mechanisms that prevent perpetrators of SGBV from being recruited, retained, or promoted. Number of security sector institutions in which statistics on number and type of complaints against security sector personnel are collected and published, with details of disciplinary proceedings and their outcomes. Outcome: Number of reported complaints of SGBV against security sector personnel (collected from a range of sources, state and non-state).

Conflict risk dimension	Sample assessment questions	Sample indicators
Militarism	- Where does the country sit on measures of militarism and militarization such as BICC's Global Militarization Index (which compares a country's military expenditure with its Gross Domestic Product and its health expenditure), the Global Peace Index, and measures of public support for using the armed forces fighting crime and violence? - What sort of influences does the military have on political decision-making?	Structural: Whether or not parliament has effective powers to oversee defence budget and spending. Process: Number and types of actions by which parliamentary and civil society exercise oversight of the defence sector. Outcome: National military expenditure compared to Gross Domestic Product and health expenditure.

Conflict risk dimension	Sample assessment questions	Sample indicators
Patriarchal masculinities and rigid gender norms within the security sector	- How prevalent is <i>patriarchal masculinity</i> within each security sector institution? This can be indicated by, for example: beliefs that women should be subordinate to men; normalization of rape; or seeing heterosexual sex as a form of social status. - How strong is support for <i>traditional gender roles and gender conformity</i> within each security sector institution? This can be indicated by beliefs that, for example, men make better leaders than women, women are not capable of operational tasks, a woman's primary role is to mother children, or men should make decisions for women. (A range of survey tools have been developed by academics and research institutions to measure these dimensions.) - How do gender norms within the security sector compare to wider social norms? - To what extent are leaders of security sector institutions acting to challenge and reform institutional culture that contributes to misconduct – including harmful gender norms and practices?	Structural: Number of security sector institutions that have in place a statement of mandate/mission committed to equality between women and men. Process: Percentage of personnel in each security sector institution trained on abuse, harassment and discrimination. Outcome: Number of reported complaints of abuse, harassment or discrimination against security sector personnel (collected from a range of sources, state and non-state). Percentage of personnel indicating support for patriarchal masculinity or traditional gender roles and gender conformity within each security sector institution.

Conflict risk dimension	Sample assessment questions	Sample indicators
Women's conflict prevention and resolution mechanism	- What sort of partnerships exist between community-based security mechanisms and state security institutions involved in conflict prevention? - What protections do the security sector give to women peacebuilders? - How much influence do women's organisations have within local, national and regional conflict prevention processes? - To what extent are women's priorities heard and influencing national security policymaking e.g. the security sector provisions of peace agreements, development of national security policies and strategies, SSR processes?	Structural: Whether or not frameworks and institutional mechanisms are in place to ensure civil society and women's participation in national security policymaking processes. Process: Proportion of women in formal mechanisms for national security policymaking. Percentage of national security policies with specific provisions to improve the security and status of women and girls. Outcome: Proportion of population who believe security decision-making is inclusive and responsive, by sex, age, disability and population group.

Case Study H: UN Women Gender Impact Assessment of the Security and Defence Sector in Ukraine

In 2017, UN Women conducted a gender assessment of five of Ukraine's security sector institutions: the Ministry of Defense and General Staff, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the National Police, the State Border Guard Services, and the National Guard. This Gender Assessment has played a critical role in directing subsequent reform within the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Defence, in particular.

The Gender Assessment was agreed and planned at the highest political level, in close partnership with the Vice Prime Minister on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration. Indeed, aspiration for Euro-Atlantic integration served as a key incentive for the Gender Assessment: "gender" served as an entry point for ministries to demonstrate their support for values associated with Ukraine's new political direction. There was nonetheless some resistance to prioritizing gender within the participating institutions. Here, the assessment team of UN Women staff and consultants took time to communicate why the WPS Agenda was important to Ukraine and to explain how security services could benefit from considering gender and gender equality. Women's participation in the conflict in Eastern Ukraine provided strong evidence of women's contribution to security in information and resource gathering in military operations.

Ukraine's Gender Assessment followed DCAF's Gender Self-Assessment Guide for Police, Armed Forces and the Justice Sector. The dimensions of "Institutional culture" were particularly valuable. Methodologies included surveys, focus groups with male and female personnel and interviews. It was perceived as valuable that the assessment was being conducted by the UN, as an external agency, enabling anonymity for participants to address sensitive topics, including sexual harassment and discrimination, and to voice critical views.

The Gender Assessment has so far had the strongest impact on reforms within the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It identified gaps in the legal framework of the security sector and served as a roadmap for engendering the sectorial policies and procedures of the Ministry and central executive bodies coordinated by it. The Gender Assessment also identified gaps in the legal framework and police response to GBV and served as a road map for further analysis and law reform. The Ministry of Internal Affairs has continued to demonstrate its openness and willingness to build on the Assessment findings in undertaking a follow-up study of masculinity in the security sector.

In the Ministry of Defense, the Gender Assessment has been an impetus for reforms. Steps have followed to improve the legal framework for female personnel in the Armed Forces of Ukraine and other military formations, establishing a network of the Gender Advisors in the Ministry and the Armed Forces of Ukraine and creating new regulations concerning sexual harassment and non-discrimination. In OSCE's work with the Ministry of Defence on democratic control, the Gender Assessment was used to inform some aspects of engendering the programme. When the Strategic Defence Bulletin, Ukraine's roadmap for defence reform, was developed, the Gender Assessment was a resource for its gender mainstreaming.

The Gender Assessment informed the legal changes lifting restrictions on more than two hundred positions for women in the security and defence sector. Additionally, the Gender Assessment informed recommendations to the Government on engendering curricula of the higher education institutions of the security and defence sector. Both the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Defence have demonstrated progress in the institutionalization of gender approaches in education.

Reflecting on the impact of the Gender Assessment, four years on, is not without challenge. Women's full integration into the security and defence sector, including their ascent to leadership, takes a long time and may face backlash. Likewise, meaningful institutional change takes time. It is difficult to identify indicators of incremental change towards "transformation" that can be applied to relatively short-term projects – let alone to demonstrate how such gradual changes are impacting conflict resolution and prevention. The Gender Assessment of Ukraine's security and defence sector has had clear positive impacts on the integration of gender perspectives and Ukraine's SSR processes. But the long-term impacts of these changes will take time and sustained effort to understand.

4.2 Gendering fiscal analysis of the security sector

“Rightsizing” the security sector in fragile and conflict-affected contexts aims to allocate resources according to well-defined priorities, both across different sectors and within the security system, in a manner that attends to the political dimensions of SSG/R so to contribute to sustainable peace. It generally involves some permanent reduction of workforce, i.e. “downsizing.” One of the challenges in fragile states is that there are likely relatively fewer options for individuals made redundant from public sector security roles to find comparably paying jobs in the formal economy. World Bank research has demonstrated that women generally suffer the effect of public sector downsizing more than men: in part, because workers with low seniority and on short-term and temporary contracts—characteristics more prevalent among female employees—are often selected for layoffs; in part because of assumptions about families’ reliance on a man’s income or women’s primary dedication to family care.¹⁰⁹

In a security sector rightsizing process, it is challenging to measure the costs and benefits of various courses of action. This is likely to have specific gendered impacts. SGBV against women, men, girls and boys and gender-based hate crimes are reported at much lower rates than other types of crimes, so it would follow that they are likely to be undercounted in weighting the costs of, for example, downsizing policing services.

The approach recommended in the paper on “rightsizing,” is to start with an assessment of state and human security requirements. This analytic process must go beyond traditional “threat analysis,” “risk assessment” and review of national security strategy to be inclusive and attentive to the needs of different communities and groups.

Key steps in defining security needs in an inclusive, gender-responsive manner, which should be integrated in any fiscal analysis of the security sector, include:

- Ensuring the terms of reference for the assessment include a focus on gendered participation and needs and that the core group leading the process includes significant gender expertise.
- Conducting both practical and strategic needs assessments. Practical needs assessment measures the immediate security needs of women and men, boys and girls and other specific groups in society.

Strategic needs assessment evaluates the broader needs of women and men, boys and girls and other specific groups, including risks of insecurity related to, for example, lack of employment and socioeconomic opportunities.¹¹⁰

- Incorporating gender-focused data gathering, such as surveys on SGBV, separate focus groups and meetings with women, and men and youth; as well as ensuring analysis of sex- and age-disaggregated data at every stage (discussed in Annexe 3);
- Applying a participatory approach to the assessment that ensures the voices and perspectives of inputs are taken up in a meaningful way.

4.2.1 Public expenditure reviews

A public expenditure review (PER) is a specific type of analytical process that examines government resource allocations to assess their affordability, efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability, to identify needed reforms in budget processes and administration.¹¹¹ In recent years, some PERs have examined defence, policing, and courts.

A PER is a critical opportunity to progress gender equality goals in a range of ways:

- A PER can help build consensus on security sector priorities within governments, as well as between international partners. If priorities such as implementing WPS, addressing SGBV, investing in women’s integration into the security sector, are “on the table,” there is the potential for them to be properly integrated into budgets.
- A PER can help address the tendency of security sector resourcing to absorb a huge share of scarce public resources and crowd out other activities required to rebuild the nation politically, socially, and economically.¹¹² It is here that the social and environmental costs of overspending on military resources, and how this contributes to militarism and to conflict (as described in Section III, “Militarism as a root cause of conflict,”) could be counted and redressed.

United Nations-World Bank guidance highlights some examples of potential gender dimensions in a security sector PER: addressing gender differentiation in violence and security, such as concerning sexual violence or youth violence; women’s representation in governance and accountability; increasing female participation in the armed forces or the police; security sector response to sexual

violence; and more general mainstreaming of gender in security discourse.¹¹³ While all important issues to bear in mind, gender mainstreaming a PER or rightsizing analysis should do more than include a list of assumed “gender issues;” rather, it should holistically examine the context and each institution through a gender lens, as explained above. There are already World Bank guidance tools on gender mainstreaming PERs, which should be integrated into security sector PER processes.¹¹⁴

Only a small minority of WPS National Action Plans are allocated a dedicated budget, which undermines effective implementation.¹¹⁷ The need to integrate WPS in mainstream budgetary cycles is apparent. Progress towards change of institutional culture in the security sector is inevitably slow. This makes it challenging to demonstrate impact within usual programme cycles of two or three years.

4.2.2 Gender budgeting and financing WPS

The correlate of gender analysis of security sector financing is taking steps to finance the security sector to achieve gender equality, including meeting national priorities under the WPS Agenda.

UN Women’s extensive expertise on gender budgeting - a well-established and effective approach to using fiscal policy and administration to promote gender equality¹¹⁵ - should be drawn on in approaches to security sector financing. This would generally include two connected approaches, as follows.

- Developing “tags” to mainstream public expenditure that contributes to gender equality across the national budgets. Here, the security sector would report the percentage of their overall expenditure that contributed to agreed gender equality objectives. For example, female employment, maternity and paternity leave, health.
- Allocating expenditure to standalone gender equality budget chapters. Here, the security sector would report on expenditure on specific gender equality initiatives for the sector, and what percentage of the gender equality budget chapter it represents. For example, HIV or sexual and reproductive health initiatives, gender training for police, SGBV prevention programmes run by police.

Several nations using gender budgeting are applying gender classifiers for security and justice, for example, focused on violence against women and judicial assistance.¹¹⁶ United Nations and World Bank could review such experiences using gender budgeting in the security sector to develop tools for the United Nations to integrate this in SSR support.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

In grappling with how gender-responsive SSR contributes to conflict prevention, this policy brief responds to a broad and multi-faceted question. Each of the elements it focuses on – women’s participation in the security sector, the transformation of institutional gender norms, accountability for SGBV within the security sector, inclusive SSR processes, gendered fiscal analysis, etc. – would itself be a fit subject for a dedicated paper or series of papers. As such, the primary contribution of this paper is less to provide comprehensive programming guidance, than to illustrate why United Nations and World Bank need to connect SSR, WPS and conflict prevention policies, planning and programming, and to suggest some of the key areas to consider.

Drawing on the experiences of the United Nations in gender-responsive SSR in conflict-affected contexts, combined with an analysis of scholarship around gender equality, masculinities, violence and conflict, this paper has highlighted five thematic priorities for United Nations support to contribute effectively to conflict prevention, highlighted below. It makes a novel contribution in highlighting some aspects that have herewith been largely neglected in terms of gender and SSR – economic policy and planning, and national security policymaking. It also goes further than existing gender and SSR tools in tracing the significance of harmful gender norms and militarisation for SSR and conflict prevention, and proposing responses.

The following recommendations are divided according to strategic and operational recommendations for the United Nations and World Bank on how to improve its support to SSG/R as a tool for conflict prevention.

5.2 Recommendations at the strategic level

- **Amplify the recognition of WPS, gender equality and gender-responsive SSR as critical to the conflict prevention agenda.** Recognise that gender equality

in the security sector builds trust and legitimacy on a societal level in fragile and conflict-affected contexts: not only among women. Acknowledge that SGBV by the security sector and the prevalence of SGBV in the community is fuelling conflict in many communities. Support women’s localised conflict prevention and conflict resolution activities to build local, national and regional stability.

- **Start talking about masculinities and gender norms.** Recognise that WPS and women’s equality are only part of the picture of preventing and resolving conflict through a gendered lens. Reflect on the evidence that abuses by the security sector are more likely where patriarchal masculinities and rigid gender norms are entrenched within institutional culture. Recognise that making security sector institutions rights-respecting and legitimate requires active initiatives to change gendered institutional culture - and this work cannot be done only by women.
- **Invest in women’s participation, women’s peace making and transformation of harmful gender norms as part of SSR and peacebuilding.** Recognise this in mandates for United Nations support to SSR and peacebuilding, and allocate funds for this work in all SSR and peacebuilding interventions. Offer sustained support to local women’s organisations. Activate political influence to protect women peacebuilders, and to advocate for women’s inclusion in formal SSR and peacebuilding processes at all levels.
- **Adopt reducing militarism as an explicit priority for SSR support.** Recognise inflated military spending and military influence on politics as a significant conflict risk factor. Emphasise measures to reduce militarism in political and policy frameworks for SSR. Give voice to civil society advocates bringing innovative ideas for sustainable development and peace in ways that dismantle militarism.

5.3 Recommendations at the operational level

- **Centre gender norms and gendered power relations as an essential aspect of understanding the context for SSR.** In SSR assessment methodologies and planning tools, integrate analysis of gendered security sector-related risks. Conduct gender assessments of security sector institutions and/or support security sector institutions to conduct gender self-assessment. Support the implementation of the action plans that follow through technical advice and capacity building. In all SSR activities, consider the impact on and opportunities for changing gender dynamics.
- **Advocate for diversity and inclusion within the security sector, including the meaningful participation of women, as a core component of the security sector's legitimacy and trust.** Offer technical advice on policies and practices that support inclusion, such as measures to support the advancement of women into leadership and ways to support security sector personnel with care responsibilities. Develop approaches to inclusion that are intersectional, recognising not only women but a range of groups are underrepresented in the security sector. Model inclusion in one's own day-to-day practices and culture.
- **Open conversations with partners about harmful gender norms and practices within the security sector.** Explore new programmatic models and training approaches for working with partners to transform gendered institutional culture. Develop capacities to work in this emerging area of expertise. Exchange ideas and learning with colleagues and national partners.
- **Prioritise efforts to strengthen prevention of and accountability for SGBV by security sector personnel.** Work with both security sector institutions and external oversight and accountability mechanisms. Support the development of codes of conduct, policies and training with technical advice and capacity building. Within analysis and programming, draw connections between the prevention of SGBV and harmful gender norms.
- **Support inclusive, participatory SSR and national security policymaking, with a strong focus on participation and influence of diverse civil society groups, women's rights organisations and women peacebuilders.** Consider what targeted protection and support will enable women peacemakers and women's organisations to engage in national security policymaking and SSR processes. Offer technical support and capacity building to help national stakeholders develop a security policy that holistically promotes human security, with a gendered perspective. Reflect on how national security policy might contribute to transforming gender-discriminatory practices, patriarchal masculinities, and excessive militarism in the security sector and political spheres.
- **In programme monitoring around SSR and conflict prevention work, resource efforts to substantiate indicators related to inclusion, SGBV, masculinities and gender norms.** Recognise that these are likely proxies for progress on conflict prevention and peacebuilding. Incorporate gender-focused data gathering. Strengthen technical capabilities to disaggregate data by, for example, race, ethno-religious background, indigeneity, sexual orientation, gender identity and disability.
- **In fiscal analysis of the security sector, undertake a gendered analysis of security needs and allocations.** Ensure fiscal assessment is broad enough to encompass strategic needs, such as insecurities related to lack of employment, health care, education or socioeconomic opportunities. Allocate investment to achieve gender equality and other WPS goals, recognising their critical role in wider development and peace. Actively bring into analysis the social and environmental costs of overspending on military resources, and how these contribute to conflict risk.

Annexe 1: Existing United Nations and World Bank policy approaches to gender, security sector governance and reform, and conflict prevention

This section recaps how gender, SSG/R and conflict prevention are already addressed in key United Nations and World Bank policy frameworks, also highlighting some gaps.

The WPS Agenda, CEDAW, and women and disarmament

In 2000, the ground-breaking United Nations SCR 1325 recognized that women and men have different experiences in conflict, different needs during and after conflict, different perspectives on the causes and outcomes of conflict, and different contributions to bring to peace-building processes. Subsequently, the United Nations Security Council has adopted a further nine resolutions addressing women and conflict, together comprising the WPS Agenda ([1325](#), [1820](#), [1888](#), [1889](#), [1960](#), [2106](#), [2122](#), [2242](#), [2467](#), and [2493](#)). The WPS resolutions commit the United Nations to work towards women's equal participation and full involvement in all conflict prevention mechanisms, including through consultations with women's organizations. In 2020, SCR 2538 exclusively focused on civilian and uniformed women in peace operations, encouraging Member States to develop strategies and measures to increase the deployment of uniformed women.

The resolutions on sexual violence in conflict identify it as significantly exacerbating and prolonging situations of armed conflict, and impeding peace making. As such, they explicitly link preventing and responding to CRSV with conflict prevention.

The United Nations SCR on WPS identify the security sector as being of critical importance to peace and security from a gender perspective. Six of the ten United Nations SCR on WPS explicitly refer to SSR (see *Figure 1*). Four of these resolutions link SSR with preventing

and responding to sexual violence in conflict. They direct that SSR includes actions to strengthen women's and girls' protection from sexual violence, to improve how the security sector prevents and responds to sexual violence, and to address impunity. Including more women in the security sector is identified as a priority for SSR that addresses sexual violence, as is vetting of current and potential members of the security sector. More holistically, the United Nations SCR on WPS recognize that SSR should help to achieve women's protection from violence and women's access to justice. National action plans on WPS have likewise made explicit links between SSR and WPS.

While this language in the United Nations SCR on WPS is an important resource to advocate for SSR to be responsive to gendered security needs, it has largely focused on protection, framing girls and women as victims. It has been less strong on recognising the critical roles of women as strategic actors in peacebuilding, and as playing key roles not only in United Nations peacekeeping missions but in all parts of the security sector and security decision-making. The United Nations SCR lacks strong language on women's right to full equality in the security sector as a principle of human rights, enshrined *inter alia* in the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. Moreover, the WPS resolutions do not yet connect the dots between women's participation in the security sector, gendered institutional culture in the security sector, GBV by security sector personnel, security sector responses to GBV and conflict prevention.

It is important to recognise that the activism sustaining the WPS Agenda looks for not only security sector institutions that are more gender-equal and gender-responsive, but for deeper shifts in national and global

security structures. In particular, women’s rights activists/ WPS activists around the world identify militarism (in the sense of ideology framing military force as a necessary resolver of conflict) and increasing levels of militarisation and military spending as making their communities and nations less secure.¹¹⁸ They call for demilitarisation, disarmament and divestment in the military economy as critical to conflict prevention – as discussed in Section II, subsection 2.

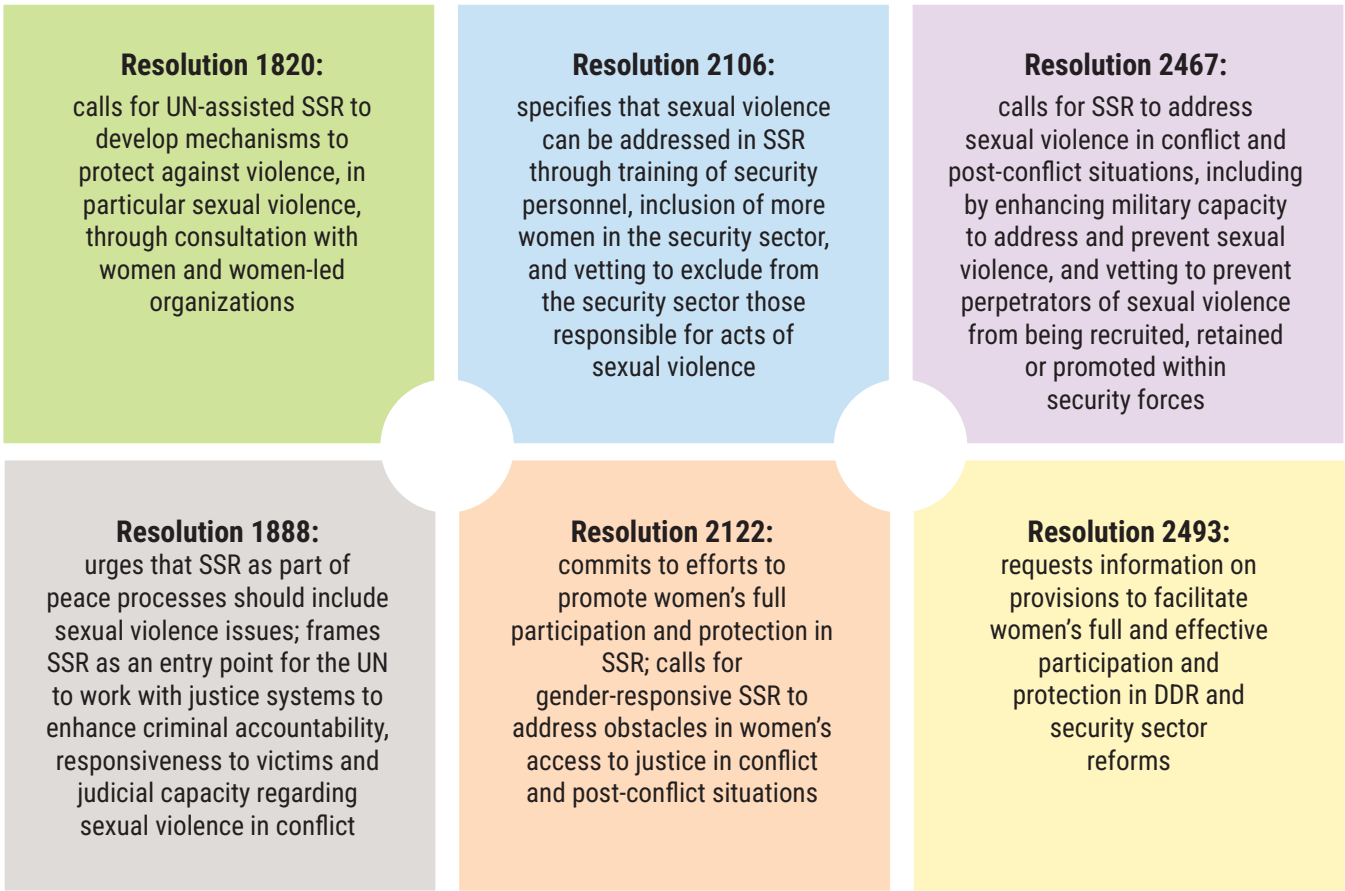
The WPS Agenda draws from key principles of equality and non-discrimination, reinforcing the human rights standards provided by international instruments, including particularly the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW). The synergies between Resolution 1325 and CEDAW are mapped out in CEDAW General Recommendation 30 on “Women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations”. General Recommendation 30 underscores the importance of “advancing substantive gender equality before, during and after conflict and ensuring that women’s diverse experiences are fully integrated into all

peacebuilding, peace making, and reconstruction processes” (para. 2); and recommends states:

- (b) Undertake gender-sensitive and gender-responsive security sector reform that results in representative security sector institutions that address women’s different security experiences and priorities; and liaise with women and women’s organizations;
- (c) Ensure that security sector reform is subject to inclusive oversight and accountability mechanisms with sanctions, including the vetting of ex-combatants; establish specialized protocols and units to investigate gender-based violations; and strengthen gender expertise and the role of women in oversight of the security sector (para. 69).¹¹⁹

In parallel to the WPS Agenda, but mutually complementary, United Nations frameworks related to disarmament, arms control and small arms and light weapons recognise the critical roles women play in all these areas. For example, United Nations General Assembly resolution 65/69 on “Women, disarmament, non-proliferation and

Figure 1: References to SSR in the UN SCRs on WPS



arms control” recognizes “the valuable contribution of women to practical disarmament measures carried out at the local, national, regional and sub regional levels in the prevention and reduction of armed violence and armed conflict, and in promoting disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control”.¹²⁰ The General Assembly encouraged “the equitable representation of women in all decision-making processes with regard to matters related to disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control”.¹²¹ Review of this extensive policy arena is beyond the scope of this paper, but comprehensive resources on gender and disarmament have been developed by the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs.¹²²

The United Nations’ SSR framework

United Nations SCR on SSR explicitly link SSR with the WPS Agenda. SCR 2151 on SSR (2014) highlighted that “an effective, professional and accountable security sector without discrimination and with full respect for human rights and the rule of law is the cornerstone of peace and sustainable development and is important for conflict prevention”. Building on this, SCR 2553 (2020) recognises the centrality of women’s participation in the security sector and calls on states to support it, reaffirming (emphasis added):

... that the promotion of women’s full, equal and meaningful participation in the security sector makes an important contribution to building inclusive, accountable and legitimate institutions that more effectively protect populations and promote lasting peace and sustainable development, and expresses concern that women continue to face significant barriers to their equal participation in security sector institutions where they are often under-represented; and in this regard, encourages Member States to develop context-specific security sector reform strategies and programmes that, inter alia, mainstream a gender perspective remove legal, institutional and regulatory barriers to women’s equal participation in the security sector and increase their representation at all levels within the security sector.¹²³

Significantly, SCR 2553 recognises a connection between women’s participation in the security sector, the legitimacy of security sector institutions, and peace.

DPO has developed a strong suite of gender guidance documents, including the 2012 *Integrated Technical Guidance Note on Gender-Responsive SSR*,¹²⁴ (jointly with the Department of Field Support) the 2018 *Policy on Gender Responsive United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*,¹²⁵ and a 2020 *Gender and WPS Resource Package*.¹²⁶ The Integrated Technical Guidance Note explains how to mainstream gender in the following areas: effective service delivery; participation and equal opportunities; prevention and protection; accountability and oversight; and monitoring and evaluation. It directs United Nations support to SSR to begin with a thorough analysis of cultural norms relating to gender in the context under consideration, how these have shifted during conflict and transition, and how conflict might have exacerbated pre-existing gender discrimination, with attention also to sexual orientation. It stresses engaging with women and men in security sector institutions. Increased participation of women in security sector institutions is emphasized, but alongside broader capacity development for gender analysis and gender-responsive institutional policies and procedures.

Additional key references for United Nations policy and SSR programming include:

- 1 2021 [WPS-Humanitarian Action Compact Framework](#);
- 2 2019 [DDPA WPS Policy](#);
- 3 2018 [DPO Uniformed Personnel Gender Parity Strategy](#);
- 4 2016 [PBC Gender Strategy](#);
- 5 2020 [Review of the United Nations Defence Sector Reform Policy](#);
- 6 2019 [Report on gender parity and SSR](#) by the Group of Friends of SSR co-chaired by South Africa and Slovakia;
- 7 2020 [DCAF, OSCE ODIHR, UN Women Gender and Security Toolkit](#);
- 8 2021 [Handbook on gender-responsive police services for women and girls subject to violence](#) by UN Women, UNODC and the International Association of Women Police;
- 9 2014 [Handbook on effective prosecution responses to violence against women and girls](#) by UNODC and UN Women; and

10 2018 [Practitioners Toolkit on Women's Access to Justice Programming](#) by UN Women, UNDP, UNODC, and OHCHR.

While running through these policies, guidelines and resources is a recognition that women's participation in the security sector is necessary for operational effectiveness in terms of preventing and responding to GBV and engaging with communities. While, as SCR 2553 shows, women's participation is connected to the legitimacy of security sector institutions, and therefore to peace, the links between these elements and *conflict prevention* are not very clearly mapped. Likewise, while there is a creeping recognition of the importance of thinking about masculinities in the security sector, understanding the connections between gender equality, masculinities and conflict, both in the security sector and in relation to working with the security sector to build stability, is not reflected in current approaches to SSR.

Gender and the Sustaining Peace Agenda

Key linkages between WPS and the United Nations' Sustaining Peace Agendas are their recognition of exclusion and marginalisation, which are strongly gendered, as drivers of violent conflict, and the importance of inclusiveness for sustainable peace.

The 2016 General Assembly and SCRs on peacebuilding ([A/RES/70/262](#) and [S/RES/2282](#)) emphasize the important role of women, young people, and civil society in sustaining peace, and the need for inclusive institutions. They emphasise the importance of women's leadership and meaningful participation in conflict prevention, supporting women's organizations, and the need to consider gender-related issues in all discussions pertinent to sustaining peace. They highlight the importance of resourcing initiatives that address the particular needs of women in peacebuilding contexts, advance gender equality, and empower women; and the need to monitor and track progress on gender dimensions of programming.

Gender and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Agenda 2030 which outlines 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), recognizes *inter alia* inequality as giving rise to violence, insecurity and injustice. SDG 16 aims to "promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels." Its targets include reducing violence, ending violence against children, equal access to justice for all and effective, accountable and transparent institutions.

Importantly, Agenda 2030 recognizes that achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls, expressed in SDG 5, make a crucial contribution to progress across all goals and targets. SDG targets and indicators related to gender-responsive SSR are discussed in Annex 4, on page 57.

World Bank frameworks around gender and conflict prevention

The World Bank's conceptual frameworks for engagement in fragile and conflict-affected contexts likewise recognise the importance of considering gender and addressing gender inequality and gendered norms. The **World Bank's 2016-2023 Gender Strategy** observes that "Gender disparities in [fragile and conflict-affected states] reflect norms and dynamics that entrench inequalities and factors of exclusion that perpetuate conflict and instability. Addressing persistent gender challenges ... is as much a security imperative as it is a longer-term recovery and development priority."¹²⁷

The landmark 2018 United Nations-World Bank report *Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict* highlights the degree to which women are included in the political, economic, and social life of society as a key factor influencing its propensity for conflict.¹²⁸ *Pathways for Peace* emphasises grievances as root drivers of conflict, arguing that "a significant proportion of contemporary violent conflicts are rooted in group-based grievances around exclusion that forge deep-seated feelings of injustice and unfairness".¹²⁹ Its framework places significant emphasis on addressing risks in those arenas where grievances are most likely to turn to violence, being "arenas of contestation". These are analysed

as i) political power and governance; ii) land, water, and extractive resources; iii) delivery of basic services; and iv) justice and security (see Figure 2¹³⁰). *Pathways for Peace* makes several linkages with gender, noting that “high levels of gender inequality and gender-based violence in a society are associated with increased vulnerability to civil war and interstate war and the use of more severe forms of violence in conflict”.¹³¹ It examines the gendered impacts of conflict.¹³² Importantly, it touches on the

connections between masculinities and gender norms and conflict.¹³³ *Pathways for Peace* identifies SSR as well as demilitarisation of society as important priorities for conflict prevention. Yet, with a gender perspective, its analysis of SSR, of the importance of a representative, responsive, well-governed and accountable security sector, could be more fully developed. The contemporary emphasis on women’s agency in peacebuilding and new evidence and perspectives on the gendered institutional

Figure 2: Overview of the arenas of contestation identified in the Pathways for Peace Report



culture within security sector institutions invite a closer examination of how SSR can more holistically address the gendered characteristics of grievances related to justice and security.

The subsequent **World Bank Strategy for Fragility, Conflict and Violence**, presents a stronger understanding of the connections between gender norms, masculinities and conflict. It squarely recognises GBV (also, violence against children) as forms of violence within its notion of fragility, conflict and violence.¹³⁴ Its conflict prevention pillar recognises gender inequality and patterns of discrimination as “aggravating factors” in fragile situations, problematising “regressive gender norms, including those related to masculinities”.¹³⁵ More holistically, the Strategy’s focus on inclusion in conflict prevention is grounded in the understanding that exclusion, inequalities, and perceptions of injustice can drive fragility and violence. Human rights violations, lack of rule of law and corruption undermine the confidence between states and citizens and increase the risks of violence and potential conflict.¹³⁶ The World Bank commits to a “special focus” on gender throughout all of its engagement in countries characterized by fragility, conflict, and violence.¹³⁷ This laudatory gender mainstreaming in the Strategy invites further tools to systematically apply a gender lens in analysis and to implement targets for projects that address gender.

Annexe 2: Key gender concepts and terminology and their application in the security sector

In talking about gender and gender equality in relation to security, justice and conflict prevention, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of key concepts. At times, resistance to prioritising gender equality or discussing masculinities stems from confusion around the terminology. In some contexts, the human rights of people who are LGBTIQ+ are contested through opposition to what is termed “gender ideology”. Globally, there is “serious backlash against women’s rights and the very concept of gender and gender equality”.¹³⁸ It is thus important to have and to be able to apply a clear understanding of relevant United Nations and human rights standards.

A more detailed explanation of these gender concepts is set out in Tool 1 of the DCAF, OSCE ODIHR, UN Women *Gender and Security Toolkit* (2020), from which this text is substantially extracted.¹³⁹ Its definitions draw from United Nations policies and documents.

Gender roles and gender relations, femininities and masculinities in the security sector

Gender refers to the roles, behaviours, activities, attributes and norms that a given society at a given time considers appropriate for men and women. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are *socially constructed* and *learned* through socialization processes. They are context- and time-specific and changeable. Gender is part of the broader sociocultural context, as are other important criteria for socio-cultural analysis such as class, race, disability, poverty level, ethnic group, sexual orientation, age and so on (see the explanation below of intersectionality).¹⁴⁰ Gender, which is social and cultural, is often explained in contrast to sex, which refers to biological and biochemical characteristics such as chromosomes, hormonal make-up, reproductive organs and other biological differences.

In addition to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male, female or other, gender affects the relations and power dynamics *between* people. In most societies, there are differences and inequalities between women and men in responsibilities assigned, activities, access to and control over resources, and decision-making opportunities. In patriarchal societies, political, economic and social power lies with men, and attributes associated with manliness are valued over those associated with women. Women and girls are usually in less powerful positions compared with men and boys, and often face numerous forms of structural discrimination economically, politically, socially and in terms of their legal rights. While men and boys can also be victims, women and girls are more often exposed to controlling behaviour by men, sexualized harassment in public spheres, at home and in the workplace, intimate partner violence and domestic violence, and different forms of sexual violence.

The way women and men live up to – or resist – gender expectations in their everyday lives is sometimes described in terms of *femininities* and *masculinities*: the various ways of being and acting, roles, values and expectations associated with becoming and being women and men, respectively, in a given society at a given time. Femininities and masculinities tend to be defined in relation, and often in opposition, to each other: what is seen as feminine is defined in relation to what is considered to be masculine, and vice versa. Women are in many cultures expected to be demure and submissive to men’s control, to assume domestic and caring duties and leave public, political and breadwinning roles to men. Men in many cultures experience heavy societal pressure to live up to gender roles that are, among other things, imbued with notions of dominance, and physical toughness.

In the security sector, gender expectations could lead to, for example, assumptions that women are in general unsuited for military service. In providing security, gender

bias can lead to assumptions that young men (of a certain class or ethnicity) have a propensity to criminality or extremism. On the other hand, in crime analysis, women are usually represented only as victims or as perpetrators. This prevents understanding the complexity of gender roles and gender relations within organized crime, the use of violence by women and the main factors that lead women to be part of these structures.¹⁴¹

Gender expectations, sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression in the security sector

Expectations about sexual behaviour, sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression are part of how societies construct gender and gender roles. In thinking about how dominant gender expectations operate in society and in institutions, it is necessary to consider how they might negatively affect the security of people across the whole diverse spectrum of sexual orientations, gender identities and gender expressions, including people who identify across or outside of the female/male binary.

LGBTIQ+ persons and others of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities and expressions often face particular forms of discrimination, exploitation, abuse and violence. This is recognized by the many states and international organizations that address discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity in their laws and declarations.¹⁴² Discrimination, exploitation, abuse and violence against LGBTIQ+ people include (but are not limited to) taunting and bullying for not adhering to gender norms, humiliation, extortion, blackmail, sexual harassment and exploitation, as well as various forms of physical and sexual violence, at times leading to death. As the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights explained in 2011, “These attacks constitute a form of gender-based violence, driven by a desire to punish those seen as defying gender norms.”¹⁴³ It is important not to view LGBTIQ+ persons as a homogeneous group, but rather, as with other gender identities, to consider needs, vulnerabilities and agency through an intersectional lens.

LGBTIQ+ people often face distinct legal obstacles and challenges to accessing security services, ranging from

discriminatory attitudes regarding their intimate relationships or identities to their relationships and identities being outlawed or not recognized.¹⁴⁴ They may place themselves at risk by reporting crimes against them if their sexual orientation or gender identity comes to light. In conflict situations, the risks to persons of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities and expressions are often exacerbated.

LGBTIQ+ people are in many countries formally or informally excluded from serving in the security sector forces. While there are no comprehensive data on the representation of LGBTIQ+ people within policing, it is thought to be low.¹⁴⁵ While at least 50 countries’ armed forces have explicit policies confirming that lesbian, gay and bisexual people can serve, there remain armed forces where *all* positions are closed to LGBTIQ+ people.¹⁴⁶ In countries where homosexuality is illegal or armed forces personnel are not permitted to enter into same-sex relationships, members of the armed forces have at times been subject to highly intrusive investigations into their personal lives, pressured to confess under threat of having the results of these investigations made public and being prosecuted.¹⁴⁷

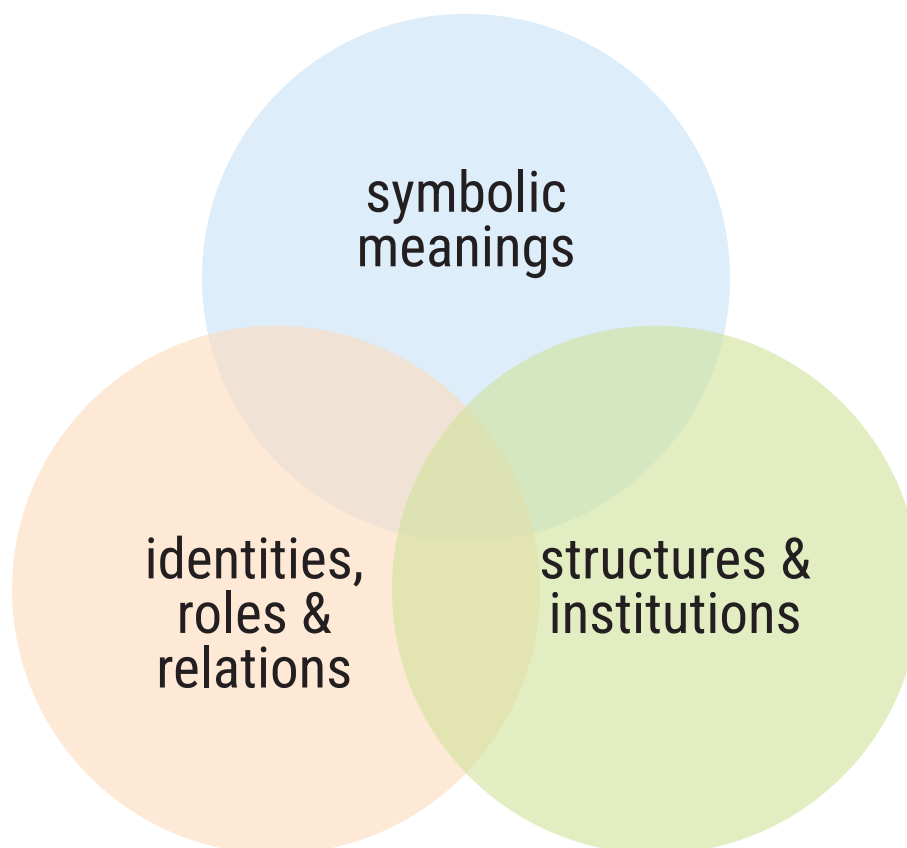
Gender – symbolic meanings for the security sector, structures and institutions

Masculinities and femininities, and thus gender, also have more abstract and symbolic dimensions beyond role expectations. Certain activities, concepts and institutions may be seen as more masculine and others as more feminine in different contexts. This is what is meant when an institution, such as the police or armed forces, is described as “gendered”.

Figure 3 illustrates how symbolic meanings link with identities, roles and relations and with structures and institutions. The *symbolic* association of “soft” caring with women places expectations on women in their *identities, roles and relations* and also identifies *institutions* that carry out caring work as feminine.

Security services provide good examples of this: “hard” security and the institutions and activities related to it (e.g. the military, riot policing) are often seen as masculine – things that (“real”) men do and “can be

Figure 3: Gender as a system of power, encompassing gendered selves, institutions and symbolic meanings



Source: *Conciliation Resources (2015), Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit*. London: Conciliation Resources

done well only by men”. In contrast, “soft” security (e.g. peacebuilding, victim support, community engagement) is associated with femininity. Because the feminine is less valued than the masculine, for both women and men in the security sector the “soft” jobs can seem and be less prestigious and rewarded.

Gender equality

Gender equality is a fundamental human right and a goal to which governments and international organizations have committed. Promoting gender equality is therefore a part of the mandate of security sector institutions.¹⁴⁸

Gender equality means that “... the rights, responsibilities and opportunities of individuals will not depend on whether they are born male or female”¹⁴⁹ or “the absence of discrimination on the basis of a person’s sex

in opportunities, the allocation of resources or benefits, or in access to services”.¹⁵⁰ Achieving gender equality involves a positive obligation on states and institutions to transform unequal power relations; address the underlying causes and structures of gender inequality, including discriminatory norms, prejudices and stereotypes; and transform institutions that perpetuate discrimination and inequality.

Gender mainstreaming and gender perspective in the security sector

Key strategies to achieve gender equality in international, national and institutional policies are gender mainstreaming (often called “integrating” or “mainstreaming” a gender perspective) and gender analysis.

Gender mainstreaming (or “mainstreaming a gender perspective”) was defined by the United Nations in 1997 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 men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.¹⁵¹

Where a programme, policy or document takes into consideration gendered differences and is gender mainstreamed, it is sometimes referred to as “gender-sensitive” and when it also attempts to redress existing gender inequalities, it may be referred to as “gender-responsive”.

In integrating a gender perspective in SSR one cannot rely on commonly held stereotypes about what particular women, men or persons of other gender identities and expressions “are like”. For example, young, socioeconomically marginalized men, in particular of ethnic minorities, may be stereotyped as having a propensity to crime – and so, a risk rather than a resource for SSR; while young women and girls may be stereotyped as being primarily victims – and so side-lined and spoken for by others in consultation processes. Thorough and evidence-based gender analysis within any SSR programme is needed to understand the different needs of different groups. For several years, the public and academic debate on the participation of women, roles and gender relations in organized crime has been expanding. The fundamental turn of the analysis invites more detailed examinations of the roles that women play in different illegal economies and criminal activities. This, with the objective of recommending to States strategies that prevent the use, entailment and instrumentalization of women and girls by criminal organizations.¹⁵²

Gender-based violence

“Gender-based violence” (GBV) is an umbrella term for any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person’s will and that is based on socially ascribed (gender) differences between females and males. The nature and extent

of specific types of GBV vary across cultures, countries and regions. Examples include sexual violence, including sexual exploitation/abuse and forced prostitution; domestic violence; trafficking; forced/early marriage; harmful traditional practices such as female genital mutilation; honour killings; and widow inheritance;¹⁵³ as well as homophobic and transphobic violence.¹⁵⁴

Women experience the vast majority of GBV; but boys and men can also experience GBV when, for instance, subjected to sexual violence, or targeted due to their perceived non-conformity with their dominant masculine gender norms.

CRSV is of particular importance when considering conflict-affected settings. CRSV refers to “rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, enforced sterilization, forced marriage, and any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity perpetrated against women, men, girls or boys that is directly or indirectly linked to a conflict.”¹⁵⁵

GBV and CRSV by security sector personnel and security sector response to GBV are discussed in Section II subsection 2 above.

Gender analysis

Gender analysis is a “critical examination of how differences in gender roles, activities, needs, opportunities and rights/entitlements affect women, men, girls and boys and other gender identities in a given policy area, situation or context”.¹⁵⁶ Gender analysis examines, for example, the relationships between women and men, their access to and control of resources and the constraints they face relative to each other.

Concerning the security sector, gender analysis might focus on women, men, girls and boys and other gender identities’ different forms of insecurity and barriers to accessing justice, and the quality of their representation and participation in the security sector.

Intersectionality

“Intersectionality” is a term that is increasingly entering into policy and programming terminology, and is critical also to conflict prevention. The concept was coined by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw as “a way of framing the

various interactions of race and gender in the context of violence against women of color".¹⁵⁷ It is now used more widely as a way to define how expectations connected to gender interact with other societal markers, such as ethnoreligious background, age, social class, sexual orientation, marital status, race, ethnicity and disability, placing people in different positions of power and privilege, discrimination and exclusion.

These power differentials are often of central importance in security provision: urban poor and rural poor women face greater barriers in accessing security services; young, socio-economically marginalized and ethnoreligious minority men may face greater police scrutiny; persons living with disabilities often face additional barriers to access the security sector on top of gender-, age- or class-based constraints. Intersectional power differentials can also be of concern within justice and security sector institutions if, for example, the views of older men are systematically privileged over those of equally competent but younger women, or if staff of a particular class, caste or ethnoreligious background are not given access to opportunities that would allow them to advance.

Annexe 3: Tools for gender-responsive security sector reform assessment

The United Nations Department of Peace Operations (DPO) has already developed a set of “Guiding Questions for Gender-Responsive SSR”.¹⁵⁸ While these are a strong starting point, project stakeholders have strongly reiterated the importance of SSR interventions being informed by an even more detailed understanding of context in terms of its gender dynamics and cultural hindrances to successful institutional reform. Additionally, gender analysis should be explicitly intersectional and include a focus on men and boys. Good practice across these dimensions is explored below, in terms of conducting Gender Conflict Analysis and incorporating intersectional approaches to gender analysis. Specific gender assessment of security sector institutions is also considered- a proven tool to support gender-responsive SSR.

Understanding context: Gender Analysis of Conflict

The purpose of gender analysis in any type of SSG/R assessment can be understood across four dimensions, illustrated in Figure 4. Gender analysis provides a more nuanced understanding of the *power relations and dynamics* that impact security actors and security institutions, and the populations who access their services. More specifically, gender analysis is necessary to understand the different forms of *insecurity* of women, men, girls and boys and persons with other gender identities. Gender analysis is needed to reveal the quality of the *representation and participation* of particular groups of women and men by and in the security sector. Across all

Figure 4: Why do gender analysis in SSR assessments?

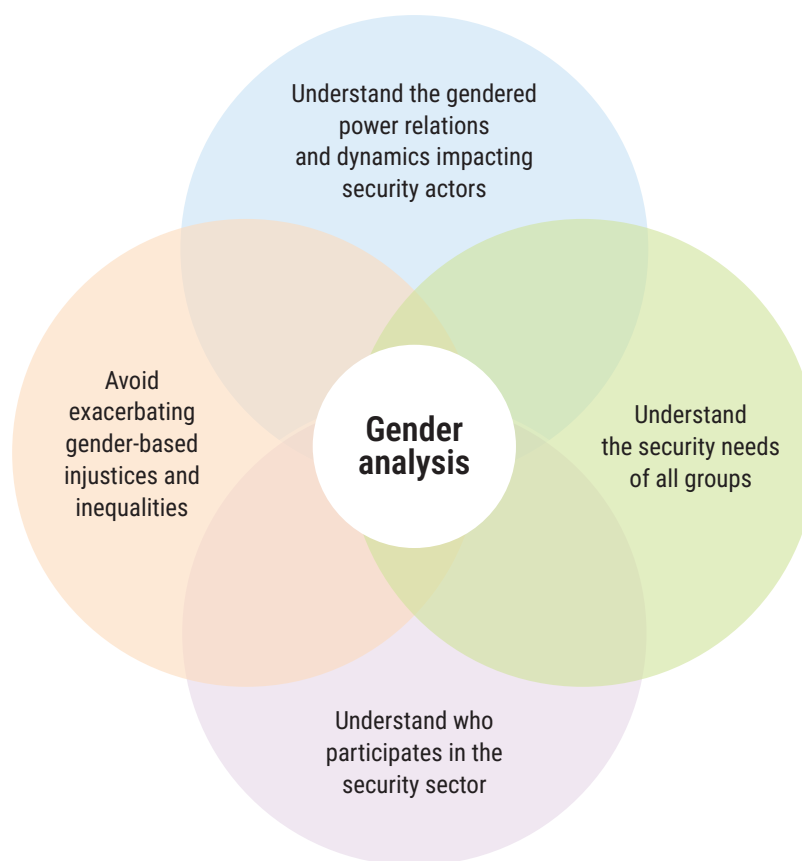
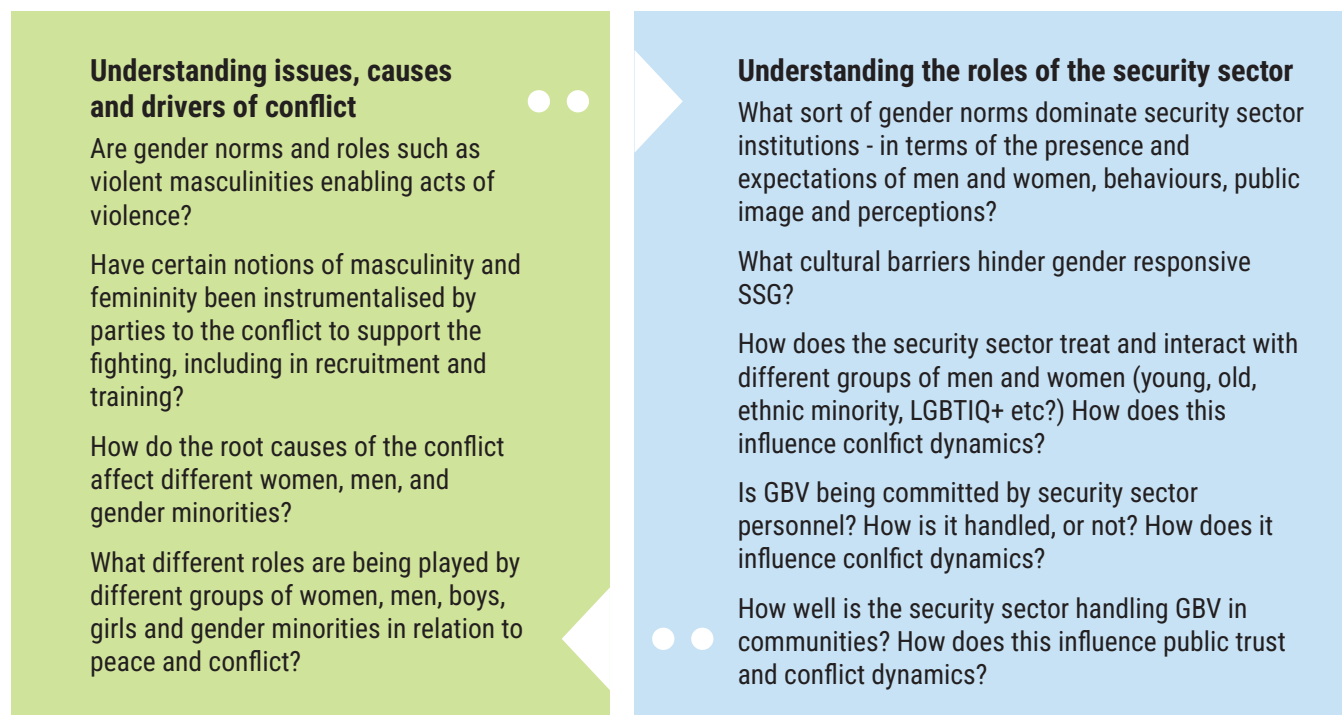


Figure 5: Questions to assess gender conflict dynamics, and how these shape and are shaped by the security sector



these aspects, gender analysis is needed to ensure that the proposed project does not inadvertently *exacerbate gender-based injustices and inequalities*, for example, by giving support to anti-rights movements.

Data collection should not assume that groups of women, men, girls and boys are homogeneous. Rather, individuals have different needs and access to resources related to their gender in *combination* with their class, race, disability, poverty level, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, gender identity, and so on. For some groups, insecurity and lack of access to justice may be exacerbated by these other identity factors, such that intersectional gender analysis is needed to understand this. Data collection should be intentional about identifying these different factors.

Existing tools for Gender Analysis of Conflict can easily be adapted to SSG/R assessment and complemented with specific questioning of ways in which the security sector might be contributing to or mitigating risks of conflict. Gender Analysis of Conflict in the context of SSG/R helps to identify and understand:

- gender norms in communities, and how they are affected by aspects of fragility and conflict;

- similarities and differences in the experiences of different groups of women, men, boys, girls and gender minorities, and the different roles they play in society and institutions;
- how relations of power are (re)produced by social and political processes (including SSR);
- what is required to enable broader, more equitable inclusion in peace and security efforts in a particular context; and
- how gender norms may be driving violence.

Figure 5 offers example questions to assess gender conflict dynamics, and how these, shape and are shaped by the security sector.¹⁵⁹

Disaggregate data using an intersectional approach¹⁶⁰

Disaggregating data is the process of separating data into subgroups based on specific characteristics that are usually, but not always, demographic. When assessing or monitoring gender equality in relation to security, disaggregating data by sex and by age is critical. For security sector institutions, it may be important to disaggregate

data by categories such as rank, department, geographic location, regular/reservist, etc.

When disaggregating data, one should strive to use an *intersectional* approach: recognizing that people are affected by several intersecting factors in addition to their gender or sex, such as race, ethnicity, religion, disability, etc. If a marginalized group is not identified in a project's indicators, it will tend to be invisible in the resulting analyses. Specific indicators can be developed to measure identified vulnerabilities – such as, for example, being a female head of household, from the LGBTIQ+ community, of an ethnic minority, in custody, homeless or in care.¹⁶¹

Some categories of disaggregation, such as ethnicity, race, religion and language, require individuals to self-identify. In such cases, data collection methods should provide this flexibility. When designing a survey, for example, avoid using predetermined categories for self-identification unless participants have the option to provide a free response if they do not identify with the ones suggested. For people who consider they have a mixed ethnicity or origin, give an opportunity to choose multiple identifiers.

International and local SSR actors are increasingly committed to collecting data on security threats against LGBTIQ+ individuals and communities. When seeking to disaggregate data based on sexual orientation or gender identity and gender expression, it is essential to consider and take steps concerning safety and ethical challenges. Take extreme care and employ a *do no harm* approach in selecting the data collection methods and data management systems. Work with local LGBTIQ+ organisations and experts on the design and collection of monitoring data. Consider the following:

- **Criminalization and risk of persecution.** Data collected on LGBTIQ+ individuals could be used to exclude, oppress, or persecute people. Participants may fear associating with certain groups or self-identifying as belonging to a specific group.
- **Self-identification.** Not all persons who are LGBTIQ+ will self-identify as such, in particular in contexts where identification is stigmatized or criminalized. Appropriate protective measures must be in place to ensure that participants who do self-identify are not placed at risk by so doing.

In analysis, expressly recognize and acknowledge that there are a variety of reasons why LGBTIQ+ persons may not self-identify. Those who do so probably represent the *minimum* number of LGBTIQ+ persons in the sample.

There is a spectrum of different terms people use to refer to their sexual orientation or gender identity and gender expression. Allow flexibility for participants to self-identify and be well informed of the language and criteria used by the communities themselves.¹⁶²

- **Stigmatization and marginalization.** Disaggregating based on sexual orientation or gender identity and expression should not create or reinforce existing discrimination, bias, or stereotypes regarding any group.

Understanding the security sector: Gender assessment of security institutions

Going beyond context to a detailed understanding of security sector institutions, a gender audit or gender assessment will be required. In some contexts, a Measuring Opportunities for Women in Peace Operations (MOWIP) Assessment will be appropriate.

The United Nations system has extensive experience with using a Participatory Gender Audit methodology to assess gender dynamics within institutions.¹⁶³ When assessing security sector institutions, additional dimensions of analysis should be included to take account of the legal frameworks for their work, accountability and oversight mechanisms, as well as the services they provide to communities and broader contribution to gender equality in society.

DCAF's [*Gender Self-Assessment Guide for Police, Armed Forces and the Justice Sector*](#) methodology identifies sixteen dimensions of gender responsiveness for a security sector institution, grouped around six themes, listed in **Table 2: 16 dimensions of gender assessment of a security or justice sector institution**. It provides template assessment questions for each, which can be used by United Nations and World Bank programmes working with security sector institutions.

Table 2: 16 dimensions of gender assessment of a security or justice sector institution

Theme I: Performance effectiveness
1. Capacity and training
2. Access to services
3. Data on gender-related crime
Theme II: Laws, policies and planning
4. National, regional and international laws and standards
5. Institutional policy, procedures and co-ordination
Theme III: Community relations
6. Public perceptions
7. Co-operation and consultation with the public
Theme IV: Accountability and oversight
8. Complaints against security sector personnel
9. Internal and external oversight
Theme V: Personnel
10. Recruitment and selection
11. Retention
12. Assignments, deployment, promotion and remuneration
13. Mentoring and support
14. Infrastructure and equipment
Theme VI: Institutional culture
15. Understanding of gender issues and relations between male and female personnel
16. Leadership and public presentation

Source: DCAF (2011) *Gender Self-Assessment Guide for the Police, Armed Forces and Justice Sector*, Geneva: DCAF, p. 17. The Guide is available in eight languages.

Figure 6: The MOWIP's issue areas

Pre-deployment stage: including factors that affect force generation		Cross-cutting issue areas	
1	ELIGIBLE POOL Are there enough women in national institutions?	9 GENDER ROLES Do preconceived attitudes about women preclude their ability to deploy?	10 SOCIAL EXCLUSION Are women treated as equal members of the team?
2	DEPLOYMENT CRITERIA Do criteria match the skills needed in peace operations?		
3	DEPLOYMENT SELECTION Does everyone have a fair chance to deploy?		
4	HOUSEHOLD CONSTRAINTS Are there arrangements for families of deployed women?		
Deployment stage: including difficulties for women during peace operations			
5	PEACE OPERATIONS INFRASTRUCTURE Are accommodation and equipment designed to meet womens' needs?		
6	PEACE OPERATIONS EXPERIENCES Do positive and negative experiences in peace operations affect women's deployment decisions?		
Post-deployment stage: including factors that affect redeployment			
7	CAREER VALUE Do deployments advance women's careers?		
All Stages			
8	TOP-DOWN LEADERSHIP Do leaders at all levels support women's deployment?		

INSTITUTIONAL ISSUE AREAS

CROSS-CUTTING ISSUE AREAS

This Gender Self-Assessment methodology has been (or is currently being) successfully used with police, armed forces and penitentiary services in countries including Albania, Burkina Faso, Colombia, Honduras, Jordan, Moldova, Sierra Leone, Tunisia and Ukraine. Case study F on page 25 explores how the gender assessment methodology was used with security sector institutions in Ukraine and its impact on the wider SSR process.

Developed by DCAF and Cornell University as part of the [Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations](#), the Measuring Opportunities for Women in Peace Operations (MOWIP) Assessment methodology measures the degree to which uniformed women can meaningfully participate in peace operations from the perspectives of troop- and police-contributing countries. It provides a systemic and comprehensive framework for identifying a security institution's good practices and possible improvements in ten issues areas identified as central to women's meaningful participation. The MOWIP methodology captures both institutional (to do with rules, regulations, policies, and programmes as well as infrastructure and equipment) and cross-cutting barriers and opportunities (reflecting the values, norms, perceptions, behaviours, and practices of individuals within the security institutions, as well as the institutional cultures and group dynamics this brings about). Figure 6 illustrates the ten issue areas.

The MOWIP methodology is an extensive, rigorous tool that uses three quantitative and qualitative data collection tools: 1) a fact-finding form (consisting of over 200 questions); 2) a survey of (at minima) 380 personnel (190 women and 190 men); and 3) (30) key decision-maker interviews. The three tools are used to assess a set of indicators that measure the general policies, practices and programmes in place for each issue area, the country context and prioritization of women's meaningful participation, the experiences of female and male personnel with each of the indicators, and the gap between the policies, practices, and programmes and the personal experiences. Comprehensive tools in three languages to conduct a MOWIP Assessment are available [on DCAF's website](#).

Annexe 4: Indicators for gender-responsive security sector reform

UN Women, DDPA, UNODC, UNDO, OHCHR and DPO already use gender, WPS and SSR-related indicators. These are presently in a process of review.

Section IV proposed a range of indicators attuned to monitoring security-sector-related conflict risks from a gendered perspective. This Annexe offers examples of further sample indicators for the security and justice sector, demonstrating indicators that can be used to capture, for example, change in self-reported attitudes, leadership engagement, LGBTIQ+ inclusion, and the quality of inclusion in policymaking processes. Of course, measuring the impact of any specific intervention will require customised indicators: ideally, a combination of quantitative and qualitative indicators, developed together with project stakeholders.

Sample security and justice indicators¹⁶⁴

1. Building support for gender equality within the institution

Percentage of members of senior leadership who attended an awareness-raising activity (disaggregated by sex, rank, department, and any other relevant factor)

Percentage of members of senior leadership who increased their (self-reported or tested) level of understanding of gender equality (compared to baseline: their level of understanding at the commencement of the project)

2. Leadership

Number and types of actions initiated by leadership to improve institutional culture (towards promoting gender equality)

Number and types of public addresses made by leadership where gender equality and a gender perspective are the focus or are mentioned

Number and types of actions initiated by leadership to support women's, LGBTIQ+ or other staff associations of the organization

3. Representation of women (or gender balance)

Ratio of women compared to men, and compared to (for example) national data on women working and ratio of women in other public agencies

Ratio of women (and other identified underrepresented groups) in leadership roles, compared to men (or other dominant groups)

Rate of turnover of women (and other identified underrepresented groups) in the institution, compared to men (or other dominant groups).

Existence of discriminatory practices and other formal and informal barriers to women (and other identified underrepresented groups) in promotions

Existence of adapted requirements for physical fitness tests for women

Existence of targeted institutional mechanisms to increase the skills and capacity of women (and other identified underrepresented groups)

4. Representation of LGBTI people

Percentage of personnel who self-identify as LGBTIQ+ (compared to national or best available data on percentage of LGBTIQ+ people within working-age population)

Number of complaints received of homophobic or transphobic discrimination or harassment

5. Human resources policies and procedures

Existence and quality of policies and procedures to prevent and respond to gender-related harassment, discrimination, bullying and abuse

Number and types of actions taken to adapt job descriptions, so posts are accessible to all people, including women and other underrepresented groups
Number and types of actions taken to adapt training and professional development opportunities, so they are accessible to all personnel, including women and other underrepresented groups
Extent to which performance assessments include objectives and criteria related to integrating a gender perspective
Extent to which gender training is a requirement for recruitment and/or professional development
6. Gender policies (or gender strategies, action plans, etc.)
Extent to which the policy uses inclusive language regarding women, girls, men, boys and LGBTIQ+ persons
Number and type of representative organizations consulted to develop the policy
Existence of an implementation plan to accompany the policy, with clear actions, timeline, distribution of responsibilities, budget, and review mechanism, etc.
7. Gender training
Percentage of training participants who increased their (self-reported or tested) level of understanding of how to integrate a gender perspective in their daily tasks (disaggregated by sex, rank, department, region and other relevant factors)
Extent to which participants can explain the different impacts of their work on women, girls, men and boys, and any other target groups within these groups
8. Gender Focal Points and Gender Advisers
Existence of terms of reference/standard operating procedure/budget for the role of Gender Focal Point/ Gender Adviser

Types of activities (and frequency) undertaken by the Gender Focal Point/Gender Adviser

Number of types of request

9. Security sector reform process

Extent to which the SSR process meaningfully consults different groups within the population, including women's civil society organizations, women's human rights defenders and victims' organizations

Extent to which the SSR process meaningfully includes the Ministry of Women's Affairs (or similar ministry) and parliamentary women's caucus

Extent to which a national security policy and national security strategy/action plan refer to gender equality and gendered security needs

Extent to which the SSR process refers to law on gender equality (e.g. in frameworks, terms of reference, policies, communications, etc.)

10. Violence against women¹⁶⁵

Total and age-specific percentage of women subjected to physical violence in the last 12 months by severity of violence, relationship to the perpetrator and frequency

Total and age-specific percentage of women subjected to physical violence during their lifetime by severity of violence, relationship to the perpetrator and frequency

Total and age-specific percentage of women subjected to sexual violence in the last 12 months by severity of violence, relationship to the perpetrator and frequency

Total and age-specific percentage of ever-partnered women subjected to sexual and/or physical violence by current or former intimate partner in the last 12 months by frequency

Total and age-specific percentage of ever-partnered women subjected to sexual and/or physical violence by current or former intimate partner during their lifetime by frequency

Total and age-specific percentage of women subjected to psychological violence by the intimate partner in the past 12 months

Total and age-specific percentage of women subjected to economic violence by the intimate partner in the past 12 months

Total and age-specific percentage of women subjected to female genital mutilation

11. Security services

Prevalence of use of mixed gender teams (that include women and men) in operations

Prevalence of consideration of a written gender analysis in operational planning processes

Reported satisfaction with the security service (e.g. policing, border service), disaggregated by sex and age (and other relevant characteristics)

Perception of the role of security actors in different communities (disaggregated by sex, age, reported community membership and other relevant factors)

12. Justice system¹⁶⁶

Extent to which case management statistics and reporting are disaggregated by sex and age (and other relevant characteristics)

Extent to which case management statistics and reporting identify different forms of GBV

Extent to which transitional and restorative justice processes actively recognize and address GBV

Extent to which women participate and are represented in transitional and restorative justice processes

13. Civil society engagement

Types and frequency of formal and informal consultation and dialogue between community organizations and security actors

Number and types of community outreach activities made in the last year

14. Parliamentary oversight of the security sector

Frequency with which a gender analysis of a new law or a budget is discussed within parliament (including at committee level)

Budget reviews with a gender perspective

Ratio of women to men in the security and/or defence committee (compared to ratio of women in parliament and ratio of women in other parliamentary committees)

15. Oversight of the security sector by ombuds institutions and national human rights institutions

Percentage of complaints received from women (or other target groups) compared to percentage within overall population (disaggregated by sex, rank, department and other relevant factors)

Types of complaints received from women and men or other target groups (disaggregated by sex, rank, department, region and other relevant factors)

Inquiries or recommendations conveyed to security sector institutions related to women, LGBTIQ+ persons or other identified groups of personnel

Frequency with which women's staff associations and women's civil society organizations are consulted in face-to-face meetings

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- 155** “Conflict-related sexual violence: Report of the Secretary-General, UN Doc. S/2021/312,” para. 5.
- 156** Adapted from European Institute for Gender Equality, “Gender Issue(s).”
- 157** Kimberle Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins.”
- 158** “Gender Equality and Women, Peace and Security Resource Package,” 136.
- 159** Adapting Sanne Tielemans, “Gender & Conflict Analysis Toolkit for Peacebuilders” (Conciliation Resources, December 2015), 16, <http://www.c-r.org/resources/gender-and-conflict-analysis-toolkit-peacebuilders>; see also “Gender Analysis of Conflict: A Toolkit” (Saferworld & Uganda Land Alliance, June 2016), www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/1076-gender-analysis-of-conflict.
- 160** Adapted from DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, “Tool 15, Integrating Gender in Project Design and Monitoring.”
- 161** For an example of these vulnerability indicators applied to data on family violence, see El Grupo Centro de Referencia Nacional sobre Violencia, “Forensis 2018: Datos para la vida,” 172.
- 162** This is also an important issue in relation to disability. The Washington Group on Disability Statistics, established under the United Nations Statistical Commission, provides data collection tools to make data on disability comparable throughout the world: Washington Group on Disability Statistics (2019) “Frequently asked questions”, www.washingtongroup-disability.com/frequently-asked-questions.
- 163** International Labour Office, *A Manual for Gender Audit Facilitators: The ILO Participatory Gender Audit Methodology*, 2012, <http://bibpurl.oclc.org/web/67684> www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---gender/documents/publication/wcms_187411.pdf.
- 164** From DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, “Tool 15, Integrating Gender in Project Design and Monitoring.” Varied policing indicators, which could be adapted to other security sector institutions, are also included in “Handbook on Gender-Responsive Police Services for Women and Girls Subject to Violence.”
- 165** United Nations Economic and Social Council (2010) “Report of the Friends of the Chair of the United Nations Statistical Commission on indicators on violence against women”, Aguascalientes: Statistical Commission, ESA/STAT/AC.193/L.3, pp. 3–4.
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