

The gender perspective in the training and recruitment of Finnish civilian crisis management experts

Ville-Veikko Pitkänen

The urgency of promoting the gender perspective in international crisis management is a goal mandated globally through a number of resolutions, political activity programmes and recommendations. This article deals with the challenge of implementing the gender perspective in the work of the Crisis Management Centre, Finland (CMC). It examines the manifestation of the gender perspective within CMC's activities from two angles: the number of recruited women as emphasised by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and the implementation of the gender perspective in CMC training.

1 Introduction

Gender mainstreaming promotes the gender perspective in all the activities of a given structure, institution, or organisation. Gender mainstreaming, though widely promoted in Finnish public administration policy¹, is a relatively recent, and thus relatively restricted, strategy in the context of Finnish civilian crisis management. This article focuses on gender mainstreaming in the context of Finnish civilian crisis management, specifically at the Crisis Management Centre Finland (CMC), based at Kuopio in Eastern Finland.

Founded in February 2007, CMC is responsible for the training and recruitment of the Finnish citizens seconded to civilian crisis management tasks in international crisis management and peacebuilding operations. During its brief existence, CMC has experienced a rapid increase in personnel, responsibilities, training participants, and seconded experts². In this dynamic operational context, CMC has responded to the challenge to implement gender perspective in the training and recruitment of civilian crisis management experts in various ways.

In April 2008, CMC established its own 1325 Steering Committee consisting of specialists from Finnish ministries, universities and NGOs. The Committee coordinates and consolidates thematic work around the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (2000). In addition, CMC cooperates actively with the Finnish NGOs involved with the implementation of the resolution³. Further, in order to

secure the gender perspective in the field work⁴ of Finnish experts, CMC has organised gender training sessions for its personnel, and started to develop ways to apply gender more consistently in the CMC training curriculum, as well as in the recruitment procedures of its experts⁵. In spite of these efforts, however, CMC's gender mainstreaming still remains limited.

Until now CMC has enforced the gender perspective in two ways: firstly, by balancing the numbers of women and men in the context of its own activities, and secondly, by facilitating the acquisition by recruited experts of the analytical, observational, and applied tools of the gender perspective in the experts' work in the field, or as commonly referred to, facilitating the acquisition by experts of gender lenses. However, the concentration on the numbers of women participating in Finnish civilian crisis management still dominates the efforts to implement the gender perspective in Finnish civilian crisis management, which may be explained by two reasons. Firstly, the numbers of female participants are easy to understand, and easily measurable, recordable and reportable, in comparison with evaluation of how the training or recruitment have progressed in paying attention to participants' or experts' understanding of gender issues. Secondly, the strong emphasis on numbers is due to CMC's determination to advance the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 and the Finnish National Action Plan on 1325⁶ in CMC's activities, both of which strongly emphasise the need to increase female participation in crisis management. In addition, the Government's National Action Plan on Gender Equality and the Finnish National Strategy of Civilian Crisis Management provide a strong mandate to increase the

1 The need for gender mainstreaming in Finnish public administration has been explicitly stated in the Government Program (Valtioneuvoston kanslia 2007) and the Government's National Action Plan on Equality 2008–2011 (Sosiaali- ja terveystieteiden ministeriö 2008).

2 The number of employees increased from ten in January 2008 to 32 in April 2009 (including trainees). The number of attendees at CMC training sessions was 1378 in 2007, increasing to 1629 in 2008. The number of seconded experts in December 2007 was 81, and one year later 138. In October 2009, CMC did reach its goal as stated in Finland's National Strategy for Civilian Crisis Management of 150 civilian crisis management experts in the operations.

3 E.g. CMC personnel actively participates in the events of the Finnish 1325 NGO network, and CMC organises

regular joint seminars with Finnish NGOs to deal with wider questions related to civilian crisis management.

4 The term "field work" refers here to the civilian crisis management experts' work in crisis areas.

5 Interview 12 January 2009.

6 Finland's 1325 NGO network contributed strongly to the birth of the 1325 National action plan by lobbying the authorities concerned. Thus the importance of pushing for stronger 1325 thematic work at CMC Finland has been emphasised not only "from above" by the ministries, but forcefully also "from below" by the active civil society. Interview 16 March 2009.

number of women in civilian crisis management. However, by promoting the fundamental idea of strengthening the role of women in civilian crisis management, these documents result in a practice that calls rather for mainstreaming women in crisis management than for gender mainstreaming⁷. In consequence, the convention has naturally been that CMC's reporting on gender mainstreaming has consisted more of numbers describing the dichotomised biological balance of the sexes than, for example, of the evaluation of the comprehensive understanding of gender in the work of experts.

This study conducted during the first half of 2009 tackles the challenge of bringing the gender perspective into Finnish civilian crisis management by utilising the expertise of the CMC staff – the gender mainstreamers themselves – based on the logical premise that the most practical, meaningful, and committing methods of gender mainstreaming within any organisation must be sought inside the organisation itself. Ownership has been detected to be one of the prerequisites for the active application of the gender mainstreaming inside organisations⁸. In the case of CMC, the ownership belongs to the CMC staff involved in training and recruiting civilian crisis management experts.

As the strategy for implementing the gender policy in CMC's activities is still in its initial stages, at a time when the attention of the organisation has essentially been focused on the stabilisation of CMC's basic function, the training and recruitment of experts, the window of opportunity for early-phase development, alignment, and raising gender awareness remains promisingly open. In addition, the situation is fruitful because CMC's brief period of existence has nevertheless been sufficiently long to generate prospective ideas for the implementation of the gender perspective more profoundly within the organisation.

The researcher's aim was not to create a penetrating academic report on CMC's gender mainstreaming, nor to test how profoundly the theory of gender mainstreaming fits into civilian crisis management. The researcher's main target was to find concrete ways to implement the gender perspective in CMC's work, which would eventually lead to the application of gender lenses in the concrete work of experts in such fields as Afghanistan, Kosovo, or Georgia.

In the search for operational practices to connect the gender perspective with CMC activities, this study departed from the conception that challenges in gender mainstreaming have been linked to the failure to connect gender meaningfully and naturally with individuals' daily

work and practices, or to the routine of seeing gender issues in too technical terms, mainly used by the unknown gender experts rather than by uninitiated individuals⁹. It is often forgotten that organisations' mainstreaming gender are often very different in relation to their managing- and operational structures, to say nothing of their goals, and as a result there exists a variety of descriptions for effective gender mainstreaming. Thus, a workable method of mainstreaming gender in one organisation may not be workable in another. The study seeks to utilise the expertise of the staff, inviting them to reflect and find best practices to implement gender in civilian crisis management, so that in this framework the gender perspective is first detected and familiarised before being applied. The bottom-up approach of this study brings the reflection down to the CMC staff themselves.

The empirical findings presented in this article are based on a combination of observations and thematic interviews. The observations were made during a variety of CMC events (seminars, training sessions, daily work). Individual interviews (CMC staff, CMC Finland's 1324 Steering Committee members, experts and officials) were carried out during January-June 2009. The main goals of the interviews were to bring out the challenges in implementing the gender perspective in CMC activities, and to find meaningful recommendations to overcome these challenges.

The orientation of the study is normative: it involves evaluation of the present state of affairs with the aim of putting forward recommendations for the future. The goal here is to assist the organisation to understand both the potential and limitations involved in applying the gender perspective. The normativeness of the study creates some methodological challenges. One challenge is the reconciliation of the interviews; the differences in individual values and life experiences mean that the improvements proposed by individuals during the thematic interviews cannot be identical. In response to this challenge, the results of the study have been "verified" by the informants themselves, and the final reconciliation between the interviews has been solved by looking for the common ground.

Since the researcher resided inside the organisation studied, a substantial part of the study was conducted through observing and evaluating CMC activities and by informal interviews of the individuals involved in CMC's daily work. The non-formal part of the information gathering profoundly strengthened the study, since the researcher often gained these opportunities by "accident", during lunch and coffee breaks, in situations where gender came up naturally, rather than designedly, in the conversations. On reflection, these informal moments when gender was not

7 The numerical balance between men and women is given particular emphasis in Finland's National Action Plan on the UNSCR 1325 and in the Finnish Government Action Plan for Gender Equality 2008–2011. The common feature of both documents is the target of a percentage balance of 40/60 between women and men trained and recruited for civilian crisis management tasks (see Kokkarinen et al. 2009; see also corresponding guidelines from the Finnish Ministry of Defence: Puolustusministeriö 2009; cf. McKay 2007).

8 See Wells & McEwan 2004; Mikkelsen et al. 2002.

9 As e.g. Piálek (2008) argues, the explicit (over)use of the term expert, the endless production of checklists and tools, and the continual creation of specific acronyms and abbreviations, result in a convention that gender is construed as something technical. As a result people may see the gender approach as being the exclusive domain of the [gender] "expert". "Gender thus becomes a knowledge enclave, with its own tools, operational frameworks, and jargon fortifying its walls". See also Porter & Smyth 1998.

designed to be the main focus of conversation provided perhaps the most profitable moments for gathering and testing information. Conducting the research on the actual premises of the organisation being studied, inside its actual work, was also very practical: if ideas needed double-checking, the researcher was able to knock on doors and ask the informants further questions. Above all, these occasions seldom left the researcher without answers, and the researched topic was all the time "kept fresh" under constant discussion. On the other hand, as the researcher came to realise, the door was opening both ways: frequently, the staff members themselves were encouraged to tell their ideas of practical gender mainstreaming. This again meant that the interviews "stayed alive" during the whole process, and the information was gathered, not only when recording, but also in times when the individuals had "ripened" their ideas. Hopefully, this process of reflection on gender will continue in the future in the work of CMC.

Apart from the limits of its normativeness, another limiting factor of the study comes with the abstract nature of gender mainstreaming. When dealing with clear-cut, measurable goals, such as numbers of men and women, which is part of gender mainstreaming, the evaluation is relatively uncomplicated: has CMC reached its appointed goal to appoint balanced numbers of women and men for its activities or not, and if not, why? Such an evaluation is undoubtedly simpler than the analysis of implementation of the gender perspective in areas where formal national and international policies and standards are unattainable, as for example when testing whether CMC has succeeded in bringing the gender perspective into the actual work of the civilian crisis management expert. The evaluation of the abstract application of the gender perspective is complex, since there exist no benchmarks for such an evaluation. On the other hand, while the very purpose of the study is to contribute to those operational standards that bring gender inside CMC's activities; it has to be remembered that gender mainstreaming is ultimately a process rather than a goal, as is commonly agreed. So the discussion of whether an organisation has succeeded or failed in gender mainstreaming in this sense is futile. Instead of concentrating on strict benchmarks, it is more valuable to look at existing methods of gender mainstreaming, and at the overall constraints on implementing a comprehensive gender strategy¹⁰.

10 Sandler 1997.

2 Gender mainstreaming in civilian crisis management

2.1 Gender – too simplified or too complex a concept?

How can a concept be mainstreamed unless it is fully understood? This question reveals one of the most significant challenges to the strategy of gender mainstreaming. Lack of conceptual understanding and/or lack of understanding of the importance of gender mainstreaming impede the serious implementation of gender mainstreaming strategies¹¹. While accepting the fact that some concepts tend to work best with rather blurred meanings – without being descriptively and restrictively defined – the concept of “gender mainstreaming” necessitates some elaboration.

As is common with innovative concepts, the adapters of the concept have to know what the concept stands for before its systematic application. Further, in order to avoid losing so-called “momentum” in adopting new concepts, this knowledge needs to be communicated as promptly as possible. In the case of introducing the gender perspective into the domain of crisis management, the challenge consists in maintaining the momentum of learning at the beginning, because the concept is defined either in too simplistic terms – as merely an issue of women vis-à-vis men – or in too complex terms, for example, through “gender training” which covers such a wide variety of experiences, topics and audiences that an agreed definition of gender becomes impossible¹². Eventually, both attempts to define the concept produce the same result: the adapters of the concept, the civilian crisis management experts, willingly abandon the concept either to those who want to see the issue primarily through women’s eyes, or to those who enjoy the conceptual jargon, but fail to link gender with the real world. It must be noted that the learning process on gender issues then remains superficial, and the prospects for adapting the concept in practice are ignored; the adapters of the concept then become inclined to shift their interest toward new terms

in the constantly expanding conceptual jungle of crisis management¹³.

To make any sense of the concept of gender mainstreaming for the purposes of this study, it becomes obvious that the concept requires some explanation. As the executive branch of the EU, the European Commission has produced a definition of gender mainstreaming which offers a good conceptual starting point for mainstreaming efforts in Finland.

Gender mainstreaming is the integration of the gender perspective into every stage of policy processes – design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation – with a view to promoting equality between women and men. It means assessing how policies impact on the life and position of both women and men – and taking responsibility to re-address them if necessary. This is the way to make gender equality a concrete reality in the lives of women and men creating space for everyone within the organisations as well as in communities – to contribute to the process of articulating a shared vision of sustainable human development and translating it into reality.¹⁴

While the essence of “mainstreaming”, according to this definition, lies in integration, of the gender perspective in every stage of [policy] processes as explicitly in this definition, the term “gender” itself is left in ambiguity. At first glance, gender seems to be something associated with men and women. However, the real substance of the definition, it is argued here, lies in its ability to link the meaning of gender more equally to “everyone” – gender mainstreaming creates space for everyone. Thus, by referring to everyone the definition of gender mainstreaming shows a tendency to relocate the examination of gender beyond the dichotomy of the sexes with the understanding that the application of the

11 Hannan 2001.

12 Interview 2 June 2009.

13 One of the interviewees had attended a gender training session which had from the beginning adopted an accusatory tone which eventually left the course participants with a very negative view of gender training. See also Wetterskog 2007. The simplification of gender is also identified in Moser & Moser 2005.

14 European Commission 2008. Author’s emphasis.

gender perspective requires deeper comprehension of the relations between human beings.

After observing gender mainstreaming policies in Finland, visiting seminars and hearing everyday conversations, we can conclude that Finns operate essentially with a simplified meaning of gender. One possible reason for this may be the Finnish translation, *sukupuolinäkökulman valtavirtaistaminen* referring essentially to one's biology, which fails to indicate any link with the socially constructed gender identity, which on the other hand, as has been pointed out, builds the very core of the understanding of gender¹⁵. It is very possible that the Finnish translation may steer people's minds to form a simplified picture of gender mainstreaming. However, as the common confusion between biological sex and social gender and the employment of these two terms interchangeably pose a fundamental challenge for gender mainstreaming outside Finland¹⁶, as well, the way how Finns translate the term may not be – after all – enough to explain the whole picture of the obstacles in effective gender mainstreaming.

For social scientists, "gender" refers to socially constructed masculine and feminine characteristics, while "sex" refers to the biologically determined categories of male and female. The theory of gender sees that the role of the individual in relation to the environment in which he/she lives, works, studies or conducts other related activities is too complex to be defined solely by biology. What is believed, men and women, boys and girls of diverse societies in different times are dissimilar not because they are biologically different, but because the social construction in a given culture, time, and place defines and redefines their roles in different ways. These roles are not fixed but learned and negotiated, as well as often contested. Besides differences between the roles of women and men, roles among women and men fluctuate, and both women and men may combine different roles individually over time or even simultaneously¹⁷. In fact, after the complexity of gender is highlighted, it may be argued that while unbending stereotypes based on the biological dichotomy of sexes may offer us stability, the theory of socially constructed gender, being unstable, brings nothing but confusion. This may be a better reason than translation difficulties for the failure so far of the dynamic perception of gender to realistically challenge the traditional conception of gender as being merely an issue of biological women and men. What has to be understood is that the idea that the two biological sexes should have their own predefined playgrounds and act according their "natural" characteristics is still very strong in many cultures. This evidently restricts the acceptance of socially constructed gender.

In our everyday routines, it is not untypical to feel that we know what men and women naturally are or should be, since we readily take gendered practices for granted. The arrangements supporting gender roles are so profound, so reinforced by history, that they seem to us to be natural¹⁸. We instantly recognise a person as a man or woman, girl or boy – and frequently act upon the socially adapted system we believe to be natural when dealing with people belonging to these particular groups. However, being a small girl or boy, or an older woman or man, is not a fixed state, and the assumptions we make based on people's biological sex are often mistaken. It is critical to notice that different contexts provide individuals with different gender roles to play, and that in a very wide range of spheres, including many formal and informal areas of life, such as the structures of education, labour, health or media and sports, these strictly defined roles are strongly reiterated in most cultures around the world. The vast, often out-of-sight arrangements to maintain the gender balances, and the reluctance to accept wider gender roles within different societies, remind us how far away the strategy of gender mainstreaming is from its ultimate goal, gender equality which covers the wide variety of human roles while accepting every person as he or she is.

2.2 Benefits of applying the gender perspective to crisis management

Understanding the gender perspective in crisis management offers us tools to perceive phenomena which we would not otherwise perceive. The people living in areas currently in crisis are most often defined by international aid organisations according to certain stereotypes linked to their sex. The crisis management expert often finds herself/himself in a situation in which there is a strong temptation to judge people, whether locals or colleagues, on the basis of their cultural, religious or linguistic backgrounds or, for example, on age-related features. However, perhaps the most defining feature of an individual is linked to gender, and recognition of this fact facilitates the understanding of gender as a tool to enable crisis management to achieve a better impact. The gender perspective strengthens civilian crisis management by offering a more comprehensive view of both subjects and objects in crisis management.

Consequently, the strategy of gender mainstreaming in civilian crisis management is not an end in itself, but a means to achieve ends. Excessive reliance on our predefined mindset concerning the people living in crisis areas, or direct utilisation of our common views of the principal roles in post-conflict societies, such as accepting a narrow but common paradigm of peaceful, silent women opposing their violent men, blind experts from seeing that each individual has the capacity to be an affecting and alternating factor in a crisis¹⁹. Unless crisis management experts take the gender

15 Connell 2001; 2002; Connell & Messerschmidt 2005; Britt & Adler 2003.

16 See e.g. Mitchell 2004. The European Commission's Guide on Gender Mainstreaming (2004) identifies two different approaches for mainstreaming. The woman-focused approach views women's lack of participation as the problem, whereas the gender-focused approach is more people-centred.

17 Bouta 2004, 4; Valasek 2008.

18 Connel 2002.

19 For example, while the local women are many times openly victimised by conflict, the tendency to disproportionately depict them as victims, as in

perspective into account in their work, their actions may be based on the (wrong) sexual stereotypes of the people around them, which may easily lead to misconceptions of the dynamics in crisis areas. At the same time the adoption of gender perspective, for example, in the form of deconstructing gendered stereotypes, may offer experts greater competence to perceive the vast differences in roles among people in the post-conflict regions, as well as how differently people experience conflict. Looking critically at the needs of different groups of people within the same biological sex categories naturally breeds wider equality, which in turn is fundamental for sustainable peace. This is why, for example, recognising that a certain operation in crisis areas has different impacts on middle-aged men, young men, old men, or men with disabilities, substantially strengthens the work of crisis management since it expands the target of the action.²⁰

Properly utilised, the gender perspective takes into account a wider array of people in crisis areas and provides the crisis workers with a valuable tool to assess the impact of their work on a wider range of people²¹. Recognising through gender perspective the divergent opinions in the host country, and taking these opinions into account to ensure ownership and participation in peace processes are not limited to small elite groups, lead to more legitimated decision-making.

Crisis management work is misguided if an expert fails to recognise important nuances in the analysis of crisis areas. Incomplete conclusions about the crisis lead to ill-advised actions. Any crisis management work that does not take into account gender dynamics may easily reinforce the existing problems and power imbalances between people in crisis areas, thereby undermining any chance of real development for the whole community.²² If crisis management is harmonised with the gender perspective, which examines the diverse concerns of women, men, girls and boys, and even takes into account the variation within these categories, the work will clearly be done in a more equal and open manner, which will in turn legitimise the peace efforts in the eyes of local people.

While the application of the gender perspective may be most straightforwardly justified on the grounds of equality, arguments highlighting improved quality of life also

need to be mentioned.²³ Since our picture of the people occupying crisis areas is very often founded on gender-based descriptions, people in crisis may feel compelled to associate with these narrow descriptions, because help has usually been given to those who are recognised to belong to the particular target group to be helped. In time of crisis, it is logical to assume that people feel compelled to manoeuvre in line with gendered expectations, and thus to conform with the most advantageous gender role pointed out by the international organisation. Acquisition of the "identity" of a refugee woman, repatriated soldier, or even a raped woman, in the eyes of their rescuers, may unfortunately be the only survival strategy for many who are suffering or in need. From this point of view, it may be argued that paying equal attention to the needs of different people in the post-conflict rehabilitation phase ensures that people in crisis areas do not need to "fit" into some imagined picture, but instead can rebuild their own lives in their own way, which for many means a non-violent way of living. If the experts working in civilian crisis management and peacebuilding operations see women for the most part as victims needing protection, and men mainly as the perpetrators, this does not leave much room for variation. What happens to men and women who do not conform with the picture portrayed by the outsiders who are helping them? Since the gender perspective, which focuses on threats to individuals, relieves people from the strict roles based on stereotypes, it also makes room for a variety of interpretations of being a woman or a man. Consequently, this leaves individuals to live more satisfying and complete lives, for example through a greater involvement in the family and caring activities, as opposed to aggressiveness, or any other characteristic which needs to be maintained because of external pressure.²⁴

In addition, the recognition that crisis management experts need to be aware of the gendered bias in their own thinking, which is steering their own actions, may enhance crisis management. It is critical for these experts not to be limited by biased stereotypes which they have learnt to rely on in their own cultural context. Thus one advantage of the gender perspective, systematically applied, is that it forces us to face our own gender biases based on our own experiences within our own cultural settings. Equally important is to acknowledge that not only individuals but also institutions and organisations²⁵ carry certain gendered identities. In this "gender system"²⁶, deeply rooted social arrangements have generated the manoeuvre that only by complying with expectations can we avoid conflicts²⁷.

connection with trafficking or prostitution in crisis areas, perpetuates inaccurate assumptions about their contribution to war and peace. Women are not solely passive victims but often powerful agents. See e.g. Whitworth 2004; Utting 1994; Hentschel 2006; Strickland & Duvvury 2003, 1.

20 As argued by Enloe (2002), a peace that fails to give equal recognition to the diverse needs of people is not a comprehensive, democratic, credible or sustainable peace. Enloe (2002) argues that, the sort of insecurity many people experience during armed conflicts is surprisingly akin to the forms of insecurity they experience when the war is over. See also Enloe 1993.

21 Reimann 2001.

22 Whitbread 2004.

23 UNDP RBEC 2007.

24 Ibid.

25 Reimann 2001.

26 See Rantalaiho et al. 1997, 6-7; Benschop & Verloo 2006.

27 Similarly as my son learns to play the game of gendered life in certain ways, since I reward him [many times subconsciously] for doing the "boy stuff", I am equally a product of my organisation's gendered context rewarding and punishing me according to how I fit into this context. As a man, my role is to

Despite the increased attention given to the gender perspective within the framework of crisis management, the structures of peace operations still carry gender biases²⁸. Recognition of the gender system in crisis management is especially fundamental for the obvious reason that the peace operations are especially prone to seemingly powerful, but ultimately vulnerable and insecure manifestations of masculinity, causing men and women in crisis management to resort to unnecessary violence and other malpractices in crisis areas (e.g. drunkenness, prostitution, sexual harassment).²⁹ The gender perspective may help experts to find transformative approaches to escape prevailing power structures, and by avoiding strong artificial identities to promote their own identities, which instead of violence and domination may highlight negotiation, cooperation, and equality³⁰. Thus acknowledgement of the gender perspective in civilian crisis management is ever more critical.

act in certain ways in certain time and space, simply because my biological categorisation as a man says so. Similarly, a woman could not be seen acting this way since she lives in a female body. If this woman, however, acts in this situation as I am expected to act, she may become, in someone's files, an anomaly.

28 Strickland & Duvvury 2003.

29 See e.g. Higate 2007; Patel & Tripodi 2007; Sion 2006; Kent 2005; Whitworth 2005; Whitworth 2004; Whitworth 1998; Refugees International 2004; DeGroot 2002; DeGroot 2001; Crossette 1996; Fetherston 1995.

30 See Connell 2001.

3 Recruiting female civilian crisis management experts

CMC's gender mainstreaming may be divided roughly into two aspects. First, CMC ensures that equal numbers of men and women take part in its activities (experts, training participants). Secondly, CMC ensures that recruited civilian crisis management experts have adequate skills to identify, analyse, and apply gender in their work, that is, that the experts in the field wear so-called gender lenses.

3.1 Structural challenges reducing the number of female recruits for civilian crisis management tasks

Increasing the number of women recruits in order to show improved gender perspective has commonly been criticised, particularly for the essentialising rather than equalising nature of this approach³¹. However, what legitimises the concentration on numbers in crisis management, as in any field of action, is that ultimate success almost always necessitates the involvement of diverse people: both men and women, as well as different men and women. Another legitimate reason is related to the universal practice in peace operations of employing quotas to empower the women of conflict areas. While there may be disagreement concerning the functionality of these quotas, it must be agreed that in order to be convincing, peace operations aiming to democratise by quota must themselves symbolise the composition of civil societies founded on the balanced numbers of different kinds of people – including the different sexes.

When the numerical balance between men and women in the Finnish civilian crisis management training and recruiting is reviewed, the greatest challenge clearly lies in how to increase the number of women experts seconded in the field. The number has gradually been raised: during 2003–2004 women made up 14 % of all seconded Finnish experts, while in the period 2003–2007, women represented 19 % of all seconded Finnish experts. In May 2009 women already made up 27 %, which however still falls short of

the target balance of 40/60 for women and men.³² More systematic work needs to be done to reach this goal.

The greater challenge of recruiting more women for work in the field, compared with choosing women for CMC training, may be explained by CMC's limited authority in selecting the experts for the actual operations. While CMC selects its own training participants, thus enabling the maintenance of a certain sex-balance in its training, as the example of CMC basic courses on civilian crisis management illustrates (Table 1), CMC enjoys no such freedom in relation to seconded experts. The fact that CMC only nominates the experts for the positions in operations – under the control of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (MFA) and the Ministry of the Interior (MoI) – implies that CMC's hands are, in a sense, tied with respect to the strategic decisions made by the ministries.

31 See Harding 1995; Tint 2004; Garney 2004.

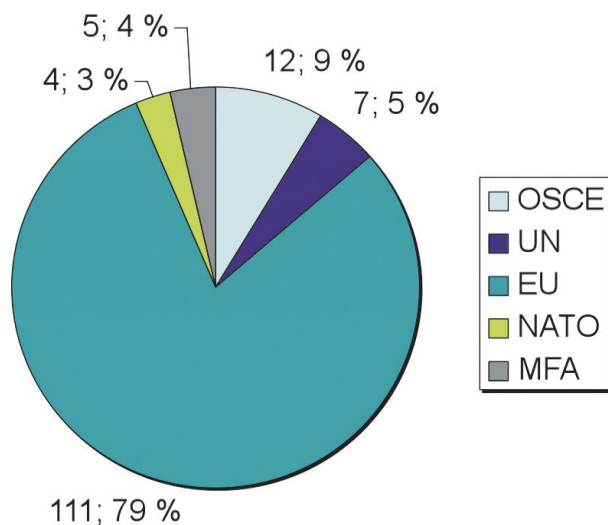
32 See Kokkarinen et al. 2009.

Table 1: Participation in the basic civilian crisis management courses by gender

	Year	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female %
EU Core (1)	2005	25	18	7	72	28
EU-EGT Core (2)	2006	26	15	11	58	42
EU Concept Core (3)	2006	30	13	17	43	57
EU Concept Core (4)	2007	24	11	13	45.8	54.2
EU Concept Core (5)	2007	24	15	11	62.5	37.5
EU Concept Core (6)	2008	22	10	12	45.5	54.5
EU Concept Core (7)	2008	25	11	14	44	56
EU Concept Core (8)	2009	27	14	13	51.9	49.1
		203	107	98	52.70 %	47.30 %

Building the Finnish civilian crisis management capacity follows the outlines of the national strategy for civilian crisis management drafted by the Finnish MFA and MoI in association with Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Defence and NGOs.³³ These strategic outlines have direct consequences on the number of seconded women and men. At present, the calls to contribute mainly come from the European Union. In May 2009, of all the seconded civilian crisis management experts, 79 % (Figure 1) were stationed in EU-led operations, the remaining 21 % being scattered among OSCE-, UN-, and NATO-led operations, with a few seconded directly by the MFA.

Figure 1: Finnish seconded experts in civilian crisis management by organisation



The segregation of the labour market has traditionally been strong in Europe³⁴. Thus the fact that the EU provides the main framework of Finnish crisis management entails certain challenges to the goal of increasing the number of Finnish female experts in the field, since EU priority areas for civilian crisis management still lean heavily towards policing duties³⁵.

Almost half of the seconded Finnish experts work in policing duties in ESDP operations (police, customs, and border), duties primarily performed by male experts (see Figure 2). In October 2008, of all the seconded Finnish experts 57 were police officers (8 women), which means that police officers represent more than 40 % of all the civilian crisis management experts seconded by Finland. In the police force, women "naturally" represent the minority. According to the statistics of the Police College of Finland, 15 % of police officers in Finland today are women. Of the 2008 entrants, one quarter were women³⁶. Of all the permanent employees 11.5 % were women. In the case of border guards, however, women mainly carry out other than guarding duties. While the first Finnish woman was appointed as a border guard in 1997, women's representation in guarding duties remains nominal (2.4 % in 2008)³⁷.

34 Van der Lippe et al. 2004.

35 The priority areas defined by the Feira European Council in June 2000 were police, rule of law, strengthening civilian administration and civil protection, and monitoring (Consilium 2008). The fact that the emphasis on police missions will most likely be strong in EU future missions was evaluated by a High-level EU officer lecturing at the CMC seminar in 10 June 2009.

36 Polamk 2009.

37 Rajavartioliatois 2008.

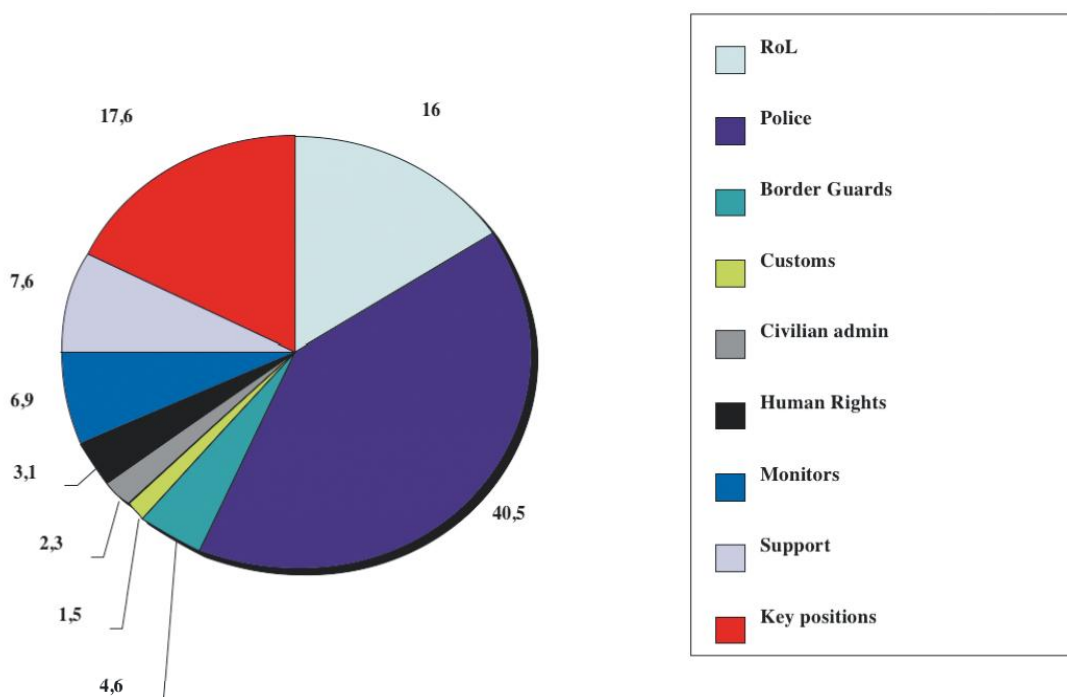
33 See Finland's National Strategy for Civilian Crisis Management 2008: Civilian crisis management decision-making at page 9.

Other organisations involved in civilian crisis management employ expertise offered by a variety of professionals. One example is the OSCE³⁸ which has a different view of civilian crisis management, and operations promoting the rule of law, democracy and human rights and the status of minorities, who offer more placements for women experts. Of all the Finnish long- and short-term election observers deployed on OSCE (ODIHR) election observation operations, women and men participate in fairly equal numbers (in 2006, 45/55 %; in 2007, 43/57 %; and in 2008, 50/50 %).³⁹

when recruiting civilian crisis management experts further postpones the goal of increasing the number of women in civilian crisis management.

As long as Finland participates in developing EU civilian crisis management capacities without taking part more frequently in civilian operations conducted by other organisations with different approaches to civilian crisis management, and as long as the EU conducts its civilian crisis management through male-dominated areas of expertise, which seems to be the future direction, CMC will continue to send predominantly men to operations. Increasing the number of women in this context will remain a challenging goal in the future.

Figure 2: Seconded Finnish experts in civilian crisis management by profession



However, the EU operational context does not fully explain the Finnish national emphasis on policing duties when sending experts to civilian crisis management operations. The modest secondment of Finnish experts to UN operations follows the same trend by emphasising police duties⁴⁰. The fact that Finland highlights policing,

3.2 CMC recruitment

The interviews with CMC staff pointed towards a dual conclusion: on the one hand, the need for broader participation of women in civilian crisis management was acknowledged, but on the other hand, in view of the structural challenges, the task of involving more women was viewed as frustrating. In many conversations, it was asked why the number of women in the male-dominated areas of civilian crisis management should be increased when the transformation of the whole system might offer deeper, more meaningful solutions to escape from male-dominated crisis management.

However, given the problematic nature of the context in which the number of seconded female experts should be

38 Mazurana (2002) argues that operations with strong human rights monitoring mandates tend to have more women (35–37 % of operation personnel). According to the statistics for 2006, the OSCE (promotion of the rule of law, democracy and human rights or the status of minorities) offered posts to 3257 people, 43 % of them women. See OSCE 2009.

39 These figures come from the statistics maintained at the Finnish MFA. Interview 23 June 2009.

40 The tendency to highlight police duties also when recruiting experts for other organisations was emphasised in the interviews. According to the statistics from the end of 2008, CMC had 56 (7 women) police officers in the field: 85 % in EU led operations and the remainder serving in other operations. In

addition two (1 man, 1 woman) experts with police background were working in other civilian duties. See Sisäasianministeriön poliisiosasto, Kansainvälinen yksikkö 2009.

increased, the development phase of the EU civilian crisis management, and also the importance of Finland as one contributing member to the process, were noted. Despite this challenging situation, there is a high level of eagerness to recruit more women for civilian crisis management tasks, and the goal of involving more women in Finnish civilian crisis management has routinely been highlighted. In practice, if qualified female candidates have been found, CMC has put forward members of both sexes as candidates for operations. This procedure has transferred the final decision to the operations.

"As long as we have a suitable woman applicant, her application will be posted together with a male application, even if the male applicant is "more qualified"(...)"⁴¹

As this manoeuvre may cause dissatisfaction among some applicants, given the high number of eager applicants willing to be seconded by Finland to serve in civilian crisis management tasks, it has evoked deliberation among CMC staff. Some dissatisfied applicants have voted for non-discrimination in order that none of the applicants should be favoured on the basis of gender. After considering the relationship between the Finnish law on equality and the national strategy of civilian crisis management, CMC has found no reason to halt the manoeuvre of nominating qualified female applicants alongside male applicants. The law is not broken as long as the most qualified applicants are identified during the application process. The final decisions are made by the operation leadership, who are free to choose the woman or the man whom they regard as most suitable for the given task. Nevertheless, many job advertisements have clauses encouraging women applicants.⁴² In this sense, CMC avoids any conflict with the legal constraints.

While the law is merely a side-issue in the recruitment of women, what seems to offer a greater challenge is the intensiveness of CMC recruitment, caused both by the unpredictability of the (EU) civilian crisis management recruitment and by the limited capacity to handle the abundant interest in civilian crisis management tasks. As experienced by CMC, the unpredictability of EU civilian crisis management recruiting creates situations in which the call for contributions may be made quickly, without advance notice, after a fairly calm and steady period. This unpredictability and rapidity may lead to unprepared, hasty recruitment of experts. Sometimes the unpredictability in recruiting has led to situations in which finding women has been simply impossible.

"Sometimes the recruiting situation is so intense that we need to find just quickly someone suitable for the task. In these situations, an emphasis on military experience from conflict areas is a safe

choice since the person has already proven their ability to get along in these settings."⁴³

If the rotation of EU civilian crisis management operations were developed in the direction of better-coordinated recruitment and more predictability, as outlined by one of the staff members, it would also allow more time to balance female-male participation in civilian crisis management within CMC.⁴⁴ However, even improved predictability would not dispose of all the challenges of recruiting women. CMC receives requests from interested applicants at a rate which cannot be adequately handled given their limited human resources.⁴⁵ In order to deal with this huge interest and to prioritise its activities, CMC has been compelled to limit the advertisement of vacant posts to its website. For the same reason, CMC has been compelled to leave out direct contact numbers of some Human Resources personnel so as to allocate more time for the actual recruitment.⁴⁶ Here, the mounting challenge seems to be how to recognise the most qualified people from the mass of applicants⁴⁷, including the most capable women. Again, from the standpoint of increasing the number of women, the problem seems to be the limited capacity of human resources.

3.3 Ways to increase female participation

In relation to the need to increase female participation in civilian crisis management, the interviews resulted in certain innovative suggestions, made as if CMC were operating in an ideal world with adequate time and resources at their disposal.

Although the strategic blueprints for Finnish participation in civilian crisis management are made in the ministries (MFA, Mol), there is a loophole in the procedure which CMC can utilise. CMC may suggest specific secondment positions for ministries if such positions are well grounded and fit into the national strategy of civilian crisis management. Currently, CMC keeps a special eye on potential openings for women as well as being prepared to support qualified female candidates willing to apply for certain civilian crisis management tasks⁴⁸. A dedicated head-hunter devoted to

41 Interview 27 January 2009.

42 The point of legality was made in several interviews: 27 January 2009; 3 February 2009; 26 February 2009.

43 Interview 27 January 2009.

44 Interview 26 February 2009.

45 A good example of the attractiveness of civilian crisis management tasks is the recruitment operation for EUBAM Rafah. From noon on 20 January to 10 am on 23 January 2009, the "open posts" section of the CMC website was visited 631 times. CMC has one full-time staff member answering the calls and e-mails concerning open positions. During the most hectic times, this person receives 11 calls per hour. Interviews 27 January 2009; 26 February 2009;

46 Interestingly, despite the fact that CMC has limited the channels for contacts, the feedback from the civilian crisis management experts points to improved transparency in civilian crisis management recruitment. Interview 27 February 2009.

47 Interview 27 January 2009.

48 E.g., areas which lack qualified civilian crisis management experts in the EU operations are logistics and procurement, considered relatively strong areas of

the specific task of connecting the right people with the right jobs would offer one solution for increasing the number of women.

At the moment, the political mandate to increase the number of women in civilian crisis management is remarkably strong. The strategic decisions on Finnish participation to civilian crisis management are made by the very ministries who have particularly supported the 1325 thematic issues in Finland (MFA, Mol). Seeking positions with more gender neutral orientation and presenting these positions to the ministries offers one means to increase the number of female experts in civilian crisis management.

One way to improve female participation in civilian crisis management is “advertising” and “campaigning” on the issue. So far CMC has organised awareness raising seminars to expand public knowledge of civilian crisis management⁴⁹ twice or three times a year. These campaigns have mainly concentrated on educational institutions such as universities. More “targeted” advertising, for example in the police college, the border guard college or other institutions holding identified potential recruits for different crisis management tasks, would thus be a further way to increase the number of qualified women⁵⁰.

One potential improvement would also be to develop support for experts’ families. This issue has also been raised by repatriated experts⁵¹. In comparison with OSCE and UN family missions, EU civilian crisis management stands in the developing stage, with the result that its operations have yet to build any structures for family support on missions. The absence of such structures probably reduces the willingness of women to take part in the EU operations, as it similarly fails to motivate many men. Women are still considered the main home-makers and take the larger role in bringing up children. Because of these persistent conventions, the lack of supportive elements for families in civilian crisis management reflects the view that this domain is predominantly a man’s rather than a woman’s world. The reconciliation of work and family within civilian crisis management has thus been dealt with by relying on the traditional view: the woman’s work yields to her family – the man’s family to his work⁵².

Moreover, bringing the family aspect into CMC activities may contribute to a more effective civilian crisis management. For example, researchers have long argued that stress management and wellbeing factors in work and

family are not separate, but profoundly related issues⁵³. Thus, conducting operations without family support suggests that the full potential of the Finnish experts has not been reached.

“(…) if we consider the matters steering individual actions and thoughts in the field, the family must be one of the most significant factors (…).”⁵⁴

Furthermore, the benefits of bringing the family dimension into civilian crisis management would go beyond an increased number of women. Taking the family dimension into consideration would challenge the traditional, deeply normative model of the independent male-peacekeeper versus his spouse staying at home. Re-connecting the two worlds would automatically strengthen not only the gender perspective in civilian crisis management, but also the whole of crisis management in a very meaningful way, because it would deconstruct the traditional view of an individual working in crisis, who is predominantly an independent man, surviving with no commitments on the home front. This kind of picture evidently fails to describe today’s crisis management experts. Many of the seconded Finns are mothers or fathers, husbands or wives. The decision-makers in Finnish civilian crisis management should take this into account when seeking more efficient crisis management.

The interviews were able to identify other specific ways in which family support could be improved. While understanding that ESDP still has a long way to go in developing its family support for civilian crisis management experts – also because deployment to high-risk areas such as Afghanistan or DRC is increasing – CMC could improve its family support on a step by step basis. The prevailing idea was that CMC should improve information for family members concerning matters related to experts’ working conditions, holidays, home-coming and other work- and family-related issues. One way to proceed might be to build some functions for family members into the pre-mission briefings organised by the CMC to familiarise the outgoing experts with their respective mission. However, it has also been noted that bringing partners to these events must not be allowed to put at risk the networking of experts, which is likely to be an important asset in the host country⁵⁵. Another simple way to improve information-sharing would be to send experts’ families informative e-mails, or information in other forms, about recent events in operations⁵⁶. This again would be a very minor and effortless step for CMC, but important for the often ill-informed families.

However, it was made clear with one voice that all such innovations would require earmarked resources.

expertise for Finland. Promoting women application in these areas of expertise may offer a way to increase female recruitment. Interview 26 February 2009.

49 During the first half of 2009, CMC organised Haluatko tietää siviilikriisinhallinnasta? (Do you want to know about the civilian crisis management?) Seminars at the Universities of Jyväskylä and Joensuu. In November 2009, a seminar was organised at the Police College of Finland in Tampere.

50 Interviews 27 January 2009; 17 February 2009; 24 February 2009; 26 February 2009.

51 A point discussed e.g. at CMC debriefing session for repatriated experts 29 January 2009; 18 June 2009.

52 Pleck 1977.

53 Kinnunen et al 2000, 3.

54 Interview 26 February 2009.

55 Interview 18 May 2009.

56 Interview 4 March 2009.

4 The gender perspective in civilian crisis management training

4.1 Structural amendments in training: deeper integration

While the numerical goal is generally regarded as an important element in promoting gender in the work of civilian crisis management experts⁵⁷, the weakness of the goal to guarantee the manifestation of the gender perspective in the actual work of experts in the field has also been acknowledged.

The strong emphasis on numbers, indicating that gender makes sense to many people predominantly in terms of the headcount of participating women, has led to a trend for gender to be seldom meaningfully operationalised in crisis management, while the real prospects of the gender perspective have been sidelined. Perhaps for this reason the term gender still carries somewhat suspicious connotations even among CMC staff. The burden of being something imposed from above, from a suspicious origin, as opposed to being a critical reinforcement for civilian crisis management, has generated a pattern that gender issues are easily resisted and executed only on demand, and even then superficially without reflection on the real consequences of applying the perspective. This has led some people, even inside CMC, to comment that the overt concentration on numbers has actually meant backward steps for wider gender mainstreaming in Finnish civilian crisis management⁵⁸. The fact that Finnish civilian crisis management is still a male-dominated domain signifies that the numbers of men and women is not the only issue in the discussion of gender in civilian crisis management. As commonly stated in the interviews, it is more important to know that the perspective is realised in the actual work of the experts.

Equal numbers of both sexes, as important as this goal is, inadequately guarantees the application of gender in the actual work of the experts. From a general viewpoint, if an expert fails to comprehend how the gender perspective is related to the expert's work in the field, he or she may

actually reinforce the existing gendered biases in crisis areas. This is why, as noted in several interviews, the more important question is: how to ensure the application of the gender perspective in the work of [male & female] civilian crisis management experts?

As observed already, the concentration on numbers has pointed towards a convention on both sides by which the staff have been truly concentrating on the balanced representation of women but the real understanding of gender has been poor. The limited use of gender inside CMC supports the argument that if the concept of mainstreaming gender is not developed further toward wider application, the orientation of the concept will quickly become locked into the hetero-normative concept of sexes, which sees the issue only through men and women,⁵⁹ resulting in easy dismissal of any further application of the concept. The following reactions were voiced in the interviews:

“(…) by looking at numbers, quotas, and percentages [of women] in the process of recruiting and training, as I see it, we have somehow taken several steps backward (…).”⁶⁰

Others saw that the concentration on numbers has guided the work of civilian crisis management down the wrong path:

“(…) from my point of view as a trainer and recruiter in the field of civilian crisis management, it would be more important to ensure that the individual is ready for the operation, and that his/her personal character is suited to the operation. I don't see that we should now stare too much at the 40/60 balance in women and men. More important would be to send in the right persons (…).”⁶¹

Since CMC is the leading centre of expertise in Finnish civilian crisis management, executing its national tasks under the Ministry of Interior, its work should not be restricted to the training and recruitment of seconded experts. It is felt that CMC also has a duty to contribute to the wider

57 Cf. Strickland & Duvvury 2003, 25.

58 Interview 4 February 2009.

59 Scambor & Scambor 2008.

60 Interview 4 February 2009.

61 Interview 24 February 2009.

development of Finnish civilian crisis management. This perceived role also hands CMC vital responsibilities in connection with expertise relating to gender. Since CMC's functioning in crisis areas is visible through the expertise of its seconded experts, it is natural that the focus on numbers should be shifted more towards ensuring the application of the gender perspective in the actual practical work of these experts. In building this kind of capacity, the most significant responsibility was situated in the training of civilian crisis management experts.

The primary goal of CMC training is to furnish future civilian crisis management experts with tools to understand the international operational environment in the crisis area⁶². The training offered by CMC ranges from basic to high level courses and prepares the participants particularly for European Union and United Nations civilian crisis management and peacebuilding operations. Consequently, given the wide variety of CMC training, tailoring the gender perspective to particular training purposes is important.

However, regardless of the special needs of diverse training courses, the incorporation of gender in civilian crisis management training too often seems to fail for two distinct reasons, as identified through observations, and restated in the interviews: the first challenge seems to be, how to incorporate gender in training as a natural rather than external issue; and the second, how to convince training participants of the importance of gender as an essential element of civilian crisis management work⁶³.

4.2 Getting away from external gender sessions

Table 2: The current approach in bringing the gender perspective into CMC training

	GENDER HUMAN SECURITY CULTURAL AWARENESS			
THEME X INSTRUCTOR X		THEME X INSTRUCTOR X	THEME X INSTRUCTOR X	THEME X INSTRUCTOR X
THEME X INSTRUCTOR X	THEME X INSTRUCTOR X	THEME X INSTRUCTOR X	INSTRUCTOR X	THEME X INSTRUCTOR X
THEME X INSTRUCTOR X	THEME X INSTRUCTOR X	THEME X INSTRUCTOR X	THEME X INSTRUCTOR X	THEME X INSTRUCTOR X

As stated earlier, CMC still stands in the early phase of development of civilian crisis management training. In consequence, the gender perspective in CMC training also remains under construction. However, the gender perspective has not been absent from CMC training sessions.

Gender has been perceived in CMC training up until now for the most part as an important but rather separate issue. The concept has usually been discussed together with other cross-cutting themes such as human security, human rights and cultural awareness, themes that are strongly emphasised in every aspect of CMC activities.

The Table 2 below illustrates gender in CMC training, depicting a five-day imaginary civilian crisis management training course⁶⁴. The gender part of the training was carried out in one separate, fairly short, session, facilitated by a specialised, outsourced, gender trainer. Assigning a separate space for gender has been rationalized in two interlinked ways. First, in this way gender training has been easily conducted. Secondly, while recognising that importing external gender experts into training courses may be costly, using separate gender experts has been viewed as necessary because CMC lacks proficiency in gender training⁶⁵. Thus in this model, the main task of the training designer has been to find a gender expert able to conduct short sessions about gender, which can be seen as a topic quite separate from the core focus of the training.

According to analysis of course feedback and interviews, the approach of keeping gender separate - bringing the concept quickly in and out of the training - satisfies neither

62 Taitto 2008.

63 Interview 16 April 2009.

64 The length of CMC training courses varies from 2 to 14 days. Overall, the average length of a CMC course is five days.

65 Interview 20 February 2009.

CMC training participants nor the designers of the training courses. As one of the staff members pointed out,

“As our all training courses contain a specific gender module, it sometimes remains disconnected with the other course content – if we believe it [gender] to be a cross-cutting theme in our training, in fact this is not realised.”⁶⁶

Another commentator, this time a training participant very familiar with gender issues, provided a constructive, but distinctly cynical piece of feedback on CMC gender training. The feedback points out the still developing nature of CMC gender training.

“(…) To see that gender has been dealt with during the morning of the second training day, not during the last afternoon, is actually a positive sign. When gender issues have been dealt with in the conclusion, it has created an image of some involuntary theme imposed from above, to be dealt by the training institution only after more central issues (…).”⁶⁷

Another problem, experienced and pointed out in the interviews, is that sometimes the instructor conducting gender training is seen as an “outsider” regarding the themes that the training has been approaching. Here, the gender trainer easily becomes seen as a person who pays a quick visit in the middle of training to install the technical gender issues into the training, and the work is done. This has further externalised gender issues from the training’s core focus, since the concept has become something complex and difficult to be handled only by a specialised trainer:

“Although gender is a natural part of crisis management, it has somehow weirdly become a kind of specialised training theme, which it shouldn’t be.”⁶⁸

Training the gender perspective in civilian crisis management training at CMC thus occupies a pedagogically difficult position. Training designers seeking to include the gender perspective in civilian crisis management training worry not only about how the gender perspective could be embedded thematically in the training, but also about how suitable the gender trainer is to train gender issues given the particular audience of the particular course.

Evidently, planting the gender perspective in CMC training requires from the gender trainer a profound knowledge not only of the subject of gender, but also of the themes that have been discussed on each training course. So the next question is: how then should the link between gender and the training themes be found? Since the interviews revealed the naturally limited familiarity of the “outsourced” gender expert with CMC training themes, some new steps to bring the gender aspect into CMC training courses while avoiding the trap of contextual disparity have been discussed. These include the idea that instead of inviting specialised gender

experts to hold specialised gender sessions, CMC should concentrate more on equipping its own trainers with the tools needed to include the gender perspective in their individual training sessions.

The approach of training the trainers may nevertheless offer the chance to bring gender into training in a more integrated way. Equally, it would indicate expanding ownership of gender issues inside CMC, since CMC would itself be the “main claimant” in applying the gender aspect to its own training. As pointed out in the interviews, this expanded ownership would open more ways to consolidate influential gender training, in which CMC would be able to conduct its operations on the basis of its own shared perspective on gender, familiar and coherent to everyone involved. What this shared perspective should be requires further discussion in the future inside CMC. According to some interviews, in order to facilitate the adoption of the gender perspective within CMC, the centre needs its own gender strategy.

“(…) The strategy would help us to find the main way (…) according to which each of us would act. This strategy would facilitate us to see beyond numbers, as well as make us genuinely act in ways, which move the centre’s gender mainstreaming on to the next, deeper level (…).”⁶⁹

One challenging element of the study stems from CMC’s young and dynamic nature. Since the organisation is evolving, the situation today can be predicted to be quite different in a year’s time. CMC’s explicit policy of supporting its own staff members’ international assignments [leading to high staff turnover], the continuing expansion of CMC’s activities, the acquisition of new responsibilities, and the huge increase in staff, all indicate that as an organisation CMC is committed to constant reassessment and learning. From the gender point of view, this dynamic entails that if the gender perspective has been brought into CMC’s daily operations mainly by interested individuals, as has so far been the case, when these individuals leave, the gender perspective will also depart. This framework once again legitimates the need for a gender strategy: in order to become a more professional centre of expertise in civilian crisis management, CMC needs institutionalised, rather than personified, gender practices. A strategy to formally identify the gender perspective as belonging to the work of CMC, and to describe CMC’s core values and objectives in relation to gender issues in such a way that everyone involved would be familiar with this common vision and ready to apply it, would essentially strengthen the gender perspective in the work of CMC.

4.3 Training the trainers

The analysis of CMC Finland training points to the following conclusion: effective imposition of gender elements in civilian crisis management training courses requires that

66 Interview 20 February 2009.

67 Interview 27 February 2009.

68 Interview 17 February 2009.

69 Interview 4 February 2009.

the gender issues be brought into contact with the specific themes of the civilian crisis management trainings. To be accepted, and further processed, in the minds of training participants, the gender elements of the training courses need to be meaningfully integrated with the core training themes.

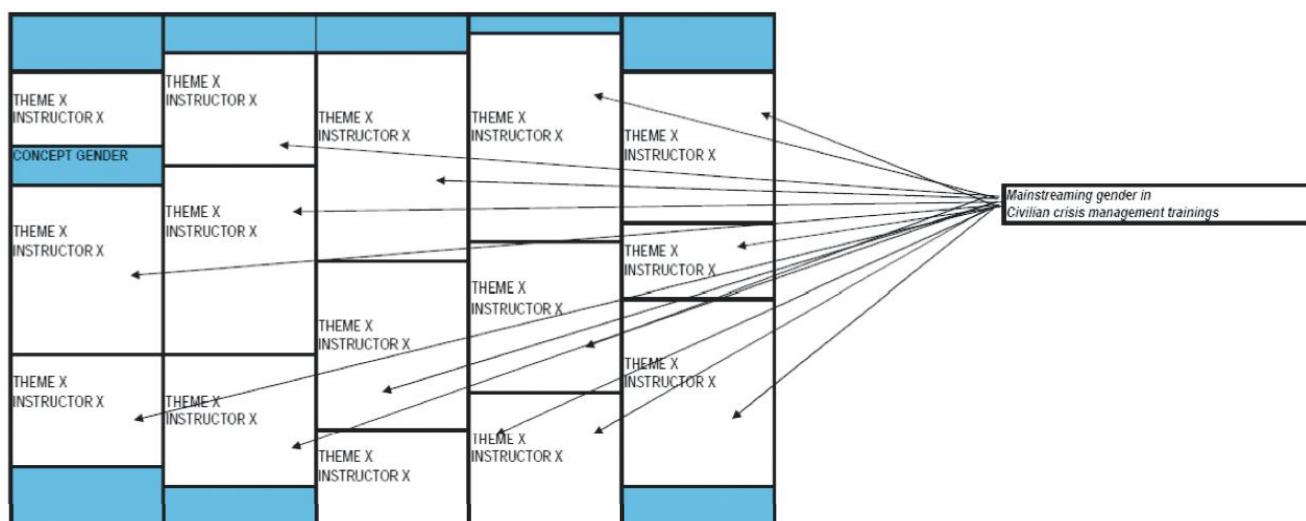
In order to train experts in border security, customs, human rights or police operations, the gender trainer should first and foremost be familiar with the work of these professions. This indicates that the gender trainer carries a great deal of responsibility, and the expectations of the trainer's competence go beyond competence on gender issues. This in turn means that the approach of inviting outsourced, external gender experts to bring the gender aspect into civilian crisis management training needs thorough re-examination.

Owing to the fact that CMC basic civilian crisis management training contains multiple themes related to the field work, CMC has implemented these training courses using several trainers. Training these trainers to implement the gender aspect in their specific trainings may therefore offer an advantageous way forward in bringing the gender perspective into CMC training⁷⁰. It needs to be noted here that integrating gender in this way may not be accepted without considerable persuasion. As has been pointed out in the literature, sometimes trainees may even feel resistance towards gender issues, which may be an emotional reaction by men and women who have much invested in the patriarchal system, the legitimacy of which may be questioned in gender training⁷¹.

Training the trainers would mean that the gender perspective would mainstream into CMC training in a more meaningful, internalised manner. In specialised courses organised for narrower audiences, such as audiences consisting 100 % of police or border experts, in which the range of training themes is not so wide, integrating the gender perspective into course curricula may actually be simpler than integrating the perspective into basic courses dealing with multiple themes of civilian crisis management, and consequently requiring multiple ways to integrate gender. Table 3 illustrates a future model for CMC gender training as framed in the interviews. In this model, the basic conceptual opening is made during the first day. The actual gender training proceeds through the subsequent training modules instructed by different trainers.

As discussed earlier, gender easily becomes understood as either a too simple or a too complex issue. Thus, the necessity of including a dedicated, more theoretical session on gender is recognised. The opening session needs to address wider theoretical beliefs on gender, tackle the widespread misconceptions of gender, and deconstruct some common gendered stereotypes. It would also be essential to make clear that gender is not just about men and women, but that differences among men and women are part of reality⁷². In view of the fragility of the opening phase in gender training, and how easily the momentum to reflect and learn the gender perspective gets lost in gender training, the opening session to introduce the issue should be very carefully designed for each particular audience. One way to activate training participants on gender issues would be to concentrate on the benefits of the gender perspective

Table 3: Alternative model for gender in CMC training



70 This topic was discussed several interviews. One way would be, as pointed out in the interviews, for CMC to train its own gender trainers, including how the perspective could be applied in the trainers' own training, dealing with the EU pillars or practicalities in the field. Interviews: 15 January 2009; 4 February 2009; 20 February 2009; 27 February 2009; 22 April 2009.

71 Porter & Smyth 2001, 16.

72 Ibid; Kaschuba & Lächele (2004) have also observed that in adult education, gender mainstreaming is often insufficiently linked with the development of gender politics and gender theories and the results of scientific research.

in crisis management, as opposed to the negative consequences, which will be elaborated further below.

Another way to strengthen the trainers' skills in bringing gender into civilian crisis management training would involve the idea of a facilitator who would "facilitate" the appearance of gender inside the CMC trainings⁷³. This facilitator would be able to support the understanding of gender among the training participants. The idea of a facilitator, however, carries the risk that gender would once again be seen as an intellectual concept possessed only by an external expert. Given that the externalisation of gender has been one of the typical problems in gender training, the idea of a specific facilitator needs more delicate elaboration.

The rationality behind the inclusion of gender in CMC training by training the trainers was also seen as legitimate because this approach could be utilised in civilian crisis management training provided outside CMC. Given that trainers would be prepared to include the gender perspective in their own training sessions which they conduct in other contexts, in front of different audiences, training these trainers would ideally mean that mainstreaming gender would not be restricted inside the walls of CMC. Further, once these trainers are trained with the know-how to automatically include the gender perspective in their future CMC training, the result would be a smoother, more systematic training design, in which gender issues are already mainstreamed into training content. In addition, "training the trainers" of other organisations, e.g. military, offers a way forward in functional implementation of gender mainstreaming⁷⁴.

After steps have been taken to operationalise the gender perspective, follow-up measures are equally important. A systematic evaluation of the impact of gender training should be conducted in order to determine the advantages and disadvantages of gender training. More follow-up studies on the longer-term impacts are also desirable. A follow-up study to investigate how experts have utilized the gender perspective in their work may be one path to follow. Another, more challenging task would be to evaluate the gender training from the perspective of the local people in crisis areas.

4.4 A socio-constructive approach in training

One of the leading principles of CMC training is the vision that each participant contributes a special input into the training⁷⁵. The socio-constructive approach, which highlights the role of the individual as an active and responsible group member⁷⁶, views the training participants themselves as capable of creating an active learning environment. From the perspective of gender, further employment of this approach can be seen as a natural way to strengthen the gender perspective in civilian crisis management training.

As pointed out earlier (see Table 1), CMC has generally been successful in balancing its participation in training courses equally between men and women. This balance strengthens the gender perspective in the training, since equal representation of both sexes enables more natural gender dynamics within the training. However, by adoption of the socio-constructive approach, the scope of CMC's selection of training participants has widened beyond the sex of the applicants.

Until now, in the selection of training participants, CMC has reviewed the applicants' educational, professional and experiential background to ensure that the training courses contain a comprehensive pool of participants possessing different knowledge and experience. In practice, applications are invited from various professions such as the police, customs, border, civilian administration, rule of law, human rights, logistics, human resources, and information management. This training philosophy, which emphasises the unique expertise of each training participant, generates a comprehensive course dealing with a variety of issues⁷⁷. Hence an applicant possessing the potential to bring the gender perspective into the training could strengthen the gender perspective, and paying particular attention to potential applicants in terms of the gender perspective offers one opportunity to strengthen the role of gender in CMC training.

The socio-constructive approach not only means that the person should be "competent" or "skilled" at working with gender issues, but includes incorporating participants in the training who have, for example, faced gender bias in their own experience. Such an applicant equipped with "self-learned gender lenses" could be, for instance, a woman with a military background, or a man coming from a female-dominated NGO or from another occupation strongly associated with the opposite sex. Yet again, cultivating gender in this way would mean that the perspective would be brought to the training naturally from below, avoiding the common problem of the external gender perspective imposed from above.

"(...) These kinds of individuals have personally gone through such a roulette [by explaining their existence in the context dominated by the opposite sex] that they would readily wear clear gender lenses – it is frequently extremely challenging to adapt in a [sexually] homogenous group of people (...) to answer people about the choice of a path not typical for one's sex."⁷⁷

If applied systematically, the socio-constructive approach fortifies the gender perspective in CMC training. However, this approach also contains challenges requiring further backup from other methods. What happens if CMC training courses lack participants with active ability to bring the perspective into the training? What happens if the selected gender cultivator acts passively during the training? While the socio-constructive approach offers a prospective means

73 Interview 28 April 2009.

74 Interview 27 February 2009.

75 Interview 15 January 2009.

76 Taitto 2008.

77 Interview 15 January 2009.

of bringing the gender perspective into CMC training, it has to be seen above all as an empowering tool for gender training, rather than an ultimate solution.

Another problem of the socio-constructive approach is posed by the dilemma of the numerical ambition to increase the number of women vis-à-vis the objective of increasing the number of participants with gender lenses, with potential capacity to bring gender into the training. The dilemma here is which way to go: to select a woman simply because of her sex, or a man with gender lenses? Should numbers be prioritised in order to mainstream women, or should the more profound approach be adopted of mainstreaming the gender perspective without regard to the applicant's sex? The selection becomes even more challenging when criteria for measuring this gender expertise or readiness are sought. Surely, in most cases the temptation would be to rely on the applicant's sex.

4.5 Rethinking gender: positive versus negative gender

Changing the face of gender

The final section dealing with gender training discusses the reform of the customary view of the concept of gender in the context of civilian crisis management. It is argued here, on the basis of the observations, conversations and interviews of recent months, that the general trend is undeniably to portray the gender perspective first and foremost in terms of its negative consequences rather than its positive impacts, and that this poses perhaps the most salient challenge to training the perspective in this specific context. The fact that learning processes in gender training are very often related to resistance and defensiveness²¹ indicates a high potential to turn the training into a negative learning experience.

Adopting the negative side of gender may be the result of the low value given to gender issues in civilian crisis management. A further reason may simply be the lack of time during training sessions. The solution is to value gender issues equally with other training modules previously considered as "more important". As previously observed, in CMC training the gender perspective has been given a narrow niche, shared with other cross-cutting themes such as human security and cultural awareness. The short time allocated to the theme may result in the convention that the trainers feel compelled to squeeze the gender module in order to include only the "most important" topics generally associated with gender.

Unfortunately, when gender is discussed, it is common to refer to such issues as how to avoid mistakes (using prostitutes, sexually harass colleagues or locals) instead of seeing the gender perspective as a more comprehensive tool strengthening the work of civilian crisis management. This concentration on the negative aspects may hinder those in training from seeing the positive consequences that the gender perspective is able to bring to civilian crisis management. Recognition of how the negative approach affects gender training, often leading to counter-reactions, can facilitate the emphasis on the alternative, positive idea of gender in this context, which in turn could automatically limit the negative consequences of neglecting the gender perspective in civilian crisis management, which is what gender training in civilian crisis management has first and foremost to avoid. The importance of reinforcing the positive rather than the negative aspect thus becomes fundamental. However, this paradigm shift from negative to positive gender requires a systematic change in the mindsets of those who are thinking about and training gender.

Negative gender: avoiding mistakes in different cultural contexts

The first aspect to point out is that the concentration on the negative side of gender is endorsed, perhaps sub-

consciously, inside CMC. To illustrate this point reference need only be made to the connotation gender issues have in CMC learning objectives (Table 4).

Table 4: The objective of gender training within the CMC training as depicted in the course descriptions

- Understand the concept of gender and gender roles as opposed to sexual differences and be able to introduce a gender dimension in conflict analysis and resolution, i.e. give practical examples for the empowerment of women in post-conflict societies;
- Be aware of potential gender-related problem areas in conflict or post-conflict societies, i.e. trafficking, prostitution, female combatants;
- Understand the implications of conflict for gender roles and potential risks in the light of human and civil rights protection and participation in society;
- Understand the adverse effects for post-conflict rehabilitation inherent in ignoring gender roles in the host.

A glance at the objectives of the gender modules reveals that gender issues relate first and foremost to problem areas as trafficking and prostitution, and that ignoring gender roles means potential risks and adverse effects in civilian crisis management.

While the detrimental consequences of forgetting the gender perspective in civilian crisis management are real, the learning motivation may decrease when the positive gains of mainstreaming gender are not mentioned⁷⁹. The difficulty here is that by representing gender so negatively from the beginning, gender training at CMC has created for itself a complicated starting point, with which CMC has to struggle during the rest of the training. The depiction of the role of gender issues in training objectives corresponds to the prejudices many people already feel at the beginning of gender training, which may again be the result of the tendency to emphasise mainly the negative aspect of gender. However, these prejudices are often the most challenging hurdles for gender trainers to overcome.

The tendency to link gender with negative consequences was presented even more strongly in some interviews. Many interviewees linked gender with cultural awareness⁸⁰, but also here the wider emphasis seemed to be on avoiding

mistakes resulting from gender bias in a culturally different setting. Several interviewees were able to reveal a personally lived incident from past work experience. One of the interviewees recalled an illustrative story about a colleague, a Muslim woman, who had been asked on a date by a Western male colleague. Though she had politely refused the invitation on the basis of her cultural background, she had become stigmatised in the eyes of her male colleagues as a lesbian who only goes out with female colleagues⁸¹; similar reflections were heard from the other interviewees. The replication of warnings, such as that the female experts cannot risk their work e.g. by “using spontaneous language as in home”⁸², or that “in certain cultures” it was best to leave the “most pointless” behaviour at home⁸³, are typical of much of the discussion of gender in civilian crisis management work. The main usefulness of the gender perspective has been seen in enabling mistakes to be avoided.

The strong linking of gender issues with prostitution, sexual harassment, and other sexually tuned actions, mostly instances of men behaving badly, is also evident in the discussions on gender issues. To highlight the malpractices occurring in crisis management is naturally a very important topic⁸⁴ requiring the maximum necessary attention. However, it must also be asked whether the malpractice of internationals is best dealt with during civilian crisis management training courses conducted in Finland, or whether there would be other more relevant venues to address these issues, such as induction training for operations which include the code of conduct training. Another question to be asked is, what are the real chances of a training institution changing the attitudes of its adult training participants in a short week or two. The more pessimistic in this respect would point out that since using prostitution, for instance, does not happen by impulse, but requires a more systematic process (travel to the brothel, client/customer encounter, payment etc), this suggests that for some people it may be morally easier to use prostitution or to conduct other kinds of gendered malpractices. As pointed out aptly by one of the staff members, the training institution’s capacity to change individual (gendered)

which takes into account the linkage between gender and culture.

81 Interview 24 February 2009.

82 Interview 3 February 2009.

83 Interview 24 February 2009.

84 In April 2009, a seminar organised by CMC 1325 Steering Committee in Pristine, Kosovo, exposed the seminar participants again to the case of the misconduct of internationals. The local NGOs expressed their deep unhappiness with acting as watchmen for internationals visiting brothels, and perpetrating their position through other malpractices – a message fitting only too well with stories heard from other operations around the world (CMC Finland 1325 Steering Committee Seminar: “Gender-Based Violence: Investigation and Prosecution – Sharing experiences between Finland and Kosovo”, 2 April 2009. See more at CMC Finland website).

78 To illustrate this point, it may be asked what would be the outcome of training some other themes of crisis management, such as team building, or procurement in civilian crisis management, if the aim in these training sessions would predominantly be to point out the negative consequences of not behaving correctly.

79 The linkage between gender and culture in civilian crisis management was important from many perspectives: firstly, civilian crisis management work is done in culturally different frameworks, and consequently, always needs to be seen in these specific contexts; and secondly, the multicultural nature of crisis management operations also requires cooperation,

attitudes, learned and negotiated over a lifetime, should not be overestimated.

“If someone does not possess a comprehension of gendered practises (...) we [CMC] cannot teach this in a couple of hours.”⁸⁴

While it is true that improving the gender sensitive behaviour of civilian crisis management experts must be addressed at some stage of the preparation, with reference to locals and other internationals working in the operations, the end result often seems to be that the gender trainer steps into the trap of accusing, which subsequently makes participants “see red”, and the momentum for deeper understanding easily becomes lost⁸⁵. How to move the approach towards a positive view of gender is a demanding but necessary issue.

Positive gender: its relevance to experts' work and thinking

A positive conception of human beings, in this case the experts in the field, sees the malpractices in crisis management missions, such as prostitution and other forms of exploitation, as only the behavioural pattern of a small international minority. Thus putting more effort into training gender issues which are more relevant to the experts' substantial work – as opposed to warnings of malpractices they would in all probability avoid anyway – has the potential to produce more meaningful learning on gender issues.

One recognised weakness is that the gender trainers have failed to mainstream gender successfully into the main training themes. In order to have more impact, the training needs to incorporate gender more meaningfully into the actual work of crisis management, and preferably into the experts' daily work. In the case of border experts, for example, more emphasis on human trafficking and how to deal with victims could offer a more meaningful approach to training the gender perspective⁸⁶. The means of applying the gender perspective to experts' sometimes very specific work in crisis areas also requires more attention in the training. In addition, the need to link gender issues more naturally

with participants' personal experiences has been pointed out. This reflects the common vision in adult education that reflections stemming from the learners' own concrete experiences strengthen the motivation for learning. Using examples from experience would ensure that theory and practise are linked from the very beginning⁸⁷. Regarding this linkage, the interviews threw up many potential ideas:

“One way would be that participants would consider, for example through some particular exercises, gender regarding his/her own specific field of expertise.”⁸⁸

“Concrete case-exercises, integrated in the training, to identify particular situations.”⁸⁹

“One way would be to ask training participants to bring in some personally lived situation in which stereotyping has resulted in confusion.”⁹⁰

In addition, one way to associate gender issues more with practical work would be to develop cases with a clear gender dimension in the scenario exercises. These exercises are an important part of CMC training, and after all, one of the components the training participants seem to remember best when recalling their training experiences.

Another factor that gained attention when pondering meaningful methods for gender training was self-reflection on one's own gendered attitude, which frequently seems to be missing from the Western discourses of gender mainstreaming in conflict areas: to be an effective implementer of gender mainstreaming in the field, one must look in the mirror. It is impractical to try to learn gender dynamics in culturally different post-conflict societies if we are unable to detect the gendered dimension in our own actions. As one of the staff members analytically commented:

“Gender is something we tend to outsource so often, as if it was something happening in developing countries, not here within.”⁹¹

The truth is that Westerners may concentrate so hard on the women, boys, girls, and men of – from their point of view – “irrational”, even “backward”⁹² crisis areas that they fail to see how their own gendered thinking greatly influences their work in crisis areas.

Thus, the recognition of how gendered conceptions impact one's own sub-conscious thinking, eventually directing one's actions in the field work, may suggest a promising dimension to be brought forward in training gender. This may, however, be an uneasy task, since for Westerners, and particularly for Finns⁹³ who confidently take their gender equality for granted, almost patronizing others, introspection may painfully bring to light their own frailty on

84 Interview 20 February 2009.

85 One of the interviewees coming from the military had attended a gender training, which had a very accusing tone. In this training, the trainer's dichotomised perspective on gender equality as equality between women and men created irritation among the class participants. As seen by this participant, at this time a better gender trainer would have been a person with ability to link gender to the actual work of military personnel (Interview 21 April 2009). Another interviewee (18 May 2009) recalled a training session on gender which started with the trainer's angry announcement to the male participants “You are all arseholes” – to make the point that men behave badly. See also Wettorskog 2007 who writes about “moralizing” in gender trainings.

86 Mackay 2008, 8; the Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit (2008) edited by Bastick and Valasek offers valuable insights into the relevance of gender for different areas of expertise.

87 See Vuorinen 2001, 44.

88 Interview 20 February 2009.

89 Interview 17 February 2009.

90 Interview 20 May 2009.

91 Interview 27 February 2009.

92 A point made by Whitworth 2004.

93 See e.g. Jokinen 2009.

gender issues. The reality that gender inequality lives vividly inside our own borders is often forgotten, and here so-called modernity seems to explain much of the case. In a modern nation like Finland, the notion that many issues have already been solved seems to dominate many minds. However, the dilemma of modernity is that while being modern takes many forms, modernity takes many issues for granted. Being modern in the case of Finland certainly means that the country stands in the forefront regarding several issues, including gender issues. However, the argument here is that the underestimation of our own gender biases weakens our motivation to learn gender issues, since the concept of gender is seen as being something unfamiliar to us, belonging to countries far away. Here, some examples from our own domestic gender issues would bring gender closer to training participants, in order to enable them to perceive that gender is no external issue, affecting only crisis areas, but rather that gender bias affects people in Finland as well: male unemployment, alcoholism, suicide, widespread domestic violence, effects of the glass ceiling, and the obvious gender pay gap, as well as the hard attitudes towards homo- and transsexuality, are among the most evident examples.

When the possibility was discussed of overconfidence in respect of gender issues, arising perhaps from our own (Western) society, one of the matters raised was that this egoism and sense of "superiority" may blind us to the gender perspective in other places outside our borders:

"[it] restricts us from self-reflected evaluations of the [gender] questions – because we may think by default that we think correctly – and if we are unable to put together any self-reflection, we may be incapable of recognising the problems around us, both within our own surroundings and surroundings alien to us, since we don't have the ability to be sensitive to these issues. Subsequently, we may start to think that we are just working here...or we get frustrated (...)."94

"Also in this case, one has to be conscious of one's own set of values, and of the ethical world where one was born and raised [...] It is really important that one is able to question one's own thinking and principles."95

As previously discussed, to take up the challenge of self-reflection is not an easy, but certainly a necessary task, since the self-evaluation of one's own thinking is often the factor identifying the real professionals. Keeping in mind the process-like nature of gender mainstreaming, it is safe to say that only after CMC has secured self-reflection of this type in the minds of its experts will the gender mainstreaming have truly started.

94 Interview 17 February 2009.

95 Interview 27 February 2009.

5 Conclusion

The time spent searching for approaches to bring the gender perspective meaningfully into the evolving activities of CMC Finland was time well spent. The study was able to raise a few important challenges linked to the application of the gender concept in the recruitment and training of civilian crisis management experts. Moreover, the method of inviting people themselves to ponder the issue in all likelihood supported the self-reflection of CMC staff on gender issues, and sharpened their own thinking about the gender perspective within their daily routines.

Moreover, the opportunity to interview the staff working on different tasks was an enlightening experience which enabled me to see the vast number of tasks such staff are committed to performing every day. The interviews and observations not only confirmed my assumptions of the strong sense of gender the staff generally brings to CMC through their own experiences, but also provided me with a realistic idea of the difficulty of adding anything to CMC's already busy workload. The development of CMC gender perspective must be seen in this demanding context. The nation-wide emphasis on gender issues has been matched by the enthusiastic attitude of CMC staff to develop the perspective in civilian crisis management.

However, in terms of gender, as with any other issue to be brought into a dynamic context of this nature, more systematic efforts are needed. CMC has generally succeeded with numbers, particularly if one considers the structural challenges. When the total number of Finnish women seconded is considered in the light of ESDP, with its strong emphasis on policing duties in civilian crisis management, the number of women actually exceeds expectations. This is, nevertheless, not to imply that the work is done. More innovative ways to increase the number of women are needed.

On the one hand, the sole emphasis on numbers is not in itself a sufficient approach to address the gendered world of conflict-prone societies. As has been learned by examining CMC's busy recruiting, at the moment the allocation of resources makes the fulfilment of the task of increasing the number of women participants the most explicit goal to bring gender issues to the fore. However this set priority means that the main emphasis has been laid on the number of women instead of examining what kind of women are being recruited. In consequence, this approach may strengthen the gendered stereotypes of women, since they are wanted mainly because of their sex, not because of who they are, which contradicts the fundamental idea which gender mainstreaming seeks to introduce.

On the other hand, the application of the gender perspective must start from the people themselves, women and men alike. The conversations with CMC staff members called for a new paradigm of thinking: instead of numbers, efforts towards gender mainstreaming ought to be aimed rather at recognising the readiness of individuals to apply

the gender perspective in their thinking and working. This paradigm shift, particularly if applied in civilian crisis management training, may offer a more meaningful and practical way to bring the gender perspective into the work of experts in the field. This may eventually contribute to the impact of these operations on the human security of local people.

So far, the main challenge in training has been to link gender meaningfully and practically with the varying training themes. The multidimensional nature of training content and the variations in course participants' backgrounds have led to the routine procedure of serving gender in all the training courses from the same plate. Innovative methods of gender training which pay attention to the diversity of training courses and participants are needed. This study was able to put forward some innovations for more integrated gender training. The most repeated idea, which was to shift the training towards a "train the trainers" approach, offers a workable way to improve the training. This change may not be as easy as it sounds, as both participants and trainers would need to be able and willing to embed gender into their favourite subjects, and therefore be motivated to this endeavour.

In reality, a training institution's capacity to change an individual trainee's values is extremely limited, or at least the process takes longer than two weeks. What are the possibilities for a training organisation to change the mindset of a thirty- forty- or fifty-year-old expert, whose gendered thinking and working toward others have been constructed over a lifetime, within one week or two? Consequently, the most effective way to implement gender in civilian crisis management may simply be to ensure that the right people with the right character conduct civilian crisis management duties. From the gender point of view, the right person would be an individual with an open mind to evaluate the gender perspective in his/her everyday actions. However much the experts are trained, the truth remains that the final evaluation of the meaning of gender mainstreaming is made during the individual work of each seconded expert. This requires the selection process of civilian crisis management experts for the field and for the training to be more inclusive, with more time allocated to considerations of values. It is very possible that by detecting the right values amongst the candidate experts, the application of gender may become guaranteed.

Furthermore, funding and resources need retargeting to better reflect the strong political will to implement the gender perspective in Finnish civilian crisis management training and recruiting. If this strong political will is unsupported by adequate resources, the political word mongering may eventually lead to a decrease in motivation of people to apply gender in crisis management. If CMC really wanted to play a significant role in applying gender in Finnish crisis management, as has often been planned and stated in political plans and documents, the lack of earmarked resources, reflecting the real level of this ambition, contradicts these plans and documents. Although implementing the gender perspective in civilian crisis management needs to

be understood as involving an attitude change in individual minds, developing the vital first steps in this attitude change requires the allocation of time and resources. If gender structures in civilian crisis management training and recruiting were adequately funded, there is a good chance that the gender issue would become less easy to dismiss as secondary. Resources would confirm that gender forms an important part of civilian crisis management. The policies highlighting its importance therefore need to be reinforced with resources.

The gender perspective lives actively in the collective mind of CMC, and the inspiration to extend the perspective deeper into CMC aspirations has been noticed. While the inspiration to implement gender mainstreaming was not necessarily congruent with staff members' conceptual understanding, it may ultimately be argued that the whole concept of "gender" is flexible, or understood differently in different places and times. So the study sought a common approach to applying the gender perspective in CMC's activities.

6 Key recommendations

1) The need for its own gender strategy. If CMC is to push its experts towards deeper thinking on gender, in order to facilitate this process, CMC needs its own gender strategy. The strategy needs to be able to describe CMC's core values and objectives on gender issues in such a way that everyone involved, CMC staff, trainees, training participants and recruited experts, would be familiar with this common vision and ready to apply it.

2) Increasing the number of women in innovative ways. CMC should organise more targeted campaigns to advertise and raise awareness about civilian crisis management duties. A dedicated person (gender headhunter) to trace the right posts and connect them with the right applicants should be recruited for the Human Resources division. CMC should develop family support for recruited experts and their families both in the field and back home, for example, by including families in briefing events.

3) From external gender expert to training the trainers. The use of specific gender modules in the training should be transformed into a more integrated approach. The main emphasis should focus on strengthening the trainers' skills to link the gender perspective with their specific area of training. The negative portrayal of gender issues requires re-examination: instead of a "do-no-harm" approach, a more meaningful way to link gender with the actual work of experts is needed. In order to secure a place for gender within the training, one way to proceed could be to appoint a gender facilitator, who would facilitate the perspective's appearance in the training.

4) Evaluation. CMC should establish follow-up measures to evaluate systematically the impact of gender training and gender mainstreaming at CMC Finland. The follow-up measures need to include not only the perspective of the training participants but also that of people in crisis areas.

5) Further research. How to move the recognised attitudes on gender more towards a positive picture is a demanding, but at the same time fundamental issue in the framework of crisis management. Unless there is progress towards a true acknowledgement of the benefits of gender in crisis management, the commitment to gender equality will become lost once more.

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