

Intelligence and Gender

Lauren Hutton



About the author

Lauren Hutton is a political analyst who works on international interventions in conflict-affected states, mostly in Africa. Lauren has published several works on gender and security as well as on the democratic governance of the intelligence sector. She is an independent consultant and has worked with think-tanks, donors, UN agencies and humanitarian actors in developing and implementing security and governance projects.

Editor

Megan Bastick, DCAF

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DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women Gender and Security Toolkit

This Tool is part of the DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women *Gender and Security Toolkit*, which comprises nine Tools and a series of Policy Briefs.

Tools:

1. Security Sector Governance, Security Sector Reform and Gender
2. Policing and Gender
3. Defence and Gender
4. Justice and Gender
5. Places of Deprivation of Liberty and Gender
6. Border Management and Gender
7. Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector and Gender
14. Intelligence and Gender
15. Integrating Gender in Project Design and Monitoring for the Security and Justice Sector

Policy Briefs:

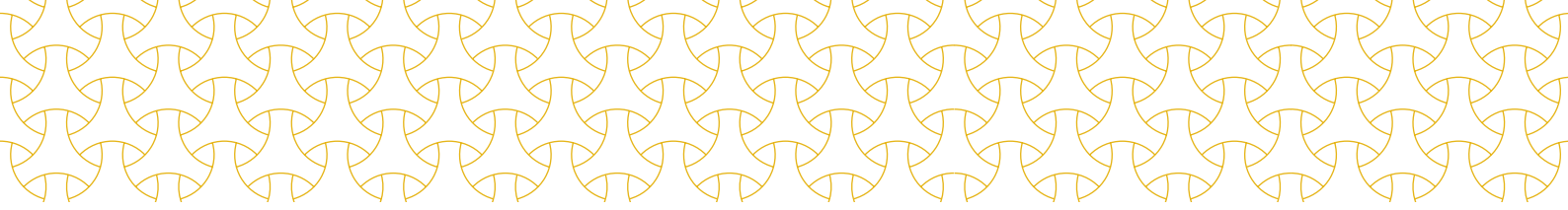
The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the Security Sector and Gender Equality
A Security Sector Governance Approach to Women, Peace and Security
Gender, Preventing Violent Extremism and Countering Terrorism
Gender and Private Security Regulation

Additionally, a Compendium of International and Regional Laws and Instruments Related to Gender Equality and the Security and Justice Sector is available online.

The *Gender and Security Toolkit* builds upon the DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW *Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit* that was first published in 2008. The following Gender and Security Sector Reform Tools can be used alongside this Toolkit:

8. National Security Policy-Making and Gender
9. Civil Society Oversight of the Security Sector and Gender
11. Security Sector Reform Assessment, Monitoring and Evaluation and Gender
12. Gender Training for Security Sector Personnel
13. Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Resolutions in Security Sector Reform

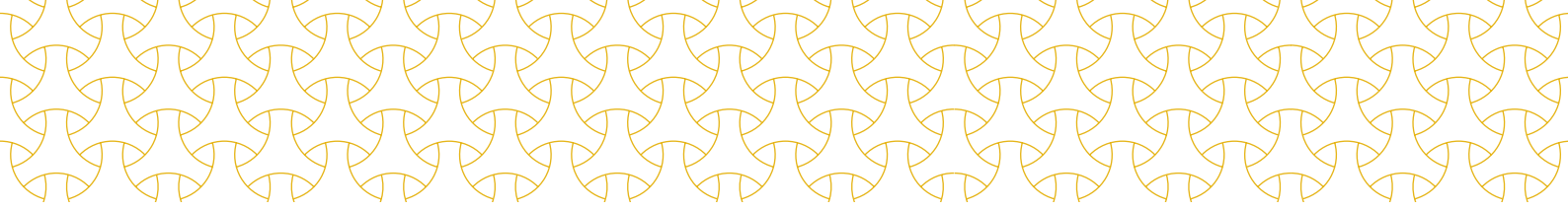




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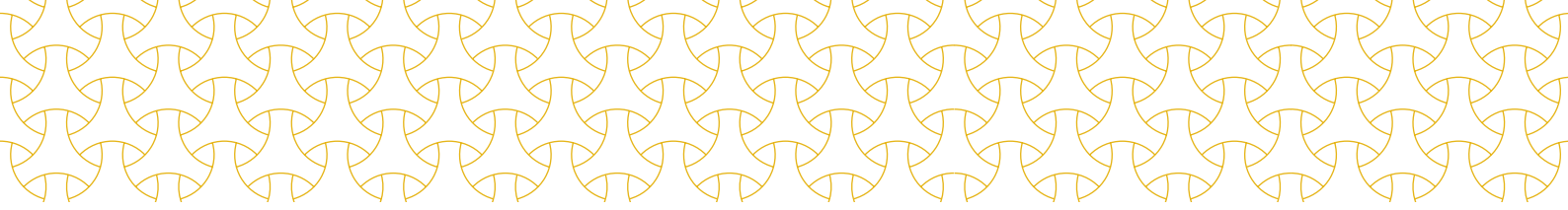




Acronyms

BIN	Badan Intelijen Negara (Indonesia's state intelligence agency)
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (USA)
CSIS	Canadian Security Intelligence Service
DCAF	Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance
GBV	gender-based violence
GCHQ	Government Communications Headquarters (UK)
GCSB	Government Communications Security Bureau (New Zealand)
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
LGBTI	lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex
MI5	Military Intelligence Section 5 (UK security service)
MI6	Military Intelligence Section 6 (UK Secret Intelligence Service)
NHRI	national human rights institution
ONA	Office of National Assessments (Australia)
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
STEM	science, technology, engineering and mathematics
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America





1. Overview

Little attention has as yet been paid to gender in relation to intelligence services, but integrating a gender perspective in intelligence collection and analysis can strengthen these processes. Moreover, intelligence services that function in pursuit of democratic goals must do their work without discrimination on the basis of sex, gender or sexual orientation. To do so requires measures to ensure that women and men, including those of diverse sexual orientation, gender identity or expression,* have equal opportunities to participate in the intelligence sector. It requires measures to ensure that the security needs and rights of women, men, girls and boys are equally addressed within the functions of the intelligence sector. Advancing gender equality and integrating a gender perspective in the intelligence sector are part of the responsibility of a government to look after its citizens in a way that protects and promotes the rights of all. This responsibility has national and international normative dimensions.

This DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR and UN Women *Gender and Security Toolkit* draws together key lessons of the past decade in promoting gender equality in security and justice. The aim of the Toolkit is to share new and emerging good practices, reflecting on how they have been developed. The Toolkit is designed to help security and justice sector institutions to integrate a gender perspective. In doing so, attention to often-neglected security and justice needs of women and girls must always be a key priority. This Tool on “Gender and Intelligence” breaks new ground in demonstrating that intelligence services should and can play a role in advancing gender equality.

1.1 Intelligence and the global security context

This Tool understands “intelligence services” as the state bodies defined and mandated by law as being responsible for intelligence functions. Intelligence services collect, analyse and disseminate information related to threats to national security.

Intelligence services in the twenty-first century stand at the forefront of efforts to counter complex and multifaceted threats against the state. Some are threats to the political order of a state, such as terrorism, civil unrest and foreign interference; some are threats to the economic stability of the state, through economic espionage, for example; and some are security threats, such as those emanating from organized crime and cybercrime.

The work of intelligence services is particularly affected by the information age. This has brought significant increases in the amount of data available as well as an increase in the risks that interconnectivity can present. Intelligence services have more capacity

* Terminology around diverse sexual orientation and gender identity and expression, including LGBTI, is discussed in Tool 1, “Security Sector Governance, Security Sector Reform and Gender”.

Image: A participant from Kazakhstan speaks at a session on the roles of the judge and the prosecutor during pre-trial proceedings. The discussion, in 2012, focused on the regulation of measures involving severe interference with the individual rights of a person, and the regulation of intelligence-gathering operations and how the information obtained is used © OSCE.

for information collection, but controlling information has simultaneously become more difficult. From assertive civil society organizations advocating for accountability, to private actors able to leverage technology, to social media challenging notions of identity and belonging, information has become a prime arena of contestation in which governments do not hold a monopoly. However, as governments retain the ability to regulate access to and control of information, intelligence services remain important sites of contestation, with ongoing calls for their reform and increased transparency.

Given the closed and secret nature of the intelligence sector, public and security sector wide initiatives towards integrating a gender perspective have, in general, taken a longer time to permeate the intelligence domain. Work to reform the intelligence sector seldom includes gender considerations. Efforts to address gender imbalances in intelligence services are relatively new, and dependent upon wider societal perceptions of gender roles, advances towards gender equality and the level of democratization.

Intelligence services in the United States of America (USA), the United Kingdom (UK) and Israel, founded during wartime and relying upon the contributions of both men and women, have a comparatively long experience of considering gender. Countries such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand have initiated systematic institutional efforts to address gender equality and diversity in the last five years, with some success. Since 2016 the UK's security service, MI5, has been placed in the nationwide survey published as *"The Times Top 50 Employers for Women"*, and in 2018 the Secret Intelligence Service, MI6, also made the list.¹ The Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) was placed in a list of "Top 100 Employers" a number of times between 2010 and 2017.² Scandinavian and other European states have mainstreamed gender throughout their public services and their intelligence services tend to report on gender balance in staffing, but there is little publicly available information to show how they have addressed gender equality and the integration of a gender perspective. In South Africa, Romania and Sierra Leone, during transition periods spaces for gender diversity were created alongside democratization efforts, but little information is available as to the impact of a gender perspective on the intelligence process in the years since.

1.2 Audiences for this Tool

This Tool is a resource of good practices to consider when shaping policies and procedures and/or when conducting reform in the intelligence sector to advance gender equality and integrate a gender perspective.

The Tool has been written primarily for intelligence services, intelligence practitioners and intelligence policy-makers, and also for parliaments, including specialized intelligence oversight committees. It will be useful for other bodies that monitor and oversee the intelligence sector, such as ombuds institutions and national human rights institutions (NHRIs). Civil society organizations, gender equality advocates, scholars and others advocating for the Women, Peace and Security Agenda may likewise find it helpful – addressing a part of the security sector that has as yet received little attention.

1.3 Outline of this Tool

Section 2 describes why gender is important to the work of intelligence services, and introduces key concepts concerning intelligence, control and oversight of the intelligence sector, and gender. It explains how an intelligence service that embraces and promotes gender equality is better suited to fulfil its mandate.

- ◆ Applying a gender perspective in information collection and analysis allows potentially overlooked signs of instability to come to the fore. Gender analysis is particularly useful for intelligence services to understand social relations and social networks, and dynamics of violence and criminality. A gender perspective is needed to formulate response options that do not perpetuate discriminatory practices.
- ◆ Qualified and experienced men and women form the core of an intelligence workforce. The effectiveness of intelligence services depends on how well they can harness the special skills and abilities of all employees without discrimination. Maintaining workforce diversity is essential to the effective functioning of intelligence services, to counter singularity of ideas and perspectives and dilute tendencies towards “groupthink”. As evidenced by the use of female spies throughout history, women can make distinctive contributions to operational as well as analytical intelligence work.

Moreover, a range of international norms and standards create the imperative for intelligence services to respect and promote human rights, integrate a gender perspective and advance gender equality. As part of the public service, intelligence services should be held to the same standards as other agencies in this regard. They can also contribute to the attainment of the goals of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Section 3 outlines a vision of what intelligence services that integrate a gender perspective into their work and advance gender equality will look like. They will:

- ◆ operate within clear rules that advance gender equality and broader human rights and reflect democratic values
- ◆ actively include the perspectives of women and men
- ◆ have the organizational commitment, culture and practices to achieve gender equality and wider diversity.

Section 4 discusses what measures need to be taken by governments, oversight bodies and intelligence services to ensure that intelligence services integrate a gender perspective and promote gender equality, including:

- ◆ processes by which to integrate a gender perspective in the intelligence cycle
- ◆ reform to strengthen oversight and accountability in an inclusive manner
- ◆ measures to strengthen a gender perspective in the oversight of intelligence services
- ◆ organizational leadership and active strategies to achieve gender equality, diversity and inclusion
- ◆ recruiting women and other groups underrepresented in intelligence services
- ◆ mechanisms to prevent and respond to gender-related complaints.

Section 5 offers a checklist by which to assess how intelligence services are integrating a gender perspective and advancing gender equality.

Section 6 lists other useful resources.

The other Tools and Policy Briefs in this Toolkit focus on different security and justice issues, providers and themes (see page i). It is intended that the Toolkit be used as a whole, with readers moving between Tools and Policy Briefs to find more detail on aspects that interest them.

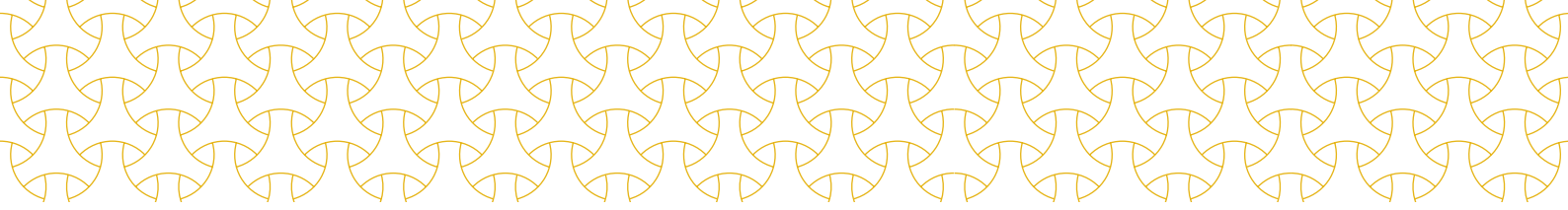
Endnotes

1. *The Times* (2019) “Top 50 employers for women 2019”, 24 April, London: *The Times/The Sunday Times*.
2. MediaCorp Canada (2019) “Canada’s Top 100 Employers”, <https://www.canadastop100.com/national/> (accessed 13 September 2019).



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Head of Restoring Resilience

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2. Why are gender equality and integrating a gender perspective important for intelligence services?

By advancing gender equality and integrating a gender perspective, intelligence services become better equipped to understand and address threats in their domestic and global spheres of influence, and more representative of the populations they serve. Fundamentally, the integration of a gender perspective and the pursuit of gender equality are integral to the effectiveness of intelligence services. They help to ensure that intelligence services:

- ◆ have a broader pool of candidates from which to recruit, and can retain and develop the skills of their staff
- ◆ protect and promote human rights
- ◆ reduce the harm of and potential for impunity concerning gender-based violence* (GBV) and gender-based discrimination
- ◆ as part of the state, fulfil their obligations under international law to advance gender equality as well as obligations under the Women, Peace and Security Agenda and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

This section begins by explaining key concepts and terminology used in this Tool, and then presents these arguments in more detail.

2.1 Key concepts

Intelligence

As stated in section 1, *intelligence services* are the state bodies defined and mandated by law to be responsible for intelligence functions. Intelligence services collect, analyse and disseminate information related to threats to national security. The primary function of intelligence services is to provide governments with credible information about the threats facing them and to make sense of complex issues, emerging problems and threats to national interests. A main feature of intelligence services is their ability to collect information using secret, covert and intrusive means – such as wiretapping, surveillance, intercepting communications and undercover operations.

Most countries have a multitude of intelligence organizations with specific but sometimes overlapping responsibilities. These include internal and external intelligence, tactical and strategic intelligence, criminal intelligence, collection services (for example, communications, human intelligence and imagery), civilian and military intelligence, and strategic assessment bodies.¹ Taken together, these services comprise a state's "intelligence community".

* For the purpose of this Toolkit, the phrase "gender-based violence" (GBV) is used to refer to all harmful acts inflicted upon someone because of normative assumptions about their gender. GBV is an umbrella term for any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person's will and is based on socially ascribed (gender) differences between females and males. The nature and extent of specific types of GBV vary across cultures, countries and regions. Examples include sexual violence, including sexual exploitation/abuse and trafficking for sexual exploitation; domestic violence; forced/early marriage; harmful traditional practices such as female genital mutilation; honour killings; widow inheritance; and homophobic and transphobic violence.

See UN Women (2019) "Gender equality glossary", <https://trainingcentre.unwomen.org/mod/glossary/view.php?id=36> (accessed 6 September 2019); OHCHR (2011) "Discriminatory laws and practices and acts of violence against individuals based on their sexual orientation and gender identity", report of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, UN Doc. A/HRC/19/41, 17 November, para. 20.

Control and oversight of the intelligence sector

In a democratic society, the relationship between the people and the intelligence services should be defined according to the norms of transparency, accountability, good governance and the rule of law. Democratic societies require a strong measure of openness and transparency in the work of public bodies. Intelligence services are more effective and legitimate as democratic institutions when they engage the public, inform the public of the nature, priorities and tasks of the intelligence sector, and create a relationship of confidence in which citizens believe the intelligence services are operating in a non-partisan manner, in pursuit of the best interests of the state and protecting their rights and freedoms.

The risk of intelligence services operating outside adequate systems of control and oversight while also able to use secrecy poses a threat to democracies, human rights and the rule of law. This threat is countered through control and oversight. In most contexts, *control* of intelligence services is exercised by the executive branch, while civilian, legislative and judicial authorities exercise *oversight* functions. The distinction is explained in DCAF's Toolkit on *Overseeing Intelligence Services*:

... oversight should be distinguished from control because the latter term (like management) implies the power to direct an organization's policies and activities. Thus, control is typically associated with the executive branch of government and specifically with the senior management of intelligence services. An example of control, as opposed to oversight, would be the issuance of an executive order requiring an intelligence service to adopt a new priority, such as counterterrorism.²

The importance of secrecy in the work of intelligence services can open them to misuse for partisan political agendas. This means that external independent oversight is critical to ensuring that intelligence services function as proprietary, legal, effective and efficient parts of the public service.

To prevent abuses of power, intelligence services need to function within clear legal and regulatory frameworks (see Box 1). Their actions should be justified in compliance with the law, conducted in pursuit of a defined national interest and operate within principles of sound public financial management. The use of intrusive methods and covert action should adhere to human rights standards and should be conducted in support of the realization of civil and political rights.

Gender*

In thinking about gender and gender equality in relation to intelligence, it is helpful to have a clear understanding of key concepts. While different organizations and institutions adopt varying language, most use some form of the following definitions, which are drawn from UN policies and documents.

Gender refers to the roles, behaviours, activities, attributes and norms that a given society at a given time considers appropriate for men and women. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are *socially constructed* and *learned* through socialization processes. They are context- and time-specific and changeable. Gender is part of the broader socio-cultural context, as are other important criteria for socio-cultural analysis such as class, race, disability, poverty level, ethnic group, sexual orientation and age.³ Gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in any given context. In most societies there are differences and inequalities between women and men in responsibilities assigned, activities undertaken, access to and control over resources and decision-making opportunities. In patriarchal societies, political, economic and social power lies with men, and attributes associated with manliness are valued over those associated with women. Women and girls tend to be in less powerful positions compared to men and boys, and often

* Gender, gender roles, gender stereotypes, masculinities and femininities, gender equality, intersectionality and diverse sexual orientation, gender identity and expression are discussed in more depth in Tool 1, "Security Sector Governance, Security Sector Reform and Gender".

Conducting intersectional gender analysis is discussed in Tool 15, "Integrating Gender in Project Design and Monitoring for the Security and Justice Sector".

Box 1: Principles on national security and access to information

In many countries access to information is a protected right: citizens have a general right to access information about how the government plans to protect and extend national security. In exceptional circumstances this right can be restricted, but this requires clear legal and operational parameters.

Known as the “Tshwane Principles”, the Global Principles on National Security and the Right to Information were drafted through consultations with more than 500 experts from 70 countries and finalized in Tshwane, South Africa, in 2013. The principles respond to the challenges of maintaining national security while also meeting democratic imperatives for access to information. They set out important advocacy and legislative points on the right to information, including the following.

- ✦ It is good practice for national security, where used to limit the right to information, to be defined precisely in a country’s legal framework in a manner consistent with a democratic society.
- ✦ No restriction on the right to information on national security grounds may be imposed unless the government can demonstrate that:
 - the restriction is prescribed by law and is necessary in a democratic society to protect a legitimate national security interest; and
 - the law provides for adequate safeguards against abuse, including prompt, full, accessible and effective scrutiny of the validity of the restriction by an independent oversight authority and full review by the courts.
- ✦ The burden of demonstrating the legitimacy of any restriction rests with the public authority seeking to withhold information.
- ✦ The right to information should be interpreted and applied broadly, and any restrictions should be interpreted narrowly.
- ✦ No public authority – including the intelligence services – can be exempted from disclosure requirements.
- ✦ Information may not be withheld on national security grounds simply on the basis that it was generated by, or shared with, a foreign state or intergovernmental body, or a particular public authority or unit within an authority.
- ✦ All oversight bodies, including ombuds institutions, courts, tribunals and appellate bodies, should have access to all information, including national security information, regardless of classification level, relevant to their ability to discharge their responsibilities.

The Tshwane Principles also outline types of national security information that states should willingly and actively disclose in the interests of the right to information. For the intelligence sector, the information that should be in the public domain includes:

- ✦ the structures and powers of all intelligence services, as defined in law
- ✦ information for evaluating and controlling the use of public funds
- ✦ the existence and terms of bilateral and multilateral agreements
- ✦ the overall legal framework for the use of surveillance of all kinds, including the laws governing all forms of surveillance, both covert and overt; the permissible objectives of surveillance; the threshold of suspicion required to initiate or continue surveillance; limitations on the duration of surveillance measures; procedures for authorizing and reviewing the use of such measures; the types of personal data that may be collected and/or processed for national security purposes; and the criteria that apply to the use, retention, deletion, and transfer of these data.

The Tshwane Principles detail how to regulate access to information to prioritize openness and transparency while also investing in national security. They highlight the need for independent oversight bodies to oversee security sector entities, including their operations, regulations, policies, finances and administration.

face numerous forms of structural discrimination economically, politically, socially and in terms of their legal rights.

The way women and men live up to – or resist – gender expectations in their everyday lives is sometimes described in terms of *femininities* and *masculinities*: the various ways of being and acting, roles, values and expectations associated with becoming and being women and men, respectively, in a given society at a given time.

It is important not to reduce understanding of “gender” to “women”, or to just “women” and “men”. Attending to gender in the intelligence sector is about attending to the different needs, views and experiences of men, women, girls, boys and persons with the full diversity of gender identity and expression. LGBTI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex) persons and others of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities and expressions often face particular forms of discrimination, exploitation, abuse and violence. This is recognized by the many states and international organizations that address discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity in their laws and declarations. Integrating a gender perspective, one must always remember that women and men (people who identify across or outside of the female/male binary) are never homogeneous groups; they do not all share the same experiences, needs or values, nor have the same opportunities.

Furthermore, the concept of “intersectionality” refers to the interaction between two or more forms of discrimination or systems of subordination, such as racism, patriarchy or economic disadvantage. An intersectional analysis often shows that the dynamics of exclusion, inequality and violence are intensified when one or more of these systems of subordination intersect: for instance, when a woman is both socio-economically marginalized and a member of an ethnic minority group. It is necessary for any work on gender and intelligence to consider how gender intersects with ethno-religious background, age, social class, sexual orientation, marital status, race, ethnicity, disability and other demographic identifiers, in different places and in different times.

Gender equality

Gender equality is a fundamental human right, and a goal to which governments and international organizations have committed. Promoting gender equality is therefore a part of the mandate of security and justice sector institutions, including the intelligence sector. Commitment to gender equality is enshrined in international law and in national constitutions and legislation around the world (discussed further in subsection 2.4). Gender equality means that:

... the rights, responsibilities and opportunities of individuals will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Equality does not mean “the same as” – promotion of gender equality does not mean that women and men will become the same. Equality between women and men has both a quantitative and a qualitative aspect. The quantitative aspect refers to the desire to achieve equitable representation of women – increasing balance and parity – while the qualitative aspect refers to achieving equitable influence on establishing development priorities and outcomes for women and men. Equality involves ensuring that the perceptions, interests, needs and priorities of women and men (which can be very different because of the differing roles and responsibilities of women and men) will be given equal weight in planning and decision-making ...⁴

Gender equality can also be understood as “the absence of discrimination on the basis of a person’s sex in opportunities, the allocation of resources or benefits, or in access to services”.⁵ Achieving gender equality involves a positive obligation to transform unequal power relations; address the underlying causes and structures of gender inequality,

including discriminatory norms, prejudices and stereotypes; and transform institutions that perpetuate discrimination and inequality.

In the context of the intelligence sector, gender equality means that women and men should have equal opportunities to participate in intelligence services, to have their rights equally protected and promoted, and to have their needs equally addressed.

Integrating a gender perspective

Key strategies to achieve gender equality in international, national and institutional policies are gender mainstreaming/integrating a gender perspective and gender analysis.

“Gender mainstreaming” (or “mainstreaming a gender perspective”) is the process of *assessing the implications* for women and men of any planned action, whether it be policy development, legislative reform, restructuring of institutions, training or other programmes. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate aim of gender mainstreaming is thus to achieve gender equality.⁶

Nowadays, the term *gender perspective* is understood more broadly than as a focus only upon men and women. UN Women explains “gender perspective” as:

... a way of seeing or analyzing which looks at the impact of gender on people’s opportunities, social roles and interactions. This way of seeing is what enables one to carry out gender analysis and subsequently to mainstream a gender perspective into any proposed program, policy or organization.⁹

In this Toolkit, “gender perspective” refers to seeing and analysing the impact of gender roles, gender stereotypes and gendered power structures in society and institutions, including in relation to sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression. Integrating a gender perspective involves consciously engaging with and questioning how gender impacts on people’s opportunities, social roles and interactions. Moreover, the Toolkit uses the term “integrating a gender perspective” rather than the 1972 term “mainstreaming a gender perspective” to emphasize that a gender perspective demands more than just “assessing implications” – it also requires taking action accordingly.

2.2 A gender perspective strengthens intelligence products

Applying an understanding of gender roles, gender stereotypes and gendered power structures in society and institutions can improve intelligence gathering and analysis of intelligence. Identity, and especially gender identity, plays an important role in relational dynamics and in dynamics of inequality, and feeds into how we view and understand one another at both an individual and a state level.⁸ Integrating gender considerations into analytical frameworks means looking more closely at the relationships between men and women and their respective roles in a particular context. Gender analysis helps intelligence services better understand the respective patterns of participation that women, men and other gender identities have in a society. As such, gender analysis is particularly useful for intelligence services to understand social relations and social networks, and how resources, responsibility and power are accessed and shared or not shared in a community. Box 2, discussing a gender perspective on violent extremism, illustrates this.* Applying a gender lens to information collection and analysis allows potentially overlooked signs of instability to come to the fore.

* See also this Toolkit’s Policy Brief on “Gender, Preventing Violent Extremism and Countering Terrorism”.

Conversely, if gender biases – like other biases – are used in the analysis of intelligence and security responses conducted as a result of such analysis, this can lead to response options that perpetuate discriminatory practices against women and other groups, including LGBTI people. Integrating a gender perspective into intelligence products can also break down systemic biases towards militarized and securitized responses to national security and foreign policy challenges, and provide greater understanding of the societal risks and vulnerabilities faced.

Box 2: Integrating a gender perspective into intelligence products: the case of violent extremism

One area where progress has been made in integrating a gender perspective in intelligence analysis is in understanding and preventing violent extremism and radicalization leading to terrorism. Gender has been found to be a key psychological driving force behind violent extremist behaviour and hate crimes. Efforts to address and prevent such behaviour require gender-focused intervention methods (Weilnböck, 2014).

The UN's Global Study on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 found that "across religions and regions, a common thread shared by extremist groups is that in each and every instance, their advance has been coupled with attacks on the rights of women and girls – rights to education, to public life and to decision-making over their own bodies" (UN Women, 2015: 16). The Global Study highlights examples from Jewish, Christian, Buddhist and Hindu extremism to point out that the gender indicator cuts across religious groups and must form a key pillar in our understanding of extremism. A study on preventing violent extremism in Indonesia advocated using gender analysis in early warning, as gender-specific warning signs were observed in everyday life and were critical early indicators of fundamentalism and extremist behaviour and violence. The research identified four warning signs: the shifting use of the hijab; constraints on women's mobility and exclusiveness of mosques; social naming and "hate crimes"; and threats or acts of GBV (True and Eddyono, 2017).

By understanding how gender affects violent extremist behaviour, intelligence services can be more aware of trends towards the growth of violent extremism and radicalization leading to terrorism. They can note patterns of interaction between groups within networks, and prepare intervention strategies that target the particularly gendered needs of individuals and communities. A gender analysis of violent radicalization and violent extremism shows that men and women are drawn to and interact with violent radicalization in different ways. Young men are attracted to violent extremist groups to fulfil their perceived needs and identities as men. Young men, in particular, seek to play socially determined roles as breadwinners, husbands, fathers and caretakers. In many countries the lack of economic opportunity, obstacles in getting married and lack of opportunities to achieve social status provide fertile ground to attract disillusioned men with images of brotherhood, purpose, family, community and respect. Gender analysis provides intelligence services with insights into the social motivations that compel individuals towards violent extremist groups, and can provide key insights into the risk calculations of individuals in specific circumstances. Such information is useful to identify high-risk individuals, to design and implement interventions to counter violent extremism, and to help intelligence services to recruit sources. Conducting a gender analysis of violent extremism can help identify the spaces in which masculinities are created and reinforced, and brings to the fore critical pathways to violent radicalization.

Specific conditions conducive to the violent radicalization of women may include gender-based inequality and discrimination, violence against women, lack of educational and economic opportunities and lack of opportunities for women to exercise their civil and political rights and engage in the political process using lawful and non-violent means (OSCE Secretariat, 2013). The application of gender stereotypes by intelligence services has led to failures in recognizing the threats emanating from women, and as such

intelligence services have failed to disrupt recruitment to and financing of networks run by women. In fact, the very image of the peaceful woman has been used by terrorist groups to recruit women and claim an innocent and non-violent character by highlighting the involvement of women in their organizations.

A better understanding of terrorist radicalization would also benefit from enhanced interaction between intelligence agencies and public authorities in other fields, such as education services, health and social services, at the national and local levels, through for example, interagency forums to cross-fertilize expertise, strengthen information exchange, and raise awareness and knowledge of both gender and security among all stakeholders. Additionally, intelligence services can advance the integration of a gender perspective by building relationships with women's organizations. Intelligence services should identify key women's rights defenders and women's organizations, and their capabilities and needs, in order to diversify partnerships and prioritize engagement with grassroots organizations and leaders (OSCE Secretariat, 2013).

If intelligence services integrate a gender perspective, they will have a better understanding of women's roles in terrorist and violent extremist groups and will be able to develop more effective interventions to address the various roles of women in such groups. For example, the initial response by governments in Europe to terrorist fighters returning from Syria and Iraq was to prosecute only the men: women were perceived to have taken less active roles in the conflicts and were generally not prosecuted (Heinke et al., 2018). However, after the 2014 attack on the Jewish Museum in Brussels and the 2015 Paris attack, prosecution of returnees became more systematic, and included women returnees in acknowledgement of their active contributions to terrorism.

Sources: H. Weirböck (2014) "Rehabilitating perpetrators of violent extremism and hate crime: The importance of gender-based approaches and the limits of online interventions", London: Open Democracy; UN Women (2015) "Preventing conflict, transforming justice, securing the peace – A global study on the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325", New York: UN Women; J. True and S. Eddyono (2017) "Preventing violent extremism: Gender perspectives and women's roles", Melbourne, Vic.: Monash University; OSCE Secretariat (2013) "Women and terrorist radicalization: Final report", OSCE/ODIHR Expert Roundtables, Vienna: OSCE; D. H. Heinke, D. Malet, S. Minks, J. Raudszus, B. van Ginkel, T. Renard and R. Coolsaet (2018) "Returnees: Who are they, why are they (not) coming back and how should we deal with them? Assessing policies on returning foreign terrorist fighters in Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands", Brussels: Egmont Institute.

2.3 Gender equality allows intelligence organisations to harness the benefits of workforce diversity

In many intelligence services women tend to be limited to administrative, human resources and secretarial roles; operational, managerial and decision-making roles are dominated by men. In some instances institutional regulations have prevented women from being deployed, especially overseas and while married. Intelligence services moreover tend to struggle with "boys' club" styles of organizational culture wherein high degrees of discriminatory language use, lewd comments, and verbal and sexual harassment are experienced by women and racial or ethnic minorities. This is despite the fact that in times of conflict women have often been actively involved in intelligence operations. During the Second World War the UK used female spies to infiltrate Nazi-controlled Europe, as women were more able to cross borders. In the occupations of Northern Ireland and Palestine, the UK and Israel have used male–female teams for surveillance and other covert operations, finding these couples to be less conspicuous. In some countries women in intelligence have been able to fight for increased employment equity, break glass ceilings and overcome assumed social and gender roles. In the USA, the UK and Israel, for example, women have held senior leadership roles within intelligence services. Moreover, across many contexts women are involved in oversight of intelligence services, most particularly through parliamentary committees.

For LGBTI people, the challenges in gaining employment equality and overcoming homophobia and/or transphobia within the intelligence sector remain significant. In many societies homophobic attitudes mean that homosexuality can be used for extortion purposes and can endanger an individual. Accordingly, intelligence services have generally been biased against hiring and deploying LGBTI people, perceiving the risks as high. For example, in the USA in 1953 President Eisenhower signed an executive order to review security clearances that included scope for treating homosexual people as high-risk public service employees. This led to some 10,000 men and women losing their jobs.⁹ Until 1994 sexual orientation was used as a reason to deny an individual's security clearance in the USA. In some 73 countries there are still laws that criminalize homosexuality¹⁰ and actively curtail the rights of LGBTI people to participate in the public sector, including the intelligence services.

Qualified and experienced men and women form the core of any intelligence service's workforce. The effectiveness of an intelligence service will depend upon how well it is able to harness the special skills and abilities of all employees, without discrimination. More specifically, maintaining workforce *diversity* is essential to the effective functioning of intelligence services (for examples of intelligence services that have recognized this, see Boxes 3, 4 and 12). Measures to promote gender equality within an institution are a necessary part of achieving diversity.

Box 3: Recognizing the need for a diverse workforce in New Zealand's intelligence community

New Zealand's intelligence community recognizes that it needs "talented and diverse individuals with a broad range of skills to combat the threats we face ... if we only ever talk to one part of the community, it will be challenging to reach our growth targets and increase diversity. This in turn restricts our operational agility and security and intelligence capabilities." The Communications Security Bureau and Security Intelligence Service's Diversity and Inclusion Strategy (2017–2020) sees diversity as a first line of defence. It makes the case for advancing gender and ethnic diversity based on:

- ✦ performance – the ability to deliver will improve
- ✦ recruitment and retention – a broader pool of candidates is available and good staff are retained
- ✦ innovation – new perspectives provide new ideas
- ✦ insight – diversity increases understanding of other cultures
- ✦ confidence – the intelligence community needs to reflect New Zealand society to increase trust.

Measures to make diversity and inclusion strong values within the organization include targeted training programmes, training on unconscious bias for all managers and flexible work policies.

Source: Government Communications Security Bureau and New Zealand Security Intelligence Service, Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2017–2020.

To harness the operational and organizational strengths of diversity and gender equality, intelligence services must seek diversity in their recruitment, create a work environment that supports and fosters diversity, and overcome the negative gender stereotypes that prop up glass ceilings. Nonetheless, it should not be assumed that recruiting more women will necessarily result in more *gender-responsive* policies and practices. Additional measures, discussed in section 4, are required to ensure that intelligence services are articulated around the protection of human rights, including gender equality.

Box 4: An organizational commitment to inclusion by Australia's Office of National Assessments

Australia's Office of National Assessments (ONA) "Commitment to Diversity" includes the following commitments.

- ✦ ONA must build a workforce that reflects the diversity of our society. All senior managers must be diversity champions.
- ✦ ONA will embrace diversity at all stages of the employment cycle. Our strategy will promote diversity in recruitment and promotion, training and career development, performance management and access to flexible work arrangements.
- ✦ We will foster an inclusive workplace culture that strengthens collaboration between our analysts, researchers, administrative staff and management.
- ✦ Diversity will strengthen all aspects of our organization: from our crucial research and co-ordination roles to the analytical rigour on which our judgements are based.

Source: ONA (2015) "ONA Diversity Action Plan 2015–2018", Canberra: Australian Government.

2.4 Intelligence services must prevent discrimination on the basis of sex or sexual orientation

Intelligence services are part of the public sector, and as such should be held to the same standards as other parts of government, including on gender equality. This means that intelligence services should be bound by national laws concerning discrimination on the basis of sex, sexual orientation or gender identity, and ultimately by the international legal frameworks prohibiting discrimination and obliging measures to overcome it.

The following subsections set out some of the key legal instruments at international and regional levels.*

International human rights frameworks

One of the first key international treaties recognizing gender, ethnic and racial equality was the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 1966. The ICCPR contains commitments to several important rights that intelligence services may infringe upon, including the right of privacy, the right to life and freedom from torture, freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention, the right to fair trial and equality before the law, and the prohibition of propaganda for war (Articles 6–27).

The ICCPR enshrines the rights of all people to non-discrimination and equality before the law. Intelligence services should be held accountable for state obligations towards civil and political rights. There are two articles that are particularly relevant as regards the intelligence sector's obligations not to discriminate on the basis of sex, gender or sexual orientation.

- ✦ Article 2(1) sets out the principle of non-discrimination – "Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognised in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."
- ✦ Article 26 sets out the principle of equality – "All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

* A more detailed summary of international and regional laws and instruments related to gender equality can be found in Tool 4, "Justice and Gender". A compendium of international and regional legal instruments is published online as part of this Toolkit.

Further, Articles 2–5 oblige parties to give effect to the rights recognized in the ICCPR in national legislation, to provide effective legal remedies for any violations of those rights and to recognize the rights “without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status”. Although the ICCPR does not specifically refer to sexual orientation, UN bodies have found obligations under the ICCPR to include an obligation to prevent discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.¹¹ These provisions create the imperative for intelligence services to ensure gender equality in human resources policies and procedures, as well as in their processes and operations, to ensure that the laws they are bound by are applied equally and all people are able to access legal protections to prevent abuses by intelligence services.

In 1979 the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) to promote gender equality explicitly and secure the rights of women in law. CEDAW creates obligations to ensure the full participation of women in the social, political, cultural and economic spheres. Article 2 contains the obligation to enshrine gender equality in domestic legislation, repeal any discriminatory provisions in law and enact new provisions to guard against discrimination against women. States ratifying CEDAW must also establish tribunals and public institutions to guarantee women effective protection against discrimination, and take steps to eliminate all forms of discrimination practised against women by individuals, organizations and enterprises. Article 5 requires state parties to eliminate prejudices based on the idea of the inferiority/superiority of one sex or on stereotyped roles for men and women. Article 10 obliges parties to ensure that education opportunities and access to scholarships are awarded equally, with specific attention to female drop-out rates. In line with these obligations, intelligence services should ensure that regulatory and internal policies explicitly oppose discrimination based on gender and that effective mechanisms and processes are established to overcome institutional gender biases, including any barriers to accessing training and advancement.

Regional human rights frameworks

A number of regional laws and instruments oblige states to promote non-discrimination and gender equality. As with global human rights commitments, these apply to all public authorities and services, including the intelligence sector. The following are some key regional instruments.

- ◆ The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003). Known as the Maputo Protocol, it aims to combat all forms of discrimination against women by ensuring that African states *inter alia*:
 - enact and effectively implement regulatory measures to prohibit and curb all forms of discrimination
 - integrate a gender perspective in policy decisions, programmes and activities
 - take corrective and positive action in those areas where discrimination against women in law and in fact continues to exist
 - address negative gender stereotyping and overcome gender biases that negatively impact on women’s advancement and the achievement of gender equality.

Also relevant in Africa are the Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development (1997) and Protocol on Gender and Development (2008).

- ◆ The Arab Women Organization of the League of Arab States “Arab Strategy for Combating Violence against Women 2011–2020”.
- ◆ The European Convention on Human Rights (1950) and the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (2011) (also known as the Istanbul Convention). The Istanbul Convention

aims to prevent violence against women, protect victims and overcome the impunity of perpetrators. For intelligence agencies, it creates an imperative to ensure that confidentiality obligations imposed on their staff do not obstruct their reporting violence against women to competent authorities.

- ◆ Directive 2012/29/EU of the European Parliament and European Union Council (2012) establishing minimum standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime (the Victims' Rights Directive).
- ◆ The Organization of American States Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence against Women (1994).
- ◆ The OSCE Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality provides the organization's main framework for activities on gender equality and assigns responsibilities and tasks to the Organization's Secretariat, institutions and field operations, as well as to participating States. These include:
 - ensuring that all OSCE policies, programmes and activities are gender mainstreamed
 - providing staff members with tools and training on gender mainstreaming
 - developing a professional, gender-sensitive management culture and working environment
 - increasing the representation of female managers in higher positions
 - supporting the efforts of participating States in achieving gender equality
 - setting specific priorities for the promotion of women's rights
 - highlighting and promoting the role of women in conflict prevention and peace reconstruction processes
 - monitoring and evaluating progress on the implementation of the Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality – the OSCE Secretary General presents a progress report annually to the Permanent Council.

OSCE participating States have also adopted three Ministerial Council decisions on preventing and combating violence against women, two of which make reference to the roles of security sector personnel.¹²

2.5 Intelligence services can contribute to the achievement of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

In 2000 the ground-breaking UN Security Council Resolution 1325 was adopted. It recognized that women and men have different experiences in conflict, different needs after conflict, different perspectives on the causes and outcomes of conflict, and different contributions to bring to a peacebuilding process. Subsequently, the UN Security Council has adopted, at the time of writing, a further nine resolutions addressing women and conflict, together comprising the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. The goals of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda are to:

- ◆ promote gender equality and strengthen the participation of women in decision-making in all aspects of conflict prevention, peace processes, peace operations and peacebuilding
- ◆ improve the protection of women in conflict-affected environments, and end conflict-related sexual violence and impunity for these crimes
- ◆ ensure that international engagement in conflict-affected environments addresses the specific needs of women and improves the protection of women's rights.

The Women, Peace and Security Agenda emphasizes that gender equality is critical to conflict prevention and efforts to maintain international peace and security. It moreover emphasizes the importance of women's full and equal participation in the security sector, and in decision-making on peace and security matters.*

Given that the intelligence sector plays essential national security roles, it must be part of efforts to implement the commitments made under the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. Governments should include the intelligence sector as part of Women, Peace and Security national action plans and their associated monitoring and reporting processes. The Women, Peace and Security Agenda is relevant for intelligence services in (at least) two key ways: first, it mandates the inclusion of women in the security services; and second, it mandates the use of gender analysis for understanding conflict drivers, impacts, resolution and recovery options. Specifically, UN Security Council Resolution 2242 emphasizes the need for the integration of gender within counterterrorism and efforts to counter violent extremism, in particular through integrating a gender perspective into assessments and reports. As such, it is particularly relevant to intelligence. Member states are urged "to conduct and gather gender-sensitive research and data collection on the drivers of radicalization for women, and the impacts of counterterrorism strategies on women's human rights and women's organizations, in order to develop targeted and evidence-based policy and programming responses".¹³

Without the active engagement of women in the intelligence sector and the ability of intelligence services to conduct gender analysis and integrate a gender perspective, it is unlikely that the goals of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda can be fully achieved. Intelligence services and their oversight bodies should focus on gender equality, both as a means to overcome discrimination and as a means to contribute to other peace and security outcomes.

2.6 Intelligence services can contribute to the achievement of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is a call for transformative action by all countries to achieve peace and prosperity for all people and protect the planet. Adopted by all UN member states in September 2015, it identifies 17 interconnected Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with 169 targets and 232 indicators. The SDGs address global challenges related to poverty, gender inequality, climate, environmental degradation, injustice and violence. The SDGs, in particular SDG 5, recognize gender equality as a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world, and moreover that gender equality is central to achieving SDG 16, to provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions.[^]

Intelligence services should be held accountable for their contribution to the realization of the SDGs, as other government agencies are. Parts of the Agenda for Sustainable Development can be used by policy-makers, legislators and civil society advocates to increase the transparency, accountability and legitimacy of intelligence services. The Agenda for Sustainable Development can also guide efforts to integrate a gender perspective in intelligence. Indicators associated with the SDGs should be applied to intelligence services to track their progress in promoting gender equality and integrating a gender perspective. This would measure whether intelligence services have, for example:

- ◆ explicit commitments in policy and regulations that bind the intelligence sector to human rights commitments, including gender equality, and enable effective independent oversight of intelligence services

* See also this Toolkit's Policy Brief on "A Security Sector Governance Approach to Women, Peace and Security".

OSCE Decision No. 14/05 on "Women in conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation" (2005) provides a framework for the OSCE and OSCE participating States in the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (see endnote 12 on page 18).

[^] For further detail see the accompanying Policy Brief on "The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the Security Sector and Gender Equality".

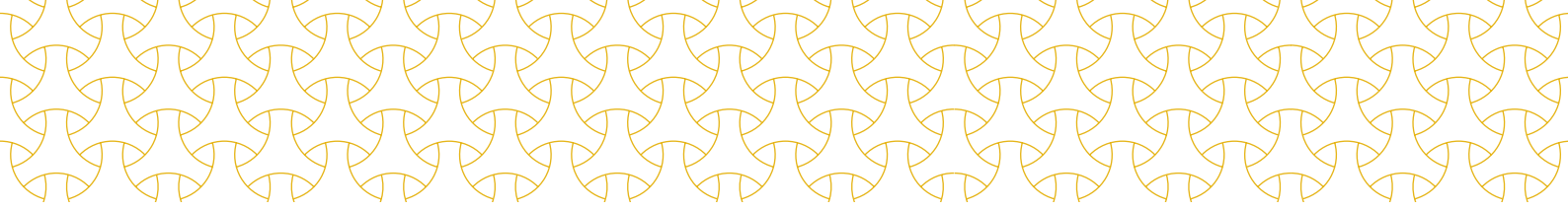
- ◆ legal frameworks that promote, enforce and monitor equality and non-discrimination on the basis of sex in the intelligence sector
- ◆ equal representation of women, including in managerial positions, in intelligence agencies and intelligence oversight bodies, including in parliament*
- ◆ commitments to and processes for access to information that account for the different ways that men and women access information
- ◆ mechanisms for monitoring and handling allegations against intelligence services of human rights abuses that identify practices of GBV and discrimination against LGBTI persons.

* For more detailed guidance on how to achieve greater representation of women in parliament and in parliamentary oversight processes, see Tool 7, "Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector and Gender".

Endnotes

1. OECD DAC (2007) *Handbook on Security Sector Reform: Supporting Security and Justice*, Paris: OECD, p. 140.
2. H. Born and A. Wills (eds) (2012) *Overseeing Intelligence Services: A Toolkit*, Geneva: DCAF, p. 6.
3. Adapted from UN Women (2019) "Gender equality glossary", <https://trainingcentre.unwomen.org/mod/glossary/view.php?id=36> (accessed 6 September 2019).
4. UN OSAGI (2001) *Important Concepts Underlying Gender Mainstreaming*, New York: UN.
5. WHO (2002) "WHO gender policy – Integrating gender perspectives in the work of WHO", Geneva: WHO.
6. UN Economic and Social Council, *UN Economic and Social Council Resolution 1997/2: Agreed Conclusions*, 18 July 1997, 1997/2.
7. UN Women, note 3 above.
8. M. Conway (2017) "The 'F' word", *United Nations Association UK Magazine*, Issue 2, London: UNA UK.
9. S. Harris (2015) "How the CIA came out of the closet", *The Daily Beast*, 31 August.
10. OHCHR (2013) "Statement by Ivan Simonovic, UN Assistant Secretary-General for Human Rights", presented at Conference on Human Rights, Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity, Oslo, 15–16 April 2013.
11. For example, resolutions of the UN Human Rights Council and General Assembly listed at <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Discrimination/Pages/LGBTUNResolutions.aspx> (accessed 6 September 2019). See also Council of the European Union (2013) "Guidelines to promote and protect the enjoyment of all human rights by lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) persons", Luxembourg: Council of the European Union. The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly's 1995 Ottawa Declaration called upon participating States "to ensure that all persons belonging to different segments of their populations be accorded equal respect and consideration in their constitutions, legislation and administration and that there be no subordination, explicit or implied, on the basis of ... sexual orientation", Ottawa: OSCE.
12. OSCE Ministerial Council Decisions No. 15/05, No. 7/14 and No. 4/18. Additionally, OSCE Decision No. 14/05 on "Women in conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation" (2005) provides the framework for the OSCE and its participating States for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. The decision focuses on representation of women in conflict prevention and post-conflict rehabilitation processes, training and education on the rights of women and girls, and sharing best practices regarding the participation of women in peace initiatives and the evaluation of gender mainstreaming efforts. Building on the above decision, OSCE Decision No. 7/09 on "Women's participation in political and public life" strengthened the OSCE framework by calling on participating States to:
 - consider taking measures to create equal opportunities within the security services, including the armed forces, where relevant, to allow for balanced recruitment, retention and promotion of men and women
 - consider providing specific measures to achieve the goal of gender balance in all legislative, judicial and executive bodies, including security services such as police services
 - consider possible legislative measures which would facilitate more balanced participation of women and men in political and public life, especially in decision-making
 - allow for the equal contribution of women and men to peacebuilding initiatives
 - encourage shared work and parental responsibilities between women and men to facilitate women's equal opportunities to participate effectively in political and public life.
13. UN Security Council Resolution 2242, adopted on 13 October 2015, para 12.





3. What would intelligence services that advance gender equality and integrate a gender perspective look like?

This section sets out a vision for what intelligence services that integrate a gender perspective and advance gender equality would look like. There are normative, conceptual, procedural and organizational dimensions to this vision.

Section 4 goes into more detail on how this vision can be achieved.

3.1 Operating within clear rules that advance gender equality and broader human rights and reflect democratic values

An intelligence process that integrates a gender perspective and advances gender equality includes gender considerations throughout the cycle of information collection, analysis and dissemination. The starting point is that the structure, functions and powers of intelligence services should be clearly defined in law. This legal framework is derived from a nation's approach to national security, which, in turn, should be defined in terms that include addressing inequality.* This mandate should then be implemented through regulatory frameworks and organizational policies and processes to advance gender equality and the inclusion of a gender perspective in intelligence services.

Intelligence oversight bodies – such as parliamentary oversight committees, ombuds institutions and NHRIs – should be concerned with how intelligence services are pursuing gender equality goals; that their approach to national security reflects the security needs of men and women, including those who identify as LGBTI; and that they are working towards the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. Oversight bodies should also be concerned with how the needs and interests of men and women, including those who identify as LGBTI, are accounted for when national security assessments are developed. Intelligence services should be able to explain the gendered implications of their proposed policy options. Using oversight mechanisms to engage with intelligence services on gender equality creates space for dialogue on gender issues that staff may not be comfortable raising with their direct supervisors, and provides a mechanism for accountability.^

International actors supporting interventions to democratize intelligence services should encourage commitments to gender equality as part of broader commitments to human rights and increased openness, accountability and legitimacy. Such gender equality initiatives not only advance the goals of good governance but can give substance to local ownership of reform processes, through mandating the inclusion of stakeholders from across the community, including women and LGBTI persons.

* For guidance on this point see “Tool 8, ‘National Security Policy-making and Gender’”, in *Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit*, Eds. Megan Bastick and Kristin Valasek. Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW, 2008.

^ For broader guidance on integrating a gender perspective in external oversight of the security sector see DCAF/OSCE/OSCE/ODIHR (2014) *Integrating Gender into Oversight of the Security Sector by Ombuds Institutions and National Human Rights Institutions*.

3.2 Actively including the perspectives of women and men

Intelligence services play a role in advising decision-makers about current and future security threats. Intelligence services need to consider a broad range of structural factors to understand how the dynamics of insecurity and conflict evolve and manifest. Because social exclusion is a structural cause of violence, it is essential that intelligence services pay attention to where and how discrimination, exclusion and marginalization are occurring, and how they contribute to the potential for insecurity. At a minimum, all intelligence gathered should be disaggregated by sex (as should be all statistics collected internally within the services). Moreover, the roles of masculinities and femininities and the intersectional dynamics of insecurity should be considered. To understand these factors, the views and perspectives of diverse groups of men and women, including LGBTI people, need to be integrated into intelligence collection and analysis. This can allow overlooked signs of instability to come to the fore and enable the formulation of response options that do not perpetuate discriminatory practices.

Work in this area has focused on conflict early warning: by bringing to light patterns of structural discrimination, integrating a gender perspective can improve the effectiveness of early warning systems by gathering more specific information and allowing more detailed and precise analysis (see Table 1). This can ensure better preparedness and more accurate and measurable responses to address underlying causes of a conflict. These principles apply, however, to any intelligence process.

Integrating a gender perspective in information collection and analysis processes also has a conceptual dimension: opening the analytical lens to the perspectives and voices of a wider range of actors, reflecting on cognitive biases. This begins with challenging how problems are defined and how threats and enemies are determined and constructed, and reflecting upon implicit bias in these processes.

Such an approach also demystifies tensions between national security and human rights. Political and civil rights need to be situated at the core of national security. Integrating a gender perspective will enable the intelligence sector to see problems not only as “hard” security issues but as related to rights and freedoms, too. Intelligence products need to reflect the security needs and priorities of the people – women and men, including LGBTI people, across different communities – not just the needs of the executive. Where intelligence assessments are produced through closed processes, they can be more easily bound to partisan and political interests. Intelligence products that integrate a gender perspective are more able to question assumptions about power politics. Integrating a gender perspective in considerations of national security enables a focus on the human impact of foreign and domestic policies and actively pushes back against narrow thinking.¹

Table 1: Examples of gender-sensitive early warning indicators

To integrate gender into early warning systems, both men and women, including LGBTI people, must have the opportunity to articulate their security situation. The different threats and concerns that affect them must be duly analysed. Underlying causes of conflict must be considered for the role they play in strengthening inequalities. The manner in which inequalities are exacerbated during conflict must be considered when analysing information and gathering data to formulate responses.

UN Women has compiled examples of gender-responsive early warning indicators, some of which are detailed below. They are grouped according to common conflict analysis categories, distinguishing between indicators most relevant for conducting initial assessments or gathering baseline data and indicators for ongoing monitoring of trends.

Assessment indicators	Periodic/ongoing monitoring
<i>Human rights and security (including violence against women)</i>	
Prevalence of sexual violence (including rape) Prevalence of domestic violence Impunity for perpetrators of violence against women (e.g. number of cases reported, investigated, prosecuted and resulting in convictions) Prevalence of female genital mutilation Percentage of women who feel violence against them has reduced during a specific time period (e.g. in the last five years) Policies/programmes which force birth control Existence and quality of legislation on GBV Existence of crisis centres and hotlines designed to support women	Conflict-related deaths (male/female) Reports of physical assault or knowledge of physical assaults against a family member (disaggregated by sex) Incidence of various forms of violence against women (rape, domestic violence, honour killings, bride abduction, female genital mutilation, etc.) Sexual abuse by security forces Sexual abuse by law enforcement agencies Killing, abduction and disappearance of women Cases of women/children trafficked Discriminatory practices and attacks against indigenous population
<i>Political and institutional factors</i>	
Equality and protection of men and women under the law Female suffrage Women as voters, candidates and election monitors Percentage of women in parliament Political leadership of women (or ratio of men to women in power) Gender awareness of the security sector and response to violence against women Impact of gender training among the military Resistance to women's participation in peace processes and negotiations	Threats to politically active/visible women or their children Threats and restrictions by illegal armed groups on women or women's organizations Forced recruitment and conscription Utilization of women to obtain information and infiltration in the community by illegal armed groups

Source: UN Women (2012) *Gender-Responsive Early Warning: Overview and How-to Guide*, New York: UN Women, pp. 6–7. See also OSCE/ODIHR (2009) *Gender and Early Warning Systems*, Warsaw: OSCE/ODIHR

3.3 Organizational commitment, culture and practices to achieve gender equality and wider diversity

Intelligence services that harness the skills and talents of both men and women, regardless of their sexual orientation and gender identity or expression, have strong organizational commitment to equality and actively practise strategies to foster inclusion and diversity in both people and perspectives.

Intelligence services that advance gender equality consciously engage with diversity as a strength in the workplace, taking steps to understand barriers to gender equality within the institution and to attract, recruit and retain individuals from underrepresented groups (Box 5 shares examples of such efforts from the UK). They have an organizational culture that resists bias towards certain ideals of masculinity as the primary model for success; rather, they strive to break down societal biases and expectations of what men and women in intelligence look like, how they behave and what they do. Implicit perceptions of “insider” and “outsider” groups – be they based on ethnic, economic, gender or other biases – are challenged through a focus on equality. There are efforts to overcome attitudinal and institutional barriers that restrict and discourage women and other underrepresented groups.

More specifically, intelligence services that harness the strengths of a diverse workforce have policies and procedures to prevent and address sexual exploitation, harassment and abuse, gender-based discrimination and any other gender-related abuses in or by the workforce. Human resources policies address the specific needs of women and parents, with good provision for parental leave, support for spouses in cases of overseas posting, flexibility, etc.

These measures are monitored and guided by oversight bodies actively engaged in encouraging intelligence services to progress towards achieving gender equality. All this requires clear and principled leadership within the intelligence sector, and investment of time and resources.

Box 5: The UK Parliament's Intelligence and Security Services Committee's examination of gender equality and the intelligence services' responses

Legislatures can be effective in holding intelligence services to account for their employment equality and gender mainstreaming obligations. In 2015 the Intelligence and Security Services Committee of the UK Parliament undertook an investigation into barriers to achieving gender equality in the intelligence services and actions being undertaken to enhance gender parity. The committee met with the heads of services and interviewed staff about the gendered challenges they face, and then developed a set of recommendations. The intelligence services were required to report back to the committee after one year, demonstrating progress in the following areas.

1. Targeting specific groups of women to recruit.
2. Improving career management for women to increase their advancement potential.
3. Utilizing informal support networks.
4. Removing restrictions on women's participation in certain jobs.
5. Increasing international connections.
6. Tackling cultural and behavioural barriers to diversity and inclusion.

In March 2016 the intelligence services gave an update to the committee, and reported that *inter alia* all services had diversity targets with dedicated leadership responsibilities to achieve them. Unconscious bias training had been introduced to challenge behavioural barriers to change. The Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) and MI6 included commitments to diversity and inclusion in the criteria for assessing senior staff behaviour and leadership development programmes. The executive board of MI5 undertook "inclusive leadership" training, and each individual on the board had specific diversity objectives for which s/he is personally accountable. All services had instituted quarterly diversity meetings to discuss progress and share experiences.

A range of targeted measures were taken to recruit more women, focusing on outreach programmes to recruit more women in the cyber portfolios and encourage more girls to study science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) subjects. In January 2016 GCHQ hosted a "Women in Cyber" event at Birmingham University, which also involved MI5 and MI6. During this event, which was specifically aimed at women, female speakers provided insight into the organizations and career opportunities available. This helped GCHQ to improve its outreach and was responsible for 13 per cent of offers made for GCHQ's Cyber Summer School going to women, an 8 per cent increase on 2015. GCHQ has also stepped up its outreach to schools to encourage more girls to study STEM subjects.

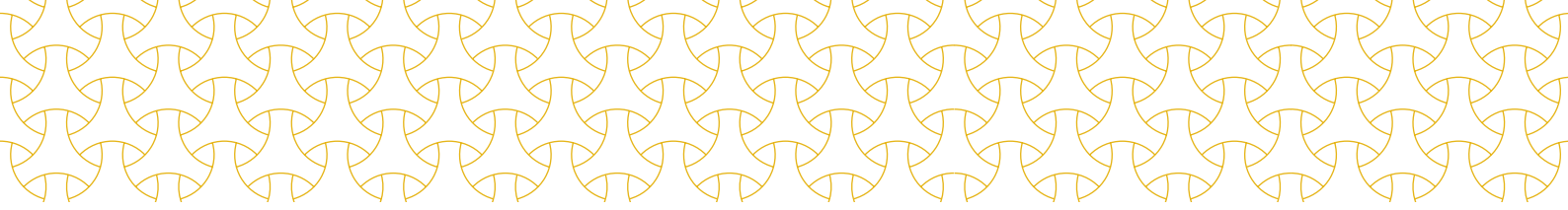
Initial impacts of these efforts to recruit more women were strong: over 2015/2016 46 per cent of new MI5 employees were female, a 5 per cent increase on the previous period and resulting in a 41.6 per cent female workforce; 40 per cent of applicants to GCHQ were women; and 41 per cent of new recruits to MI6 were women. In 2019 GCHQ planned to host the first all-female CyberDefenders course, providing 600 free places to women for residential and non-residential training programmes.

Sources: Intelligence and Security Committee of Parliament (2015) "Women in the UK intelligence community", London: UK Parliament; Government of the United Kingdom (2016) "Government response to the Intelligence and Security Committee of Parliament report on women in the UK intelligence community", London: UK Government; M. Oppenheim (2019) "British spy network GCHQ runs all-female classes to recruit women hackers", The Independent, 17 January.

Endnotes

1. M. Conway (2017) "The 'F' word", *United Nations Association UK Magazine*, Issue 2, London: UNA UK.





4. How can intelligence services advance gender equality and integrate a gender perspective?

This section outlines ways by which to advance gender equality and promote security through the integration of a gender perspective in the intelligence sector. It recommends:

- ◆ integrating a gender perspective in the intelligence cycle
- ◆ undertaking reform to strengthen oversight and accountability in an inclusive manner
- ◆ strengthening a gender perspective in oversight of intelligence services
- ◆ leadership and strategy to achieve gender equality
- ◆ recruitment processes to promote gender equality and diversity
- ◆ strong mechanisms to prevent and respond to gender-related complaints by staff.

Prompts to help in thinking about these steps for change are included in the self-assessment checklist in section 5.

Because relatively few intelligence services have openly grappled with gender, there is only a modest range of documentation of good practice by intelligence agencies themselves. Efforts to address gender-based discrimination in intelligence services are most often driven by staff actions to address bias, as well as by pressure from external oversight bodies and/or broader public sector gender equality initiatives. Drawing upon these types of processes as sources of information, in combination with established good practices from other parts of the security sector, this section presents a framework of activities that can be further developed by and tailored to intelligence services.

4.1 Integrating a gender perspective in the intelligence cycle

Integrating a gender perspective is important for all aspects of intelligence collection – from human intelligence to signals intelligence. As discussed in section 2.2, there are gender considerations for all intelligence activities. Intelligence services need to integrate gender throughout the intelligence cycle: from tasking, through collection and analysis, to dissemination and feedback. This relies on the development of skills and capacities among intelligence professionals so that gender dimensions are included as part of their regular practice.

Image: Officers from Thailand, Brunei and Indonesia chat remotely with their forces during ship boarding exercises, as part of a weeklong at-sea exercise designed to highlight the value of information sharing and multinational coordination, 2010 © U.S. Navy photo/Jason Tross.

Good practices

- ◆ Both operational staff and intelligence analysts are trained to conduct gender analysis, to integrate a gender perspective and to challenge implicit biases. Intelligence services develop and provide initial and ongoing training on integrating a gender perspective in analysis and the use of gender indicators. Where possible, gender indicators are used to guide data collection.* Issuing guidelines on how to integrate a gender perspective can be useful (see Box 6).
- ◆ Tasking of intelligence operations includes gender considerations.
- ◆ Design of intelligence collection tactics includes a gendered analysis of the potential impact of intrusive and overt means of collection on different groups of men, women, boys and girls.
- ◆ Operational plans include strategies for risk mitigation regarding potential gendered impacts.
- ◆ Collection activities are conducted in line with human rights principles, and are without gender-based harassment, violence or abuse.
- ◆ Data and information gathered by intelligence services are disaggregated by sex and age, as are all statistics generated internally within services.
- ◆ Analyses are done with a gender perspective, including looking at the data and information disaggregated by sex, age and other relevant characteristics, and there is a gendered analysis of response options.
- ◆ There is no gender discrimination in staffing of any aspect of intelligence collection, analysis or dissemination.

Box 6: Integrating a gender perspective into military components of UN peacekeeping operations

In 2010 the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations developed guidelines for integrating a gender perspective into military components of peacekeeping missions. These aim to support military personnel working at strategic, operational and tactical levels to ensure that the security priorities and concerns of all sectors of the local population – women, men, boys and girls – inform the planning processes and operational activities of the military in its areas of operation.

The following key guidelines can inform intelligence services grappling with how to integrate a gender perspective:

- ◆ operations planning and liaison with other security sector actors include assessment of differences in security priorities of local women and men, and their potential to contribute to implementation of the mandate
- ◆ military planning to enhance conditions of service assess and meet the specific needs of male and female military personnel to be deployed
- ◆ force-generation planning and activities incorporate strategies for progressive improvement of the balance in the numbers of male and female military peacekeepers
- ◆ monitoring and reporting activities of military components in peacekeeping missions evaluate the progress of military efforts to implement mandates on women, peace and security.

The guidelines also provide a series of checklists on how to integrate a gender perspective. For example:

- ◆ all strategic planning documents, including concepts of operations and force requirements, include provisions to strengthen the participation of local women in peacekeeping activities and enhance the protection of women and girls

* Gender training is discussed in more detail in Tool 1, “Security Sector Governance, Security Sector Reform and Gender”.

Gender indicators are explained in Tool 15, “Integrating Gender in Project Design and Monitoring for the Security and Justice Sector”.

- ✦ gender-specific indicators are included in military strategic planning documents to improve monitoring of progress in implementing mandates on women, peace and security
- ✦ security risks facing women and LGBTI people are defined and integrated into risk assessments in the area of operation
- ✦ non-partisan local women's organizations are included in the network of civil society contacts identified to influence military planning activities during technical assessment missions and at all stages of mission planning.

Source: UN DPKO/DFS (2010) "DPKO/DFS guidelines: Integrating a gender perspective into the work of the United Nations military in peacekeeping operations"; New York: UN DPKO.

4.2 Undertaking reform to strengthen oversight and accountability in an inclusive manner

Intelligence services are part of the security sector, bound to the norms and practices of *good security sector governance*. The principles and features of good security sector governance include oversight, accountability and accordance with the rule of law. Intelligence services that adhere to these principles actively question how they promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including gender equality. A commitment in the vision of intelligence services to protect the rights and freedoms of all members of society should find expression in its legal framework, internal policies and mission statements, as well as in its codes of conduct and regulations on personal behaviour. This includes having a zero-tolerance approach to human rights abuses by intelligence officers, and clear policies prohibiting sexual and gender-based discrimination, exploitation, harassment or violence.

Security sector reform can provide opportunities to advance gender equality in intelligence services because of the opportunity to debate publicly and consult on what intelligence services are, what they do and how they do it. Intelligence reforms usually result from intelligence failures, intelligence scandals and/or democratic or post-conflict political transitions. Intelligence reform processes that focus on improving security sector governance, oversight and accountability advance gender equality when they create opportunities to promote the equal participation of men and women, including LGBTI people. Intelligence reform processes can also provide room to discuss the impact of legislative, policy and programming reforms from a gender perspective (see Box 7).*

Box 7: Gender and intelligence reform in South Africa

Security sector transformation, including intelligence reform, in post-apartheid South Africa focused on increasing the legitimacy and credibility of the security services within a representative democracy. The transformation process was based on negotiations and public consultations about the nature of the security services, set within the parameters of a liberal constitutional order that prevented discrimination on the basis of race and gender. This meant that the transformation process focused on demographic representation, redressing the racial and gender imbalances of the past, the introduction of multiparty oversight mechanisms and the creation of independent complaint mechanisms.

Public sector transformation targets included departmental goals for racial and gender representation at management levels. Across the public sector (which by definition includes the intelligence services) gender focal points were established, and strategies for recruitment and retention were drafted, implemented, monitored and reported on through the public service ministry, the independent oversight body (the Public Service Commission) and parliamentary committees. A "Women in Security" working group was

* The gender dimensions of good security sector governance and security sector reform are discussed further in Tool 1, "Security Sector Governance, Security Sector Reform and Gender".

established during the democratic transition, where gender focal points from the police, military and intelligence sectors met to discuss gender equality and jointly advocate for institutional changes to overcome barriers to women's equal participation in the security services. The 2003 Intelligence Services Regulations included the requirement for intelligence services to implement measures to ensure that human resource practices are free from discrimination and invisible barriers and unjustness, which can impede equal employment opportunities.

The commitment to democracy, good governance and human rights also found expression in legislation and policy documents. In the 1994 "White paper on intelligence" the intelligence services were tasked to operate within the objectives of a security policy that goes "beyond achieving an absence of war to encompass the pursuit of democracy, sustainable economic development and social justice". Accordingly, national security objectives encompass the basic principles and core values associated with a better quality of life, freedom, social justice, prosperity and development, founded on a commitment to democracy that includes the empowerment of all South Africans to participate in the process of governance and in matters that affect them. The national security doctrine advocated a view of security that could only be achieved when the social, political, economic and cultural needs of all citizens were met.

Sources: S. Africa (2011) "The transformation of the South African security sector: Lessons and challenges", Geneva: DCAF; Government of the Republic of South Africa (1994) "White paper on intelligence", <https://www.gov.za/documents/intelligence-white-paper>; Government of the Republic of South Africa, Intelligence Services Act: Intelligence Services Regulations 2003.

An important part of intelligence reform involves actively questioning how intelligence services should be defined in a democratic society. This can be done through meaningful participation of civil society, academia and media platforms, with the engagement and participation of the intelligence services and oversight bodies. There are many ways in which participation is made meaningful in democratic societies. One important approach can be public consultations by the intelligence services, legislators or civil society interest groups (see Box 8 for an example from Indonesia).

In organizing public consultation, the basic idea is to create a public forum where groups of people are assembled in one place, such as a community centre, church, conference centre or university. Speakers are invited to address the audience at a specified time. The speakers can be selected from the intelligence services – current and/or former personnel and leadership – as well as from academia, civil society and the media. Organizers should aim to ensure a balance of male and female speakers, as far as possible, and ensure that marginalized groups are given a voice.*

For broad participation, public consultation events should be advertised widely, and thought given as to how best to publicise them. Careful consideration should be given to possible barriers to participation (e.g. language, time, location, mistrust) and how to overcome these. These barriers should moreover be considered with a gender perspective: for example, are there barriers to the participation of particular groups of men or women?

Facilitation of meetings should ensure that the meeting itself is an inclusive space for all: men and women, including individuals of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities and expressions. The facilitator should take steps to ensure that equal space, time and opportunity for participation are given to men and women. In many cultures women may be less likely to talk openly in front of men in public meetings. In such cases the participation of women in discussions can be facilitated by dividing the larger group into smaller groups, perhaps even using gender segregation.

* Box 7 in Tool 4, "Justice and Gender", provides tips on conducting diverse and inclusive consultations. Section 6 of this Tool lists some further resources to guide meaningful consultation with women.

Parliamentary committees, ombuds institutions and NHRIs can also host public outreach and discussion forums. Parliamentary committees can host regular open sessions where members of the public and the media can be informed about the functioning and priorities of the intelligence services. This can be done as part of an annual national security discussion or in response to particular themes, issues or controversies. To host a publicly accessible meeting in parliament, the chairperson of the special committee tasked with oversight of the intelligence services should consult the parliamentary rules and procedures for hosting public meetings. When considering when and where to hold the meeting, parliamentary staff should have regard for any distinct potential barriers to the participation of men and women, including those who are LGBTI. The venue and date should be confirmed with the intelligence services before they are made public. Parliamentary committee staff should draft and release a press announcement of the event; to encourage participation, they can send the announcement as an invitation directly to key civil society organizations, academics and interested media organizations. When conducting the public session, the chairperson of the particular committee will be required to detail the purpose of the meeting and direct the overall structure and outcome. The chairperson should ensure that both men and women participate in the meeting and no preference is given to male over female speakers. Parliamentary committees and their staff should be given training in gender sensitivity to facilitate such forums.*

Media platforms – including but not limited to television, radio, newspapers and social media – can be used to publicize public events, to host discussions and to provide feedback and information to citizens. Gendered usage and access to media should be considered before any single platform is selected, and a gender analysis must be undertaken before any type of outreach activity is implemented. This gender analysis should explicitly state the purpose of the meeting as defined with the inclusion of a gender perspective; the identification of any gendered barriers to participation and a definition of mitigation measures; and the meeting outcomes defined in gender-disaggregated outputs.

Active efforts should be made to ensure that men and women, including those who are LGBTI, are involved. Having open spaces for discussing what intelligence services are and what they do is essential for progress towards ensuring that the intelligence sector is inclusive of diverse men and women and is serving the needs and interests of the entire community.

Good practices

- ◆ The threats to national security which intelligence services are tasked to address are defined through inclusive processes. They take account of the security needs of diverse men and women, including those who are LGBTI.
- ◆ Intelligence services carry out their work in a manner that contributes to the promotion and protection of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all individuals under the jurisdiction of the state. Intelligence services do not discriminate against individuals or groups on the grounds of their sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, or other status.
- ◆ Intelligence services are explicitly prohibited from undertaking any action that contravenes the national constitution or international human rights law. These prohibitions extend not only to the conduct of intelligence services on their national territory but also to their activities abroad. They include explicit prohibitions on gender-based discrimination and GBV.

* See Tool 7, "Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector and Gender", for further guidance concerning how parliaments can enable oversight of the security sector that integrates a gender perspective and promotes gender equality.

Box 8: Public efforts to influence intelligence reform in Indonesia

Since Indonesia's transition to democracy in 1998 there have been several efforts to reform the intelligence services. With the rise of global terrorism following 9/11 and the 2002 Bali bombings, the Indonesian intelligence services found themselves at the forefront of government efforts to counter the development and expansion of violent radical extremist networks. In the absence of a coherent strategy and specific laws defining the mandates and powers of the intelligence services, different branches of the intelligence community competed for political influence, resources and powers to lead the fight against domestic terrorism.

In 2002 the state intelligence agency (Badan Intelijen Negara or BIN) drafted an intelligence bill to grant itself powers of arrest and detention, waiving requirements for judicial authorization on the use of intrusive methods of investigation and limiting oversight. In the post-9/11 context, BIN used the draft bill to lobby for increased powers and financial resources. The draft bill faced immediate opposition from civil society activists, who feared a rollback of newly won civil liberties and accused BIN of trying to recoup powers lost in the democratic transition. After the Bali bombings, debate on intelligence legislation was replaced by a focus on robust counterterrorism laws that were used to define the roles and powers assigned to military, police and civilian intelligence services.

From 2003 to 2005 a series of public debates on intelligence reform occurred in many cities in Indonesia, in which intellectuals, academics, lawyers and human rights activists criticized the government's views on intelligence reform and offered alternative views and solutions. In 2004 the BIN draft bill was recirculated, and again met with resistance from civil society groups. In 2005 a group of ten academics, mainly from the University of Indonesia, offered an alternative version of the bill that became known as the Pacivis draft, after one of the research centres involved. The Pacivis draft acknowledged the need for a new intelligence law, but stressed that it needed to be guided by democratic values.

A long and intensive legislative process continued, until the Law on State Intelligence was passed in 2011. While there have been broad criticisms of the 2011 law, the civil society inputs and extensive engagements through the legislative process bore results: BIN does not have powers of arrest and detention (these powers remain with the police); interception of communications requires judicial authorization; and the law contains explicit commitments to protect human rights that were absent in the 2006 draft. The 2011 law also provides for limited parliamentary oversight through a specialized committee.

Sources: P. Sulistiyanto (2007) "The politics of intelligence reform in post-Suharto Indonesia", APIO Journal, 15(2), pp. 29–46; Human Rights Watch (2011) "Indonesia: Repeal new intelligence law", Human Rights Watch News, New York: Human Rights Watch; International Crisis Group (2011) "Indonesia: Debate over a new intelligence bill", Asia Briefing 124, Jakarta and Brussels: International Crisis Group.

4.3 Strengthening gender perspective in oversight of intelligence services*

A broad range of actors undertake oversight of intelligence services, including, but not limited to, special legislative committees, parliamentary oversight committees, NHRIs, ombuds institutions and inspectors general, as explained in section 2.1. Oversight bodies should have mandates and powers enabling them to hold both open and closed hearings into the activities of intelligence services. They should be able to question executive leadership on the overall posture, focus and structure of the intelligence services.

* For more on gender-responsive oversight of the security sector, including mandates of and training for oversight actors, see DCAF, OSCE, OSCE/ODIHR (2014) *Integrating Gender into Oversight of the Security Sector by Ombuds Institutions & National Human Rights Institutions*, Geneva.

To conduct oversight effectively, oversight bodies should integrate a gender perspective. They should attend to both how intelligence services are integrating a gender perspective into their operations and how gender equality is promoted within intelligence services.

Gender-responsive intelligence oversight requires that oversight bodies have appropriate mandates and powers for gender-responsive oversight of security sector institutions to enable them to undertake a systemic examination of gender issues both within intelligence services' staffing and in their activities. They should take steps to build their own internal institutional capacity to address gender issues, including through training and developing mechanisms to access expert advice. Oversight bodies should pay particular attention to identifying gender bias and discrimination through both scrutiny of complaints and independent investigations (Box 5 on page 25 presented an example from the UK of the parliamentary intelligence oversight committee actively examining gender bias). If they have power to receive complaints, they should ensure that their receipt, handling and investigations of complaints – for people within the services and for any citizen wishing to file a complaint against the intelligence service – are gender responsive and accessible (discussed further in section 4.6).

When examining gender issues within intelligence, oversight bodies can monitor progress through pooling complaints and/or the conduct of a gender assessment or gender audit of the particular security service.* Whatever is being monitored, gender must be considered at all stages, including when planning the data collection and ensuring that both women and men contribute, as well as in data analysis and response. For example, when collecting data and recording public consultations, oversight bodies should record whether the information came from a woman, man, girl or boy, as well as their age group (sex- and age-disaggregated data), so differences between different groups' perspectives can be analysed. Depending on the context, it might also be important to record other characteristics, such as institutional rank and affiliation, religion, language group or ethnicity.

Intelligence services should maintain good working relationships with oversight bodies. They should be willing to engage positively with oversight that closely monitors the gender equality implications of intelligence activities and gender equality within intelligence services. For example, intelligence services should make available to monitoring bodies data on the proportion of men and women in their workforce at different levels; details of complaints made of sexual discrimination and harassment, their handling and their outcomes; and their efforts to increase the representation of women.

Good practices

- ◆ Oversight institutions are explicitly tasked to oversee the implementation of international obligations on gender equality and the integration of a gender perspective.
- ◆ Any individual who believes s/he has suffered gender bias, gender discrimination or GBV by an intelligence service is able to bring a complaint to an oversight institution or a court that can provide an effective remedy, including full reparation for the harm suffered.
- ◆ Oversight bodies are diverse and representative, with targets to achieve gender balance in their staffing and information collection.
- ◆ Officials and staff of oversight bodies have completed gender training and have access to specialized gender expertise.
- ◆ Oversight bodies actively and consistently collect information on the gender equality dimensions of intelligence organizations and their work, scrutinize intelligence services on these dimensions and include gender equality as a focus in their reports.

* DCAF's *Gender Self-Assessment Guide for the Police, Armed Forces and Justice Sector* can be used by an oversight body to help develop and guide the auditing process. Tool 15 on "Integrating Gender in Project Design and Monitoring for the Security and Justice Sector" also gives advice on gender assessment and audit of security sector institutions, and on sex- and age-disaggregated data.

4.4 Organizational leadership and strategy for gender equality, diversity and inclusion

Organizational culture generally changes only slowly. Societal biases can challenge progress towards creating gender-equitable work environments in the intelligence sector. Having an institutional culture that promotes gender equality, diversity and inclusion requires not only active oversight but also sustained commitment by leaders and senior management of intelligence services. This leadership needs to be reflected as an organizational priority, supported by strategy, resourcing and effort.

Good practices

- ◆ Build senior leadership capacity on gender equality.
- ◆ Ensure leadership on gender equality at all levels.
- ◆ Develop a strong organizational commitment to equality and diversity, including a clear internal and external communications strategy.
- ◆ Appoint staff dedicated to supporting gender equality measures.
- ◆ Use staff consultations and other forms of research to identify barriers to gender equality in the workplace (see Box 9).
- ◆ Create a clear plan for addressing these barriers, with reporting deadlines and senior-level responsibility. (Table 2 on p. 36 is an example of a diversity and inclusion plan from an Australian intelligence service.)
- ◆ Establish and maintain zero tolerance for human rights abuses, including GBV.
- ◆ Ensure that human resources policies address the specific needs of women and LGBTI people, such as policies dealing with maternity and parental leave, work benefits for spouses, changing gender markers, etc.
- ◆ Provide training to all staff on the organizational approach to equality and diversity.
- ◆ Ensure internal and external monitoring and oversight of progress towards advancing gender equality in the workplace.
- ◆ Consider commissioning advice on integrating a gender perspective from the broader government sector, including specialized commissions or ministries responsible for employment equality and gender. Consider also accessing expertise in civil society, academia and within other security sector institutions, as well as through international partnerships (see Box 10).

Box 9: Integration of a gender perspective in intelligence reform in North Macedonia

Intelligence reform efforts in North Macedonia are focused on increasing the transparency and effectiveness of the civilian intelligence service, the North Macedonia Service for Security and Counterintelligence. Steps are also being taken to pioneer approaches to gender equality and the integration of a gender perspective.

Gender challenges faced by the intelligence services are embedded in the societal norms and socialist history of the Balkan region. Due to decades of equal employment opportunities for women in the public sector, there are more female than male staff in the intelligence service: women form 63 per cent of the workforce, but there are few women in operational and senior management roles. Women are most likely to be found in the analysis and administration divisions: for example, in the analysis unit there are 40 female intelligence professionals and only seven males. The unit has had difficulty attracting male recruits, who view analysis work as being too office bound and less exciting than operational roles. Women have been less inclined to join operational units due to the perceived difficulties of maintaining a work–life balance, the heavy workload

and long working hours, and the influence of a culture that favours male leadership. At senior management level women occupy only 20 per cent of leadership roles. The legacy of the previous Yugoslav system provided a strong driving force for workplace equality, but traditional social mores continue to favour male leadership stereotypes. Such biases mean that male managers could perceive men as more reliable leaders and favour male candidates for promotion.

Steps to reform the intelligence apparatus include efforts to separate the civilian intelligence service from the police. This creates the opportunity to address organizational culture and gender biases. There have been internal discussions on gender issues – focusing not only on how to deal with barriers to women’s advancement but also on addressing barriers to male recruitment. Internal leaders recognize that having more men in the analysis section is essential to ensure the highest-quality intelligence products. Correspondingly, a newly formed “Women’s Council” is encouraging female employees to pursue operational and management career pathways.

Some of the key issues that the North Macedonian intelligence services will be dealing with as it advances gender equality and the integration of a gender perspective include:

- ✦ improving targeting and recruiting of men for the analysis section by challenging gender stereotypes about office work
- ✦ creating opportunities for staff to move between the operational and analysis sections
- ✦ mentoring women to pursue senior management roles
- ✦ increasing dialogue about gender equality barriers and challenges
- ✦ encouraging senior management to support and promote gender equality and the integration of a gender perspective as key to the operational effectiveness of the services
- ✦ increasing transparency and oversight of the intelligence services.

Based on an interview with Ms. Daniela Jakovlevski-Gjorshoska, Assistant Director for Analysis and Research, North Macedonia Intelligence Agency, April 2019.

Table 2: The Australian Office of National Assessments’ plan for building a strong culture of diversity and inclusion

Goal	Initiative	Key performance indicator
Inclusiveness, well-being and diversity are core values of ONA’s leaders	Senior leadership proactively promotes diversity in the workplace	Gather data on the attitudinal response to leadership in external and internal surveys Compulsory component of Senior Executive performance agreements, and incorporated into 360° feedback processes
	Commitment by senior leaders to only appear on diverse speaking panels	Before accepting, obtain confirmation on how gender balance will be achieved on a panel and make their participation conditional on meaningful participation by women
	Aim to achieve a 50/50 gender representation on all internal boards, committees and panels	Regular analysis of composition of all internal boards, committees and panels to ensure the representation target is being met

Table 2: The Australian Office of National Assessments' plan for building a strong culture of diversity and inclusion

A culture that values inclusiveness, wellbeing and diversity	Awareness among managers and employees of the relationship between unconscious bias and management and personnel issues	Initially, attendance at unrecognised knowledge and bias training and subsequent feedback
	Increased contestability ensuring accountability in recruitment and retention of ONA staff	Understand the impact of judgment styles on analytical and non-analytical expertise Openness to modifying management styles
Increased awareness of the negative effects bias may have in the workplace	Introduction of unrecognised knowledge and bias training in ONA	Unrecognised knowledge and bias training introduced to induction and refresher training
		Numbers of staff attending training
	Increased awareness and discussion about impact of judgment bias present within the workplace	
Confidence that open conversation on diversity matters is encouraged and adequate consideration and respect is given to all		Identification of shift from rhetoric to values/behaviours measured by responses to internal surveys
		Staff confidence that personnel management and recruitment practices acknowledge and mitigate the effects of unconscious bias, measured through internal and external survey tools

Source: ONA (2015) "ONA Diversity Action Plan 2015–2018"; Canberra: Australian Government

Box 10: Drawing on international partnerships to share learning on gender and diversity

Working in partnership to share experiences with advancing gender equality and integrating a gender perspective can help intelligence services to learn from each other and develop a basis for good practices. Since the Second World War, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK and the USA have co-operated in an international intelligence alliance, commonly known as the "Five Eyes". According to the UK intelligence community, the Five Eyes partners have established a working group on gender and diversity to exchange perspectives and experiences, facilitate discussions of planned initiatives and provide opportunities to seek the views of counterparts on key issues and questions. Bilateral exchange programmes have occurred between the USA and the UK and the UK and Australia. The New Zealand intelligence community's Diversity and Inclusion Strategy recognizes that its Five Eyes partners have also been challenged to deal with gender diversity, and cites public comments from UK intelligence leaders on the importance of gender diversity. Such sharing can create informal norms among intelligence services and enable them to institute good practices as a way to maintain their status with allies.

Sources: Government of the United Kingdom (2016) "Government response to the Intelligence and Security Committee of Parliament report on Women in the UK Intelligence Community", London: Cabinet Office; Government Communications Security Bureau and New Zealand Security Intelligence Service (2017) "Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2017–2020", Wellington: New Zealand Government.

4.5 Recruiting women and other groups underrepresented in intelligence services

Any gender equality and diversity strategy should address the cultural and structural obstacles preventing recruitment, retention and promotion of women and other underrepresented groups. The starting point should be evaluating how potential recruits are targeted, and shaping new recruitment strategies to appeal to women and other underrepresented groups. Boxes 5 and 11 provide examples of approaches to increase the recruitment of women, focusing on women studying STEM. Box 12 discusses actively recruiting LGBTI staff, as part of a broader diversity strategy.

Good practices

- ✦ Undertake an assessment, using sex- and age-disaggregated data and integrating a gender perspective, to understand barriers to the recruitment of underrepresented groups, including women and LGBTI people.
- ✦ Use the assessment to design strategies to attract more recruits from the targeted groups.
- ✦ Set clear representation targets for recruitment campaigns.
- ✦ Test and implement strategies to attract more diverse recruits, including using different forms of media, recruiters and recruitment materials.
- ✦ Monitor and review the effectiveness of the new recruitment strategies.

Box 11: The New Zealand Government Communications Security Bureau's strategies to recruit more women

In New Zealand the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) has recognized that its inability to meet its gender equality targets is related to the high number of men pursuing careers in STEM subjects, compared to women. As of June 2017, while women composed 44 per cent of the staff of the Security Intelligence Service, only 36 per cent of the staff of the GCSB and 20 per cent of STEM staff were female.

To increase the number of female graduates in its annual intakes, the GCSB developed a plan to:

- ✦ undertake more targeted marketing
- ✦ continue the GCSB's tertiary scholarships programme targeting women in STEM subjects
- ✦ develop a structured communication campaign for the graduate programme through the web and social media, and promote the graduate programme to young women on the back of the scholarship programme
- ✦ provide resources and support through sponsorship for STEM events at schools and universities.

Sources: Government Communications Security Bureau and New Zealand Security Intelligence Service (2017) "Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2017–2020", Wellington: New Zealand Government; New Zealand Government Communications Security Bureau (2018) "Let's talk about why we need more women in STEM", 1 June, <https://www.gcsb.govt.nz/news/lets-talk-about-why-we-need-more-women-in-stem/>.

Box 12: The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) gender and diversity initiatives

In 2012 the then Director of the CIA, David H. Petraeus, was concerned by the unusually low percentage of women promoted to senior levels. He commissioned an advisory group to examine why more women were not in positions of greater responsibility. Director Petraeus asked Madeleine Albright, the former Secretary of State and a member of the CIA's External Advisory Board, to investigate systemic obstacles to women's advancement and provide recommendations for initiatives to increase women's promotion to senior leadership positions, establishing the Director's Advisory Group on Women in Leadership. The Advisory Group's investigation included a CIA-wide survey as well as more than 30 focus groups and interviews. Their assessment was that "there was no single reason why CIA women are not achieving promotions and positions of greater responsibility and that organizational and societal challenges factor into the issues affecting women" (CIA, 2013: 1). The Advisory Group proposed a set of recommendations that the CIA could focus on to increase women's representation at leadership levels, under the following themes.

1. Establish clear promotion criteria.
2. Expand the pool of nominees for promotion.
3. Provide relevant demographic data to promotion panels.
4. Establish an equity assurance representative role on panels.
5. Reduce and streamline career development tools.
6. Provide actionable and timely feedback to all employees.
7. Develop future leaders.
8. Unlock talent through workplace flexibility.
9. Promote sponsorship.

In its latest Diversity and Inclusion Strategy, diversity and inclusion are part of a training programme used across the CIA to instil the desired mind-set and culture into all officers. Moreover, diversity and inclusion are identified as learning expectations and objectives for middle and senior management.

Staff of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities and expressions are now actively recruited to and supported within the CIA. The CIA has established bodies for staff representation and support in the form of Agency Reference Groups, which are cohorts of employees with common attributes and/or goals. These are formally recognized by CIA leaders as giving voice to an identifiable group of officers, and are charged with strengthening collaboration, guidance, support and understanding among staff. In 1996 the Agency Network of Gay and Lesbian Employees was established and the CIA's first Gay Pride event was held. In 2012 the network led on CIA efforts to conduct outreach to the broader gay community, and held its first public LGBT Summit to attract people of any sexual orientation to the service. The CIA has produced a YouTube video outlining the cultural shift that has occurred within the agency since the signing of Executive Order 12968, which extended to LGBT officers the right to obtain security clearance and serve openly in the Federal Government.

Sources: CIA (2013) "Director's Advisory Group on Women in Leadership unclassified report", Washington, DC: CIA; CIA (2016) "CIA Diversity and Inclusion Strategy (2016–2019)", Washington, DC: CIA; CIA (2016) "Angle of ascent", YouTube channel, 6 December.

4.6 Mechanisms to prevent and respond to gender-related complaints

Intelligence services must have policies and structures to prohibit, prevent and respond effectively to sexual harassment, exploitation and abuse, gender discrimination and any other human rights abuse related to gender. Employees of intelligence services should not be bound by demands of secrecy that prevent them from fighting discrimination or abuse when it occurs. When such misconduct occurs, staff must have the right to seek resolution without fear of further retaliation, and there must be trusted complaints mechanisms by which to do so. They should be supported through the complaints process. For example, the Australian Security and Intelligence Organization has an internal network of harassment and discrimination advisers.

Complaint mechanisms can be internal, but there should always also be external independent paths by which to make complaints. These might involve public sector unions and independent oversight committees, as well as legal action.*

Good practices

- ◆ Ensure leadership in supporting the complaints system.
- ◆ Ensure that laws, directives, policies and codes of conduct explicitly prevent gender-based discrimination, harassment, bullying and abuse.
- ◆ Provide education and training on complaints processes.
- ◆ Encourage reporting of and responding to gender-related complaints.
- ◆ Provide different ways to lodge a complaint.
- ◆ Provide support for victims.
- ◆ Ensure effective and fair investigation of gender-related complaints.
- ◆ Have special mechanisms for the investigation of criminal acts of sexual harassment and abuse.
- ◆ Monitor the handling of gender-related complaints.
- ◆ Learn from complaints.

Box 13: Responding to claims of discrimination, harassment and bullying in Canada

The Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) faced legislative questioning and a court case after five employees alleged that officials displayed systemic discrimination, harassment and bullying against staff. The case was settled out of court, with more than US\$30 million paid in damages.

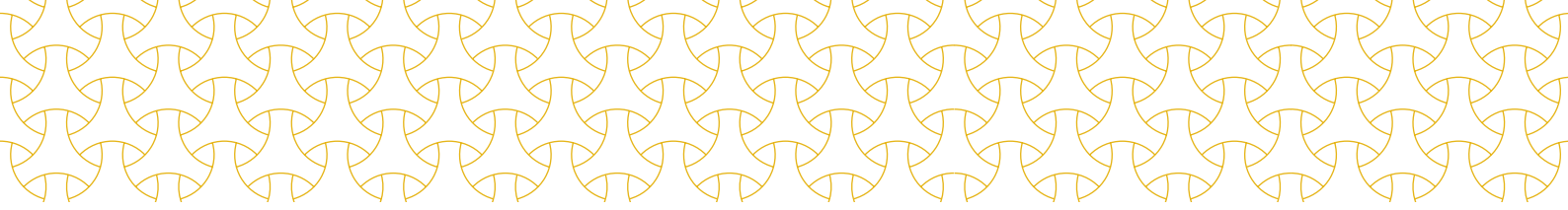
The allegations spurred the CSIS to conduct an independent investigation of office culture and staff behaviour; the results were made public and discussed with the responsible Minister for Public Safety. The independent investigation found widespread employee dissatisfaction and fear of reprisals in one office, with unacceptable actions including bullying and inappropriate comments and behaviour. With the publication of the report, the Minister for Public Safety tasked the heads of the intelligence services to prepare a summary of actions to ensure that their workplaces are free from harassment, and to outline their plans moving forward and the challenges they face in making progress.

Source: J. Bronskill (2017) "CSIS director calls behaviour 'unacceptable' after report uncovers bullying, reprisals", The Globe & Mail, 25 October.

* For further guidance on complaints mechanisms within the security sector see DCAF's *Handbook on Gender and Complaints Mechanisms*, Geneva: DCAF, 2015.



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5. Guiding questions for institutional self-assessment

The following guiding questions for institutional self-assessment are intended as a starting point for an intelligence service to assess how it can better integrate a gender perspective and contribute to gender equality. The table outlines the kinds of data that would need to be gathered and processed, and some possible steps for improvement.

This is not an exhaustive set of questions, and it should be developed and adapted for any context. Users are encouraged to add further questions appropriate to how gender is currently considered and addressed within their institution.

Questions	Sources of information to be collected and analysed	Examples of how to improve on weaknesses
Does the intelligence service have a clearly defined mission, mandate and tasking that includes respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Laws and regulations governing the intelligence service ✦ Annual reports of intelligence services and intelligence oversight bodies ✦ Policy papers recognizing gender equality, including mission statements and codes of ethics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Draft/revise intelligence legislation ✦ Initiate policy review ✦ Provide training to and share information and assessments with oversight committees, civil society, journalists and intelligence community on national security and gender equality
Does the intelligence sector have bodies mandated to hold it accountable for its commitments to gender equality?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Mandates of internal and external oversight mechanisms, e.g. intelligence oversight committees, ombuds institutions and NHRIs ✦ Oversight bodies' reports and investigations detailing questions and recommendations on gender equality ✦ Actions by the services in response to recommendations to ensure the promotion of gender equality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Empower national legislatures and independent oversight bodies to hold the intelligence sector to account for its obligations to promote gender equality ✦ Establish a gender equality strategy for intelligence services that provides for dedicated monitoring by oversight bodies throughout its implementation
Does the intelligence service integrate gender in all aspects of the intelligence cycle?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Intelligence tasking records that show gender considerations ✦ Operational plans with strategies for risk mitigation that include gendered impacts ✦ Collection of raw data that integrate a gender perspective ✦ Gender-sensitive analyses and intelligence products ✦ Information dissemination plans that include gender considerations; gender-sensitive information sharing ✦ Feedback on intelligence products that includes gender 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Develop internal tools for tasking that include gender ✦ Develop operational planning methodologies and training that include consideration of the gendered impacts of intelligence operations ✦ Ensure that raw data include the perspectives of men and women ✦ Develop and provide training on integrating a gender perspective into analysis and the use of gender indicators ✦ Train policy-makers and executives on gender and intelligence and the importance of integrating a gender perspective

Image: A Cameroonian intelligence officer refines her group's Modified Combined Obstacle Overlay - a visual depiction of terrain and key features - as part of intelligence preparation of the operational environment during a regional all-female basic intelligence course, Tunis, 2019 © USAFRICOM.

Questions	Sources of information to be collected and analysed	Examples of how to improve on weaknesses
Does the intelligence sector utilize gender indicators in its assessments and analysis, including in planning and executing operations?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Publicly available assessments, including sex-disaggregated data and gender indicators ✦ Gender analysis tools ✦ Internal training on gender analysis tools ✦ Examples of how gender analysis is used to guide operational planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Develop and provide training on integrating a gender perspective into analysis and the use of gender indicators ✦ Promote awareness on the benefits of integrating a gender perspective into assessments
Does the intelligence sector actively prioritize gender equality?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Diversity and inclusion studies and strategies developed ✦ Investigations and reports by oversight bodies that include gender and diversity challenges and actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Undertake gender and diversity assessment or audit ✦ Create gender diversity goals and an action plan ✦ Monitor and report on progress towards achieving gender diversity goals
Does the intelligence service actively promote the recruitment of women in all areas of operation?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Recruitment materials ✦ Public outreach programmes ✦ Women's representation on recruitment panels ✦ Gender and diversity training provided to recruitment panels ✦ Educational support and tertiary education grants provided 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Review recruitment policies, processes and materials to ensure best practices in attracting and engaging female staff and staff of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities and expressions ✦ Promote positive role models of women in intelligence and proactively challenge gender stereotypes ✦ Ensure both male and female recruiters at all points in the recruitment process ✦ Ensure that recruitment panels have gender diversity training and knowledge on gender equality targets ✦ Promote awareness on the importance of workforce gender diversity
Does the intelligence service actively make efforts to prevent and address systemic gender-based discrimination?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Diversity and inclusion studies and strategies developed to include senior promotion targets and actions ✦ Sex-disaggregated employment data available ✦ Investigations and reports of oversight bodies include actions to achieve gender equality and types of efforts made by the service 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Set gender equality targets across all leadership levels and business areas ✦ Establish working groups and/or advisory panels to deal with gender-based discrimination
Do human resources policies include the specific needs of women?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Human resources policies that include maternity and paternity leave, benefits for spouses (regardless of sex), flexible working provision, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Undertake gender assessment of human resources policies ✦ Initiate staff consultation processes on human resources needs for staff, including men, women and LGBTI personnel
Do staff working in the intelligence sector have sufficient knowledge and skills to advance gender equality and integrate a gender perspective?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Percentage of staff who have completed gender and diversity training ✦ Diversity and gender targets included in senior management job descriptions and performance evaluations ✦ Internal hearings/ complaints on gender-based discrimination addressed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Mandatory gender, diversity and bias training for all employees ✦ Use diversity and gender awareness targets for management ✦ Ensure that all staff have the skills to deal with harassment and discrimination in the workplace through training and knowledge of procedures



6. Additional resources

Websites

CIA Library, Document collection, “From typist to trailblazer: The evolving view of women in the CIA’s workforce”, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/collection/typist-trailblazer>

DCAF, “Gender and security”, <https://www.dcaf.ch/gender-and-security>

DCAF, SSR Backgrounder Series, <http://ssrbackgrounders.org>

European Institute for Gender Equality, “Gender stakeholder consultation”

OSCE/ODIHR, “Human rights, gender and the security sector”, <https://www.osce.org/odihr/human-rights-gender-and-the-security-sector>

Privacy International, “Gender”, <https://privacyinternational.org/topics/gender>

UN Women, “Peace and security”, <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security>

Guides and handbooks

Bastick, Megan (2014) *Integrating Gender into Oversight of the Security Sector by Ombuds Institutions & National Human Rights Institutions*, Geneva: DCAF, OSCE, OSCE/ODIHR.

Bastick, Megan (2015) *Handbook on Gender and Complaints Mechanisms*, Geneva: DCAF.

Born, Hans and Aidan Wills (eds) (2012) *Overseeing Intelligence Services: A Toolkit*, Geneva: DCAF.

DCAF (2017) “Intelligence services” and “Intelligence oversight”, SSR Backgrounder Series, Geneva: DCAF.

Open Society Justice Initiative and Open Society Foundations (2013) *The Global Principles on National Security and the Right to Information (Tshwane Principles)*, New York: Open Society Justice Initiative and Open Society Foundations.

OSCE (2019) *Understanding Referral Mechanisms in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization That Lead to Terrorism, Navigating Challenges and Protecting Human Rights, A Guidebook for South-Eastern Europe*, Vienna: OSCE.

Image: Participants from the Afghan Ministry of Interior, the Department of Police Intelligence, Kabul City Police Criminal Investigation Department and Police Districts in Kabul participate in a EUPOL training to support the development of the intelligence-led policing, 2013
© European External Action Service.

OSCE (2019) *Understanding the Role of Gender in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization That Lead to Terrorism: Good Practices for Law Enforcement*, Vienna: OSCE.

Schmeidl, Susanne (2002) *Gender and Conflict Early Warning: A Framework for Action*, London/Bern: International Alert and Swiss Peace.

UN Women (2012) *Gender-Responsive Early Warning: Overview and How-to Guide*, New York: UN Women.

Women for Women International (2019) *Beyond Consultations: A Tool for Meaningfully Engaging with Women in Fragile and Conflict-Affected States*, London: Women for Women International.

Articles, reports and podcasts

Davies, Sara E., Sarah Teitt and Zim Nwokora (2014) "Bridging the gap: Early warning, gender and the responsibility to protect", *Cooperation and Conflict*, 50(2), pp. 228–249.

MacIntosh, Elizabeth P. (1989) "The role of women in intelligence", McLean, VA: Association of Former Intelligence Officers.

OSCE/OSCE/ODIHR (2013) "Women and terrorist radicalization: Final report", Vienna: OSCE.

OSCE/ODIHR (2009) "Gender and early warning systems", Warsaw: OSCE/ODIHR.

OSCE/ODIHR (2018) "Guidelines for addressing the threats and challenges of 'foreign terrorist fighters' within a human rights framework", Warsaw: OSCE/ODIHR.

Privacy International (2018) "From oppression to liberation: Reclaiming the right to privacy", London: Privacy International.

Recorded Future (2017) "Women in intelligence: Navigating a male-dominated field", podcast, 14 August, <https://www.recordedfuture.com/podcast-episode-19/> (accessed 22 November 2019).

Ziegler, Maseena (2012) "Why the best spies in Mossad and the CIA are women", *Forbes*, 30 September.

