PREVENTING CONFLICT TRANSFORMING JUSTICE SECURING THE PEACE

A Global Study on the
Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325

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FOREWORD

Ban Ki-moon
United Nations Secretary-General

Fifteen years ago, Security Council resolution 1325 reaffirmed the importance of the equal participation and full involvement of women in all efforts for maintaining and promoting peace and security. In the years since, it has buttressed this decision by adopting six further resolutions on women, peace and security.

I am personally committed to implementing these resolutions. I have highlighted women's leadership in peacebuilding as a priority and appointed an unprecedented number of women leaders in the United Nations. It is essential to ensure that the UN is fit for purpose when it comes to women, peace and security, and that we become a model for all actors to emulate.

Women's leadership and the protection of women's rights should always be at the forefront—and never an afterthought—in promoting international peace and security. In an era when armed extremist groups place the subordination of women at the top of their agenda, our response should be unwavering support for empowering girls and women. The newly adopted 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development reflects this priority with its emphasis on gender equality and respect for the human rights of all.

The Global Study on the implementation of resolution 1325 is an important part of the United Nations global agenda for change to better serve the world's most vulnerable people. As noted by the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations and the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture, changes in conflict may be outpacing the ability of United Nations peace operations to respond effectively. Any reforms must include gender equality and women's leadership as central ingredients.

The Global Study offers new evidence, ideas and good practices that can help generate new commitments and implement old ones. Let us not squander the potential dividends of gender equality for peace and development. Empowering women to end and prevent conflicts is essential and urgent.

I commend this Study. It is a call to action that all should heed.

FOREWORD

Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka
United Nations Under-Secretary-General and Executive Director of UN Women

Resolution 1325 was one of the crowning achievements of the global women's movement and one of the most inspired decisions of the United Nations Security Council. The recognition that peace is inextricably linked with gender equality and women's leadership was a radical step for the highest body tasked with the maintenance of international peace and security. Turning the Security Council's words into actions and real change has been a central pillar of UN Women's work since the entity was created, and the driving passion of many other actors since the resolution was adopted as a global norm in 2000.

And yet there remains a crippling gap between the ambition of our commitments and actual political and financial support. We struggle to bridge the declared intent of international policymaking and the reality of domestic action in the many corners of the world where resolution 1325 is most needed.

UN Women was privileged to be tasked by the Secretary-General with helping to prepare this Global Study. We are grateful to its independent lead author, Ms. Radhika Coomaraswamy, her advisory board, and all the member States, academics, non-governmental organizations, and UN bodies that supported this effort. The preparation process involved consultations all over the world, the provision of ideas as well as technical inputs and information, and commentary on and review of drafts. We hope that this Study will stimulate discussion and be followed by concrete commitments, resources, political will, policy shifts, and accountability at all levels.

This Study reinforces the Security Council's original crucial recognition of the power of engaging women in peace with compelling proof. It shows that women's participation and inclusion makes humanitarian assistance more effective, strengthens the protection efforts of our peacekeepers, contributes to the conclusion of peace talks and the achievement of sustainable peace, accelerates economic recovery, and helps counter violent extremism. This Study, and a growing evidence base, make the implementation of resolution 1325 even more urgent and needed.

The Study adds two more important elements that will help us push this agenda forward. It compiles multiple examples of good practice that should become the standard requirement for all. In addition, it takes a hard look at implementation and enforcement, and the missing incentives and accountability measures that should nudge all actors into complying with these norms and living up to their promises. What emerges from these ideas is an explicit and ambitious roadmap for the way forward on women, peace and security. We have an enormous responsibility to ensure that the normative framework spurred by resolution 1325 is not just given periodic visibility and attention, but that it lies at the heart of the UN's work on peace and security.

This year, we celebrate 15 years of resolution 1325 and 20 years since the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. We have a new momentum towards the recognition of gender equality and women's empowerment at the heart of sustainable progress for all, with the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Many actors are coming to the table with new energy, new ideas, and new commitments, and we have seen other policy reviews, from our development goals to our peace operations and our peacebuilding architecture, emphasize the centrality of gender equality. This is an important opportunity to shape the way in which we address our global challenges in the next decades. Let us make the most of it.

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CONTENTS

00
4 | *Foreword*
5 | *Foreword*
6 | *Acknowledgements*
10 | *Acronyms*
13 | *Executive Summary*

01
18 | *Setting the Context*

02
26 | *The Normative Framework for Women, Peace and Security*

03
36 | *Women's Participation and a Better Understanding of the Political*

04
64 | *Protecting and Promoting the Rights and Leadership of Women and Girls in Humanitarian Settings*

05
98 | *Toward an Era of Transformative Justice*

06
130 | *Keeping the Peace in an Increasingly Militarized World*

07
164 | *Building Inclusive and Peaceful Societies in the Aftermath of Conflict*

08 190 | *Preventing Conflict: The Origins of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda*

09 220 | *Countering Violent Extremism While Respecting the Rights and Autonomy of Women and their Communities*

10 234 | *Key Actors for Women, Peace and Security: Monitoring and Accountability*

11 322 | *Women, Peace and Security and the UN Security Council*

12 346 | *Linkages between Human Rights Mechanisms and the Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security: Opportunities for Enhanced Accountability for Implementation*

13 368 | *Financing of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda*

14 392 | *General Guidelines and Recommendations*

398 | *Annex – Full List of Technical Recommendations*

ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
CAR	Central African Republic
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
COI	Commissions of Inquiry
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRSV	Conflict-Related Sexual Violence
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DFS	Department of Field Support
DPA	Department of Political Affairs
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EEAS	European External Action Service
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)
FAS	Femmes Africa Solidarité
GA	General Assembly
GAI	Global Acceleration Instrument on women, peace and security and humanitarian engagement
GCTF	Global Counter-Terrorism Forum
GNI	Gross National Income
GNWP	Global Network of Women Peacebuilders
HRC	Human Rights Commission
HSC	Human Security Collective
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
ICAN	International Civil Society Action Network
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IPI	International Peace Institute
ISFs	Integrated Strategic Frameworks

ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
Isis-WICCE	Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange
JRR	Justice Rapid Response
LPC	Local Peace Committee
MARA	Monitoring, Analysis and Reporting Arrangements
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MINUSCA	UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic
MINUSMA	UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MPTF	Multi-Partner Trust Fund
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
NAP	National Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDF	National Democratic Front
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NHRIs	National Human Rights Institutions
ODIHR	OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OHCHR	United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PBSO	Peacebuilding Support Office
PDAs	Peace and Development Advisors
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
PEP	Post-exposure Prophylaxis
PHR	Physicians for Human Rights
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
PNG	Papua New Guinea
POC	Protection of Civilians
RAP	Regional Action Plan
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SEA	Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-based Violence
SHaSA	Strategy for the Harmonization of Statistics in Africa
SRSG-SVC	Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict
SLA	Sudanese Liberation Army

SRF	Strategic Results Framework
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary General
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UPR	Universal Periodic Review
UN-INSTRAW	UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
UN-SWAP	UN System-Wide Action Plan on Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNAMID	United Nations–African Union Mission in Darfur
UNCT	United Nations Country Team
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force In Lebanon
UNMAS	United Nations Mine Action Service
UNMEER	United Nations Mission for Ebola Emergency Response
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNMIT	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
UNOCI	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
UNOTIL	United Nations Office in Timor- Leste
UNPBF	United Nations Peacebuilding Fund
UNPOL	United Nations Police Force
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
WFP	World Food Program
WHRD	Women's Human Rights Defender
WPP	Women Peacemakers Program
WPS	Women, Peace and Security
WRC	Women's Refugee Commission

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

To mark the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1325 (2000), the Security Council adopted resolution 2122 (2013) inviting the Secretary-General to conduct a review with regard to the implementation of resolution 1325. The review was to identify the gaps and challenges, as well as emerging trends and priorities for action. It requested the Secretary-General to thereafter submit a report based on the findings of this review to the Security Council in October 2015. The Secretary-General requested Radhika Coomaraswamy to be the lead author of the study on the recommendation of the United Nations Standing Committee on Women, Peace and Security. UN Women was requested to be the secretariat of the study. A High-Level Advisory Group was constituted from all regions of the world to assist Ms. Coomaraswamy.

It was decided that Ms. Coomaraswamy would lead a comprehensive study with regard to developments in the fifteen-year period since resolution 1325 was adopted. Ms. Coomaraswamy and the members of her High-Level Advisory Group held consultations with a diverse group of stakeholders, in all regions of the world. In addition, UN Women commissioned research papers for the Global Study, which will be published separately in an accompanying volume. More than 60 Member States, international and regional organizations responded to requests for submissions to the Global Study and 47 civil society organizations, academics and research institutes provided inputs via a public website. A survey of civil society organizations generated responses from 317 organizations in 71 countries.

The world has changed since the Security Council adopted resolution 1325 in October 2000. The nature of conflict in certain regions is qualitatively different, the content of what we mean by 'peace' and 'security' is evolving, and the understanding of what we mean by 'justice' has also transformed. This ever-changing and ever evolving reality poses major dilemmas for the four pillars of Security Council resolution 1325 and its subsequent resolutions: the pillars of prevention, protection, participation, and peacebuilding and recovery. It is in this context of a changing world and shifting dynamics for peace and security, that the Global Study undertakes a fifteen-year review of the implementation of resolution 1325.

Although the world has changed, there have been a number of successes in implementation over the past fifteen years.

- The international community has adopted a comprehensive normative framework with regard to sexual violence in conflict. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court that came into force in 2002 outlines a comprehensive list of crimes against women. Since the 1990s, international courts and tribunals have developed sophisticated jurisprudence with regard to these crimes. The Security Council has also acted decisively—a Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict has been appointed by the Secretary-General to report to the Council, and a monitoring and reporting mechanism has been established at the local level to report on sexual violence against women and girls in conflict situations on the agenda of the Security Council. Commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions set up by the Human Rights Council increasingly have a mandate to investigate sexual and gender-based violence, and a roster of experts exists within the international community to support the investigation of these international crimes.

- The international community and national governments have begun to understand the importance of national and communal healing

as a part of holistic justice and accountability processes, including truth seeking, reconciliation, memorialization and reparations for women victims of violations.

- The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women adopted General Recommendation 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations, which provides detailed guidance to Member States on issues related to women, peace and security and the criteria for accountability, and makes clear that implementing resolution 1325 is the responsibility of every Member State.

- Between 1990 and 2000, when the Security Council adopted 1325, just 11 per cent of peace agreements signed included a reference to women. Since the adoption of resolution 1325, 27 per cent of peace agreements have referenced women. Of the six agreements resulting from peace talks or national dialogue processes supported by the UN in 2014, 67 per cent contained references relevant to women, peace and security.

- The number of senior women leaders within the UN has been on the rise, from special envoys of the Secretary-General, to the first female commander of a peacekeeping mission.

- Bilateral aid on gender equality to fragile States has quadrupled in the last decade—but from a practically non-existent level, at the start.

However, much of the progress toward the implementation of resolution 1325 continues to be measured in 'firsts,' rather than as standard practice. Obstacles and challenges still persist and prevent the full implementation of the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda.

- With regard to sexual violence, despite the comprehensive normative framework, there are very few actual prosecutions, particularly at the national level. Though some argue that the normative frameworks have deterred future crimes, others claim that there has been no significant difference for women on the ground. More research is needed to validate these claims and respond to the justice needs of victims.

- Though the participation of women in formal peace processes has been inching up, a study of 31 major peace processes between 1992 and 2011 revealed that only nine per cent of negotiators were women—a negligible figure given the issues that are involved. Only three per cent of the military in UN missions are women, and the majority of these are employed as support staff. These two areas of peacemaking and peacekeeping are among the most persistently challenging for ensuring women's equal and meaningful participation.

- Despite a great deal of effort by the international community to encourage Member States to have inclusive processes to formulate national action plans on women, peace and security, only 54 countries have formulated such action plans. Many of these plans are focused on process, with neither mechanisms for accountability nor budgets available for real implementation.

- The rise of violent extremism in many parts of the world has led to a real threat to the lives of women as well as to a cycle of militarization where women are often in an ambivalent position, rejecting the strictures on their conduct by violent extremists but wanting to protect their families and their communities from polarization and threat. Some women also become fighters and join extremist groups, some against their will but many out of real conviction. Women peacebuilders are also caught between the rising tide of extremism in their communities, and the constraints placed upon their work by counter-terrorism policies that restrict their access to critical funds and resources.

- Though there is a great deal of rhetoric supporting women, peace and security, funding for programmes and processes remains abysmally low across all areas of the agenda. Bilateral aid

has increased to fragile States with regard to gender issues, but it is only still six per cent of the total aid package, and only two per cent of aid earmarked for peace and security. The quality of project-style aid also needs restructuring and re-examination.

Confronting the status quo of peace and security, the Global Study sets out detailed recommendations under every chapter and under each theme. It also concludes with a set of general recommendations for policy guidance and advocacy. Discussions and consultations with regard to the Global Study pointed to the following set of principles around which the world should unite:

- **Prevention of conflict must be the priority, not the use of force.** Greater attention must be paid to the prevention of conflict, and the use of force must always be the last resort when all other options have failed. The Global Study emphasizes the importance of short-term prevention measures such as early warning systems and intensified efforts at preemptive dialogue at the local, national and international levels. It also examines measures to address the root causes and structural drivers of conflict, such as exclusion, discrimination, attacks on dignity and structural inequality. These, along with measures dealing with the proliferation of small arms, violent masculinities and climate change should also be implemented.

- **Resolution 1325 is a human rights mandate.** It must not be forgotten that resolution 1325 was conceived of and lobbied for as a human rights resolution that would promote the rights of women in conflict situations. Any policy or programme on women, peace and security must be conducted with this in mind. Attempts to 'securitize' issues and to use women as instruments in military strategy must be consistently discouraged. The Global Study explores the role of human rights mechanisms in holding Member States accountable for human rights obligations relating to the women, peace and security agenda, including through international treaty bodies, Universal Periodic Reviews, and regional human rights courts and commissions.

- **Women's participation is key to sustainable peace.** This study contains research that comprehensively demonstrates that the participation of women at all levels is key to the operational effectiveness, success and sustainability of peace processes and peacebuilding efforts. Mediators, facilitators and leadership in peace operations must be proactive in including women in all aspects of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. The Global Study describes the substantial increase in frequency of gender-sensitive language in peace agreements, and the number of women, women's groups and gender experts who serve as official negotiators, mediators, signatories, witnesses or in advisory bodies. Nonetheless, in many conflict-affected contexts, women's official participation may be temporary, their delegated roles may be more symbolic than substantive and their influential capacity may be directly resisted by cultural norms.

- **Perpetrators must be held accountable and justice must be transformative.** Perpetrators of grave crimes against women should be held accountable for their actions so that women receive justice and future crimes are deterred. At the same time, justice in conflict and post-conflict settings must be transformative in nature, addressing not only the singular violation experienced by women, but also the underlying inequalities which render women and girls vulnerable during times of conflict and which inform the consequences of the human rights violations they experience. The Global Study explores both the importance of fighting impunity for crimes against women through criminal justice proceedings, while also recognizing the central role played by reparations, truth and reconciliation processes and in ensuring that victims and their communities heal and recover together.

- **Localization of approaches and inclusive and participatory processes are crucial to the success of national and international peace efforts.**

In the area of peacebuilding, there must be a detailed mapping and understanding of local conditions with the participation of women themselves before programmes are designed, formulated or implemented. The 'one-size-fits-all' policy, transferring 'best practices,' is not always what is needed in many situations of conflict. The Global Study describes the peacebuilding period as an opportunity to transform societies and work toward gender equality; to build economies and institutions that recognize and seek to address the specific challenges women face.

- **Supporting women peacebuilders and respecting their autonomy is one important way to counter extremism.** 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. It is clear that military responses alone are insufficient in routing out violent extremism. The Global Study explores how funding and support to women peacebuilders in contexts of rising extremism can play a critical role in ensuring that extremist ideologies neither survive nor thrive.

- **All key actors must play their role**. Member States, regional organizations, the media, civil society and youth all have a vital role to play in working together to implement the women, peace and security agenda, and holding one another accountable to commitments. The Global Study explores the successes and challenges that each set of actors has faced over the past 15 years, and sets expectations for carrying the WPS agenda into the future.

- **A gender lens must be introduced into all aspects of the work of the Security Council.** The Security Council must continue its work on the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda, and in order to do so, requires additional support and information. The Global Study explores avenues to better inform the work of the Security Council on implementation, from more robust sanctions, to more frequent briefings from civil society, to closer exchanges with the Human Rights Council, to the creation of an informal expert group on women, peace and security.

- **The persistent failure to adequately finance the women, peace and security agenda must be addressed.** The failure to allocate sufficient resources and funds has been perhaps the most serious and unrelenting obstacle to implementation of women, peace and security commitments over the past 15 years. This lack of financing may be somewhat overcome if Member States, regional organizations and the UN system all commit to earmarking a minimum of 15 per cent of all funding relating to peace and security for programmes whose principal objective is to address women's specific needs and advance gender equality. The Global Study further recommends an increase in predictable, accessible and flexible funding for women's civil society organizations working on peace and security at all levels, including through dedicated financing instruments such as the new Global Acceleration Instrument on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Action.

- **A strong gender architecture at the United Nations is essential.** The Study is clear: the United Nations must play the lead role in creating a peaceful and secure world for all of us—holding true to its original vision to turn 'swords into plowshares.' To do so, the UN must adopt structural changes to capitalize on its available resources for women, peace and security, and ensure that the entire system moves forward in a coherent and coordinated manner to bring gender equality and women's empowerment into the core of its work in all areas. To this end, the Study makes key recommendations, including the following:

  - An Assistant Secretary-General, with dedicated resources, should be appointed at UN Women to deal with crises, conflict and emergencies, after a full re-

appraisal of UN Women's work in headquarters and the field on women, peace and security.

- Greater resources must also be allocated to UN Women in general, to support its work in conflict settings.

- There must be a senior gender advisor at the D1 level in the office of every Special Representative of the Secretary-General, with hybrid technical gender experts in thematic units.

- The gender divisions of DPKO and DPA at headquarters should be strengthened.

- UN Women, DPKO and DPA should jointly provide technical, political and policy expertise to the gender staffing of peacekeeping and special political missions.

- There should be discussion with all stakeholders with regard to the feasibility of setting up an International Tribunal for Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by UN peacekeepers and UN staff in the field. This issue remains the major controversy that brings the UN, and the entire international community, into disrepute in the eyes of public opinion.

The Global Study concludes, not with a recommendation, but with a call to action. **The great changes we are undergoing must primarily be understood in the context of the needs and concerns of women in specific situations of conflict**. The 'local' must clearly be the most important factor in our analysis. Nevertheless, women spoke with one voice from every continent to convey a key message to the Security Council: the United Nations must take the lead in stopping the process of militarization and militarism that began in 2001 in an ever-increasing cycle of conflict. The normalization of violence at the local, national and international levels must cease. Networks of women peacebuilders and peacemakers must be expanded and supported to come to the fore. Their solidarity is essential if we are to move the world toward the original vision of the United Nations, where nations turn their 'swords into plowshares' and act with conviction to prevent wars through dialogue and discussion.

01

SETTING THE CONTEXT

"Equality between women and men is inextricably linked to peace and security."

Ambassador **Anwarul Chowdhury**,
High-Level Advisory Group for the Global Study, UN Women Video Interview, 2015

The world has changed since the Security Council adopted resolution 1325 in October 2000. The nature of conflict in certain regions is qualitatively different, the content of what we mean by peace and security is evolving, and the understanding of what we mean by justice has also transformed. This ever-changing and ever-evolving reality poses major dilemmas for the four pillars of Security Council resolution 1325 and its subsequent resolutions: the pillars of prevention, participation, protection, and peacebuilding and recovery. It is in this context that the Global Study undertakes a fifteen-year review of resolution 1325. It looks at the gaps that need to be filled as well as the need to revisit some fundamental assumptions.

THE NATURE OF CONFLICT HAS CHANGED

Since World War II, the actual number of conflicts and the number of civilians affected by conflict has drastically reduced. And yet it is public perception that the world is in the midst of an unprecedented, devastating state of conflict and crisis. One reason for this is that the global media and advances in communication technology have brought the stark reality of existing conflicts into people's living rooms and workplaces, thereby raising awareness about the scale of destruction, and the pain and suffering of civilian casualties. Our interconnectedness, therefore, makes it appear that conflict is extremely devastating and never-ending.

Secondly, conflicts in many parts of the world are also more protracted. In these situations, for civilians living in these areas, violence has been normalized, warlords become role models, the economy is unregulated and States remain fragile for long periods of time. These protracted conflicts destroy civilian life. Criminal action becomes prevalent as drug trafficking, human trafficking and smuggling and corruption begin to dominate public life. Rapacious industries dealing with raw materials also mark their entry. Private security firms, paramilitaries and other shadowy armed groups begin to appear often splintering from main rebel formations. The level of insecurity makes ordinary everyday life a struggle and survival is everyone's preoccupation.

Thirdly, since 2001, the nature of conflict in certain, specific areas of the world has changed in dramatic ways. In fact, **in the survey that was undertaken among civil society organizations for the Global Study, 84 per cent of the respondents stated that the emerging issues of concern were violent extremism and counter-terrorism**. In the 1990s most of the wars were in Africa, linked to a system of fragile States and powerful warlords. Today, there are new types of conflict that directly involve civilian populations in an unprecedented manner.

While terrorist acts had been a regular phenomenon even earlier, since 2001 the nature and scale have proved to be destructive to an unprecedented degree. Suicide bombing and explosions aimed at civilian targets seemed to reach a peak in the first decade of the century. Their cruelty and brutality has actually left the international community very shaken but unusually united.

Warfare in certain areas of the world now tends to be even more asymmetrical; rebel groups with rudimentary weapons and explosives fight larger powers with state-of-the-art weaponry. As one woman in a conflict area told us, "the coalition controls the sky, the rebels control the community." As many of the fighters for violent extremist groups involved in these wars are drawn from the community or are their own children, women often find themselves in an ambivalent situation, torn between a need to protect the community and their children and to fight off extremism and its often negative impact on women's rights. Many women, inspired by the discourse of revolution or salvation, are also beginning to join extremist groups in large numbers as warriors and are affected by conflict not only as mothers, daughters and sisters.

In attempting to deal with this growing phenomenon, States have reacted strongly, if not effectively. Within their borders and abroad their strategies have involved a greater use of surveillance and force. Earlier 'acts of terror' were dealt with using police powers, but today it is termed a "War on Terror." This blurring of distinction between human rights under police jurisdiction and the

international humanitarian law of armed conflict has resulted in morbid symptoms for international law and administrative practice. Targeted assassinations, use of aerial bombardment in internal, non-'armed conflict' situations, and extraordinary legislation and executive measures taken for surveillance and detention practices are creating new human rights dilemmas.

These measures may increase a sense of security, and may actually deter attacks, but they also lead to greater polarization and radicalization, as well as to group and individual acts of resistance. In this process many women are forced to remain ambivalent as they watch their community being torn asunder or securitized by polarizing forces. They often do not like the tactics of the extremists but do not want to side with the forces that target their sons, husbands or families or discriminate against them. This ambivalence is seen as complicity by counter-terrorism purists and as inadequate commitment by ardent insurgent fighters.

The period since 2000 has also seen a great deal of technological innovation that is changing the nature of warfare. Though there has been a great deal of positive use of technology to protect populations and to assist in the humanitarian effort, the technology of weapons used in conflict is much more devastating. Unmanned aerial weapons of war, new types of aircrafts and new types of ground to surface weapons have posed new and unforeseeable dilemmas for women living in warzones. This is a decade where brutal 'in your face' beheadings of individuals co-exist side by side with the clinical targeting of places and individuals where women are mere numbers in what is termed 'collateral damage.' So, women in this century can be brutally gang raped and mutilated in one continent, requiring individual survivor assistance, while being treated as merely an anonymous, clinical number in another.

Today's wars, whether in fighting traditional civil wars or engaging in asymmetrical warfare, have resulted in the largest number of IDPs and refugees since World War II, leading to terrible humanitarian consequences. This is made more difficult by the fact that sacrosanct humanitarian spaces and the neutrality of humanitarian actors is not always respected, leaving civilian populations deeply vulnerable with little chance of survival except as a refugee or an IDP. In these contexts, older women often come forward as peacebuilders and humanitarian actors, as they are often the only people who have the legitimacy and trust of all sides to do humanitarian work.

In making these criticisms, one cannot be blind to certain imminent threats posed by violent extremist groups from diverse ethnic and religious groups who do not recognize dissent, democracy or the rights of women. However, the overwhelming opinion of women living in those areas, as well as women practitioners working in the field, was that force alone cannot be the answer. There must be greater emphasis on prevention, more empowerment of women peacebuilders while respecting their autonomy, and more resources placed to make strategies of prevention realizable. Conflicts must be prevented, and if they are inevitable, they must become more humane.

THE NATURE OF ROOT CAUSES HAS CHANGED

While the practices of war have changed in some parts of the world, so have many of the perceived 'root causes.' While the wars immediately after World War II were nationalist wars or political wars based on political ideology, many of today's wars are religious or ethnic in origin. They are firmly in the realm of identity politics and in their most extreme form, deeply conservative and reactionary toward women and their rights.

In 2000 when resolution 1325 was adopted, the major issues facing women in situations of conflict were the brute force of sexual violence, losing children or loved ones to the conflict, being forced to or voluntarily becoming a combatant, and/or leaving one's possessions as vulnerable refugees or internally displaced persons. Today all these concerns remain, but in addition, in certain wars, women's concerns have become more dire while, at the same time, the nature of warfare invades their most private spaces, those spaces in the family and the community where their sense of identity and security are deeply threatened. In every one of these new situations they are faced with

> *For civilians living in these areas, violence has been normalized, warlords become role models, the economy is unregulated and the States remain fragile for long periods of time.*

stark, impossible choices and, as a result, they are often constantly living in a state of insecurity and ambivalence.

While identity politics has become dominant, some of the other underlying root causes of conflict, from discrimination to climate change, still remain and they are consistent problems that require long-term structural changes. Donor policies that emphasize the 'project' only provide a Band-Aid and sometimes prevent societies from addressing these issues with far-sighted policies. Some of the issues concerning women will take decades of diligent, consistent practice to change. The international community should address its mind to these long-term structural issues in a more systematic manner.

MULTILATERAL PROCESSES UNDER STRESS

In 2000 when the Security Council passed resolution 1325, after the wars in Bosnia and Rwanda, the world was a united place especially around issues of women, peace and security as well as children and armed conflict. A great deal of activity resulted from this resolution at the international, national and regional levels. Women, as well as Member States, were galvanized. Finally there were universal standards and best practices to draw from and the possibility of dialogue and communication across countries and cultures. However, since then, although there have been major steps forward with regard to sexual violence, the atmosphere of easy consensus has clearly changed. The political process is far more polarized, both within the Security Council and outside, and decisions are taken at a painstakingly slow pace because of distrust and fears of hidden agendas.

This polarization and distrust have taken a toll on the WPS agenda as well as other thematic items on the agenda of the Council. There is a belief that the momentum behind resolutions such as 1325 are slowing and are resulting in the lowest common denominator, often held hostage to political expediency, as well as political bartering and negotiation. For this reason, there was a belief among stakeholders that the next decade of women, peace and security should not only seek to consolidate gains within the Security Council but also begin to identify other forums and institutions to propel the issues forward.

In this regard, not only other multilateral forums linked to the UN, but, also, regional organizations and sub-regional organizations were identified as those that could assist in ensuring the implementation of resolution 1325. National governments were also called upon to become the primary drivers of 1325 and women's organizations to be adequately funded at the community level to ensure that they hold their governments accountable. UN agencies were also requested to raise the visibility of the issues concerned and create institutional structures at headquarters and the field that will ensure no gap between international norms and their implementation.

FRAGILITY OF STATES AND THE RISE OF NON-STATE ACTORS

While the doctrine of sovereignty is acquiring renewed energy due to recent developments at the international level, the nation state as the foundation of the international system is also under stress. Globalization and global networks impinge on practically every sovereign, national decision and regional, political, economic and social linkages are often even more powerful. Within States, non-State actors sometimes command a great deal of power whether they be multi-national extractive industries or armed groups controlling large swathes of territory. In some contexts, the situation of 'Occupation,' where State-like entities exist without proper international recognition, is also one that is not in the best interest of their civilian population, and that prevents them from having the full protection of international law and international human rights.

Today's wars, whether in fighting traditional civil wars or engaging in asymmetrical warfare, have resulted in the largest number of IDPs and refugees since World War II, leading to terrible humanitarian consequences.

The rise of regional organizations has given a new opportunity for women, peace and security issues to have more focused energy and direction. Both the European Union and the African Union have begun to play an active role on issues relating to women, peace and security. The need to strengthen these developments cannot be overstated and there is hope that the initiatives will spread to other regions.

However, regional organizations also pose their own set of dilemmas for women, peace and security and impinge on national sovereignty in new and unique ways. Consultations in the Middle East, the Caucuses and South Asia with women in the area revelealed a reluctance and wariness with regard to regional organizations, especially when it was felt that one or a few major powers would dominate. In contrast, in Africa and Europe where many of the States wielded equal power, there was a great deal of trust and reliance on regional initiatives. In dealing with issues of peace and security, these factors should also be taken into consideration.

The power of non-State actors in fragile States cannot be underestimated. The main type of non-State actors we see around the world are, of course, armed groups in control of territory who run parallel governments that force taxation and local level regulation. For civilian populations under their control, non-State actors do not really have a clear status under international law. The Velasquez doctrine imposes upon States a duty of due diligence, to ensure that the actions of non-State actors meet with international standards. However, if the writ of the State does not run into the areas controlled by non-State actors, how does one ensure compliance with international standards? How does one measure progress?

Many States prohibit any contact between UN agencies and non-State actors whom they regard as criminal gangs. However, it is important to find a recognized and acceptable way to allow humanitarians to go into territories controlled by non-State actors and engage them on issues relating to the protection of civilians, including women. Direct accountability of non-State actors for war crimes and crimes against humanity exist under the Geneva Conventions, and now under the Rome Statute as well as in Security Council resolutions related to monitoring and reporting. These need to be strengthened so that these actors also feel the full force of the law and the deterrence of punishment.

A different type of non-State actor is the transnational corporate entity. During and after war, weak regulatory frameworks allow for rapacious corporations, especially in extractive industries, to make substantial investments. These industries displace populations, have their own systems of intrusive security, encourage rampant corruption and have enormous influence on government at all levels. Many women and their organizations complained of being displaced and receiving little or no compensation. They are also at the receiving end of violence by private security forces attached to these industries.

DIVERSITY

One clear message that came through in consultations for the Global Study was that the world is a diverse place. The universality of UN norms and values must be understood in that context. Acknowledging diversity requires inclusivity in peacemaking so that women and other marginalized groups are part of any peace process. It also involves recognizing the diverse systems of justice and paths of reconciliation that exist around the world. When engaging in peacebuilding, it requires that we do not adopt a one-size-fits-all policy and that we map local needs and skills in a specific location before we implement programmes.

Recognizing diversity also means understanding diversity among women and the different sets of problems that each category of women face in each context. It also means that when women are included in the peace process, the diversity among them is reflected, and their representation in any formal process is not tokenism or only reflective of the majority will.

NATURE OF 'PEACE' HAS CHANGED

For decades, peace meant mainly the silencing of guns and the renewal of formal politics as the way of governance. Ceasefires and demobilization were the main focus of peace processes. However, today it is recognized that peace is something far more than the 'absence of violence.' Peace has increasingly meant an inclusive political process, a commitment to human rights in the post-war period and an attempt to deal with issues of justice and reconciliation.

Over time, research has shown that sustainable peace is only possible if there is inclusive peacemaking—something that the Global Study clearly proves with regard to women. Earlier research has also shown that along with women's participation, justice and reconciliation are other factors that lead to sustainable peace, and that make programmes operationally effective. **Both inclusivity and justice, therefore, rest on a post-conflict process that privileges human rights as a central element in the post-war architecture.**

> "What's happened in peace and security is that we've completely neglected half of the population, and so, we then become surprised that peace isn't sustainable[...]. And the only way to make something sustainable is to make it indigenous, to make it a cultural change."
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> **Alaa Murabit**, High-Level Advisory Group for the Global Study, UN Women Video Interview, 2015

NATURE OF 'SECURITY' HAS CHANGED

Again, in earlier eras, security too was seen in the context of the 'absence of violence.' **Today, security is seen in a far more expansive way that is not only limited to containing physical violence**. Security also has political, economic and social dimensions. It is both public and private. It means absence of fear but also absence of want. It also implies active agency, to be allowed to participate in the decisions that are made on your behalf. While security in the old paradigm was linked to ensuring the survival of individuals, in recent times it is recognized as a broader term aimed at securing the well-being of individuals and their communities. While women were not a major factor in the earlier definitions of security, current approaches—which include security in the home and the community—make them central actors and stakeholders.

TRANSFORMATIVE JUSTICE

For centuries justice has been seen as the punishment of perpetrators who commit crimes against victims. Colonial legal regimes that form the basis of much of the law around the world also reinforced punitive notions of justice. Given the heinous nature of war crimes and crimes against humanity, one cannot move completely away from punitive notions, since that would mean an acceptance of impunity. In the case of sexual violence, the international community has already spoken loudly and clearly with one voice. However, in recent times, punitive aspects of justice have been augmented by calls for reparations and reconciliation, including the collective search for truth and the preservation of memory. In civil wars, this type of approach is seen as essential for communities to recover and for justice to play a transformative role in the healing process.

THE UN HAS CHANGED

In 2000, the UN was primarily seen as a development organization and UNDP was seen as its primary instrument, especially in the field. Today, with a nine billion dollar budget, UN Peacekeeping seems to have become the core mandate of the UN, though some still resist this change. This thrust into proactive peace operations has caught the organization unawares. The response has often been ad hoc, without systematic planning. A review of United Nations Peace Operations, conducted at the same time as the Global Study, has addressed these issues at length. Women have been affected by this change in the UN's emphasis. They are far below their representation levels in the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, both in headquarters and the field. The issue of sexual abuse by peacekeepers and humanitarian workers still remains a problem for the UN that requires effective and strong action. Finally, the UN's role in the protection of civilians, including women, has now become a paramount concern of Member States and public opinion.

The competition for resources that gives peacekeeping such a large share of the pie also has implications for women around the world, especially those not living in conflict situations. The loss of a heightened focus on development and social and economic rights that are central to the everyday lives of women, means that these priorities within countries that require international support are either not funded or receive less funding than they should.

AN EMPHASIS ON PREVENTION AND A 'NO' TO MILITARIZATION

Reliance on the use of force as the sole means of conflict resolution may, itself, actually create and perpetuate a cycle of violence. This is why women all over the world reiterated that military responses should be used sparingly. As was stated earlier, they argued that prevention and protection through non-violent means should be emphasized more by the international system, and more resources should be dedicated to this endeavor. If force is used, even for the protection of civilians, there must be clarity and clear, attainable objectives.

The great changes we are undergoing must also be understood in the context of the needs and concerns of women in specific situations of conflict. The 'local' must clearly be the most important factor in our analyses. Nevertheless, women spoke with one voice from every continent to convey a key message to the Security Council: the United Nations must take the lead in stopping the process of militarization and militarism that began in 2001 in an ever-increasing cycle of conflict. The normalization of violence at the local, national and international levels must cease. Networks of women peacebuilders and peacemakers must be expanded and supported to come to the fore. Their solidarity is essential if we are to move the world toward the original vision of the United Nations, where nations turn their 'swords into ploughshares' and act with conviction to prevent wars through dialogue and discussion.

02

THE NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

"I don't want the global review [of 1325] to be turned into something nice that nobody has to care about. The global review will be effective if it makes people nervous. It will be effective if somebody's job is assessed as having been done ineffectively, because 1325 is not being effectively implemented."

Cynthia Enloe, Research Professor, Clark University,
UN Women Video Interview, 2015

On 31 October 2000, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. This resolution, with its four pillars of prevention, participation, protection, and peacebuilding and recovery, has become the focal point for galvanizing worldwide efforts to deal with the many challenges that women face in situations of conflict. Member States, UN entities and civil society at the international, regional and national levels have formed partnerships that have moved forward this agenda and created awareness of the normative framework that governs these issues. This in fact is its greatest success.

At the same time, over the last fifteen years, resolution 1325 has been interpreted differently around the world with different nuances and expectations. This was brought out very clearly in consultations for the Global Study. In the countries of the European Union and other western societies, women, peace and security has meant, primarily, the representation of women in the security sector, training of the security sector on women's issues and a strong emphasis on preventing sexual violence in conflict, primarily in Africa. There was a sense that although the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda was moving forward, there was a great deal left to be done.

In Africa and Asia, though many acknowledged the need to deal firmly with impunity and sexual violence, more often the conversation would turn to reparations, livelihoods, and economic empowerment. There was a belief that the normative framework had to be localized and there should be greater attention to mapping what local communities and women actually need. For many of these women, with these aspirations at the local level, nothing really has taken place. For them, resolution 1325 has been a failure.

MANDATE OF THE GLOBAL STUDY

Of the more than 2200 resolutions adopted by the Security Council in its seven decades of history, it is hard to think of one resolution that is better known for its name, number, and content than resolution 1325. It was born out of a truly global constituency of women's organizations and advocates, and became one of its most powerful organizing tools. Its adoption, an historic milestone, was a triumph of decades of activism that culminated in one revolutionary idea—an idea that became a global norm and the official policy of the highest body tasked with the maintenance of international peace and security. **This simple, yet revolutionary idea was the recognition that peace is only sustainable if women are fully included, and that peace is inextricably linked with equality between women and men.**

In the years since the adoption of 1325, the international community has built up an impressive normative framework on women, peace and security, including six subsequent resolutions,[1] and lofty commitments on the part of Member States and the United Nations to advance gender equality. There is much to be applauded. And yet, despite this progress, it can often be challenging to see any improvement in the reality of life for women in conflict-affected settings. During consultations for the Global Study, women ex-combatants in Nepal spoke about not having had any voice in the country's peace negotiations in 2006. Women survivors of sexual violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina explained that they still have not seen justice, decades after the end of the conflict there. Around the world, women continue to bear the burden of conflict, and continue to be excluded from peacebuilding and peacemaking efforts.

On 18 October 2013, the Security Council adopted resolution 2122, requesting that the Secretary-General commission this report: a global study on the implementation of resolution 1325.[2] The Global

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Study will be used to inform a High-Level Review on the implementation of resolution 1325, to take place in 2015, and the Secretary-General will include the results of the Study in his annual report on women, peace and security to the Security Council in 2015.[3] **However, it also aspires to a grander purpose: to provide the UN, Member States and civil society with an opportunity to commit to action and accountability to achieve lasting and meaningful peace and security for women. It is time for us all to ask: what must we do to turn rhetoric into reality for women around the globe?**

This simple, yet revolutionary idea was the recognition that peace is only sustainable if women are fully included and inextricably linked with equality between men and women.

THE HISTORY OF WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL: CIVIL SOCIETY ORIGINS

The WPS agenda of today is the product of more than a century of international women's peace activism. A global women's civil society movement for peace first emerged in protest of the widespread devastation of World War I, and evolved out of several decades of smaller-scale organizing on local and national levels.[4] For the first time, pacifist women from around the world gathered at the International Congress of Women in The Hague on 28 April 1915, determined 'to study, make known and eliminate the causes of war'.[5] One outcome of the Congress was the founding of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), which remains active as a leader in the movement for women, peace and security today.[6] Throughout World War II, the international women's peace movement continued to advocate for an end to conflict and for international disarmament. Peace as an end in itself was the center of their agenda.

Shortly after the founding of the United Nations in 1945, the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was created in 1946 as the UN body dedicated to gender equality and the advancement of women. The Commission continues to meet annually, bringing together Member States and representatives of civil society, to discuss pressing issues facing the world's women, evaluate progress and make recommendations, and formulate policies for gender equality. The Commission's annual meetings frequently focus on a topics of relevance to the WPS agenda—including in 1969, when the Commission discussed whether women and children should be afforded special protection during conflict;[7] and in 2004, when the Commission considered women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and conflict resolution and in post-conflict peace-building.[8] Women's civil society plays an active role in moving the WPS agenda forward before the Commission, and in recent years more than 6,000 civil society representatives have registered to participate in the Commission's annual meeting in New York.[9]

During the Cold War period, civil society turned its attention toward the advancement of international human rights standards, and the adoption of treaties and conventions which enshrined the right to gender equality. Among these conventions was the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1979. Although the Convention does not directly address the nexus between women's rights and conflict, it underscores the importance of women's participation and leadership in all contexts, which is a foundational concept for the WPS agenda. Thanks in large part to civil society activism and consultation, the CEDAW Committee issued General Recommendation 19 in 1992, explaining the relevance of the Convention on obligations to prevent, investigate and punish violence against women. Recently, after reviewing experiences from around the world, the Committee adopted General Recommendation 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict

situations, which outlines specific obligations to eliminate discrimination against women in conflict-affected settings (described in detail in Chapter 12: *Human Rights Mechanisms*).

The Fourth World Conference on Women, which took place in Beijing in 1995, marked another turning point for civil society organizing around women, peace and security. In Beijing, the UN assembled the representatives of 189 countries, as well as 4,000 representatives from non-governmental organizations (NGOs), to discuss commitments for the promotion of women's equality.[10] At an NGO forum held in parallel to the official governmental meeting, 40,000 members of women's civil society also gathered.[11] Through their activism in these venues, women's civil society played a leading role in shaping the Beijing Platform for Action, which States unanimously accepted at the conclusion of the conference. Among the twelve areas considered in the Platform for Action is "Women in Armed Conflict," which calls for an increase in the participation of women in conflict resolution, and in the protection of women living in situations of armed conflict, among other strategic objectives.[12]

In the wake of their success in Beijing, women's civil society organizers set their sights on the Security Council, believing that Member States there could also be swayed to recognize women's contributions to peace and security.[13] At the March 2000 meeting of the CSW, the President of the Security Council gave a speech, which inspired civil society to continue with this ambitious plan.

> *"As the first International Women's Day of the new millennium is observed throughout the world, members of the Security Council recognize that peace is inextricably linked with equality between women and men. They affirm that the equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security."*
>
> Ambassador **Anwarul Chowdhury** (Bangladesh)[14]

NGOs formally coalesced as a network, determined to achieve a Security Council resolution on women, peace and security,[15] and several intense months of work followed, culminating in the adoption of resolution 1325—the only Security Council resolution "for which the groundwork, the diplomacy and lobbying, the drafting and redrafting was almost entirely the work of civil society."[16] However, many recognized that in engaging with the Council in this specific and intense way, they had to give up a direct call for global peace and demilitarization and settle for the regulation of war before, during and after conflict. It was a realistic appraisal of what was needed at that time. Both academics and women's rights activists are now revisiting this policy shift in women's civil society that changed the nature of civil society activism.

GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK, INCLUDING AN OVERVIEW OF WHERE THE FRAMEWORK STANDS AT PRESENT AND WHAT IT ENCOMPASSES

Since resolution 1325 was adopted, the normative framework for the protection and promotion of women's rights in conflict and post-conflict settings has expanded dramatically. This expansion has taken place both in terms of the rights and obligations understood to be contained within the agenda, as well as the institutions—global, national and local—which seek to implement the agenda and hold others accountable for its implementation.

Much of the growth of the normative framework for women, peace and security has focused on obligations to protect women in conflict settings, including from sexual violence. The Security Council has adopted four resolutions addressing the topic: 1820 (2009), 1888 (2009), 1960 (2010), and 2106 (2013). Among their achievements, these resolutions have required that UN peacekeepers receive training on how to prevent, recognize and respond to sexual violence;[17] instructed that the UN sanctions regime should include those who commit sexual violence in conflict;[18] and established the position of Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict.[19]

In addition to advances within the UN system on the prevention and punishment of sexual violence in conflict, international criminal law has continued to play an important role in advancing norms regarding the prosecution of sexual and gender-based violence. The Rome Statute for the International Criminal Court (ICC), which entered into force in 2002, codified and expanded previous understandings of crimes such as rape, sexual slavery, forced pregnancy and gender-based persecution; advancements which are discussed in detail in Chapter 5: *Transformative Justice*. Efforts to prevent sexual and gender-based violence have also been extended into other international treaties and treaty bodies. The Arms Trade Treaty, which entered into force in December 2014, includes a provision requiring States to consider the risk of conventional arms being used to commit acts of gender-based violence.[20] In 2014, the African Commission on Human and People's Rights adopted a resolution on the situation of women and children in armed conflict, which calls upon States parties to the African Convention on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) to prevent violence against women and children in conflict, and to guarantee reparations to victims to address the consequences of violence against women and children.[21] Making an important normative advance, the Commission also called upon States parties to ensure that survivors of rape, incest and sexual assault have access to safe abortions.[22]

Although much of the expansion of the WPS agenda has focused on the protection of women and the prevention of sexual violence, there has also been increased attention on obligations to ensure women's participation in conflict prevention and response. With resolutions 1889 (2009) and 2122 (2013), the Security Council turned its focus to women's active roles as leaders in peacemaking and conflict prevention. Resolution 1889 addresses women's exclusion from peacebuilding and the lack of attention to women's needs in post-conflict recovery. Among its provisions, the resolution calls upon the Secretary-General to include gender advisors and women's protection advisors in peacekeeping missions, and asks States, UN bodies, donors and civil society to ensure that women's empowerment is taken into account in post-conflict planning.[23] Resolution 2122 further requires, among other commitments, that UN missions facilitate women's full participation in post conflict reconstruction, including elections; demobilization, disarmament and reintegration programmes; and security sector and judicial reforms.[24]

The framework for sustainable development provides a guidepost for advancing gender equality, and shows clearly the nexus between gender equality, conflict and development.

The institutional capacity within the UN to implement resolution 1325 and the six subsequent resolutions on women, peace and security has also rapidly expanded in recent years. In 2007, the Secretary-General formed UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict, a coordinating body which unites the work of 13 UN entities working to end sexual violence in conflict,[25] and in 2009 the Security Council requested the appointment of the aforementioned Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict.[26] In 2010, the General Assembly created UN Women, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women, which seeks to promote women's rights worldwide. In conflict and post-conflict settings, UN Women works to ensure that the WPS agenda is a focus of the United Nations' work.

States are also increasingly being held to account for their obligations contained within the WPS agenda. In 2013, the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee) adopted General Recommendation 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations. This recommendation provides States Parties to CEDAW with guidance on how to ensure compliance with the Convention's obligations before, during and after conflict.[27] It also addresses the obligations of non-State actors, including corporations and organized criminal

groups.[28] The recommendation, as discussed in detail in Chapter 12: *Human Rights Mechanisms*, requests that States parties report to the CEDAW Committee on the implementation of the Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security.[29] Many States have also volunteered to hold themselves to account for obligations contained in the WPS agenda. To date, 54 countries have adopted National Action Plans (NAPs) for the implementation of resolution 1325—policy documents to domesticate its obligations on women's engagement in peace and security and the protection of women in conflict, also discussed in detail in Chapter 10: *Key Actors - Member States*.[30] Regional and multi-lateral organizations, including NATO and the European Union, have also adopted versions of these plans.

Most importantly, the original champions of women's rights in conflict—women's civil society organizations—continue to mobilize around women's peace and security issues, driving the agenda forward in local, national and international settings. The normative advances in the framework for women, peace and security described above are owed chiefly to their diligent, creative and strategic advocacy and activism. The responsibility of both States and regional organizations as well as the role of civil society are addressed in detail in Chapter 10: *Key Actors*.

THE GLOBAL STUDY IN CONTEXT

The Global Study takes place at a time of momentous self-reflection and change within the UN. The High-Level Review of the implementation of resolution 1325, which this Study seeks to inform, occurs in the same year as two other high-level reviews: the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations, and the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Arcchitecture. Together, these three reviews provide an opportunity for the UN to strengthen its responses to conflict, and to ensure that these responses reflect women's perspectives and engage women's leadership.

This study also comes at the same time as the 20-year anniversary of the Fourth World Conference on Women, where the Beijing Platform for Action was adopted. The anniversary—Beijing+20—was marked with an international review of progress towards implementation of the Platform. In preparation its 59th session, the Commission on the Status of Women requested States to undertake consultative national-level reviews of achievements, trends, gaps and challenges to implementation, to feed into regional reports prepared by UN regional commissions.[31] These national and regional reports, in addition to the outcomes of the March 2015 CSW meeting, provided an opportunity for governments and civil society to reflect on strategic objectives relating to women in armed conflict. Finally, in 2015, Member States adopted new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for the next 15 years.[32] These new objectives will continue to advance gender equality, including the goal on peaceful societies. This framework for sustainable development provides a guidepost for advancing gender equality, and shows clearly the nexus between gender equality, conflict and development.

PREVIOUS STUDIES COMMISSIONED ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

The Global Study is not the first attempt by the United Nations to gauge the effect of armed conflict on women, track progress on the implementation of resolution 1325, or make recommendations for the future of the WPS agenda. Two landmark reports, both published in 2002, have also explored these themes. The occasion of the Global Study, alongside the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1325, warrants a moment of reflection, to consider these prior reports, and to track how the terrain of conflict and priorities for the WPS agenda have shifted over time. In some respects, the Global Study serves to update these previous reports. However, it will also add its unique perspective—including a focus on issues which have emerged since the adoption of resolution 1325—to the analysis of accomplishments and gaps in achievement for the implementation of the WPS agenda.

Resolution 1325 itself requested that the Secretary-General carry out a report on "the impact of armed

The adoption of resolution 1325 marked the beginning of the women, peace and security agenda in the Security Council, but the normative framework for the protection and promotion of women's rights in conflict and post-conflict settings has expanded dramatically in the years since.

conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution."[33] The Secretary-General submitted his report, "Women, Peace and Security," to the Security Council in 2002.[34] Written by the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Women, Peace and Security, and drawing on existing research, the study focused largely on the UN system and its responses to armed conflict. In addition to responding to the Security Council's request for information on the gendered dimensions of armed conflict and peacebuilding, each of the seven chapters concludes with a set of thematic recommendations—19 or fewer, per chapter—aimed at improving implementation of resolution 1325 within the UN system.

Alongside the Secretary-General's 2002 report, the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM, the predecessor to UN Women) published an independent expert assessment on women, peace and security, by Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. That report, "Women, War, Peace," set out the landscape for resolution 1325, two years after its adoption, chronicling "not only what women have suffered, but what they have contributed."[35] The report was informed by a series of field visits the authors made to 14 areas affected by conflict, where they met with women victims and survivors of conflict, activists, women leaders, and representatives of women's civil society, among others. In all of these areas, they chronicled how the militarization of society breeds new levels of violence and how impunity for these crimes becomes endemic. The report highlighted the continuum of violence that shatters women's lives before, during and after conflict. The authors, at the end of the process reflected on just how little prepared they had been for the enormity of it all: the staggering numbers of women in war who survived the brutality of rape, sexual exploitation, mutilation, torture and displacement; the unconscionable acts of depravity; and the wholesale exclusion of women from peace processes.[36]

In addition to its comprehensive findings and analysis, the 2002 independent expert report set out 22 key recommendations for the full implementation of resolution 1325.[37] These recommendations were aimed largely at the UN system and Member States—and in particular, donor Member States—and ranged from accountability measures (an international truth commission on violence against women in armed conflict), to normative advances (the recognition of gender equality in all peace processes), to shifts in financing (a budget analysis of humanitarian assistance and post-conflict reconstruction).

In addition to these two landmark studies, since 2004 the Secretary-General has submitted an annual report on women, peace and security to the Security Council. These reports have focused on assessing key issue areas, which have become known as the 'pillars' of the WPS agenda: prevention, participation, protection, and peacebuilding and recovery. In addition to providing the Security Council with a comprehensive overview of achievements, gaps, and challenges to implementing the WPS agenda, each report includes a number of recommendations, aimed at the Council, other UN agencies, and Member States. Over the past fifteen years, the Secretary-General and independent UN experts have made countless recommendations on women, peace and security.

Far too many of the recommendations set out in these predecessor studies remain aspirational. With the understanding that the environment for improving women's participation and protection in conflict remains challenging but not impossible, this report seeks to add its voice and unique perspective to the UN's previous studies and their recommendations.

DEFINING 'WOMEN' – HETEROGENEITY AND INTERSECTION

The Global Study is premised upon an understanding that women are not a homogenous group. Although much of the framework of the WPS agenda focuses on women as victims—most frequently, as victims of sexual violence—resolution 1325, alongside resolutions 1889 and 2122, reminds us that women can and do serve as powerful actors. Women are political and religious leaders, public servants, peace negotiators, and community organizers. Although women are often a powerful force for peace, women also participate in armed groups and terrorist groups. The Global Study aims to recognize the diversity of women's experiences and perspectives in conflict and post-conflict societies, and to integrate these perspectives throughout the report.

Furthermore, this Study recognizes that gender is simply one axis of difference, which intersects with many other forms of identity and experience. Nationality, ethnicity, political and religious affiliation, caste, indigeneity, marital status, disability, age, sexual preference; all of these, and others, are important factors in determining women's lived experiences of conflict and recovery. It is well understood that these identities can intersect to amplify vulnerability; this Study also seeks to explore how intersectional identities can be tapped as a resource, to provide unique perspectives for the establishment and maintenance of peace and security in a world that is full of diversity.

WITHIN THE OVERALL FRAMEWORK OF HUMAN RIGHTS

In recent times a great deal of research and report writing has been done in the field of women, peace and security. Writers from the sector of security studies have also taken a great deal of interest in this field. However, it must not be forgotten that the initial Security Council resolution was fully conceived as being part of the international tradition of human rights and that any interpretation of its provisions and any strategies for implementation must be done with that origin in mind. The CEDAW Committee, in General Recommendation 30 highlights this intersection and its importance in the understanding of the scope and relevance of resolution 1325 and subsequent Security Council resolutions.

Gender is simply one axis of difference, which intersects with many other forms of identity and experience. Nationality, ethnicity, political and religious affiliation, caste, indigeneity, marital status, disability, age, sexual preference; all of these, and others, are important factors in determining women's lived experiences of conflict and recovery.

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03

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AND A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE POLITICAL

"If the goal of a peace process is only to end violence, then women — who are rarely the belligerents — are unlikely to be considered legitimate participants. If the goal is to build peace, however, it makes sense to gain more diverse inputs from the rest of society."

Marie O'Reilly, Andrea Ó Súilleabháin, and Thania Paffenholz,
"Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes"[1]

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolution 1325

Urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict

Resolution 1820

Urges the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys to invite women to participate in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and post-conflict peacebuilding

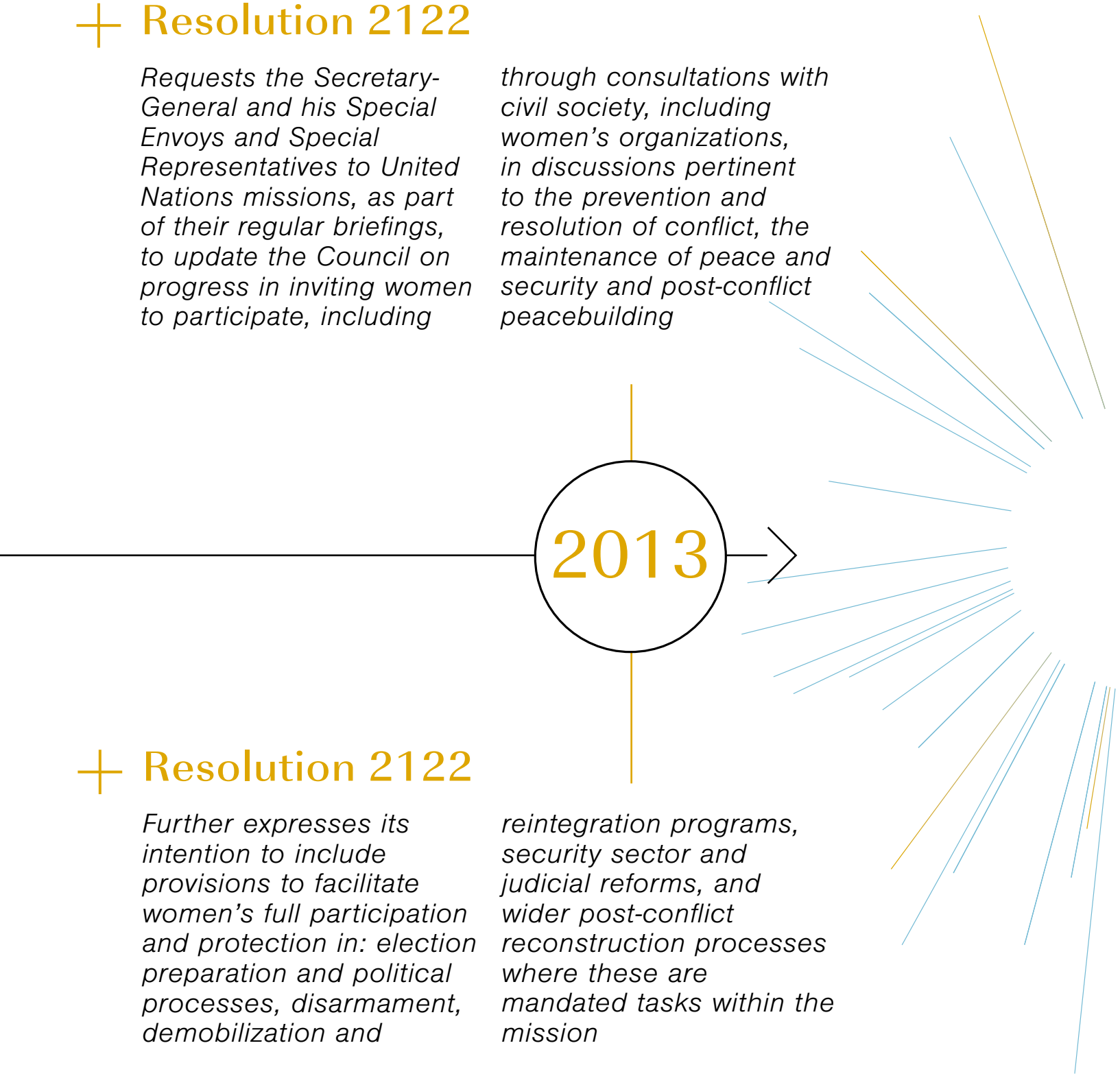
2000 2008 2009

Resolution 1889

Urges Member States, international and regional organisations to take further measures to improve women's participation during all stages of peace processes [...] including by enhancing their engagement in political and economic decision-making at early stages of recovery processes, through [...] promoting women's leadership and capacity to engage in aid management and planning, supporting women's organizations, and countering negative societal attitudes about women's capacity to participate equally

Resolution 2122

Requests the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys and Special Representatives to United Nations missions, as part of their regular briefings, to update the Council on progress in inviting women to participate, including through consultations with civil society, including women's organizations, in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security and post-conflict peacebuilding



Resolution 2122

Further expresses its intention to include provisions to facilitate women's full participation and protection in: election preparation and political processes, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programs, security sector and judicial reforms, and wider post-conflict reconstruction processes where these are mandated tasks within the mission

Women have always participated in peace negotiations and peacebuilding, but always at the informal level and rarely visible to the formal peacemakers and keepers of peace. Women have surrounded buildings to make leaders stay in the room, such as in Liberia; they have elected themselves as a third force, such as in Northern Ireland; they have demanded that justice be part of any peace process, such as the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo; they have rallied the country with calls for peace, like the Women in Black in Serbia. Despite their heartfelt efforts, statistics collected by international organizations, focusing on formal processes, record only a small percentage of women, if any, involved in peacemaking.[2] As a result, a great deal of effort and programming at the international level has gone into including women in formal peace processes and in the formal politics of the country concerned.

At a technical level, this has meant that a great deal of donor money has been poured into women's programmes that attempt to develop political leadership for women in formal processes. This is important, and there must be a sustained effort to increase their numbers, because research shows that this has an important impact. However, we must also look at 'politics' and 'peacemaking' differently—not only as a set of actors around a negotiation table, but as a comprehensive process within a society that is inclusive, diverse, and reflective of the interests of the whole society. The present programmes put forward by the international community tend to be extremely narrow: just to bring a female body to the table with some technical expertise.

Most of the data that is collected and circulated widely is about this number. As seen below, though this does have a direct impact, there must be a collective commitment and a qualitative change in the understanding of 'inclusive' politics in the context of conflict situations, especially by institutions such as the Department of Political Affairs and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations at the UN and their counterparts in Member States. Over the last few years, there have been many positive changes within these institutions but a great deal remains to be done. Strengthening their gender capacity is one way to move forward.

New empirical data is making it harder for the skeptics to doubt the positive impact of women's leadership and participation in peace processes. This chapter presents a growing body of research that connects the inclusion of women in peace processes—including national dialogues and post-conflict implementation of peace accords—with more durable and stable peace. It also highlights both good practice and implementation gaps, and proposes comprehensive recommendations on the way forward.

INCLUDING WOMEN IN PEACE PROCESSES

The best-known and most celebrated diplomatic agreement to be settled in 2015 was not to put an end to a war, but to prevent one. After many years of failed negotiations and decades of enmity, the Republic of Iran and a group of countries formed by the United States, Russia, China, France, the United Kingdom, and Germany reached a historic deal to curb Iran's nuclear programme. One important feature of this diplomatic breakthrough was the prominent leadership of three women, Federica Mogherini and Helga Schmid on the European side and Wendy Sherman for the United States. They built on the previous work of another woman, Catherine Ashton, the EU's chief diplomat until late 2014. They were all credited by their colleagues on the Western side for leading the negotiations and ensuring a deal was reached.[3] Yet, this is a decidedly uncommon sight.

Many actors involved in mediation and conflict resolution remain resistant to including women, claiming a lack of evidence about the positive impact of women's participation.[4] They are wary of overloading or derailing the process, and assert that their performance as mediators is not based on inclusiveness, but on effectiveness.[5]

This definition of 'effective' is erroneous. More than half of peace processes that reach an outcome lapse back into conflict within the first five years. Women activists rightly point to a history

of peacemaking littered with examples of failed mediation attempts and broken peace agreements that prove that traditional models cannot be justified by existing assumptions about what works and what does not. As one activist has remarked, few patients would choose a heart surgeon with only a 50 per cent chance of success, and yet the international community continues to choose operating models with a low effectiveness rate, even when presented with evidence of better options.[6]

Women activists rightly point to a history of peacemaking littered with examples of failed mediation attempts and broken peace agreements that prove that traditional models cannot be justified by existing assumptions about what works and what does not.

The issue of 'effectiveness,' of 'what works' is, at the same time, core to the justifications for the inclusion of women. The advocacy behind resolution 1325 rests on the argument that under the equality provisions of human rights documents, including CEDAW, women have the right to full and equal representation. This is buttressed by recent research that provides concrete evidence that women's participation is linked to better outcomes in general, and that the inclusiveness of peace processes and the democratization of conflict resolution are crucial to sustained peace and stability.[7] Despite this continuing to be openly or implicitly questioned and doubted, the body of empirical research illustrating the positive role of women's participation only continues to grow.[8]

The positive effects of women's inclusion

Based on research undertaken by the Graduate Institute in Geneva from 2011 to 2015, an in-depth analysis of 40 peace processes since the end of the Cold War, academics have shown that in cases where women's groups were able to exercise a strong influence on the negotiation process, there was a much higher chance that an agreement would be reached than when women's groups exercised weak or no influence.[9] **In fact, in cases of women's participation and strong influence, an agreement was almost always reached. Furthermore, strong influence of women in negotiation processes also positively correlated with a greater likelihood of agreements being implemented**. When analyzing commissions set up after the peace agreement to implement major aspects—from drafting and adopting a new constitution, to monitoring disarmament or a ceasefire, to setting up a truth and reconciliation commission—the research found that the more specifically an inclusive composition of these commissions is written into the agreement, the more effective they have been in practice.[10]

Despite claims of the risk of overburdening processes through women's inclusion, in these 40 case studies, there was not a single case where organized women's groups had a negative impact on a peace process, an observation that does not hold true for other social actors.[11] Quite the contrary, **one of the most repeated effects of women's involvement in peace processes was pushing for the commencement, resumption, or finalization of negotiations when the momentum had stalled or the talks had faltered**.

This finding is complemented by recent statistical analysis based on a dataset of 181 peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2011.[12] When controlling for other variables, peace processes that included women as witnesses, signatories, mediators, and/or negotiators demonstrated a 20 per cent increase in the probability of a peace agreement lasting at least two years.[13] This percentage increases over time, with a 35 per cent increase in the probability of a peace agreement

Relation between the influence of women in peace processes and processes' outcomes and implementation[14]

Influence of Women in the process	Ongoing negotiations	No agreement reached	Agreement reached/ No implementation	Agreement reached/ Partial implementation	Agreement reached/ Implemented	Agreement reached/ Ongoing implementation
None to weak		Aceh (1999-2003) Colombia (1998-2002) Georgia-Abkhazia (1997-2007) Moldova (1992-2005) Cyprus (1999-2004)	*Rwanda* (1992-1993) Turkey Armenia (2008-2011) Israel Palestine Geneva process (2003-2013)	*IP-Oslo* (1991-1995) *Mali* (1990-1992)	*Tajikistan* (1993-2000)	Kyrgyzstan (2013-present)
Moderate	Turkish-Kurdish (2009-2014)	Egypt (2011-2013) Sri Lanka (2000-2004)	*Eritrea* (1993-1997) *Somalia I* (1992-1994) *Somalia II* (2001-2005) Darfur (2009-2013) Somalia III (1999-2001) Togo (1990-2006)	Solomon Island (2000-2014) Macedonia (2001-2013) Nepal (2005-2012)	Afghanistan (2001-2005) Benin (1990-2001) *El Salvador* (1990-1994)	
Strong		Fiji (2006-2013)		*Guatemala* (1989-1999) *Mexico (Chiapas)* (1994-1997) Burundi (1996-2013) *Northern Mali* (1990-1996)	DR Congo (1999-2003) Kenya (2008-2013) Liberia (2003-2011) N.Ireland (2001-2013) PNG (1997-2005) *Somaliland* (1991-1994) *South Africa* (1990-1997)	Yemen (2011-2014)

*italicized cases were completed before the passage of Resolution 1325

lasting 15 years.[15] This builds on previous quantitative studies on the link between the inclusiveness of peace processes and the quality and sustainability of peace agreements. A clear correlation has been established between more open models of negotiations and a higher likelihood that the outcome agreements will hold and prevent a relapse into conflict. Specifically, peace agreements are 64 per cent less likely to fail when civil society representatives participate.[16]

Past analysis of gendered peace processes has focused on what women bring to the table with regards to addressing women's rights or social issues. What has been less examined is what else women bring to the table—namely, a shift in dynamics. Increasingly, research is showing that **the impact on effectiveness is a result of women bringing a particular quality of consensus building to public debate, not necessarily on issues, but on the need to conclude talks and implement agreements**.[17] This goal of consensus building is of particular value to peace talks. It underscores the fact that it is important to recognize that women's participation must not mean that they are solely responsible for women's issues. Instead, they should be allowed to participate and be decision makers on the full range of issues involved in the peace process.

The other shift women precipitate relates to the deepened peace dividend and its impact on post-conflict peacebuilding. We know that when women are placed at the center of security, justice, economic recovery, and good governance, they will be more direct recipients of a range of peace dividends including job creation and public services. This means that the pay-offs of peace will be delivered more rapidly to communities. For example, without livelihoods and economic empowerment, as the percentage of female-headed households surges during and after conflict, women and girls are forced into low-reward, high-risk work like survival sex, slowing community recovery and normalization, and deepening the poverty and resentment of children. With access to income generation and economic security as a result of just peace agreement outcomes, however, women tend to be quicker to invest in child welfare and education, to build food security, and to rebuild rural economies, greatly contributing to longer term stability (see Chapter 7: *Building Peaceful Societies*).

In short, women's inclusion at the peace table shifts the dynamics towards conclusion of talks and implementation of agreements, and centralizes a gendered and inclusive perspective on issues of

FOCUS ON

Philippines peace process[18]

In March 2014, the Philippines government and the Moro Islamic Liberation front (MILF) signed a comprehensive peace agreement ending 17 years of negotiations. The peace agreement paves the way for the creation of a new autonomous political entity called 'Bangsamoro' in the southern Philippines.

The peace agreement had strong provisions on women's rights: eight out of its 16 articles mention mechanisms to engage women in governance and development, or protect against violence. This was the direct result of women's participation in the negotiations, built on a long history of women's leadership at local and national levels over the years, including under the leadership of two female presidents—Corazón Aquino and later Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, who were both instrumental in re-starting negotiations with the rebel group.

The important shift came in 2001, when for the first time, two women were appointed to the five-member government panel. Since then every negotiating panel appointed by the government has included at least one woman. By the time of the signing of the Comprehensive Agreement in 2014, one third of the people at the table were women. Other government bodies supporting the process (the presidential advisor, secretariat, legal panel, technical working groups) were also headed or composed mostly of women. In December 2012, Miriam Coronel-Ferrer became the first female to chair the government panel. All the women were selected because of their past work for peace in Mindanao, their expertise on negotiation and technical issues, and their representation of significant constituencies through their work in the women's movement. They demanded that the talks include extensive outreach efforts and public participation, including a national dialogue in 2010 that culminated in a final report that became the basis for discussions and was credited with supporting solutions to thorny issues at the negotiation table. Women were also close to one-third of the members of the transition commission tasked with drafting the Bangsamoro Basic Law, which is the equivalent of a constitutional document for this new political entity.

At the same time, women's civil society groups supported the process through mass action to prevent derailment by spoilers. For example, following the 2012 Framework Agreement, three weeks of violence broke out between the rebel group and the military, and women led peaceful protests to pressure both sides to end the violence and maintain the momentum of the talks.

Women's influence in the negotiations has led to a range of clauses and provisions that directly impact their empowerment and rights in the new political entity. The MILF initially opposed women's participation in negotiations, but ended up appointing a woman to represent their side, and have put an end to their pronouncements against women in public roles. The proposed autonomous political entity must set aside at least five per cent from the official development funds it receives specifically for programmes targeted at women. A consultation mechanism for women is to be established, and women are to be included in the Bangsamoro council of leaders, and among provincial governors, mayors, and indigenous representatives. Special economic programmes will be established for decommissioned female forces of the MILF. The draft Bangsamoro Basic Law requires the future Bangsamoro parliament to enact a law recognizing the important role of women in statebuilding and development, and take steps to ensure their representation, including in parliament. The government has announced the construction of six women and peace training centers in the proposed Bangsamoro territory.

governance, justice, security, and recovery aspects of a peace agreement. These concerns, if addressed, can help build a more robust and sustainable peace, a more rapid return to the rule of law, and increased trust in the new State.[19] Women's participation also broadens the peace process to larger constituencies beyond the fighting parties and potential spoilers. International and national peacebuilding actors have recognized that social exclusion can be a major driver of conflict, and that inclusiveness broadens the number of stakeholders with an investment in the system of governance, which can deepen stability. This is especially relevant with regards to women's inclusion. Women's participation aids in ensuring broader social acceptance and commitment to the peace deal from communities and those affected by the conflict, who will equally be affected by the rebuilding of a new society.

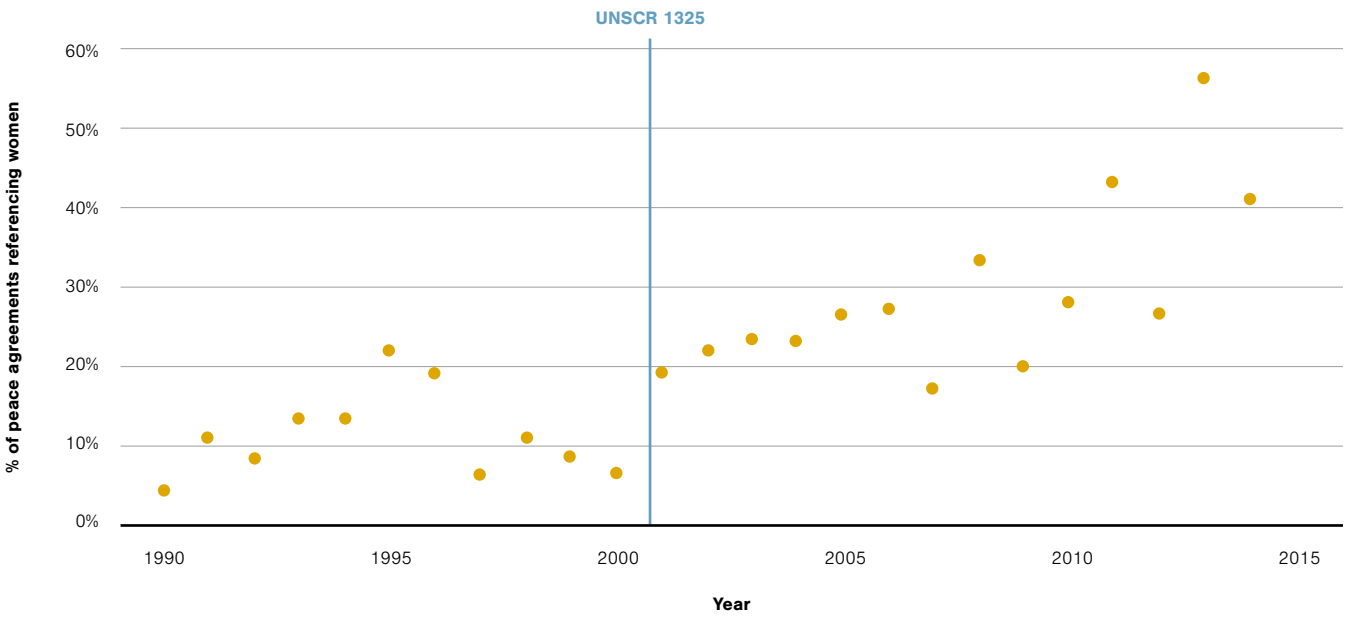
SIGNS OF PROGRESS IN INCLUSIVE PEACEMAKING, BUT A LONG WAY TO GO

In 2010, during the tenth anniversary commemoration of the adoption of resolution 1325, the alarming lack of progress on women's inclusion—arguably one of the most emblematic of the whole agenda—was highlighted. Member States and regional and international organizations committed to stronger action. Five years later, there have been some notable improvements.

First, there has been an appreciable rise in the number of references to women in the text of peace agreements. Out of 1,168 peace agreements signed between January 1990 and January 2014, only 18 per cent make any references to women or gender. But if one looks at before and after the adoption of resolution 1325, the difference is notable. **Prior to 2000, only 11 per cent carried such a reference. Post-2000, this percentage has increased to 27 per cent.**[20] While this is still a low percentage, the trend nevertheless is encouraging. As monitored by the UN Department of Political Affairs using the global indicators on implementation of 1325, 50 per cent of peace agreements signed in 2014 included references relevant to women, peace and security,[21] up from 22 per cent in 2010.[22]

Second, these textual references are more likely to be found in agreements where the United Nations was involved. Since resolution 1325, 38 per cent of all agreements mention women or gender equality when the UN has been party to the negotiations.[23] This number has risen significantly in the last five years. Of the six agreements emerging from negotiations or

Percentage of peace agreements including at least a reference to women (1990 to Oct 2000 and Nov 2000 to 2015)[24]



national dialogues supported by the UN in 2014, four (67 per cent) contained references relevant to women, peace and security.[25]

Third, these references are gradually becoming less tokenistic. They have moved from general references to equality towards firmer commitments to women's participation in various decision-making bodies, security arrangements, and to specific actions affecting women such as addressing violence against women and girls.[26] For example, the presence of text that registers conflict-related sexual violence as a prohibited act in UN-supported ceasefire agreements tripled from 2010 to 2014.[27] In Burundi, women succeeded in including provisions on freedom of marriage and the right to choose one's partner into the peace agreement. In Guatemala, women's organizations coordinated with the woman representative at the table to introduce commitments to classify sexual harassment as a new criminal offence and establish an office for indigenous women's rights.[28] Further, legislative quotas for women are mentioned in 80 per cent of all power-sharing agreements.[29] Conversely, in the few cases where neither the peace agreement nor the subsequent electoral framework provided for quotas for women's participation in politics, the numbers of women represented in the legislature were unusually low and in the single digits.

Fourth, it has become a more routine practice both to include gender expertise in mediation support teams, and to consult with women's organizations. According to DPA's monitoring, gender expertise was provided by the UN to 88 per cent of relevant processes in 2013 but only 67 per cent in 2014.[30] This is nevertheless a significant improvement from 36 per cent in 2011. Similarly, 88 per cent of all peace processes with UN engagement in 2014 included regular consultations with women's organizations, a notable rise from 50 per cent in 2011.[31] However, consultations for this Study and DPA's internal assessments have both noted that these meetings are sometimes symbolic affairs—lacking thorough preparation, representativeness, and follow-up.[32] Although gender expertise is systematically offered through the UN Standby Team of Mediation Experts and roster of senior technical experts, the overall demand from negotiating parties for these skills remains significantly lower than for other areas of mediation standby expertise. In addition, even when gender experts participate, they are not always part of the strategic planning teams and at times restricted to discussions regarding track II processes. A more detailed analysis of conditions that can make these engagements effective is provided below.

Fifth, the overall participation of women in peace processes is inching upwards, albeit at far too slow a rate. In 2012, a study by UN Women indicated that out of a representative sample of 31 major peace processes between 1992 and 2011, only two per cent of chief mediators, four per cent of witnesses and signatories, and nine per cent of negotiators were women.[33] A 2008 study that scanned 33 peace negotiations had found that only 4 per cent of participants were women.[34] In 2014, women in senior positions were found in 75 per cent of peace processes led or co-led by the UN, compared with only 36 per cent in 2011.[35] In recent years, peace talks to resolve conflicts in Colombia and the Philippines in particular have seen a significantly greater participation of women as delegates or signatories in the formal processes.

Procedures for selection for participation can be determined by the mediator, the parties, or agreed formally by a wider set of actors.[36] Such procedures have included invitations, nominations, elections, open-access participation (typical for most public consultations), and through public advertisement of positions within key implementation commissions. The more successful selection processes in terms of inclusivity are transparent, and carried out by constituents in conjunction with quotas or other temporary special measures for women. When selection is driven entirely by belligerents, women's capacity to influence the talks, especially with regards to representing gender equality concerns, is likely to be reduced.

It is important to note that an improvement simply in numbers does not necessarily mean that women are able to effectively influence negotiations and shape their implementation. The indicators mentioned, important as they are to highlight progress, often mask a reality that still excludes women from decision-making and limits their engagement to tokenistic or symbolic gestures. As the evidence highlights, the benefits of women's participation are only fully realized when there is quality participation and the opportunity for influence.[37]

FOCUS ON

Colombia peace process[38]

When peace talks between the government and the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) collapsed in early 2002, many women's organizations continued to insist on the need to find political solutions, and to prepare the ground once again for future negotiations. In the absence of formal talks and despite massive public disenchantment with peace processes, women organized national marches to keep their demands for peace in the public eye. They also worked quietly in the regions to address the rising violence: mediating conflicts in their communities; holding direct dialogues with armed groups to release hostages, prevent violence and displacement; recovering children recruited by the armed actors; and lifting road blockades to secure the passage of food, medicines, and people.

When new rounds of peace talks were launched in Norway in late 2012, all of those seated at the table, with the exception of one Norwegian moderator, were men. In the formal talks, all of the plenipotentiaries and all but one of the up to thirty negotiators on both sides were also men. However, a year later, women's mobilization and relentless advocacy, combined with international support, resulted in women making up approximately one-third of the delegates of each side of the ongoing peace talks in Havana, Cuba. Further, at least half of participants in all public consultations about the peace talks were women, and a sub-commission on gender has been established to ensure that a gender perspective is incorporated into the peace process, and that the views of women are included in the negotiations. Many women now hold leadership positions and key technical advisory positions in the government institution leading the negotiations, the Office of the High Commissioner for Peace. Members of the delegations and facilitators have received both technical information about the gender dimensions of each item on the agenda of the talks, as well as powerfully moving visits by multiple delegations of victims from all sides of the conflict, a majority of whom are women.

UN Women and the UN country team under the leadership of the Resident Coordinator in Colombia have supported women's participation in all these aspects—from the public consultations, to the victims' visits to Havana, to the participation of the delegates themselves. Also included was a landmark National Women's Summit for Peace, which brought together approximately 450 representatives of Colombian women's organizations in Bogotá in late October 2013. At the time of this writing, despite the many challenges and deep divisions in Colombian society, this represents the most promising round of negotiations to end of one of the longest-lasting armed conflicts in the world.

THE PERSISTENCE OF BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S FULL PARTICIPATION

> *"It is not enough to acknowledge the right of women to participate in peace processes. Mediators and negotiators, and donor governments must address the very real obstacles to women's physical presence at the negotiation table and at any behind-the-scenes or after-hours negotiations. For example, in practice, many women in such situations are not members of the warring parties coming to the table, and will not have access to the resources made available to those parties. Women may also have family obligations that men do not have. In order then to participate on an equal footing with men, women may need support for childcare, transportation, accommodation, and personal security."*
>
> **Sarah Taylor**, Coordinator, NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, at the UN Security Council Debate on Women, Peace and Security, 2008[39]

In recent years, despite the yearly recitation of the obligations that emanate from resolution 1325, and a few positive case studies highlighted in this chapter, the poor levels of representation of women in formal conflict resolution processes persist. Whether in peace talks about South Sudan, Mali, or Myanmar, women continue to be excluded or marginalized, and where they do participate their influence is often hampered through low numbers and process design. The failure to prioritize inclusion, and as a result sustainable peace, lies within an overall approach to negotiations, which if to be redressed requires a rethinking of overall objectives and pathways to peace. Conflict prevention and resolution, as practiced today, continues to focus on neutralizing potential spoilers and perpetrators of violence, rather than investing in resources for peace.

The intention behind resolution 1325 was precisely to enrich the methods of peacebuilding through the inclusion of a neglected category of peacemakers and social rebuilders

The intention behind resolution 1325 was precisely to enrich the methods of peacebuilding through the inclusion of a neglected category of peacemakers and social rebuilders. It is an attempt to illuminate the often invisible, informal, and unrecognized role that women and girls play in conflict prevention and resolution, from peace activism to day-to-day intra-family and inter-community mediation and reconciliation. It is also an attempt to seize the opportunity and empower women at the moment when crises and transitions have thrust them into new, unconventional roles; and to bring the benefits of inclusiveness, representativeness, and diversity to settings and processes that are almost exclusively male-dominated.

In tandem with positive signs and clear proof of the impact of women's participation in peace processes, the research also found the existence of more worrisome trends. For example, **across the 40 case studies examined in the Graduate Institute of Geneva/Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative's Broadening Participation Project, women's inclusion was often contested, rarely a natural and unforced element of proceedings, and mostly initiated and achieved via concerted pressure and lobbying by women's organizations within the country, rather than by the conflict parties, the mediators, or the organizers of the negotiations.** There are numerous examples where conflict parties took steps to include political parties or specific civil society organizations—to either gain legitimacy or add actors to the table that were perceived favorable to their agenda—but hardly ever did parties take steps to include women's organizations in the peace process. Support for women's participation typically came as a result of intense lobbying by the local women's movement and international actors, and was almost never proposed by the mediation team or the conflict parties.[40]

FOCUS ON

Mali peace process

In the current peace process in Mali, there are over 10 co-mediators, including the UN, the EU, and the AU, but the lead mediator and several co-mediators have not prioritized the participation of representatives of women in the peace process, in spite of the substantive mobilization of Malian women. Their reluctance is justified by cultural arguments, fears that it would delay the negotiations, and a preference for leaving women's participation for the reconciliation phase, once an agreement has been reached. The diplomats involved in the international mediation team were all men above 55 years of age. Among the 100 delegates from the three negotiating groups at the talks, there are just five women, and their numbers in the mediation teams are also negligible.[41]

Even when women participate in significant numbers, they are not always able to influence the proceedings and outcomes. This can sometimes be the result of division among women over key issues or lack of a collective voice, but often, it is because a small group of male leaders makes all the important decisions, even if the process has been opened up to include women's groups. For example, the 2011 Oslo Joint Statement between the government of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front (NDF)—the longest running communist insurgency in Asia—had approximately one-third female representation around the table. However, many of the women selected by the NDF were the wives of the organization's leaders, who had limited legitimacy and influence over the majority of NDF members and their operations in the Philippines. Since then, the talks remain on hold.[42] In the 2001 Somali peace process, women were allocated a quota in all six reconciliation committees, but any decision required the authorization of a leadership committee of male clan elders.[43] **In 15 of the 16 national dialogues examined for this Study, it was found that decision-making was left to a small group of male leaders**.[44]

Women's participation also tends, consistently, to be limited within a timeframe, rather than sustained from the preparatory phases of peace talks or political transitions, right through to follow-up and implementation. This is true for national dialogues too. While international norms, pressure, and support are increasingly used to ensure that women are included during transitions, women are rarely included in the preparation phase, and typically receive insufficient support thereafter to implement the gains achieved.[45] What is lacking are more (or any) cases in which women's participation was an integral component of the design of the peace process from the beginning to the end, as asked for by resolution 1325 and other global norms. In Guatemala, the 1996 peace accords included robust provisions on gender equality, resulting from the direct participation of women in the peace process. And yet, even though women's organizations continued their advocacy after the agreement, and they had two reserved seats in the National Council for the Implementation of the Peace Accords, their efforts were mostly effaced by the lack of political will, the weakness of implementation mechanisms, the expansion of

"[P]eace processes that included women as witnesses, signatories, mediators, and/or negotiators demonstrated a 20% increase in the probability of a peace agreement lasting at least two years. This increases over time, with a 35% increase in the probability of a peace agreement lasting 15 years."

Laurel Stone,
"Quantitative Analysis of Women's Participation in Peace Processes"[46]

FOCUS ON

Quantity versus quality of women's involvement – The importance of influence[47]

During the Kenyan-led 2001-2005 Somali peace process, an ostensibly significant role was afforded to women. A key element of the process was the operation of six 'reconciliation' committees tasked with identifying and presenting recommendations on key causes of conflict. Although quotas ensured women were represented in all six committees, their actual impact on the peace process and its overall quality was limited. All decisions arrived at by the committees required the authorization of a leadership committee dominated by male clan leaders. The existence of this leadership committee and the decision-making dynamics in place meant that the role of the reconciliation committees, and the women in them, was effectively muted.

In Nepal, women's participation in the Constituent Assembly (CA) was given a boost by the adoption of a quota system, which led to a total of 197 female CA members out of 601. Women comprised almost 33 per cent of the total CA. They were also represented in a number of the CA's thematic committees. However, the increased representation did not have a commensurate impact on their influence. On the one hand, there was and continues to be huge resistance among major political parties (mainly male political actors) to challenging inequality, discussing women's issues and gender-sensitivity. On the other hand, the female political actors are divided over key issues and seriously lack a collective voice, which is affecting progress on women's issues. In an effort to improve their advocacy for women's issues and to develop a common agenda, female CA members formed a women's caucus. This failed however, because ultimately, party loyalties proved to be more important. These dynamics limit women's impact despite their large numbers—and despite an advantageous quota system—and illustrate again that when women are unable to speak with one voice on crucial issues (such as the maternal citizenship issue) and lack a common goal, the result is weak overall influence.

By contrast, in Northern Ireland during the negotiations for the Good Friday Agreement (1998) the top ten political parties represented at the negotiation table had no female representation at all. That was the trigger for a few committed women to form a separate women's political party (the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition NIWC), which eventually won support and was given a seat next to the other parties at the negotiation table. Although the NIWC was outnumbered by male-dominated parties, their decision-making power was enhanced because they were negotiating on the same level as the other political parties, and they were able to push for the inclusion of many issues, which ultimately made it into the final agreement. The NIWC pushed for equality, human rights and broad inclusion. They promoted an inclusive, cooperative process, and put women's participation and women's rights on the top of the political agenda. The NIWC also focused on preventative measures against violence, and on prosecutions of cases on violence against women.

transnational companies engaged in extractive industries, the significant growth of organized crime (mainly drug trafficking), and the resulting insecurity and militarization.[48]

Finally, the logistical barriers to participation that women face cannot be ignored. For example, they may need to organize childcare, they may lack funds to travel, or they may require security to attend meetings. Support centers are one way of strengthening the participation of women's groups during negotiations. For example, during the 2001-2005 Somali peace negotiations, women benefitted from a number of support structures sponsored by international organizations. Key among these was a resource center, fully equipped with computers, photocopiers, printers, and internet access. As one of the few locations with adequate communications equipment during the negotiation proceedings, the center provided women's groups with direct lobbying access to influential figures who were forced to use their equipment.[49]

Emerging good practice in women's engagement for peace

In recent years, a standard of gender-responsive peace processes has begun to take shape. Mediation actors know—or should know—that technical gender expertise should always be available to the negotiating parties and as part of the mediation support teams; that women's organizations need to be regularly consulted from the outset and all the way through the implementation phase; that the agenda and outcome documents should explicitly address women's needs and priorities; and that the significant representation of women should be provided for at the peace table and in the institutions responsible to implement any agreement. Many actors involved in peace processes may be supportive of greater gender equality, but would like more information and guidance about the specific modalities to achieve this in the actual management of a peace process.[50]

The role of the mediator is one of the most important factors in determining the quality of women's participation in peace talks. This is the role played by Robinson in the Great Lakes and Machel in Kenya, or Mandela in Burundi, Arnaud in Guatemala, and Benomar in Yemen, among others.[51] The engagement of women in Yemen's (2013-14) National Dialogue offers an example of what can be achieved even in one of the least propitious circumstances for women's political empowerment. It illustrates how the design of the rules and structures of a political dialogue, and the influence of the mediator's role, can determine the extent to which women's voices are heard. **Yemen is also a striking example of the importance of senior leadership and political will**. Whatever the subsequent developments, the achievement of women's inclusion in the national dialogue process despite great contextual constraints stands in stark contrast to the peace talks being embarked on in Syria at the same time. Despite Syria's longer history of women's empowerment and greater number of educated women, the justification of 'cultural resistance' was used far too easily.[52] While no two situations are comparable,[53] and each context demands its own set of uniquely designed responses, in a shifting global political context where the UN's relevance is increasingly questioned, a consistent commitment to universal norms and standards is an important contributor to legitimacy.

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FOCUS ON

Sudan peace process[54]

In the IGAD-led talks in Addis Ababa, after more than 10 rounds of negotiations and at least 7 broken ceasefires over a year and a half, women had only token representation at the table. Though they were allocated some seats, the selection process was co-opted by the warring parties. Nevertheless, the peace agreement signed in August 2015 revealed efforts to take into account both the participation of women in the peace and political processes, women's specific needs in and after the conflict, including transitional justice, accountability, healing and reconciliation, as well as their economic empowerment. However, gender-specific programming language, in areas such as humanitarian aid, security sector reform and DDR, remained insufficient. In addition, the text adopted did not define a clear a role for women or civil society in monitoring the ceasefire and the implementation of the peace agreement. It also did not address crucial matters about the return of IDPs, prisoners of war, and child soldiers.

FOCUS ON

Yemen national dialogue[55]

The ten-month National Dialogue Conference (NDC) in Yemen in 2013 offers several important lessons. One is that stark gender inequality and cultural objections to women's empowerment can be overcome by good design and sustained pressure by the local women's movement and international actors.

In 2013, the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index ranked Yemen's disparities the worst in the world in education, health, and economic and political life. And yet, in response to Yemeni women's demands, and building on their role during the revolution, the UN Special Advisor on Yemen at the time, Jamal Benomar, was able to create conditions for women's voice in conflict resolution. With the support of UN entities like UN Women and UNFPA, and international NGOs like Oxfam, NDI, the Berghof Foundation, and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, the following innovations were achieved:

- The National Dialogue's Preparatory Committee consisted of 19 per cent women. After much lobbying from women's groups and the Special Advisor, the committee ultimately agreed on a 30 per cent quota for women.

- In addition to this quota for women across all constituencies, women had their own delegation of 40 seats. The Preparatory Committee agreed on a three-part quota for NDC participants: 50 per cent from Southern Yemen, 20 per cent youth, and 30 per cent women. This quota applied across all groups represented so that, for instance, youth needed to include 30 per cent women, and women needed to include 20 per cent youth. The 'package' quota that tied the percentage of women and youth to that of Southern groups may have helped prevent it from unraveling in later discussions.

- Most constituencies included women as part of their delegation as required, but the Salafis left seats in their delegation empty rather than include women. Overall, 28 per cent of participants were women (161 out of 565). Each constituency selected their own representatives, including the women, but both the independent bloc of women and the presidential appointees were selected via an open application process.

- Conference resolutions were drafted by thematic working groups. Each working group was led by a chairperson, two vice-chairpersons, and a rapporteur. In each working group, at least one of these leadership positions was filled by a woman. Three out of nine working groups were chaired by women. The consensus committee, which helped resolve issues that working groups could not agree on, consisted of 25 per cent women.

- Resolutions at the working group and conference level required 90 per cent approval to be adopted (going down to 75 per cent in second round voting), making it impossible to pass resolutions over the objections of the majority of women in the conference.

- All participants were asked to make a televised two-minute presentation at the start of the conference, which ensured that everyone had at least one opportunity to be heard. Additionally, before the National Dialogue started, USAID sponsored a national women's conference.

- A focal point for women and a focal point for youth were recruited within the Special Advisor's team and a consultant hired[56] to support women's civil society and political groups on engaging in Yemen's transition. These groups provided technical inputs on issues that would affect women's equity in the final constitution, including electoral systems and quotas, transitional justice, and constitutional provisions on gender equity.

- The Office of the Special Advisor set up a meeting space—the Women's Dialogue Forum—where women representatives could meet amongst themselves and with local NGOs. Members of this Forum reviewed the outputs from each working group with the support of gender specialists, shared proposed amendments with all participants, consulted with NGOs, and compiled recommendations for each of the working groups. These meetings took place about once a week. Members of the Forum also held a number of meetings with NGOs at the governorate level. The UN team was careful to avoid meeting times that would prevent women from attending if they had traditional obligations in the home such as preparing meals or looking after children.

Many issues related to gender equality arose during the NDC, including the age of marriage (18 years), a 30 per cent quota in parliament, the right to education, paid maternity leave, criminalization of violence against women and sex trafficking, and the right to work. Women who participated in the NDC reportedly experienced substantial empowerment through networking, developing new political skills, and learning to lobby, including the ability to speak out in the company of men, which many had never done before. The NDC recommendations were submitted to the Constitutional Drafting Committee, where women were represented in the same proportion as in the National Dialogue. Although suspended due to the deterioration of the security situation, the National Dialogue outcome document and draft constitution are understood as the foundation for the future in Yemen.

DRAWING ON TRACK 2 PROCESSES AND WOMEN'S ACTIVISM

> *"Women are not absent because they lack negotiating skills or because they cannot make vital contributions to peace processes. In Colombia, women's groups have united to create Women for Peace, a new movement offering concrete recommendations and proposals for the nascent peace process. Malian women, […] have been active for months over the crisis in Mali, asserting their right to engage in the efforts to bring about a political solution to the crisis, and reminding all actors that women have been specifically targeted in the violence, especially in northern Mali."*
>
> **Bineta Diop**, Founder and President of Femmes Africa Solidarité, Security Council Open Debate on women, peace and security, 2012[57]

By focusing only on formal, national level processes, the international community literally shapes or constructs what is seen as relevant and decisive in peace processes, without sufficiently recognizing that investment at the local and sub-national level—or track 2—where many women are already brokering peace or shoring up the resilience of communities against the spread of conflict, is just as important and may be neglected. **Increasing women's participation in peace processes requires shifting the parameters of what we consider 'political.'** For the UN this entails first, broadening the process beyond the political and military elite that is often male, and second, adjusting hierarchical conceptions of track 1 and track 2 peace processes.

The narrow focus on national and international formal peace processes, which often stumble or stall, prevents full consideration from being given to the multiple actors often busy with track 2 processes, such as building peace and security ceasefires in conflict-affected communities.

What counts as adequate engagement of women on the ground, or significant participation of women in peace processes? While there are many examples of women's roles in peace processes over the last two decades, these are typically not standard modes of engagement that would ensure a minimum level of women's inclusion. For many of them, women have had to overcome great barriers to participation. They have neither enjoyed open doors nor standard modes of engagement that would ensure a minimum level of women's inclusion. There is no shortage of stories of exceptional women making a difference by their sheer courage and tenacity, as has been detailed above.

The narrow focus on national and international formal peace processes, which often stumble or stall, prevents full consideration from being given to the multiple actors often busy with track 2 processes, such as building peace and security ceasefires in conflict-affected communities.

These sub-national and local mediation initiatives, where women usually have a very prominent role, receive wholly inadequate recognition and support. In Syria, women negotiate cessations of hostilities and humanitarian access at the local level, but they have until recently remained largely marginalized from the formal attempts to address the crisis in their country, In spite of engaging in advocacy at the highest political level both with the UN-Arab League mediator and the UN Security Council. In South Sudan, women continue to mobilize for peace and promote dialogue between the factions, as well as in relation to the

tensions with Sudan, in spite of high personal cost,[58] and yet their ability to influence the formal process meaningfully remains elusive.

In Colombia, as in South Sudan, women's participation and leadership in community peace processes have proved essential to sustaining track 1 processes. Broadening the political therefore calls for an expansion of the notion of 'peace process' to include community and track 2 initiatives. Importantly, in this context, in its political work, the UN must ensure that its engagement with regard to women's participation represents the diversity of women in the country concerned; and that political and societal factors that have the potential to either hinder or facilitate women's inclusion in peace processes are adequately considered, such as public and elite support, and the power of regional actors.

FOCUS ON

Women for peace and dialogue in Burundi[59]

In Burundi, recent political and electoral conflicts have led to confrontations between security forces and protesters, and at times, imprisonment of protestors and civilians, significant displacement of populations and growing tension and conflicts throughout the country. This is compounded by a lack of reliable information that has the effect of inflaming tensions.

Burundian women have historically played an important role as agents of peace, thanks to their ability to initiate mediation and reconciliation processes, to bring conflicting parties together and to re-start peaceful dialogue between various actors. A new nationwide network of women mediators, established by the UN in close partnership with the Ministry of Interior and civil society organizations, has proven effective in preventing violence at the local level, dispelling false rumors, and mitigating the impact of the ongoing political crisis on populations. Through their collaboration with provincial and local authorities, this network of women mediators has shared relevant information, including early warning, and encouraged the organization of local consultations to discuss peace and to identify strategies to build community security.

Operating in groups of four mediators in 129 municipalities across the country, the network of women mediators was able to deal with more than 3,000 local conflicts between January and May 2015, the majority of which were increasingly of political and electoral nature. The mediators initiated dialogue between the authorities, security forces, political parties, protesters, CSO and citizens. They limited the negative impact of demonstrations by sensitizing demonstrators on the respect of personal property and the importance of nonviolent behavior. They also advocated for the release of demonstrators and opposition parties' members. Women mediators further protected families who were accused of fleeing; sought to promote tolerance by initiating dialogue among conflicting parties and advising on the constructive handling of political and electoral conflict; promoted dialogue and understanding among divided groups and communities; and countered rumors and exaggerated fears with verifiable information.

Transmitting women's voices – the role of external actors

Women have used a range of methods to engage in peace talks: through direct representation at the negotiation table, as observers, as part of official or semi-official consultations, in commissions set up to manage the process or implement the agreements, in specific workshops, as part of public decision-making (for example, elections and referendum), and through mass action.[60] Important details, like the selection procedures for participants or the mechanism by which civil society or external actors can feed ideas to the parties of the negotiation, can have significant bearing on the nature and impact of women's participation. As mentioned earlier, the role of external actors such as mediators and envoys can be particularly relevant in this regard.

Research has found that the most effective strategies to 'transfer' the results of consultations for women or the agreed priorities of women's organizations, is to combine the 'insider' tactics of submitting position papers directly to negotiators and meeting with mediators, negotiators, or technical advisors, with 'outsider' tactics like issuing public reports, lobbying international actors, and conducting media outreach.[61]

A very successful 'transfer' strategy used by women's networks and coalitions is the development of a common document expressing a unified position of a cross-section of women's groups, which can then be handed to mediation and negotiation teams. In Kenya, Machel helped women's groups negotiate their differences and come up with one joint memorandum to be submitted to the AU panel, and most of its provisions found their way into the agreement.[62] In South Africa, the National Women's Coalition, after extensive research and discussion, produced the 'Women's Charter for Effective Equality.' which had significant influence on the content of the constitution, law, and policy.[63] This demonstrates again that few factors are more important than then strength of the women's movement in a given country, and why it is important for the international community to provide them with sustained, long-term support.

In consultations for this Study, partners raised the issue of training for women from civil society—for example in coalition building, strategic communication, stakeholder mapping, partnerships, and mediation. While the evidence points to the enhanced impact and influence as a result of women's groups preparedness, the general sense was that **women do not necessarily lack skills; and that this oft-repeated solution of capacity building as the road to inclusion, is often simply one way of excluding women owing to their lack of capacity and skills**.[64] This is frequently used as a convenient justification for ignoring women's voices. Rather, what is needed is training and awareness-raising of (mostly-male) gatekeeper, particularly on the importance of women's engagement.[65]

One of the most repeated effects of women's involvement in peace processes was pushing for the commencement, resumption, or finalization of negotiations when the momentum had stalled or the talks had faltered.

Political will and political skill are key to integrating and amplifying women's voices in political dialogue. Political will is applied by parties to political settlements and their supporters when they proactively engage women leaders and women's organizations in dialogue to resolve conflict—especially when this is perceived as alien to local political practice. Skill is exercised constantly by mediators and political actors when they build political space for compromise and

Increasingly, research is showing that the impact on effectiveness is a result of women bringing a particular quality of consensus building to public debate, not necessarily on issues, but on the need to conclude talks and implement agreements.

reconciliation. This can involve crafting coalitions and supporting the emergence of new political forces that are inclusive and democratic. Often, women's groups are politically marginalized by dominant local political actors and invisible to external actors, so the skill required to elevate their political importance is considerable, and unfortunately, all too rare.

By making no effort to engage women's groups, external actors can actually mirror domestic misogyny. Sometimes this is out of a lack of effort to do otherwise, and sometimes it is out of an exaggerated respect for what are perceived to be local mores. This same respect for social norms however, is not extended when it comes to the participation of other groups deemed crucial to successful political dialogue—such as key power-brokers in exile, business leaders, representatives of refugee communities, or representatives of marginalized regions, religions or races. Some of these interest groups may not be welcomed by dominant domestic political interests, but external actors often know their participation is crucial, and use their political skill to ensure their engagement. In the rare cases in which mediators have done this for women, their actions have had the valuable effect of signaling to local interlocutors that women's participation is considered essential, and this process has raised the perceived political significance and actual impact of the women involved.

Women advocates frequently face a dilemma in trying to engage in peace talks. On the one hand, without a firm policy specifying the time period within which external actors mediating a conflict should meet with women leaders, the types of women's organizations they should seek out, the frequency of meetings and even the subjects that ought to be addressed, such encounters usually simply do not occur. On the other hand, there is considerable reluctance to tie the hands of mediators or envoys with specific requirements or constraints on the concessions they can make to negotiating parties in exchange for promises to participate in talks or to come to key agreements.

For this reason, practical actions to increase women's numbers in peace talks or to amplify their voice have never taken the form of hard requirements. Past recommendations therefore have urged mediators 'where possible' to do what they can to build women's engagement in political dialogue. In essence, such recommendations urge mediators to make a good faith effort, with no accountability system to monitor whether any such effort was made, nor whether it went far enough. Stricter or more specific requirements—such as establishing a time-frame within which mediators must consult with representatives of women's organizations, or requiring such consultations to recur with a specific frequency; or mandating that mediators help negotiate between women's groups and other political actors to secure influential positions for women in political processes—are generally rejected as overly crude instruments.

While these might be inappropriate to a particular context or process, or they might trigger backlash or work better at a later stage of the process, in the absence of such good faith actions by mediators and envoys after fifteen years of pleas to consult with women, the time has come to propose more specific measures that can be monitored and accounted for.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

The UN should:

✓ Include a specific responsibility drafted into the Terms of Reference of every mediator and envoy, every SRSG and Deputy SRSG, to advance women's engagement in national decision-making processes, and specifically all aspects of conflict resolution, power-sharing, national dialogue and reconciliation.

✓ Ensure that UN-appointed mediators and special envoys report on their consultations and outreach to women's groups in line with Security Council resolution 2122 (2013).

Member States, the UN, and the international community should:

✓ Ensure that all actors, mediators, Groups of Friends, and parties to the conflict guarantee that women's participation in talks is equal and meaningful, and barriers to their participation, whether these exist in law or in practice, are completely eliminated.

✓ Desist from any use of observer status as a substitute for real and effective participation. Women should not be on the sidelines observing, but an integral part of negotiations and decision-making on the future of their country.

✓ Invest in developing tools that examine the gendered impacts of various outcomes of peace talks, whether they be federalism, constitution making, transitional justice, power sharing, or cease fire provisions.

✓ Commit to mediate between women's organizations and dominant national political leaders to encourage national political actors, including leaders of belligerent parties, to include women in their delegations and to address women's concerns in their negotiations. Member states in contact groups supporting specific peace processes could offer the negotiating parties various incentives to do this—training, logistical support, or adding delegate seats for example.

✓ Commit to include agenda items on women's participation in meetings with Groups of Friends and other facilitators of national dialogue, including organizing meetings between representatives of national women's organizations and the Member States making up Groups of Friends.

✓ For each process, develop and fund a strategy of long-term support to build the capacity of women's networks to engage in political dialogue, strengthen the gender awareness of mediators, facilitators and conflict parties, address practical issues that may limit women's engagement—from granular details such as procedures for circulation of agenda and materials to bigger issues like the use of local languages, and protect women activists from potential backlash.

✓ Advocate for and support inclusive and transparent selection criteria for women at negotiations or beyond, including, for example, by ensuring women's participation in the leadership committees of peace talks, national dialogues, and consultative forums; and creating formal mechanisms to transfer women's demands to the negotiation table.

✓ Support women's engagement and participation not just in peace talks, but in preventive

diplomacy and the monitoring and implementation of agreements. This should be extended to both the preparatory and implementation phases of peace processes and political transitions, rather than limited to a given round of negotiations or national dialogue.

Member States should:

✓ Increase the number of women in their foreign service and national security establishments, and take steps to ensure that women diplomats are engaged in leadership roles in conflict resolution.

Mediators and Special Envoys should:

✓ Assume a specific responsibility to advise all parties to dialogue/peace talks/constitutional reform about the value of temporary special measures to increase the numbers of women on negotiating parties. At the same time, the mediator/envoy's office must advise national women's organizations of the range of temporary special measures available and their effectiveness in other contexts.

✓ Commit to meet with representatives of a cross-section of women's organizations within the first 30 days of any deployment, and to follow this with periodic (at least four times a year), scheduled, and minuted meetings. These meetings should be used not only to hear women's perspectives on conflict resolution, but also to provide women's groups with information about opportunities to engage in upcoming dialogue, donor conferences, and informal and formal peace processes.

✓ Commit to raise, as a matter of course and routine, specific gender issues for inclusion in ceasefires and peace talks, such as the prevention of sexual violence, justice for gender crimes, temporary special measures for women's political engagement, specific gender quotas in the leadership of post-conflict commissions to implement the peace accord, and gender-specific provisions in administrative and economic recovery arrangements (including women's land access and property rights). For example, military power sharing should focus not just on merging armies and command structures, but also putting in place rights protections, civilian and democratic accountability, and ensuring women's representation throughout. Territorial power-sharing should include protection for women's rights and participation at the sub-national level, with attention paid to the relationship between women's rights and local customary and traditional laws.

✓ Commit to include a gender advisor on the mediation team as well as to include women who are experts in political analysis and other areas covered by the team.

✓ Recognize that women's participation does not mean that they are solely responsible for women's issues, but that they are allowed to participate and be decision-makers on the full range of issues involved in the peace process.

✓ Commit to ensure that technical experts on a mediators' team are trained on the gender-related aspects of their technical area, and that these technical experts themselves have the relevant technical knowledge on the impact of women's participation and the skills to support effective inclusion.

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12. Laurel Stone, "Quantitative Analysis of Women's Participation in Peace Processes," Annex II in "Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes."
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22. "Report of the Secretary-General: Women and Peace and Security," UN Doc. S/2015/716 (United Nations Security Council, October 9, 2015), para. 14.
23. Bell, "Text and Context: Evaluating Peace Agreements for Their 'Gender Perspective.'" This is in contrast to 25 per cent when the UN is not a party to negotiations.
24. Bell, "Text and Context: Evaluating Peace Agreements for Their 'Gender Perspective," 15 and appendix I. These figures include any reference to 'gender,' to 'women' or to a type of woman–for example: widow, girl, girl-orphans, mothers, or wives; to a women's organisation (even just as a signatory to the agreement); to a women's convention; or to resolution 1325 itself; to gender-violence, or sexual violence, or specific crimes of sexual violence such as 'rape'; and to sex or gender equality (but not general references to equality where these terms were not specifically mentioned).
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26. Bell, "Text and Context: Evaluating Peace Agreements for Their 'Gender Perspective.'" Out of all the agreements that mention quotas for women, 79 per cent of them were signed after resolution 1325. Similarly, as for specific provisions related to violence against women and girl, 83 per cent of them appear in agreement signed after 1325 was adopted.
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63. Ibid., 36.

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65. The long term impacts on success of processes through women's inclusion and on the 'how' of inclusion, is perhaps the greater deficit that needs to be addressed, and one that would have significant outcomes. One area where all actors - mediators, civil society, experts - would benefit from increased capacity building is on operationalizing gender equal outcomes within all technical areas of peace talks. Research shows that the generic normative training or a purely normative approach is limited in impact and in fact owing to existing attitudes can in fact entrench resistance amongst gatekeepers. Rather, a more operational approach of engaging on and seeking entry points through the specific technical discussions may yield more impacts. For example, research on power sharing has revealed that while women's organizations and gender equality advocates have been wary of engaging in discussions on power sharing, that in fact securing language in these agreements has a considerable impact on quotas for women's political participation post-agreement. If actors are to intervene effectively to shape the equality outcome of a peace process, they must understand the technical elements of power sharing and how these can be used as entry points to further women's rights.

04

PROTECTING AND PROMOTING THE RIGHTS AND LEADERSHIP OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN HUMANITARIAN SETTINGS

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolution 1325

Calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict

2000

Resolution 1820

Requests the Secretary-General and relevant United Nations agencies, [...] to develop effective mechanisms for providing protection from violence, including in particular sexual violence, to women and girls in and around UN managed refugee and [IDP] camps

2008

2009

Resolution 1888

Demands that all parties to armed conflict immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians, including women and children, from all forms of sexual violence

Resolution 1960

Calls upon parties to armed conflict to make and implement specific and time-bound commitments to combat sexual violence, which should include, inter alia, issuance of clear orders through chains of command prohibiting sexual violence and the prohibition of sexual violence in Codes of Conduct, military field manuals, or equivalent; and further calls upon those parties to make and implement specific commitments on timely investigation of alleged abuses in order to hold perpetrators accountable

2010

2013

Resolution 2122

Recognizes the importance of seeking to ensure humanitarian aid and funding includes provision for the full range of medical, legal, psychosocial and livelihood services to women affected by armed conflict and post-conflict situations... Notes the need for access to the full range of sexual and reproductive health services, including regarding pregnancies resulting from rape, without discrimination

This Study on the implementation of resolution 1325 has coincided with one of the most brutal waves of organized violence in recent times. Armed conflict has erupted or escalated in many corners of the world. The number of people in need of international assistance has tripled over the past decade, and 80 per cent of these are affected by armed conflict.[1] Recent research indicates a 28 per cent increase in the death toll from wars in 2014,[2] and a steady increase in conflict-related violence since 2007.[3] Last year saw one of the highest numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) ever recorded, the highest number recorded since 1995, and the largest annual increase since 1990.[4] This means that, on average, every single day of 2014, 42,500 people were forced to leave their homes, not knowing when or whether they could return.[5] The average duration of displacement is now over 17 years.

These statistics and other similar ones that have been repeated in numerous reports in recent months cannot possibly capture the immensity or individuality of the human pain behind them. With frightening regularity, armed actors demonstrate disregard for human life, human suffering and international law.[6] They target the most vulnerable in society and deliberately attack schools, hospitals, journalists and aid workers. More than 90 per cent of casualties of explosive weapons in urban, populated areas are civilians.[7] Speaking to the Security Council in the first weeks of 2015, the representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) concluded: "I regret to say, based on our observations in the field, that I cannot report any significant progress in the way armed conflicts are being waged, or any significant alleviation of their impact on civilians throughout the world."[8]

For women and girls, the impacts of war are compounded by pre-existing gender inequalities and discrimination. Most strikingly, all forms of violence against women and girls increase during armed conflict. This violence may be more visible now, both to policy makers and the general public, but it has not abated. For example, in June 2015, the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) reported to the Security Council that her office had received the largest number of allegations of sexual violence by armed militias in Darfur to date, after 20 such updates to the Council over the years. Most of the victims were alleged to have been gang-raped by militias while tending their farms or collecting firewood and water, a depressingly familiar pattern to that detected and brought to the world's attention by NGOs more than 10 years ago.[9] In that very same week, the UN mission in South Sudan reported that at least 172 women and girls had been abducted by armed actors in Unity State and that an additional 79 had been subjected to sexual violence. Witnesses described women being dragged out of their dwellings and gang-raped in front of their infant children, or burned alive inside their houses after being raped.[10] The 2015 annual report of the Secretary-General on conflict-related sexual violence highlighted harrowing accounts of rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization and other forms of sexual violence of comparable gravity in 19 different countries.[11]

The same persistence can be found in the perpetration of other forms of violence against women and girls. Almost two decades ago, the International Rescue Committee began supporting clandestine schools for girls in Afghanistan. Education for millions of Afghan girls stands as that country's greatest achievement in modern times. But hundreds of vicious attacks against schoolgirls, female teachers and girls' schools continue to take place every year.[12] While the kidnapping of 276 schoolgirls in Chibok, Nigeria received significant media attention, less has been said of the more than 2,000 women and girls abducted in Northern Nigeria since 2014, many of them used as sexual slaves, human shields and suicide bombers.[13] Year after year, we hear too many horrific stories of women political leaders, media personnel, women's human rights defenders and members of civil society and grassroots organizations being assaulted, threatened and killed. Intimate partner violence and early, forced and child marriage have become more widespread during and after war.[14]

Crises exacerbate already existing discrimination against women and girls that render them less

likely to have access to even the most fundamental of their rights, including the right to health care, education, food, shelter and even a nationality. Struggling to feed their families, look after the sick and educate their daughters and sons, women are the first to suffer from restrictions in movement and the closure of schools, medical facilities and markets. Girls may be fed last and be the first to go hungry in the face of food insecurity. Whether in detention or in refugee or IDP camps, women and girls suffer from inadequate sanitary conditions and supplies, especially during menstruation and lactation, as well as from a lack of sexual, reproductive and maternal health care services which can mean a death sentence for many women during childbirth or when seeking to terminate a pregnancy. Girls drop out of school and women lose access to land and livelihoods. For many, survival sex or early marriages become the only options.

Discriminatory norms and lack of documentation impede many women and girls from claiming their human rights, including their access to property, and from seeking asylum. In urban settings, where the majority of refugees and IDPs now reside, women are at risk of human trafficking by organized crime; harassment, exploitation and discrimination by landlords and employers; and arbitrary arrest, detention and refoulement by the authorities. A dearth of humanitarian services properly tailored for cities only makes matters worse. As was recently noted by the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, "they flee to escape arbitrary killings, rape, torture, inhuman or degrading treatment, forced recruitment or starvation, but too often, they encounter the same level of insecurity, violence, and threats of violence, reinforced by impunity, at their destination, including camps for internally displaced persons."[15]

This chapter is organized around three simple messages:

- First, that humanitarians, development workers, the international and regional human rights system and the interventions of our peace and security actors must address the full range of violations of the rights of women and girls protected by international humanitarian, refugee and human rights law, including, but not limited to, their right to life and physical integrity.

- Second, that women's rights to education, health, land and productive assets and to participation, decision-making and leadership in village or community matters are strongly linked to women's security.

- Third, that we are still far from genuinely embracing gender equality as an organizing principle of humanitarian work, and this undermines the effectiveness of humanitarian assistance.

The right to life and physical integrity

Since resolution 1325 was adopted, and since the first programmes in the mid- and late 1990s that addressed sexual and gender-based violence in humanitarian settings, much has changed.[16] Public awareness of sexual and gender-based violence has increased exponentially, measured by the proliferation of media attention, social media activism, public health campaigns and social research. The attention to this issue in policy-making circles has also grown. From 2008 to 2013, the Security Council adopted four resolutions in five years devoted to sexual violence in conflict as a threat to international peace and security and created a dedicated post of Special Representative of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict.

Similarly focused resolutions and declarations have been adopted by the UN General Assembly, the Human Rights Council, the G8 and other forums.[17] In the last three years, the foreign ministers of two of the world's most powerful countr—the United Kingdom and the United States—have launched ambitious campaigns to address sexual and gender-based violence in conflict and emergencies. A global summit in London in 2014 convened almost 2,000 delegates and representatives from more than 120 countries, an unprecedented scale for a meeting on this topic.[18]

> "Now the same girls that were encouraged to go to school, aren't going back. Some, because of the fear of all this crisis[...]. But other cases are because of their own families, their own parents. Some parents say, no more school for their children, no more school for their girls—especially girls—because they are afraid of the girl being abducted, being killed, and so on, so forth."

Sylvie Jacqueline Ngodongmo, President, Women International League for Peace and Freedom, Cameroon, UN Women Video Interview, 2015

At the global level, sexual violence and other gross human rights violations against women appear much more frequently in the mandates of peacekeeping missions or sanctions committees. At the national level, some countries have adopted laws, action plans, zero-tolerance policies and codes of conduct and appointed special advisors. Beyond sexual violence, there has also been growing attention to other forms of violence and harmful practices in humanitarian settings, such as child, early and forced marriage or the targeted killings of women in leadership or public roles, including women's human rights defenders.[19]

This attention has not only punctured the silence and neglect that has traditionally accompanied conflict-related violence against women and girls but also led to tangible changes in the response of the international community, from human rights monitoring to access to health care for survivors, transitional justice responses and the training and patrolling of peacekeepers. In the last 15 years, international courts have produced a growing body of convictions of war criminals and robust international jurisprudence on this topic. The UN and international NGOs have increased their capacity to address the issue in emergencies.[20] Hundreds of thousands of women and girls are now reached by one or more of the variety of programmes that aim to help survivors and prevent more violence, such as emergency medical care, mental health and psychosocial assistance, shelters and safe houses, special police units, mobile courts, prevention and awareness programmes, post-exposure prophylaxis (PEP) and dignity kits, to name a few. Strategies include changing harmful behaviours and social norms, targeting religious and cultural leaders for sensitization on women's rights, empowering women and girls (including with livelihood programmes), finding alternative energy sources to firewood and ensuring the safety of water points, latrines and bathing spaces in or near refugee camps. In particular, locally driven initiatives exemplify the strength and resilience of conflict-affected communities and their agency in developing their own, context-specific responses to trauma. Strengthening capacities are also a big part of this effort: for example, training local health-care staff on clinical management of rape, social workers on psychosocial counselling, humanitarians on sexual exploitation and abuse, and police, prosecutors and judges on investigating and prosecuting sexual and gender-based violence.

FOCUS ON

UN actors on sexual violence in conflict

The **Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SRSG-SVC)** was established by Security Council resolution 1888 (2009) and became operational in April 2010. The SRSG-SVC serves as the United Nations' spokesperson and leading advocate on conflict-related sexual violence and is responsible for mobilizing global political will and action and for preparation of the annual reports of the Secretary-General covering all relevant situations of concern and naming and shaming perpetrators. The SRSG works with the Security Council to propose sanctions and other targeted measures against those who commit, command, or condone sexual violence crimes, as well as with State and non-State parties to conflict to obtain specific commitments to prevent and respond to sexual violence. The **UN Team of Experts on the Rule of Law/Sexual Violence in Conflict** was also established pursuant to resolution 1888 to support countries to strengthen prevention and response efforts (see further, Chapter 5: *Transformative Justice*).

UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict is an inter-agency network that unites the efforts of 13 UN entities from across the spectrum of human rights, humanitarian, public health, peace, security, political and development sectors. Its goal is to foster a multi-stakeholder response to sexual violence during and in the wake of conflict. Launched in 2007, it represents a concerted effort by the UN system to 'deliver as one'—improving coordination and accountability, amplifying advocacy, building knowledge and capacity and supporting country-level efforts to prevent conflict-related sexual violence and respond more comprehensively to the needs of survivors. Through successive resolutions since 2008, the UN Security Council has acknowledged UN Action as the primary coordination platform on this agenda. Chaired by the SRSG-SVC, UN Action's work is funded exclusively by voluntary contributions from a range of governments whose funds are pooled in a Multi-Partner Trust Fund (MPTF). The MPTF serves as a vital tool for incentivizing cooperation, transparency and strategic partnerships by financing joint initiatives that bridge disciplinary and sectoral divides.

Less is known about the impact that these initiatives have, what works and under what circumstances. Several reviews published in recent years and new research initiatives are tackling these questions.[21] For example, the evaluations of several programmes focused on changing behaviours, attitudes or social norms in the community tell us that these may be effective in increasing recognition of different types of violence, reducing levels of victim blame, decreasing acceptance of violence, increasing knowledge of rights and reducing the incidence of harmful practices such as early marriage or female genital mutilation. **But they have been less effective in addressing the cause: in other words, in challenging the gender norms that trigger violence before, during and after war.** These include entrenched norms around women's status and behaviour as well as women's reproductive and sexual rights. There is also little evidence that these interventions decrease recidivism or make potential offenders desist.[22] Many of the interventions that involve working with the police showed mixed results and were often perceived

to be less effective. For example, a multi-country assessment in 2012 revealed that 50 per cent of the caseload of the special protection units of the South Sudan police service reportedly involved prosecuting women and girls for their sexual behaviour, including adultery.[23] Additionally, although 55 per cent of precincts in the Philippines had women's desks, most of these prioritized mediation and family reunification.

What we do know is that, as impressive as the above list of types of interventions may seem and as prominent as the global advocacy on violence against women has become, the actual coverage of activities and programmes on the ground is grossly insufficient and in many cases almost non-existent. With resources being focused on communications, coordination and technical specialists, and concentrated in the capitals of donor countries or the headquarters of international organizations, growing awareness of the issues has been most visible in the amount of reports, standards, training resources, guidelines and other tools and materials rather than in actual, large-scale programmes for survivors in conflict-affected countries. Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) refers to this phenomenon in their widely read "Where Is Everyone?" report,[24] which highlights sexual violence as one of those areas where the distance between words and action is particularly pronounced. In refugee camps, even the most basic level of protections such as the three Ls, or lighting, locks and latrines, and the location of water points are very unevenly implemented.[25] The new global guidelines on gender-based violence in emergencies will be launched in 2015 with the knowledge that, over 10 years, the previous version of these guidelines was seldom applied in practice.[26]

We also know that funding for these interventions continues to be astonishingly low, discussed in Chapter 13: *Financing WPS.*[27] The laudable objective to obtain better data about sexual and gender-based violence against women and girls in conflict settings, including prevalence and incidence data, and the impetus to evaluate interventions more rigorously and find out what works must both be tempered by the fact that in many contexts there are not many programmes to evaluate, or only interventions that are small in scope, duration and coverage. For example, numerous media stories and UN and NGO reports have raised the alarm on the increase of child marriage in Syria and neighbouring countries since the beginning of the conflict. This was documented with not only individual stories but also hard numbers: inside Syria, prior to the conflict, the percentage of girls being married before the age of 18 was estimated as between 13 and 17 per cent.[28] Once the civil war had erupted, a 2013 assessment put that number at 51 per cent among Syrian refugees in host communities in Jordan.[29] Other assessments systematically tracked the gradual increase. In 2011, the percentage of total registered Syrian marriages that involved a girl was 12 per cent. This number rose to 25 per cent in 2013 and 32 per cent in 2014 as the conflict escalated. And yet, inside Syria, out of 67 projects financed by the pooled funding available for 2014, none addressed child marriage, only one specifically addressed gender-based violence and only three were given a gender mark that indicated that their principal purpose was to advance gender equality.[30] This is representative of other funding pools as well, where protection is typically one of the least funded sectors in humanitarian action.[31]

It was clear that women in conflict-affected settings favour interventions that are focused [...] more on empowering women and girls and putting them at the frontline of service delivery.

Through the consultations and civil society inputs conducted for this Study, it was clear that women in conflict-affected settings favour interventions that are focused less on perpetrators or potential perpetrators and more on empowering women and girls and putting them at the frontline of service delivery.[32] And practitioners and conflict-affected women also insist that while the international community should continue to invest in assessments, mappings and evaluations, they should also scale up programmes, including locally driven initiatives that have already shown promise. They also observed that short-term trainings often have a limited impact and the affected populations prefer either direct service provision or long-term capacity building, both of which are more expensive and require much more time and resources. **Perhaps most importantly, they note that the overwhelming majority of women and girls do not report violence not just because of shame or stigma but even more so because there are often no easily accessible services or ways to report safely, receive help and be treated with dignity.** This should be an unmissable element of every primary intervention, rapid assessment or initial planning in humanitarian response: what do the women in the affected community think would improve their safety? What kinds of interventions do they need the international community to fund and support from the outset? And how can we ensure that our tools—the overwhelming majority of them in English and highly technical—are understood and useable by the local population, who are after all the main actors delivering humanitarian assistance and protection and strengthening community resilience.

FOCUS ON

Women's human rights defenders

Women's rights defenders face all of the challenges experienced by human rights defenders in general, such as death threats, killings, arbitrary detentions, eviction, threats of violence against family members, break-ins and other forms of intimidation. However, they also face gender-specific threats and violence, such as rape and sexual violence, and additional resistance from family or community members who want to enforce traditional gender norms.[33] Attacks against women's human rights defenders often focus on their reputation and/or their sexuality as not conforming to dominant stereotypes of appropriate female behaviour. In many instances, it is all too clear that killings of women's rights defenders and journalists are directly related to gender or women's rights efforts. Women's rights defenders have created community networks for solidarity and protection, and these efforts should be supported and expanded. Within these networks, they have called for international attention to violence against them and demanded that those responsible be prosecuted. In some cases they have also raised funds for legal assistance, medical assistance and security. Rapid response grants such as the ones disbursed to activists within a week or less by the Urgent Action Fund provide a crucial lifeline to women's human rights defenders worldwide and should be better funded by the international community.

The right to health

Basic health care for women and girls in conflict-affected areas is not only a fundamental human right but also a key building block to overcoming the devastation brought about by war. And yet, in consultations for the Global Study, it was clear that this crucial right is out of reach or under assault for tens of millions of women and girls in conflict zones. The challenges are manifold and impossible to summarize in this short section except to highlight some of the most salient and recurrent.

First, many people, from both the affected communities and elsewhere, devote their lives, often at great risk, to provide medical care in the most dangerous corners of the world, in places where the health sector has collapsed or has always been extremely weak. Their work represents one of the most needed forms of service to other human beings. And yet, attacks against health-care facilities and workers are on the rise. A study conducted by the ICRC in 2014 documented more than 1,800 incidents involving serious acts or threats of violence affecting the delivery of health care in 2012 and 2013.[34] In Mali, when rebels took over the north of the country, armed men systematically entered into delivery rooms and expelled pregnant women to make room for their wounded.[35] While women and girls experience perhaps the most direct consequences from these acts, the fall out is felt by everyone. After more than 90 health-care workers in polio vaccination teams, most of them women, were assassinated in Pakistan in recent years, the number of polio cases recorded in that country soared to its highest in 14 years.[36]

Second, women and girls suffer from malnutrition and infectious diseases brought about by the appalling living conditions and the lack of sanitation and health care, including reproductive health care, in many of the IDP and refugee settlements in which they live during and after conflict. In some of the current camps for IDPs in South Sudan, the density of people in living spaces at the beginning of the recent conflict was 13 times higher than the recommended humanitarian minimum, and there was one latrine available for every 200 to 300 people.[37] In displacement sites in the Central African Republic, a February 2014 assessment found that there was no medical assistance in 90 per cent of the sites. This lack of coverage, and gaps in assistance are fairly representative. In 2001, the UN

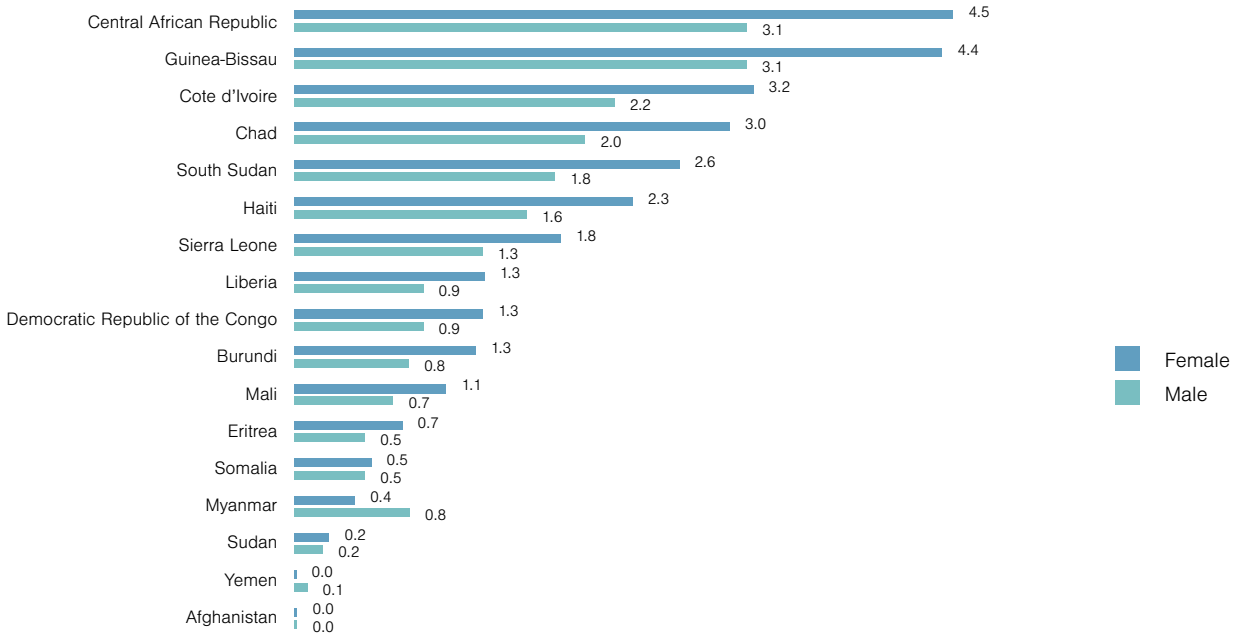
> "We perceive peace to mean being free from all incapacitating health conditions that bring misery and trauma caused by violent conflict. Peace to women means being healthy (the body); having hope and confidence in oneself as we plan for our families (mind); and being free from anger and rage, especially as their painful conflict experiences are concerned (spirit)."
>
> Participant in the 2014 Open Day, Women, Peace and Security, Uganda

Refugee Agency (UNHCR) issued five commitments to refugee women and girls. The fifth, provision of sanitary materials to all women and girls of concern in UNHCR assistance programmes, has only been fully reached in 21 per cent of all camps, with another 21 per cent of camps having more than 90 per cent of sanitary needs met.[38] And yet, in some displacement contexts, the quality of services provided inside camps is better than that available to the host community, which quickly becomes a source of tension.

Third, gender inequality, exacerbated by conflict, contributes to the heightened risk of infection with HIV and AIDS that women and girls face. Women and girls have less access to information about the risk of HIV, fewer resources to take preventative measures and much greater barriers to negotiation of safer sex due to unequal power dynamics in relationships, and they represent the overwhelming majority of survivors of sexual violence.[39] Additionally, women face increased burdens as caregivers for the sick and for children orphaned by the disease. The gender gap in HIV prevalence is stark.

> "Bullets are often fired over the clinic and our staff members have to lie down until the shooting stops. But we have no plans to stop providing a space for women's health. These women will not be afterthoughts."
>
> **Meinie Nicolai**, President, MSF Belgium[40]

Percentage of people living with HIV, 15-49 Years old, 2013[41]



FOCUS ON

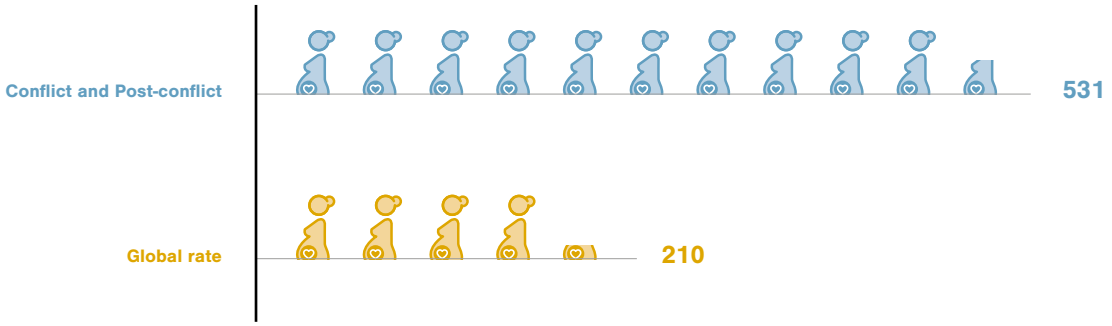
Health pandemics

The presence of pandemic diseases can make the challenges of peacebuilding more complex as well as pose a threat to peace and security in and of themselves. This was evidenced by the Security Council's creation of the first mission ever to address a health pandemic as a threat to peace and security in relation to the 2014 outbreak of the Ebola virus in West Africa (UNMEER). For countries newly emerging from conflict, the spread of HIV and AIDS as a result of increased levels of violence against women and lack of access to health facilities or means of protection can significantly undermine a country's capacity to stabilize, as recognized in Security Council resolution 1983 (2011).[42] The response to the disease may be hampered by weak or still nascent State institutions, low levels of community resilience to social strain and, as was evidenced most recently with the outbreak of Ebola in the context of a region still rebuilding after successive civil wars, can contribute to devastating economic impacts in addition to the individual and community losses. Health pandemics have particular gendered effects that contribute to the spread of the disease and inform their impact on the population but can equally be harnessed to mitigate spread and impact if they are understood and made central to prevention and response. For example, the common cultural expectation in some societies that women care for the sick increases their workloads and can place them at higher risk of infection; this is true with Ebola in West Africa and with cholera in Haiti, where women and girls are exposed through their work cleaning latrines, fetching water and preparing raw food.[43] Addressing gender inequalities in access to health care is one of the most effective ways to stem the spread of disease and mitigate its consequences.[44]

Fourth, psychosocial support and mental health care was frequently identified as a gap area, with too few actors or programmes addressing these needs. Good practice in this area requires involving the women in the community in the design of any intervention, both to understand their possible needs and to build on what may already exist and design culturally appropriate services. For example, some communities may see one-on-one counselling as a Western construct, and alternative approaches such as group-sharing of problems, community dialogue, traditional healing rituals, art-based projects and initiatives and engagement in livelihood projects may be more appropriate. Recent research has shown that these types of interventions can bring about significant results both in contexts of chronic and ongoing insecurity as well as many years after the actual violence or abuse has taken place.[45] Importantly, mental health and psychosocial interventions should avoid reinforcing gendered stereotypes around female victimhood, and seek instead to transform gender norms and other social inequalities. Mental health care is something increasingly understood to be a necessity, not a luxury, both at the individual and society level for post-conflict recovery. And yet it is underfunded throughout the world. Chronically low numbers of trained psychologists, psychiatrists and other mental health professionals in fragile states in particular means that most countries' mental health systems are completely wiped out by conflict.

Of these various challenges, perhaps the two that most affect the health of women and girls are reproductive health care and gender-based violence.

Maternal Mortality Ratio, deaths per 100,000 live births, 2013 estimates[46]



Maternal mortality and morbidity are highest in crises-affected countries.[47] Over half of the world's maternal deaths occur in conflict-affected and fragile states—and the majority of these are preventable.[48] Sierra Leone registered the highest maternal mortality ratio in the world in 2013, at 1,100 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births, more than five times the global rate of 210.[49] One in 16 women in Somalia is likely to die from a maternal cause.[50] Inside most IDP and refugee camps, there are few female doctors and little or no access to sex education, contraceptives or gynaecological health.[51] In some countries, the proportion of births attended by skilled health professionals is extremely low, contributing directly to high maternal mortality numbers.

With the impetus of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs),[52] the international community has been working toward improvements in reproductive health services in conflict-affected settings, with some remarkable progress made. For example, Nepal has reduced maternal mortality by 78 per cent in the past 15 years, while trained midwives, improved immunization coverage and rising girl's education levels in Afghanistan have resulted in substantial improvements to women's health.[53] In some cases, simple and low-cost solutions are sufficient to make major gains in maternal health outcomes: in one district in Sierra Leone, MSF introduced an ambulance service to transport women experiencing complications from pregnancy and childbirth from local clinics to the hospital, reducing maternal mortality by 74 per cent.[54] Still, far too many women's lives are damaged or lost due to inadequate access to reproductive care in conflict-affected areas.

Access to safe abortions and post-abortion care is a lifesaving part of comprehensive reproductive health care. Unsafe abortion is one of the five leading causes of maternal mortality, causing 13 per cent of maternal deaths worldwide. In conflict and post-conflict settings, where pregnancy is particularly dangerous and is often the result of sexual violence, access to safe abortion is especially important. International humanitarian law protects the right of the wounded and sick to the medical care required by their condition. Pregnancy from conflict-related sexual violence aggravates the serious, sometimes life-threatening injuries from the rapes themselves. Studies have shown that unwanted pregnancy through rape as well as the conditions imposed by war—malnutrition, anaemia, malaria, exposure, stress, infection, disease—increase the risks of maternal mortality.[55] **Exclusion of one medical service, abortion, from the comprehensive medical care provided to the wounded and sick in armed conflict, where such service is needed by only one gender, is a violation not only of the right to medical care but also of the prohibition on "adverse distinction"** found in Common Article 3, the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions and customary international law.[56] Importantly, it is

also in violation of international human rights law. The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee) has specified that "it is discriminatory for a State party to refuse to legally provide for the performance of certain reproductive health services for women."[57] Also, the Committee establishes that "laws that criminalize medical procedures only needed by women and that punish women who undergo those procedures" are a barrier to women's access to health care.[58] The Committee on the Rights of the Child has also recommended that "States ensure access to safe abortion and post-abortion care services, irrespective of whether abortion itself is legal."[59]

In recent years, a growing chorus of actors have raised their voice in support of this position. To the Human Rights Committee, the Committee against Torture and the UN Special Rapporteur on this topic, denial of abortion to women and girls made pregnant by rape can constitute an act of torture or cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment.[60] In 2013, in his report on women, peace and security, the Secretary-General urged that humanitarian aid and funding provide for the full range of medical, legal, psychosocial and livelihood services to victims of rape, "including access to services for safe termination of pregnancies resulting from rape, without discrimination, and in accordance with international human rights and humanitarian law."[61] In resolution 2122 (2013), the Security Council recognized the importance of medical services for women affected by armed conflict and specifically noted "the need for sexual and reproductive health services, including regarding pregnancies resulting from rape, without discrimination."[62] Since 2012, the European Parliament has adopted at least four resolutions supporting this view.[63] And in 2013, the CEDAW Committee recommended that States parties ensure that sexual and reproductive health care includes safe abortion services and post-abortion care.[64] International human rights law and international humanitarian law apply universally, irrespective of national legislation. This includes the aid policy of the world's largest donor, the United States, and the restrictive effect it has on the provision of abortion by humanitarian agencies worldwide.[65] In war zones, women who are raped almost never have access to emergency contraception. Supporting their choice to terminate their pregnancy safely would have an immeasurable impact on women's lives.

Since 1999, humanitarian agencies have rolled out a Minimum Initial Service Package (MISP) for both reproductive health and clinical management of rape, but this standard—revised in 2010—has not been attained in most settings. Research shows that the more fundamental issue is that the MISP assumes some level of pre-existing, functioning health infrastructure, disrupted due to conflict, that humanitarians can help patch up and reactivate. However, the health system in places such as Libya or Syria quickly collapses with the mass flight of health professionals, while in places such as South Sudan, the only existing health system is the one created by the UN and non-governmental agencies. This shows once again the need to work on ensuring safe, quality reproductive health care access for women and adolescent girls as part of not just the emergency response but also long-term development interventions. In many conflict-affected countries, the health cluster reports that national health professionals, from doctors to nurses, have not been trained in clinical management of rape.[66] And although a two-day training in the midst of an emergency is a positive step, it cannot cover relatively complex, sensitive gender dynamics about violence and entrenched social norms such as blaming the victim alongside technical elements about PEP kits and emergency contraception kits.

Over half of the world's maternal deaths occur in conflict-affected and fragile states – and the majority of these are preventable.

FOCUS ON

Mobile health programming for survivors of sexual violence

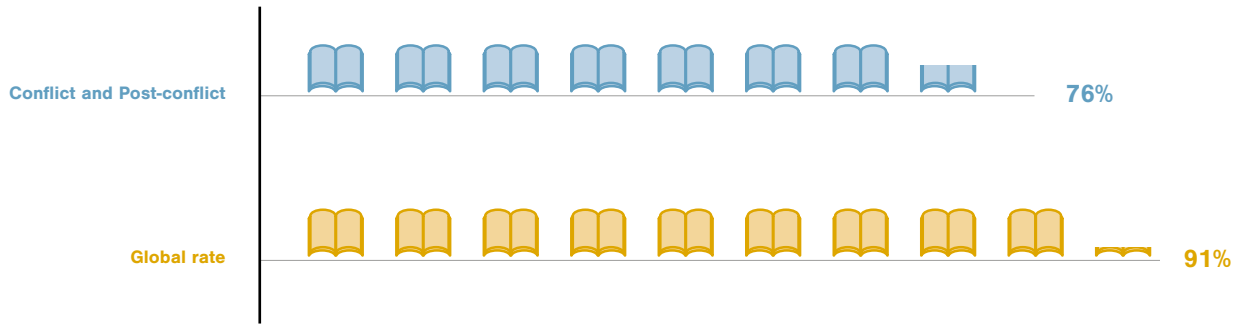
In 2004, the Foundation RamaLevina (FORAL), a Congolese health and social NGO, started a mobile health programme to address the barriers to access identified by gender-based violence survivors and their families in rural South Kivu province, Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo.[67] FORAL expanded its mobile health services in 2010 and developed a clinical monitoring and evaluation system to record patients' histories and their experience of sexual violence, the medical care they had received and planned treatment and follow-up.[68] The group also worked with community members through partnerships with community health workers. Findings from a study of the programme show that access to health care for female survivors of gender-based violence and their male partners increased, the quality of services improved and community members participated more actively in education sessions held at the beginning of each mobile clinic.

> "I was a girl in a land where rifles are fired in celebration of a son, while daughters are hidden away behind a curtain, their role in life simply to prepare food and give birth to children."
>
> **Malala Yousafzai**,
> Nobel laureate[69]

The right to education

The experiences of Pakistani teenager Malala Yousafzai in 2012 and of hundreds of schoolgirls in Chibok, Nigeria, in 2014 are only two of the best known examples of how girls' education comes under direct attack during conflict. Girls in Somalia have been forcibly removed from schools to become 'wives' of Al-Shabab fighters. In Afghanistan, the Taliban frequently bomb girls' schools, attack the students with acid, poison their water supplies and set up improvised explosive devices on the routes used by female students to attend school. Each attack has a multiplier effect on girls' access to education. For example, it is estimated that in 2009, the Taliban's attacks and violent threats against girls, their families and teachers resulted in 120,000 female students and 8,000 women teachers ceasing to attend schools in the Swat District.[70] In Gaza, 66 per cent of schools were damaged or destroyed during the hostilities in July and August 2014.[71] And in the majority of armed conflicts in recent years, non-state armed groups and government forces have used schools for military purposes.[72]

Adjusted Net enrolment ratio in primary school, girls, 2013[73]



Conflict widens the gender gap in school enrolment and retention and in literacy. Conflict-affected countries typically divert resources away from education, and heightened insecurity keeps schoolchildren and girls in particular, away from the classroom. In South Sudan, a girl is three times likelier to die in pregnancy or childbirth than to complete primary education.[74] In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the fear of sexual violence keeps an untold number of girls away from classrooms. In many settings, there are very few female teachers, especially in positions of authority, and minimal or no sanitation facilities, which are particularly critical for adolescent girls. Frequently, girls are left at home due to their own families' strategies to cope with scarcity and insecurity and as a result of gender norms that privilege boys over girls.[75] Refugee and asylum-seeking girls—and women of all ages seeking to complete secondary or tertiary education—encounter great difficulties in urban areas, especially if they cannot afford the fees or if schools in the host community are already overstretched. Women and girls who return from captivity, particularly if they were forced into marriage and birthed at least one child, are very unlikely to re-enroll in education.[76] Approximately half of out-of-school children of primary school age live in conflict-affected areas,[77] where girls' net enrolment rate in primary education is 13.53 percentage points below the global rate.[78] Each additional year of a girl's education has a dramatic impact on maternal mortality, infant mortality and early marriage, to say nothing of the overall social and economic benefits, contributing greatly to overall stability particularly in post-conflict settings.[79] And gender equality programming has been shown to improve access to education and education outcomes for girls and boys, demonstrating the crucial link between gender equality and the effectiveness of humanitarian assistance.[80]

Each additional year of a girl's education has a dramatic impact on maternal mortality, infant mortality, early marriage, and has social and economic benefits.

Much more must be done to address this issue as a violation of international humanitarian and human rights law. The CEDAW Committee's forthcoming general recommendation on girls' and women's

rights to education must pay special attention to the actions of armed actors and the obligations of States. For example, where violations of girls' and women's rights to education have occurred as a result of armed conflict, education providers should include special outreach and remedial education programmes for girls associated with armed forces or forcibly married, displaced or trafficked.

The right to property, housing and livelihoods

Without access to land, credit, tenure, skills training or information, women's power to build peace and promote recovery from conflict is seriously impaired. In many fragile settings, women do not have access to assets, such as land, livestock, credit, farm implements or fishing boats and nets. They are instead left with what they can accomplish with their own hands in time not given over for caregiving. This has a profound impact not only on their poverty and marginalization but also on their ability to improve their communities and shape their future.

Parties to armed conflict regularly use occupation or destruction of land as a deliberate strategy of war. They confiscate land illegally, evict occupants by force, secure property transactions under duress and destroy documentary evidence of ownership.[81] For women, violations of their rights to land and housing are central to their experience of war. In many cases, they are the ones at home when armed actors take over or destroy their property, usually violently. In other cases, in the context of displacement and return, family loss or separation, they are only able to access their land through the men in their family.[82] Young, widowed, single or divorced women are particularly likely to experience difficulties with access to land or land rights. For women who are ex-combatants, pregnant from rape outside of marriage or otherwise stigmatized, the challenges can become insurmountable. Even when laws provide for women's right to inherit property and land, women may be unaware of this or may lack documents and titles. Few will possess the social and economic resources to pursue their claims, through either non-formal or statutory means, particularly when they have to navigate unresponsive authorities, ineffective courts and biased attitudes among family and community members.[83] As a result, the percentage of women with legal titles to land is significantly lower in conflict and post-conflict countries.

Much can be done to address this gap, including through legislative reform, land reform campaigns and changes in registration procedures.[84] Where statutory law is not in compliance with international human rights obligations of equality and non-discrimination, humanitarian and development actors should advocate for the removal of discriminatory legislation and the amendment of marriage, inheritance and related laws to ensure women's equality in accessing land and housing. Donors can invest in legal representation for women and other measures to address the practical barriers women face in accessing justice resulting from their poverty, illiteracy or marginalization.

International organizations should always register women independently from male heads of households, promote this practice with government counterparts and refrain from documenting and registering housing or land assets only in the name of the principal adult male in the household.[85] However, cultural, religious and customary practices, which often exist in parallel with statutory laws, can also have an impact on

Without access to land, credit, tenure, skills training or information, women's power to build peace and promote recovery from conflict is seriously impaired.

Incidence of female agricultural landowners (legal titles), 2013[86]

women's rights related to land, property and housing; the role of customary and religious law is addressed in detail in Chapter 5: *Transformative Justice.*

Once again, women's participation in decision-making charts the most direct path to meaningful change, whether in formal institutions addressing land reform or in informal community-level mediation forums where land disputes are adjudicated (which are overwhelmingly dominated by men). A few years after the genocide, Rwanda embarked on an ambitious land tenure reform programme aimed at eliminating all major forms of discrimination. In every land commission and committee responsible for parcel demarcation, adjudication, disputes and objections and issuing leases, women had to represent at least 30 per cent of the commissioners and committee members. As a result, women now have the right to deal in and inherit land, and both women and men are required to be present during the registration of owners. By March 2012, private land owned by individuals was held as follows: 11 per cent by women, 5 per cent by men and 83 per cent jointly by married couples.[87]

Although under-researched and under-utilized in humanitarian settings (despite most of these being protracted emergencies spanning many years), livelihood interventions targeting young women and adolescent girls in development settings have been shown to have positive effects on girls' sense of safety, rates of unwanted sex, risky sexual behaviours, early marriage, intimate partner violence and bargaining power associated with HIV risk. For example, a combination of microcredit with participatory gender training, social support groups and community mobilization reduced intimate partner violence by 55 per cent in the target group. A 2012 randomized control trial concluded that economic strengthening programmes, when delivered in combination with social interventions, had reduced Ugandan adolescent girls' reporting of "having sex unwillingly" to almost zero.[88]

The right to asylum, nationality, and documentation

In resolution 2122 (2013), the Security Council expressed concern at women's vulnerability in relation to forced displacement, as a result of unequal citizenship rights, gender-biased application of asylum laws and obstacles to accessing identity documents. Currently, gender is not expressly included in the international definition of a refugee as a person with a well-founded fear of persecution on the basis of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a social group—something that women and refugee advocates have been trying to change for a long time.[89]

Various challenges confront women and girls who flee conflict or persecution and are in search of asylum, including lack of proper documentation establishing

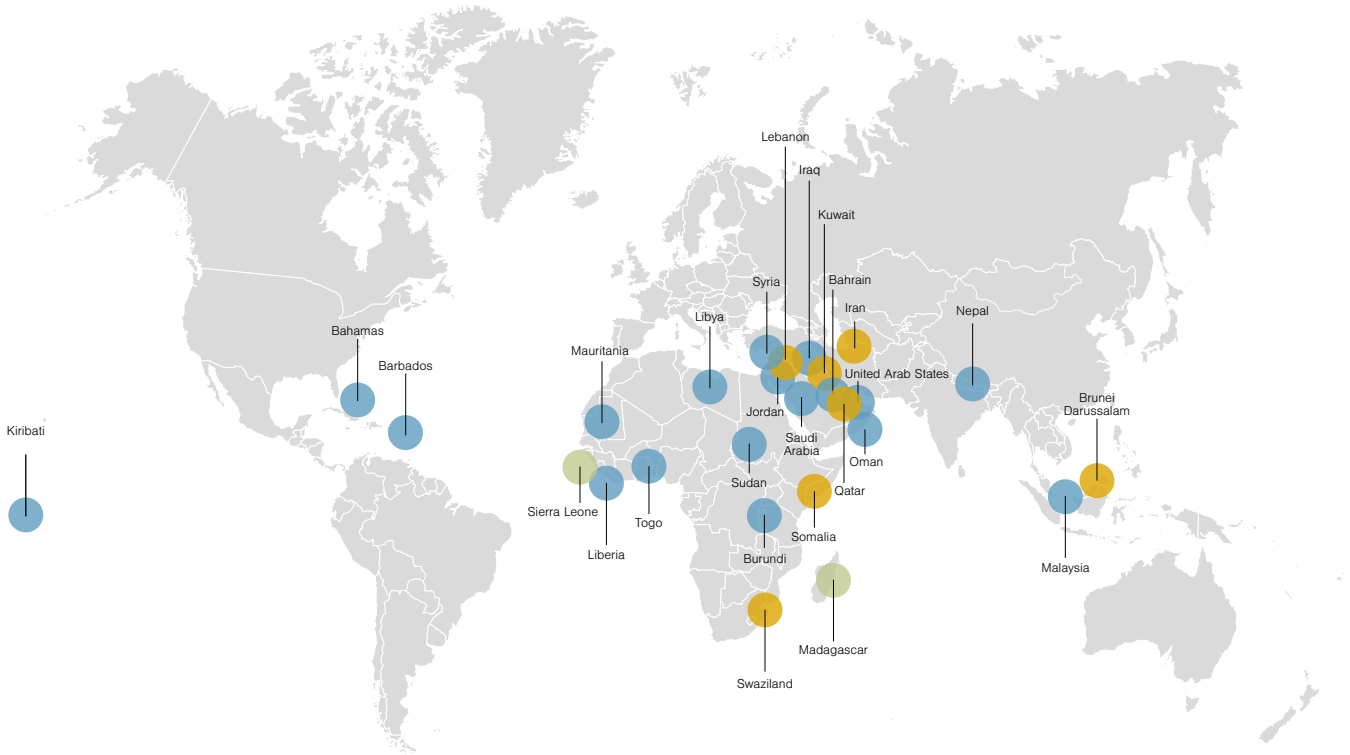
country of origin in gender-related claims, and adjudicators characterizing sexual violence in conflict as a private act rather than politically motivated persecution.[90] Consequences of sexual violence, especially the associated social stigma, are also often not taken into consideration by adjudicators in assessing the risk of further persecution or internal flight alternatives.

While the number of women becoming heads of household as a result of displacement is increasing, discriminatory citizenship laws in both resident and home countries prevent them from owning property, accessing land rights or being entitled to a full range of other economic, social and political rights. Refugees have a right to documentation, including identity papers and travel documents, and returnee women and girls have equal rights to these documents and for these to be issued in their own names, but this is often not the case in practice.[91] Some countries require women to produce a marriage certificate before permitting birth registration. In others, a birth must be registered by the child's father, regardless of any nationality issues or whether he is known or not.

Nationality laws that do not grant women equality with men in conferring nationality to their children cause statelessness, a problem that impacts at least 10 million people worldwide.[92] Currently 27 countries across the world have laws that discriminate against women in their ability to confer nationality to their children.[93]

The impact of statelessness is severe and gives rise to discrimination that can result in denial of access to basic resources including health care, education and employment opportunities. While the challenges are

Nationality laws and discrimination against women[94]



Note: The figure uses a colour scheme to divide the laws of the 27 States into three categories: (1) countries (yellow) with nationality laws that do not allow mothers to confer their nationality to their children with no, or very limited, exceptions; (2) countries (blue) that have some safeguards against the creation of statelessness (for example, making exceptions for mothers to confer nationality if the father is unknown or stateless); and (3) countries (light green) that also limit the conferral of nationality by women but have additional guarantees to ensure statelessness will only arise in very few circumstances.

enormous for any stateless individual, women and girls have a greatly increased risk of sexual exploitation and abuse, such as trafficking for commercial sex work, illegal adoption and child labour.[95] Gender discriminatory laws are creating statelessness in several contexts. For example, high casualty rates and forcible separation mean a quarter of Syrian refugee families are headed by women, but the law does not allow women to pass their nationality to their children, giving rise to generational statelessness. Anecdotal evidence has also suggested an emerging trend of stateless young girls being married off at an early age by families as a measure to protect them from the consequences of statelessness.[114]

On a more positive note, 12 States have reformed their laws in the past decade to eliminate gender discrimination in citizenship. The Global Campaign for Equal Nationality Rights was launched in June 2014 with the aim of eliminating gender discrimination in nationality laws, and in the same year UNHCR launched its Campaign to End Statelessness in 10 Years, which includes as one of its key actions the removal of gender discriminatory laws at the national level.

The right to food

It has been known for some time that gender norms and gender inequality render women and girls particularly vulnerable to food insecurity. Not only are women and girls made primarily responsible for feeding their families in a context of food scarcity, in many cases as heads of households, but often their nutritional needs take a back seat to those of men and boys. Furthermore, as women, particularly in situations of displacement, are often impeded from earning an income outside the house, they are typically more dependent on food assistance. For example, the World Food Programme (WFP) estimated in 2015 that female-headed households among the Syrian refugee population in Jordan were more dependent by at least 10 percentage points on WFP food vouchers than male-headed households.[97] In a refugee population of that size, this gap translates into tens of thousands of female-headed households that are extremely vulnerable to any changes in food assistance.

> "As the men are fighting and trying to make sure that they control power, everything in the household and the community is left in the hands of women. This is very clear when you look at IDP and refugee camps: you don't find men taking charge of the livelihood of their households."
>
> **Ruth Ojiambo Ochieng**,
> High-Level Advisory Group for the Global Study,
> UN Women Video Interview, 2015

One of the earliest ways in which humanitarians took gender issues into account was by targeting women and girls during food distribution. For example, in 2001, one of UNHCR's five major commitments to refugee women was ensuring their participation in the management and distribution of both food and non-food items,[117] and WFP policy instituted that same year was that women should control the family food aid entitlement in 80 per cent of WFP food distributions.[99] Already by 2005, the majority of refugee camps were distributing as much food directly to women as to men.[100]

The benefits are clear. Food distribution interventions that target women as main recipients help to substantially reduce child malnutrition rates. A recent multi-country study shows that prioritizing women in food distribution is strongly correlated with greater dietary diversity and, in one country, a 37 per cent lower prevalence of hunger.[101] WFP case studies in Chad and the DRC indicate that providing take-home rations for girls in their last two years of primary school contributed to a decrease in the frequency of early marriage.

However, this standard is not always attained. A recent assessment in North Kivu showed that only 23 per cent of IDP women and 8 per cent of returnee women were registered for ration cards. The situation was even more lopsided in the case of agricultural inputs, as 96 per cent of the agricultural kits were given to men, in a country where women produce 75 per cent of the food.[102] Syrian refugee women reported having to wait for 8–12 hours in order to receive food vouchers or other necessities, and distribution lines were said to be the second highest risk area for sexual harassment after the home.[103] Women are often at risk of violence on the way to and from food distribution points, or in their homes, as husbands react negatively to women becoming the family's ration holder. Equally, food distribution and assistance may be used for the purpose of sexual exploitation, as those who have surplus food (or non-food items) have power over those who have no food, and those who distribute food are usually men.

In the last decade, the international community has paid significant attention to the fact that, in many of these unstable settings, women and girls walk very long distances to collect food, water or firewood, in conditions of constant danger and insecurity.[104] For example, in camps in Chad, women travel an average roundtrip distance of 13.5 kilometers to collect firewood. In Kenya, women refugees spend approximately 40 hours each month collecting firewood for cooking. During 2014, both in Chad and in Uganda's Nakivale refugee camp, more than 40 per cent of households reported incidents of violence during firewood collection in the previous six months, from beatings to rape and attempted rape.[105] Safe Access to Fuel and Energy (SAFE) has grown into a full-fledged sector of its own,[106] and cookstove and fuel projects by WFP, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), UNHCR, the Women's Refugee Commission (WRC) and others have had measureable success in reducing women's fuel collection trips, often by half. These efforts have sometimes been linked to a reduction in violence and an increase in community-based protection strategies, such as women travelling in groups to collect firewood or greater involvement of men in its collection.[107]

Distribution of fuel-efficient stoves and fuel itself must be considered essential in acute emergencies on par with food distribution. Most importantly, the design, planning and implementation of these interventions must be driven by the women in the community themselves. The effect of women's participation is evident. In Turkana, Kenya, the inclusion of women in water and infrastructure committees has resulted in women being able to influence the location, maintenance and design of water points, making women and girls 44 per cent less likely to walk more than 60 minutes each way to access drinking water.[108] Women's participation in leadership is crucial to ensure that these initiatives are effectively tailored to each context and are transformative and sustainable in the long-term.

The importance of women's leadership and gender equality in humanitarian action

In 2011, UNHCR organized multiple refugee dialogues and documented their consultations with thousands of refugees, with an emphasis on the needs and priorities of women and girls.[109] The women they spoke to had to contend with overcrowded and unhealthy shelters, inadequate health services and education opportunities, little to no livelihood possibilities and daily fears for their safety. And yet, in each dialogue, women brought up their desire for active participation in decision-making—something few humanitarians would cite as a primary need of women. This is not a rhetorical aspiration but a universal demand from

women on the ground, including those in the direst of circumstances. It is also one of the greatest tools available for increasing the effectiveness of humanitarian assistance; something that is greatly needed in the current context of increasing needs and limited capacities.

The humanitarian community must embrace gender equality as a central organizing principle of its work and promote women's leadership in humanitarian action. **Between 2011 and 2014, less than two per cent of all humanitarian programmes in the Financial Tracking System of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) had the explicit goal of advancing gender equality or taking targeted action for women and girls**.[110] Despite growing evidence that gender equality programming improves humanitarian outcomes,[111] many interventions remain gender-blind, the data collected are rarely disaggregated by sex and age, and the gap between standards and guidelines and the reality on the ground is abysmal.[112] Recent research has demonstrated that the existence of independent women's groups is the single most important factor in addressing violence against women and girls. Yet women's organizations continue to be marginalized in the planning and implementation of humanitarian response—something that the new Global Acceleration Instrument on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Engagement could begin to address (see Chapter 13: *Financing WPS*). 2014 was the first time gender equality indicators were included in Humanitarian Response Plans. In the first-ever world humanitarian summit in 2016, the humanitarian community will chart a path towards more sustainable, equitable and effective ways of working.[113] Gender equality and women's empowerment and leadership should be prominent in those discussions and in the outcomes of the summit.

Principles of gender equality in humanitarian assistance are not limited to conflict-affected settings but equally relevant to natural disasters. Increasingly, natural disasters leading to emergencies and humanitarian crises have a complex relationship with conflict and gender inequality. Lack of access to information and resources, entrenched gender stereotypes and inequalities and cultural restrictions make women and girls among the most susceptible to natural disasters—particularly in conflict-affected settings. For example, the tsunami that struck conflict-ravaged Sri Lanka in 2004 killed nearly one in five displaced women, more than twice the mortality rate of displaced men. As natural disasters increase in frequency and severity due to climate change and environmental degradation, the international community must respond through inclusive strategies that recognize women's agency and respect their rights and needs.

Even as not nearly enough is done to assist women and girls and protect and defend their rights, the poster image of the aid world is a woman or a girl in need. Frequently, women are portrayed alongside children, either in pictures or in the pages of reports, and they are almost universally shown as defenseless and vulnerable victims. This has had an effect in policy and in practice. Our most urgent interventions to assist women and girls in crisis situations are focused on their protection rather than their empowerment. They are unlikely to be consulted on programme design, let alone engaged as partners. It is only relatively recently that the international community has paid some attention to women's leadership in camp committees, women's inclusion in participatory assessments and women's deliberate engagement in empowerment programmes so they can better assist themselves and others and claim their rights.

A multi-country study found that gender equality programming contributes to improving access to and use of humanitarian services by women, men, girls and boys as well as makes programming overall more effective.

For example, through regular elections with gender quotas, women reached parity in camp management committees in Eastern Nepal. In the Meheba settlement in Zambia, campaigns encouraging women to present their candidacy to refugee representative elections resulted in one-third female representation, from a baseline of almost none before then, and women responded to concerns about women's lack of participation in food distribution by setting up all-women committees. In Colombia, women have increasingly left national organizations of displaced people, traditionally dominated by male leadership and oriented towards judicial actions without a gender perspective, and formed their own women's organizations, generally oriented toward economic survival needs.[114]

A large body of evidence in the development sector has established that gender equality programming that ensures equitable access to services, empowerment of women and girls and sensitization of men and boys–including for men and boys to take on non-traditional gender roles–results in significant, concrete benefits for the entire community. We now have evidence that these benefits apply in humanitarian settings as well.[115] **A multi-country study that examined the impact of gender equality programming on humanitarian outcomes found that gender equality programming[116] contributes to improving access to and use of humanitarian services by women, men, girls and boys as well as makes programming overall more effective.** In the specific sectors examined—health, education, water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) and food security—an improvement in access and programme effectiveness was shown for all groups, with significant improvements documented for women and/or girls in education, WASH and health. For example, in Turkana, Kenya, gender equality programming increased the literacy rates of boys, health outcomes among girls, women and men and access to water for women, men, girls and boys—as well as leading to a greater variety of food. In Nepal, gender equality programming was linked to increased participation of women in household and community decision-making processes as well as higher levels of self-confidence, self-esteem and pride among women. Women- and child-friendly spaces, services for survivors of gender-based violence and sensitization programmes reduced the prevalence of such violence in all settings.

Gender equality programming contributes to improving access to and use of humanitarian services by women, men, girls and boys as well as makes programming overall more effective for women, men, girls and boys.

Several surveys and consultations have cited patriarchal cultural bias held by local men and male humanitarian workers as a major barrier—and many saw it as the key barrier—to women's needs being met as well as to women being engaged as partners in humanitarian action.[117] Often, humanitarian staff actively resist the incorporation of a gender equality lens in their work, citing the 'tyranny of the urgent' or fear of offending local customs. And yet, when women and men in humanitarian settings were consulted, researchers found that people made an exception to the general resentment of the imposition of external agendas when it came to gender equality. **In fact, women and men both expressed widespread appreciation for international actors' promotion of gender equality and were able to cite positive outcomes of such efforts.**[118] Beyond the many policies and guidelines adopted by humanitarian agencies on gender equality, the gender handbook of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), published almost a decade ago, is unequivocal: "Promoting gender equality must be seen as central to the humanitarian community's responsibility to

protect and provide assistance to those affected by emergencies."[119]

CONCLUSIONS

One of the themes that emerged in the consultations for this Study is that women, peace and security, on the one hand, and gender equality in humanitarian action, on the other, have the same broad objectives, the same focus on women's leadership and women's human rights and pay the same special attention to women's needs and priorities. Both also deal with largely the same settings, as most complex emergencies are related to armed conflict and have become increasingly protracted. In fact, women in disaster-affected communities have called for the formal application of 1325 to those settings as well, as they found it such a valuable guiding framework.[120] Both communities would stand to benefit from working more closely together. For example, women's organizations that work on peacebuilding could be more quickly mobilized in humanitarian action, and national action plans on 1325 should include a much more forceful articulation of international human rights law, international humanitarian law and humanitarian action.[121]

Similarly, at the level of the systems that the international community employs to respond to these gaps, those addressing exclusively gender-based violence and those focusing more comprehensively on all gender equality issues affected by armed conflict and crises should combine efforts more regularly.[122] In spite of the repeated call to bridge the distance between development and humanitarian actors, none of the 169 individual targets contained in the 17 sustainable development goals addresses the specific needs of women and girls—or civilians generally—in conflict zones. Both the High-Level Review of the implementation of 1325 in October 2015 and the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit offer opportunities to speak loudly and clearly about the many issues highlighted in this chapter and to advocate for countries to tackle these in their national targets and action plans.

Another main theme of the consultations was that the humanitarian system's collective failure to recognize the ability of local civil society organizations and women and girls to act as partners with valuable knowledge and experience severely limits our effectiveness. Efforts to support the voice and choice of women in the assessment, design and delivery of assistance remain the exception to the rule. Other highlighted gaps identified in this Study are the needs of women and girl survivors of rape who are left with unwanted pregnancies, the difficulties faced by women and girls who lack documentation to exercise their rights or find asylum, the multiple ways in which girls are attacked in school or prevented by violence and insecurity from attending school, the worrisome gap between the attention and visibility of sexual violence in conflict in global policy circles and absence of actual services and justice for survivors on the ground outside capital cities and the persistent exclusion of women from land and productive assets, which perpetuates their dependence on male relatives, their poverty and/or their subordinate role.

As in other areas, the call for greater resources and accountability must be answered. While Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries spent $135 billion in 2014 on aid, bilateral cooperation and humanitarian relief, many of the programmes and interventions highlighted in this chapter received a surprisingly limited amount of funds from donors and low prioritization by UN and humanitarian agencies. This is despite donors' own strong policies and vocal calls for gender equality and greater respect for women's and girls' rights during conflict. This deficit should be regularly tracked and made public. On the following pages are some system-wide recommendations on the way forward, to be added to the issue-specific recommendations that can be found throughout the chapter.

"In communities ravaged by conflict, humanitarian responses must be mobilized [...] with women and girls included in the design, delivery and evaluation of programmes."

Brigitte Balipou,
magistrate in the Central African Republic, board Member of Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS), and Founding Member of the Women Lawyer Association of the Central African Republic, at the Security Council Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security, 2014

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

Member States should:

✓ Remove discriminatory laws and regulations that impede full equality in accessing basic rights and services during and after conflict—including the rights to life, health, education, property and livelihood—and remove discriminatory laws and regulations that impede full equality in accessing basic rights and services, including the right to nationality.

Member States and the UN should:

✓ Ensure that preparations for and outcomes of the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit have gender equality and women's human rights as a focus area as well as integrated throughout the other themes.

Donors, including Member States and private foundations, should:

✓ Expressly mandate that all programmes adopt and apply the Gender Marker and relevant IASC guidance on gender and gender-based violence interventions in humanitarian settings throughout the entire project cycle and require it in all funding applications.

✓ Increase current levels of targeted funding for women's and girls' programming to a minimum of 15 per cent. Current levels of approximately 1 per cent funding for local women's organizations, including women's human rights defenders, should be increased until they reach at least 5 per cent in the next three years, before setting progressively more ambitious targets in the following years. Funding for core operations, advocacy and capacity building should match funding for projects.[123]

✓ Fund the establishment of an independent monitoring mechanism run by women's civil society groups and women's human rights defenders to track the compliance of humanitarian assistance with normative frameworks and standards and international human rights law as well as performance on gender equality—from the collection of sex-disaggregated data and gender-sensitive analysis to the systematic application of the Gender Marker and the engagement of local women.

✓ Invest in translating all relevant tools on sexual and reproductive health and prevention and response to sexual and gender-based violence into local languages to ensure local engagement and sustainability. Translations and long-term capacity building should be prioritized over the repetitive production of new tools, strategies, guidelines and advocacy campaigns from capitals in donor countries.

The UN and NGOs should:

✓ Commit to create a humanitarian workforce that is 50 per cent women and 100 per cent trained in gender equality programming and the protection of women's human rights.[124]

The UN should:

✓ Ensure that UN Women is a member of all relevant high-level inter-agency forums on peace and security and humanitarian response, including the IASC and the Senior Advisory Group on peace and security, to ensure a gender perspective is mainstreamed throughout the UN's response in conflict and emergencies.

All relevant actors, including Member States, the UN, donors, and civil society, should:

✓ Ensure that all global humanitarian and local health-care workers are trained in basic life-saving sexual and reproductive health care, in accordance with international human rights standards, as well as emergency response for survivors of domestic and sexual violence, including emergency contraception and abortion/post-abortion services. Increased investment must be made in local health systems' ability to provide quality sexual and reproductive health and care for survivors and to put in place referral pathways to specialist care in all fragile settings.

✓ Ensure that women affected by humanitarian crises, including refugees, internally displaced and stateless women, are supported to participate meaningfully and equally in community decision-making, in leadership roles and in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of humanitarian interventions. Obstacles to their participation should be addressed within programme design.

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53. "State of the World's Mothers 2014: Saving Mothers and Children in Humanitarian Crises," 68.

54. "Obstetric Emergencies," in Because Tomorrow Needs Her (Medecins Sans Frontiers, 2015).

55. "The Right to an Abortion for Girls and Women Raped in Armed Conflict: States' Positive Obligations to Provide Non-Discriminatory Medical Care under the Geneva Conventions" (Global Justice Center, 2011), 5; "Re: Written Contribution to the Human Rights Committee, Half Day of General Discussion on Article 6 'Right to Life'" (Global Justice Center, June 26, 2015); "Submission from the Global Justice Center: Serving the Needs of People in Conflict by Guaranteeing the Rights Specific to Conflict" (Global Justice Center, May 2015); Jean-Marie Henckaerts et al., eds., Customary International Humanitarian Law (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Additionally, the Geneva Conventions accord expectant mothers "particular protection and respect" and the Additional Protocol reiterates that medical care must be given in accordance with the needs of the patients.

56. Louise Doswald-Beck, "Letter to President Obama," April 10, 2013.

57. "General Recommendation No. 24, Article 12 of the Convention (Women and Health)," UN Doc. A/54/38/Rev.1 (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 1999), para. 11.

58. Ibid., para. 14.

59. "General Comment No. 15 on the Right of the Child to the Enjoyment of the Highest Attainable Standard of Health (art. 24)," UN Doc. CRC/C/GC/15 (Committee on the Rights of the Child, April 17, 2013), para. 70.

60. "Information Series on Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights: Abortion" (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), July 2015).

61. "Report of the Secretary-General: Women and Peace and Security," UN Doc. S/2013/525 (United Nations Security Council, September 4, 2013), para. 72(a).

62. "Resolution 2122 (2013)," UN Doc. S/RES/2122 (United Nations Security Council, October 18, 2013); "Resolution 2106 (2013)," UN Doc. S/RES/2106 (United Nations Security Council, June 24, 2013); "Secretary-General's Report on Women and Peace and Security (2014)"; "Guidance Note of the Secretary-General: Reparations for Conflict-Related Sexual Violence" (United Nations, June 2014).

63. European Parliament, "Resolution on the Situation in Nigeria," 2015/2520(RSP) (European Parliament, April 30, 2015). European Parliament, "Resolution on the Situation of the Yarmouk Refugee Camp in Syria," 2015/2664(RSP) (European Parliament, April 30, 2015); European Parliament, "Resolution on the Millennium Development Goals- Defining the Post-2015 Framework," 2012/2289(INI) (European Parliament, June 13, 2013); European Parliament, "Resolution on Equality between Women and Men in the European Union- 2011," 2011/2244(INI) (European Parliament, March 13, 2012).

64. "CEDAW General Recommendation No. 30 (2013)," 30.

65. The Editorial Board, "Abortion and Women Overseas," The New York Times, March 17, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/18/opinion/abortion-and-women-overseas.html; Brian Atwood and Peter Fenn, "The President Should Permit Aid to Allow Abortions for Wars' Rape Victims," The Washington Post, February 13, 2014, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-president-should-permit-aid-to-allow-abortions-for-wars-rape-victims/2014/02/13/68cb0298-9359-11e3-84e1-27626c5ef5fb_story.html; Serra Sippel, "Time to Act for Women and Girls Raped in Conflict," Huffington Post, October 29, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/serra-sippel/time-to-act-for-women-and_b_6069086.html; Michael D. Shear, "Religious Leaders Urge U.S. to Fund Abortions for Rape Victims in Conflicts Abroad," The New York Times, June 4, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/05/us/rights-leaders-urge-us-to-fund-abortions-for-rape-victims-in-conflicts-abroad.html.

66. Even if local practitioners have the knowledge and the skills, there is frequently no regular supply chain, national protocol, or mandate for them to intervene, so they may lack the supplies or their supervisor may be telling them to focus on other priorities. For more information, see Chen Reis, "Challenges to Achieving the MISP Standard for Clinical Management of Rape in Humanitarian Crises" (SVRI Forum, 2013).

67. Anjalee Kohli et al., "A Congolese Community-Based Health Program for Survivors of Sexual Violence," Conflict and Health 6, no. 1 (August 29, 2012): 1.

68. Rebecca Holmes and Dharini Bhuvanendra, "Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence in Humanitarian Crises," Network Paper (Humanitarian Policy Group, January 2014), 10.

69. Malala Yousafzai and Christina Lamb, I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban, First edition (New York, NY: Little, Brown, & Company, 2013).

70. Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack, "Submission to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: Discussion on Girls'/Women's Right to Education (Article 10)," July 7, 2014.

71. "Secretary-General's Report on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict (2015)," para. 33.

72. "Lessons in War 2015: Military Use of Schools and Universities during Armed Conflict" (Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack (GCPEA), May 2015). Between January 2005 and March 2015, national armed forces and non-state armed groups used schools and universities in at least 26 countries as bases, barracks, detention facilities, interrogation and torture centers, observation posts, military training facilities, or weapons and ammunition storage.

73. "Secretary-General's Report on Women and Peace and Security (2014)," box 19.

74. "Building a Better Future: Education for an Independent South Sudan" (UNESCO, June 2011), 1.

75. "Guidelines for Integrating Gender-Based Violence Interventions in Humanitarian Action: Reducing Risk, Promoting Resilience, and Aiding Recovery."

76. Khristopher Carlson and Dyan Mazurana, "Forced Marriage within the Lord's Resistance Army, Uganda" (Feinstein International Center, Tufts University, May 2008), n. 20; Jeannie Annan et al., "The State of Female Youth in Northern Uganda: Findings from the Survey of War-Affected Youth (SWAY)," April 2008, 53. Females who were forced into marriage and birthed at least one child in captivity are three times less likely to return to school than those who did not give birth while in captivity.

77. Data sourced from: http://en.unesco.org/gem-report/sites/gem-report/files/PR_conflict_en.pdf

78. Data sourced from UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), 2015 estimates for 2013 enrolment data: http://data.uis.unesco.org/

79. "Background Paper on Attacks Against Girls Seeking to Access Education," 20–22.

80. "The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes" (UN Women and the Institute of Development Studies, April 2015).

81. "UNHCR Handbook for the Protection of Women and Girls" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2008).

82. Research undertaken by UN Women in 2011 found at least 115 countries that specifically recognise women's

property rights on equal terms with those of men. Even when laws provide for women's right to inherit property and land, women may lack documents and titles

83. "UNHCR Handbook for the Protection of Women and Girls"; "Realizing Women's Rights to Land and Other Productive Resources" (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), UN Women, 2013).

84. Equal rights to housing and land are part of international human rights law. See "International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights," December 16, 1966, 27; "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women," December 18, 1979, Art. 14(2), 16(1)(h); Paulo Sergio Pinheiro, "Housing and Property Restitution in the Context of the Return of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons," UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/2005/17 (United Nations Economic and Social Council, June 28, 2005). Principle four of the Pinheiro Principles reaffirms the right to equality between men and women, and the equal right of boys and girls, to housing, land, property restitution, including legal security of tenure, property ownership, equal access to inheritance, as well as the use, control of, and access to housing, land, and property. It specifically states that housing, land and property restitution programmes, policies, and practices shall not disadvantage women and girls, and that states should adopt positive measures to ensure gender equality in this regard.

85. Monica Sanchez Bermudez, Laura Cunial, and Kirstie Farmer, "Life Can Change: Securing Housing, Land and Property Rights for Displaced Women" (Norwegian Refugee Council, March 2014).

86. "Secretary-General's Report on Women and Peace and Security (2014)," para. 50.

87. "Realizing Women's Rights to Land and Other Productive Resources."

88. Carolyn Caton et al., "Empowered and Safe: Economic Strengthening for Girls in Emergencies" (Child Protection Crisis Network, Women's Refugee Commission, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2014). UNICEF and the Women's Refugee Commission have led research and programming guidance on economic strengthening interventions targeting adolescent girls in humanitarian settings.

89. In 2002, UNHCR issued two guidelines on gender-sensitive assessment and processing of asylum claims. See, "Guidelines on International Protection: Gender-Related Persecution within the Context of Article 1A(2) of the 1951 Convention And/or Its 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), May 7, 2002). In addition, several governments, including Australia, Canada, the United States, South Africa, and the United Kingdom, as well as the European Union, have issued legislation and regulations to guide asylum determinations in this area. In the application of asylum laws, some countries use "membership of a social group" to grant asylum to women fleeing gender-based violence."

90. Valerie Oosterveld, "Women and Girls Fleeing Conflict: Gender and the Interpretation and Application of the 1951 Refugee Convention" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), September 2012), 20, 41.

91. "UNHCR Handbook for the Protection of Women and Girls."

92. "Background Note on Gender Equality, Nationality Laws and Statelessness 2015" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), March 6, 2015).

93. "Removing Gender Discrimination from Nationality Laws," Good Practices Paper (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2014), 1.

94. "Background Note on Gender Equality, Nationality Laws and Statelessness 2015," 3.

95. Ibid. See also, "CEDAW General Recommendation No. 30 (2013)."

96. Emma Batha, "War May Make Hundreds of Thousands of Young Syrians Stateless," Reuters UK, September 17, 2014, http://uk.reuters.com/article/2014/09/17/uk-foundation-syria-crisis-stateless-idUKKBN0HC1W620140917.

97. "Comprehensive Food Security Monitoring Exercise: May 2015, Jordan" (World Food Programme, May 31, 2015).

98. "UNHCR's Commitments to Refugee Women" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, December 12, 2001).

99. World Food Programme, "Policy Commitments to Women: 1996-2001" (World Food Programme, 1995).

100. Benelli, Mazurana, and Walker, "Using Sex and Age Disaggregated Data to Improve Humanitarian Response in Emergencies."

101. "The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes."

102. Benelli, Mazurana, and Walker, "Using Sex and Age Disaggregated Data to Improve Humanitarian Response in Emergencies."

103. "Inter-Agency Assessment: Gender-Based Violence and Child Protection Among Syrian Refugees in Jordan, with a Focus on Early Marriage"; "Are We Listening? Acting on Our Commitments to Women and Girls Affected by the Syrian Conflict" (International Rescue Committee, September 2014).

104. It also is normally seen as the responsibility of women, no matter whether they may be pregnant or elderly. Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, Beyond Firewood: Fuel Alternatives and Protection Strategies for Displaced Women and Girls. (New York: Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2006). See also "Safe Access to Fuel and

Energy (SAFE) - History of SAFE," SafeFuelAndEnergy.org, accessed September 26, 2015, http://www.safefuelandenergy.org/about/history.cfm.

105. Global Alliance for Clean Cookstoves, "Statistical Snapshot: Access to Improved Cookstoves and Fuels and Its Impact on Women's Safety in Crises" (Global Alliance for Clean Cookstoves and UNHCR, 2014).

106. Initiatives to provide clean cookstoves are not just linked to the workload of women and girls or their exposure to violence, but also to important health and environmental factors. Most women in humanitarian settings still cook on open fires or polluting cookstoves, and every year more than four million people die from health-related problems related to inhaling smoke from solid fuel stoves.

107. A 2013 study found positive links between fuel-efficient stoves, GBV sensitization, and reduced exposure to the risk of GBV during firewood collection in Kakuma, Kenya, where the World Food Programme has provided fuel-efficient stoves to refugees and host communities. "WFP SAFE Project in Kenya: Kakuma Fuel-Efficient Stoves and Gender-Based Violence Study Report" (World Food Programme, June 2013).

108. "The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes."

109. This led to the adoption of its Age, Gender and Diversity Policy: "Age, Gender and Diversity Policy: Working with People and Communities for Equality and Protection" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), June 8, 2011).

110. "Funding Gender in Emergencies: What Are the Trends?," Briefing Paper (Global Humanitarian Assistance, September 2014).

111. "The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes."

112. "Restoring Humanity - Global Voices Calling for Action: A Synthesis of the Consultation Process for the World Humanitarian Summit" (United Nations, August 2015).

113. See "World Humanitarian Summit," 2016, http://www.whsummit.org/.

114. "UNHCR Input into Global Study on Implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2000)" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2015).

115. "The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes."

116. Gender equality programming reflects the incorporation of a contextual gender analysis to help ensure equal access and benefits to women, men, boys and girls, and avoid placing any group at risk, and facilitate equal opportunities to participate in decision making.

117. Including a survey of civil society conducted in 2015 in preparation for the World Humanitarian Summit and "The Listening Project." See, Mary B. Anderson, Dayna Brown, and Isabella Jean, "Time to Listen: Hearing People on the Receiving End of International Aid" (Cambridge, MA: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, November 2012).

118. Ibid., 63.

119. The CEDAW Committee has also affirmed that States parties are bound to apply the CEDAW convention in bilateral or multilateral assistance for humanitarian aid. "CEDAW General Recommendation No. 30 (2013)," para. 9.

120. This was noted repeatedly in consultations on gender equality in humanitarian action in preparation for the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit.

121. There are notable exceptions: for example, gender-responsive humanitarian action is an explicit focus in the new Norwegian National Action Plan, vthe inclusion of the gender perspective has been a priority in Norwegian humanitarian aid for several years. The Georgian NAP identifies a series of objectives, related activities, and indicators to protect internally displaced women, including in order to assess the compliance of Georgian legislation with international conventions, acts, and accords, and mechanisms for ensuring the protection of conflict-affected women from physical, social, economic and political threats.

122. "Contributions to the Global Study on the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security" (Gender Capacity Standby Project (GenCap Project), July 2015).

123. The Call to Action to End Violence Against Women and Girls in Emergencies, and the written commitments from member states that emanate from it, offer an interesting model to promote the adoption of these commitments. "A Call to Action on Gender and Humanitarian Reform: From the Call to Action on Violence Against Women and Girls in Emergencies to the World Humanitarian Summit," Policy Brief (CARE International, September 2014).

124. Training could be piloted through the new humanitarian leadership academy and based on the IASC Gender Equality in Humanitarian Action training, which is currently voluntary and nearly completely taken up by NGO rather than UN staff.

05

TOWARDS AN ERA OF TRANSFORMATIVE JUSTICE

"We are not talking about any peace. We are talking about sustainable peace built on justice—and we call that real democratic peace."

Syrian women's rights leader,
"The Pieces of Peace: Realizing Peace Through Gendered Conflict Prevention"[1]

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolution 1325

Emphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions[...]

2000

2008

Resolution 1820

Notes that rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity or a constitutive act with respect to genocide, [...] and calls upon Member States to comply with their obligations for prosecuting persons responsible for such acts, to ensure that all victims of sexual violence, particularly women and girls, have equal protection under the law and equal access to justice and stresses the importance of ending impunity for such acts

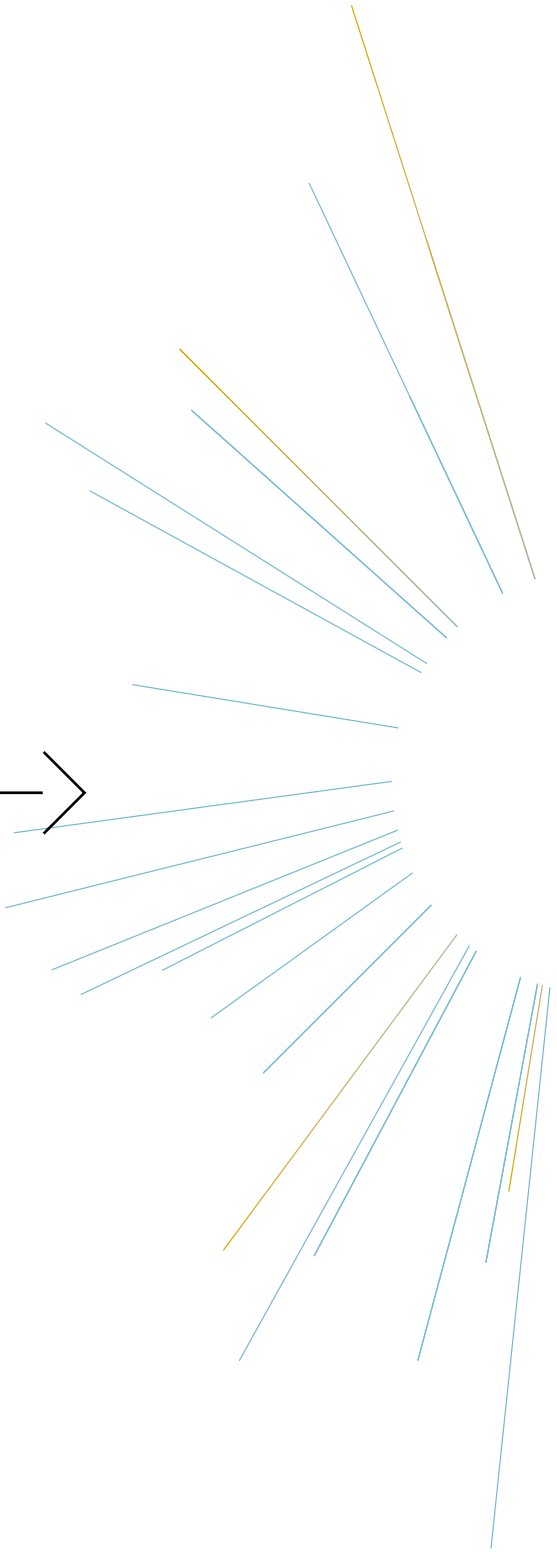
Resolution 2122

Recognizing in this regard that more must be done to ensure that transitional justice measures address the full range of violations and abuses of women's human rights, and the differentiated impacts on women and girls of these violations and abuses as well as forced displacement enforced disappearances, and destruction of civilian infrastructure

2013

Resolution 2106

Draws attention to the importance of a comprehensive approach to transitional justice in armed conflict and post-conflict situations, encompassing the full range of judicial and non-judicial measures, as appropriate



Among academic circles and women's rights practitioners, there is a debate today about the nature and quality of justice in situations of armed conflict. For some, the priority should be given to individual justice, punishing the perpetrator and creating a system of deterrence so such acts do not occur again. For others, justice must be ultimately seen from the perspective of the larger community; how mechanisms and processes of justice, while giving recourse to individuals, also help societies to heal and recover from past violations and move toward a sustainable peace.

Consultations around the world provided a clear indication that individual justice is essential for all women who have been victimized. They have a strong sense of grievance and are deeply offended by and often insecure about states of impunity that are granted to perpetrators in certain post-war situations. For example, after a Gacaca trial in Rwanda that had encounters between victims and perpetrators but allowed them to go back to living in the same communities, one woman asked angrily, "So you want me to go back and live next door to the man who raped me and killed my husband and sons?" Individual justice for women like her is very important and necessary, and must be part of any justice framework that deals with conflict situations.

At the same time, in Global Study consultations across the globe, few issues resonated more universally than women's demands that justice be treated as inseparable from broader concerns about the wellbeing of their communities. For women, whose experiences of violence are directly related to their unequal status, justice is as much about dealing with the past as it is about securing a better future that includes guarantees of non-recurrence.

> "The paucity of domestic prosecutions for crimes of sexual violence, the limited volume of international prosecutions for these crimes and the scale worldwide of crimes of sexualized violence, particularly in situations of armed conflict, continue to leave an impunity gap so distinct that it has become the focus of several Security Council resolutions."
>
> **Ms. Jane Adong Anywar**
> Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice, UN Security Council Open Debate on Sexual Violence in Conflict, 2013

INCREASING PROSECUTIONS AND CLOSING THE IMPUNITY GAP

The atrocities committed in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia prompted the establishment of two International Criminal Tribunals in the 1990s (the ICTR and ICTY respectively), which saw significant developments in international law on gender-based crimes. The governing statutes of these courts included the first explicit formulation of rape as a crime against humanity to be prosecuted, and the jurisprudence in these tribunals has secured

groundbreaking redress for crimes committed against women. A number of seminal cases at the ICTR and ICTY, as well as the Special Court of Sierra Leone have expanded the scope of international law on sexual violence, establishing key principles including: that rape can be an instrument of genocide;[2] that sexual violence can be a foreseeable consequence of other wartime violations;[3] and that forced marriage can constitute a crime against humanity.[4] Further, the jurisprudence of the courts defined the constituent elements of rape as a war crime and a crime against humanity, rape as torture and as enslavement and defined the contours of 'outrages against dignity.'

Perhaps the most momentous progress in this area in the past 15 years was the adoption of the Rome Statute, which established the International Criminal Court (ICC) and provides the most progressive and comprehensive legal framework on gender-based crimes to date. The Rome Statute codified past developments and went beyond them, explicitly recognizing rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy and enforced sterilization and other forms of sexual violence as crimes against humanity, war crimes and constituent acts of genocide. With 123 State Parties to the Rome Statute representing over 60 per cent of all nations, the ICC represents a shared resolve to look beyond national borders to a collective system of justice, with definitive priority given to seeking accountability for sexual and gender-based crimes.[5]

THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT – SECURING JUSTICE FOR SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED CRIMES

Learning from the experiences of past courts, the ICC has emphasized the procedures required to ensure gender-based crimes are dealt with appropriately. The Office of The Prosecutor (OTP), one of the four organs of the Court, has specific obligations to take appropriate measures to protect the safety, physical and psychological well-being, dignity and privacy of victims and witnesses, to investigate crimes of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and to appoint specialist advisors in the area. [6]

One of the Rome Statute's significant innovations was the introduction of victim participation in court proceedings. This provided a concrete platform for victims to be formally recognized by the ICC, to participate in the legal process, and to express their views and interests via a legal representative. In order to ensure the protection of victims and witnesses, hearings can be conducted in camera, and the Court has the authority to order the use of pseudonyms, the expunging of names from the public record and for testimony to be presented by means other than in person including through technology enabling the alteration of pictures or voices.[7] Other important provisions require staff in the Victims and Witnesses Unit in the Registry, responsible for witness protection and wellbeing, to have expertise in sexual violence-related trauma.[8]

The Rome Statute also provides for reparations to victims, either through direct contribution from the convicted individual or through the ICC's Trust Fund for Victims (TFV), which is the first of its kind. Since 2008, the TFV has provided support to over 110,000 victims of crimes under the jurisdiction of the Court, including tens of thousands of survivors of SGBV, through physical and psychological rehabilitation and material support.[9]

While the frameworks for securing justice for SGBV crimes are clearly in place, operationalization still has some way to go. Charges for gender-based crimes have been brought in six of the nine situations under investigation by the ICC, and in 14 out of 19 cases involving crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity

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FOCUS ON

Sexual violence: Some recent findings

International, regional and national initiatives on sexual violence, its prevention and prosecution have also led to a great deal of academic research with regard to sexual violence in situations of conflict. Though much of the research points to gaps in implementation, recent work in the social sciences has focused on the group dynamics that are central to the perpetration of sexual violence during conflict. Interviews with former combatants who engaged in acts of violence seem to suggest that the attitude and influence of leaders of armed forces and armed groups is a key aspect of sexual violence during conflict.[10] There is also similar research pointing to the fact that intra group dynamics are perceived by former combatants as one of the main causes, if not the main cause, of sexual violence in conflict and the need for combatants to perform before their peers.[11] As a result, even women have been involved in acts of sexual violence against other women. These research findings since 2006 highlight further the need for accountability, prosecution and deterrence as important instruments in countering the criminal behaviors of groups and their leaders.

and war crimes. However, in the three verdicts issued by the Court so far, there have been no convictions for gender-based crimes. To address this record, in 2014 the OTP released a Policy Paper on Sexual and Gender-Based Crimes in which it affirmed its commitment to the prosecution of these crimes. The Policy Paper marks an important shift in the OTP's methods, signaling the operationalization of a gender-conscious approach to prosecution which should allow it to better account for the full range of SGBV crimes committed.

REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AT ALL LEVELS OF ICC STAFFING

Ensuring that women are represented among court staff, including in senior positions, can be an important means of making courts more accessible to women. From 1993-2004, in every case before the ICTY resulting in significant redress of sexual violence crimes perpetrated against both women and men, women judges were on the bench.[12] The ICTR case of Akayesu, the first time that a defendant was convicted of rape as an instrument of genocide and as a crime against humanity, originally went to trial without charges or evidence of sexual violence, and with the prosecutor claiming it was impossible to document rape because women would not speak about it.[13] It was only as a result of the advocacy of domestic and international women's civil society—and in particular, the efforts of the sole female judge on the bench[14]—that the charge sheet was amended to include these crimes after evidence emerged in testimony. While it cannot be presumed that women judges and staff will necessarily bring to their work a gender perspective that contributes to women's rights, in practice they are more likely to do so. This lends credence to the importance of applying the women, peace and security framework to the equal participation of women in all justice efforts.

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In October 2012, the Special Court for Sierra Leone was invited to brief the UN Security Council on progress made towards completion of its mandate. **Representing a first in the history of international courts and tribunals, all 'principals' of the Court at the time—the president, registrar, prosecutor and defender—were women, constituting one of the most significant symbols of women's advancement in leadership positions.** Institutionally, the ICC pursues gender parity in its staffing—including providing for fair representation of female and male judges, OTP and registry staff and recognizing the need to include judges with legal expertise on violence against women and children. The ICC's current composition reflects these gender-responsive aspirations: women currently hold 47.9 per cent of all staff positions including the senior position of Prosecutor and women comprise 10 of the 18 judges.[15] In addition, a number of women have been appointed at a senior level including the President of the ICC, Vice-President of the Court, Chief Prosecutor and Special Gender Advisor to the Prosecutor.

COMPLEMENTARITY AND NATIONAL LEVEL PROSECUTIONS

A founding principle of the ICC is its establishment as a court of last resort, focused on furthering the aim of building domestic justice capacities, and addressing only the most exceptional criminal cases. In recent years, a number of States Parties to the Rome Statute have amended their penal codes to criminalize a broad range of gender-based violations in line with their obligations to domesticate the Statute. Research undertaken in 2014, which tracked State ratification of the Rome Statute, found that of the 122 State Parties studied, 95 had introduced subsequent domestic legislation that addressed violence against women (though not necessarily crimes related to international law). This suggests a possible cascade effect of international norms being translated and applied to the domestic sphere.[16]

As international law has evolved, there has been progress in the domestic prosecution of sexual violence as an international crime. During the armed conflict in Guatemala, indigenous women from the village Sepur Zarco were victims of sexual and domestic slavery for five years, held in a military detachment. In 2011, women from Sepur Zarco, with the support of two Guatemalan women's rights organizations, filed the first ever legal complaint in the Guatemalan justice system for sexual violence crimes committed during that country's conflict, in a case that highlights the army's use of rape as a weapon of war and of genocide.[17] Colombian courts are also increasingly using international jurisprudence in national sexual violence cases. For example, Clodomiro and César Niño Balaguera were both former paramilitary members accused of abducting, raping and torturing a woman. In November 2014, the Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court overturned a ruling from a lower court that had failed to find that the rape charge amounted to a war crime. In finding that the rape was closely related

As international law has evolved, there has been progress in the domestic prosecution of sexual violence as an international crime.

"Sexual violence is not an issue disconnected from the issue of participation [...] those affected by or living in fear of sexual violence are less able to participate in political processes and have less access to the justice system. Member States must increase the number of women in the judiciary [...] as a means of increasing women's access to justice."

NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, Statement of the Security Council at the Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security, 2008

to the conflict, and thus amounted to a war crime, the Chamber relied extensively on decisions of the ICTY, among other sources. It convicted both accused for this crime and increased their sentences.[18]

Specialized chambers or courts have been established to handle conflict-related crimes in such countries as Croatia, the DRC, Liberia, Serbia and Uganda, and prosecution and investigatory units have been created to deal specifically with SGBV.[19] Prosecutions of this nature require national jurisdictions to have the capacity to investigate and prosecute SGBV as international crimes, an effort to which increasing numbers of international actors are now contributing. For instance, the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) is supporting national military investigations and prosecutions of serious violations through Prosecution Support Cells.[20] MONUSCO, UNDP and OHCHR, in consultation with civil society and other partners, have collaborated with the ICC's OTP to: train Congolese officials in the investigation and prosecution of SGBV; provide support to investigation missions; reinforce judicial monitoring; conduct awareness raising and outreach activities, and put in place a witness protection system.[21] These efforts have resulted in increasing numbers of convictions being registered.[22]

Such actions are positive steps forward towards changing the culture of impunity for sexual violence crimes, as well as acknowledging the use of SGBV as a tactic of conflict. They also show the impact that international frameworks can have in catalyzing domestic accountability. Nevertheless, the actual number of domestic level prosecutions of SGBV crimes continues to be a fraction of the total crimes committed, and increased expertise, funding, capacity support and political will is sorely needed to ensure that these crimes are no longer met with silence and impunity.

Ultimately, realizing the full progress of the international justice system and its potential for victim redress will require not just the adoption of definitions of crimes at the domestic level, but the domestication of the full Rome Statute architecture. This ensures that States will have a comprehensive framework for investigating and prosecuting SGBV as international crimes, dedicated procedures for victim and witness support that are matched with adequate resources for their implementation, and provision for necessary reparations. Each of these components has a significant impact on women's access to justice, and all are part of the broader Rome Statute, but are often ignored in the narrower discussions on complementarity.

FOCUS ON

Initiatives to strengthen the capacity of national jurisdictions

Using Technology to Further Justice Efforts for Conflict-related SGBV

New technology is helping to capture conflict violations and better collect disaggregated data for evidence of sexual and gender-based crimes. For example, Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) are currently developing MediCapt, a mobile application that health care workers can use to digitize standard medical information while conducting a medical exam on a sexual violence survivor, for use as evidence in courts of law.[23] While the main purpose of MediCapt is to aid sexual violence prosecutions at the national level, the technology also captures geospatial

metadata, allowing for real-time tracking and mapping of sexual violence cases that can expose patterns and ultimately aid in mass crimes investigations.[24] Mapping technology tools such as KoBo Toolbox can also assist in collecting data that describes trends in conflict-related human rights violations.[25]

Team of Experts on the Rule of Law and Sexual Violence in Conflict

The Team of Experts on the Rule of Law and Sexual Violence in Conflict (TOE), established pursuant to Security Council resolution 1888 (2009), has focused its efforts on strengthening the capacity of national rule of law and justice actors, including in the specialized areas of criminal investigation and prosecution; collection, analysis and preservation of evidence; military justice system investigation and prosecution; criminal and procedural law reform; protection of victims, witnesses and justice officials; security sector oversight systems/bodies; and reparations.[26]

Key examples of the TOE's work include the following:

- In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in close collaboration with the UN system in-country, the TOE supported investigations and prosecutions by military magistrates and military mobile courts, and assisted national authorities to develop an implementation plan for the joint communiqué on the fight against sexual violence in conflict signed by the Government and the UN in March 2013.

- As a result of technical support from the TOE to the Guinean Panel of Judges, 12 military officers, including senior officers, and a gendarme have been indicted for crimes, including sexual violence, allegedly committed during the events of 28 September 2009.[27] A judicial expert deployed by the TOE continues to assist the Panel in investigations and case-building.

The TOE has worked with the Kampala-based International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) Training Facility on Sexual Violence to conduct training for police from ICGLR countries on the use of forensic evidence.

JRR-UN Women SGBV Justice Experts Roster

The unique sensitivities surrounding SGBV crimes and the extreme vulnerability of its victims has meant that specific expertise is needed, including in the methods for gathering information that will "do no more harm." This includes special training in interviewing victims and witnesses without detriment to their safety, privacy and dignity, and skills related to appropriate documentation and storage of evidence for use in national or international justice processes. Furthermore, this expertise needs to be available rapidly, in a matter of weeks or even days, in order to have the most impact on situations.

UN Women and Justice Rapid Response (JRR), an intergovernmental roster, have developed an initiative with the Institute for International Criminal Investigations to train experts on investigating cases of SGBV as international crimes, and to place them on a dedicated SGBV Justice Experts Roster comprised of individuals who are available for deployment to international and national justice mechanisms. Thus far, UN Women, in close collaboration with OHCHR, has deployed SGBV investigators from the joint roster to all UN commissions of inquiry (COIs) established since 2009.[28] As knowledge and visibility of this specific facility and partnership has grown, requests for deployments have similarly risen, expanding demand for experts beyond commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions to the International Criminal Court, regional mechanisms for accountability, national processes investigating conflict-related crimes and to support the UN's own efforts at comprehensive accountability outcomes.

MOVING BEYOND PROSECUTIONS: A TRANSFORMATIVE AGENDA FOR TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

Support to transitional justice mechanisms and processes has become not only a critical component of efforts to strengthen the rule of law post-conflict, but a regular feature of post-conflict recovery, and integral to the peacebuilding agenda. Rooted in the premise that in the wake of mass human rights violations, the social fabric of society needs to be rebuilt, transitional justice comprises the full range of processes and mechanisms associated with a society's attempt to come to terms with a legacy of large-scale human rights abuses. These may include both judicial and non-judicial mechanisms and processes including institutional reforms, prosecutions, truth telling, reparations programmes, traditional justice and the vetting of public officials.

Evidence from surveys focusing on attitudes and perceptions of transitional justice conducted by the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative with over 30,000 individuals in eight conflict-affected areas over a number of years revealed that women tend to be less informed, and report lower levels of access to both formal and traditional justice mechanisms than men.[29] The surveys—which are one of the largest and most comprehensive datasets covering these issues—found that gender-based differences in attitudes and opinions about justice cannot be assumed, and that the meaning of justice is context-specific. Context had a significant bearing on how women prioritized different mechanisms of justice for instance. According to the surveys, in some countries women were more supportive than men of accountability and truth seeking, and of formal justice over traditional justice mechanisms. In other countries, the direct opposite was true. This underscores the critical importance of broad-based consultations with women and communities, including through perception surveys at the earliest stages of any transitional justice design process.[30]

> *Gender-based differences in attitudes and opinions about justice cannot be assumed, and that the meaning of justice is context-specific.*

> "Just offering justice and punishment for the perpetrators is not enough, as many women want reparations and rehabilitation. Without this, women won't come forward."
>
> Participant at the Nepal civil society consultation for the Global Study

LIMITATIONS OF TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE MECHANISMS – THE EXCLUSION OF WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES

Over the past 15 years, there has been a proliferation of transitional justice mechanisms, in particular criminal tribunals and truth commissions, which have promised accountability for perpetrators and redress for victims. Many such mechanisms now emerge as a consequence of negotiations among warring factions to bring violent conflict to an end. However, waging wars and negotiating peace agreements have been, and

continue to be, predominantly male affairs. Women's exclusion at the peace table, and in peace and security decision-making more generally, adversely impacts the design of post-conflict justice mechanisms. As a result, to date, many of these mechanisms have paid limited attention to women's experiences of conflict, their priorities and needs, and the significance of pervasive gender inequalities and biases that limit women's meaningful participation at every level and stage of post-conflict transition.

The narrow scope of transitional justice mechanisms—which often fail to address the structural inequalities and vulnerabilities created by systems of war or repressive rule that affect women disproportionately compared to men—has far-reaching human rights implications. For example, the rights violations that have invariably been the focus of transitional justice mechanisms have been violations of civil and political rights, with a priority placed on either physical integrity or personal freedom.[31] While this covers some of the harms women experience, it ignores the ways in which women and girls often do not enjoy the conditions that make the exercise of civil and political rights possible in the first place, or their disproportionate experience of socio-economic rights violations.

Moreover, this narrow focus fails to address the structural inequalities and vulnerabilities created by systems of war or repressive rule that affect women in disproportionate numbers and have far-reaching human rights implications. The mandate and scope of transitional justice measures is particularly relevant today, as we witness the direct targeting of women and girls' rights by extremist groups—including the use of sexual violence as a tactic of terror but equally encompassing an attack on the full range of women's rights, from education to health care, family life and participation in public life. Documentation, justice and accountability for these crimes must equally place women's rights at the core of their response.

The mandate and scope of transitional justice measures is particularly relevant today, as we witness the direct targeting of women and girls' rights by extremist groups.

The crime of enforced disappearance is one issue that highlights the gender bias in the construction of harms prioritized by transitional justice mechanisms. While no exact figures exist, according to the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, the overwhelming majority of reported cases of disappearances are of men.[32] However, women constitute the majority of family members left behind, and in contexts of pre-existing gender inequalities, they suffer exacerbated social and economic discrimination as a result of, or aggravated by, the loss of a male family member.[33] Recent research on the impact on women of enforced disappearances that occurred during Lebanon's civil war (1975-1990) reveals extreme legal, financial and emotional hardship. Lebanon's lack of recognition of the legal status of the missing created obstacles to accessing bank accounts that were in the husband's name, obtaining identity documents for children, resolving issues of child custody, claiming inheritance, remarriage and the transferring of property from the husband to another family member. [34] Such experiences of systemic discrimination and marginalization are not captured or redressed through the rights violations focus of transitional justice mechanisms.

TRUTH-SEEKING

Truth commissions have valuable potential for transforming gender relations post-conflict. They can provide an extraordinary window of opportunity to highlight neglected abuses, research the enabling conditions of gendered violations, provide a forum for victims and survivors to share their experiences of conflict, and recommend institutional reforms and the provision of reparations. While the full transformative impact of truth commissions is still to be realized, there have been notable advancements in their gender-responsiveness

since the adoption of resolution 1325. Importantly, there are emerging examples of truth commissions that are showing how the mandate and scope of transitional justice can be expanded to address the full range of violations women experience during conflict.

In the past 15 years, truth commissions in Peru (2001-2003),[35] Timor-Leste (2001-2006) and Sierra Leone (2002-2004) have been pioneers in integrating a gender perspective into their work. The Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación) was the first in which sexual violence was fully acknowledged, and a commitment was made to mainstream gender into proceedings overseen by a special gender unit. Timor-Leste's Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR) is credited as being one of the best examples of incorporating gender into a truth commission thus far.[36] The Commission's gender unit was integrated in a wide range of areas, from statement taking to public hearings, and its victim hearings were able to examine sexual violence, as well as violations of women's socio-economic rights. This is reflected in the final report of the Commission that demonstrates how forced displacement resulted in a range of harms affecting women, from starvation and exacerbated vulnerability to sexual abuse.[37]

The framework of Tunisia's Truth and Dignity commission (TDC) is another example of progress. The TDC, established under Tunisia's Transitional Justice Law, addresses violations of economic and social rights, including corruption and disappearances, as well as civil and political rights, and is mandated to develop a comprehensive individual and collective reparations programme for victims.[38] 'Victim' includes not only an individual who has suffered harm, but also groups and family members and "every region which was marginalized or which suffered systematic exclusion."[39] The ability of the Commission to consider group victims as well as socio-economic violations provides a framework that allows it to address the structural context that renders women vulnerable to violence, with transformative impact.

Specific measures are often required to ensure women's full participation in truth-seeking processes. These can include quotas for women's representation in leadership roles, as well as policies and procedures for protecting the security and dignity of victims and witnesses, to encourage them to come forward. Other measures include compensation for time constraints and mobility such as travel and childcare costs; ensuring outreach and information processes take place in local languages; and if necessary, providing identity documents. Kenya's Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) for example, held 39 separate hearings for women across the country,[40] provided translation services, and covered transport and childcare costs where necessary to facilitate their attendance. The TJRC also engaged the services of counselors to offer pyschosocial support before, during and after hearings.

In some circumstances where women are not comfortable coming forward to share their testimonies, alternative approaches may be necessary. In Timor-Leste, the CAVR undertook efforts to compensate for the underrepresentation of women's statements which included in-depth interviews and case histories of 200 female survivors that provided a body of oral history narrating women's experiences.[41] In Liberia, rather than having to testify in person, the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM, the predecessor of UN Women) organized peer meetings in affected communities where women could share their experiences and have them transmitted.[42] In this context, partnerships with women's civil society groups can contribute a great deal to supporting a truth commission's capacity to address gender issues, and strengthening its legitimacy.

The final report and recommendations of a truth commission can provide an important road map for gender-sensitive societal reforms. The recommendations of Sierra Leone's TRC included gender-specific legal and institutional reforms, including the repeal of all discriminatory legislation, enactment of gender-progressive laws and ensuring that at least 30 per cent of candidates for public elections are women. As a direct result of the truth commission's recommendations, three women's rights Acts were passed by Parliament addressing key aspects of gender inequality. The best-designed truth commission will have little impact, however, if there is no political will to implement its recommendations.

FOCUS ON

Alternative truth-seeking initiatives

National-level or official truth commissions are not the only mechanisms available for truth-seeking in the aftermath of conflict. Women and women's organizations have often been at the forefront of designing and implementing informal or alternative truth-seeking initiatives, particularly when their needs and the needs of their communities for truth and justice have been ignored by official processes. For example, the Association of Women from Prijedor Izvor in Bosnia and Herzegovina spent 14 years creating a catalog of every person killed in the municipality of Prijedor from 1992-1995, including photographs and basic information about each person.[43]

Women's Tribunals are one key example of women's organizations leading and designing truth-seeking and accountability mechanisms to secure acknowledgement of women's concerns, and advocate for official action. Although the judgments of these tribunals are not binding, they nevertheless help to end the silence that surrounds gender-based violence, and can create moral pressure for formal recognition of women's rights violations. Civil society organizations have held dozens of tribunals around the world, with themes ranging from sexual violence, to the rights of indigenous women, to the effects of neoliberal policies on gender inequality.

A few of these recent tribunals are highlighted below:

In May 2015, hundreds of women from all corners of the former Yugoslavia came together in a tribunal organized by women's groups, an initiative that in itself bridged political and ethnic divides. Its design was the result of a participatory process where survivors were consulted and given ownership of the tribunal.[44] Women gave testimony over the course of three days, highlighting the continuity of violence before, during and after conflict, the consequences of gender-based violence on their families and communities, the climate of ongoing impunity and the importance of strong women's networks for overcoming barriers to justice and equality. [45]

In December 2014, survivors of sexual violence in the armed conflict in Nepal testified before a women's tribunal hosted by the Nepalese National Human Rights Commission and convened by Nepalese women's civil society organizations.[46] The women, most of whom had not previously spoken publicly about their experiences, gave disturbing accounts of rape, torture, and subsequent abandonment by their families and communities. The Tribunal's jury, comprised of regional and international human rights experts, found violations of Nepalese law and international law, and made wide-reaching recommendations, including that the National Human Rights Commission urgently investigate the cases, take all other appropriate steps to achieve justice and include survivors in national reparations schemes. [47]

In December 2011, a women's hearing was held in Cambodia, to examine experiences of sexual violence under the Khmer Rouge regime from 1975 to 1979. The panel of human rights activists who presided over the hearing found that victims had experienced violations of international human rights law and international criminal law, which required redress by the national and international community, including through criminal justice, reparations and guarantees of non-recurrence.[48]

COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY AND FACT-FINDING MISSIONS

In the last 15 years, the number of commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions established by the UN has grown. A commission of inquiry is often the first opportunity for the UN to create a historical record of grave human rights violations. It can also pave the way for appropriate post-conflict justice and accountability measures including prosecutions. For example, the UN's International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur found that crimes committed in the region included 'widespread and systematic' rape and sexual violence on a scale that could amount to crimes against humanity. In light of this and other findings, the Darfur Commission of Inquiry led directly to a Security Council referral of the situation in Darfur to the ICC.[49] The Commission of Inquiry's report on Guinea established that at least 109 women and girls had been subjected to rape and other sexual violence, and that these crimes in themselves may have amounted to crimes against humanity. Several of those named as primary suspects by the Guinea Commission have been indicted in a Guinean domestic court—including former President Dadis Camara—demonstrating how such commissions can contribute at the domestic level to securing justice for SGBV crimes.

Given the important role that these investigatory bodies play in laying the foundation for transitional justice processes, a dedicated focus within them on SGBV can substantially contribute to more gender-sensitive truth, justice and redress measures.[50] Since 2009, every conflict-related UN commission of inquiry has included a gender advisor/SGBV investigator, seconded by UN Women to OHCHR, as part of the investigative team.[51] These experts have highlighted the nature and extent of SGBV, and ensured that gender considerations are adequately addressed in investigations, and in analysis of violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. They have also tried to ensure that victims and witnesses of SGBV are interviewed without causing further harm, and that information concerning SGBV crimes is properly collected and documented.

Perhaps the strongest commission report thus far from a gender perspective has been the Commission of Inquiry on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). Mandated by the Human Rights Council in 2013 to investigate the systematic, widespread and grave violations of human rights in the country, the Commission's final report includes findings in relation to specific gender-based crimes as well as the gendered impacts of all nine major areas of human rights violations investigated by the body. Specific violations against women documented include: pervasive gender-based discrimination, trafficking in women and girls, forced abortion and infanticide, sexual violence and marked gender and ethnic patterns in enforced disappearances.[52] The report makes gender-specific recommendations to the North Korean State, including calling on the DPRK to address the "structural causes that make women vulnerable to such violations."[53] Following release of the report in 2014, both the General Assembly and the Security Council called for action to address the grave human rights situation in North Korea, with a number of countries citing the findings of the Commission in their statements.

The Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic established by the Human Rights Council in 2011 has for the past four years highlighted the prominent role SGBV has played in the conflict. The findings have been widely reported in the media and brought to the attention of the Security Council by both the Commissioners themselves, and by the SRSG on Sexual Violence in Conflict.

The Human Rights Council has shown increasing willingness to include in the founding resolutions of these bodies, whether they be commissions of inquiry or fact-finding missions, inclusion of CEDAW as a framework for guiding investigations; explicit mention of SGBV crimes; and appropriate language from the Security Council's women, peace and security commitments to ensure greater coherence and a unified approach. The recently appointed fact-finding mission "to improve human rights, accountability and reconciliation for South Sudan"[54] notes that "persistent barriers to the implementation of Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) of 31 October 2000 will only be dismantled through dedicated commitment to women's empowerment, participation and human rights and through concerted leadership, consistent information and action and support to build women's engagement at all levels of decision-making."[55] In requesting a report by OHCHR to the Human Rights Council, the resolution specifically mentions the need to include violations of sexual violence within this briefing.

FOCUS ON

Guidance note on integrating gender in commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) is finalizing a guidance note on strengthening the ability of commission of inquiry and fact-finding missions to address SGBV by incorporating a gender analysis into their investigations, and integrating a gender perspective throughout their work.

Key recommendations include the following:

- Specifically include SGBV and gender discrimination in all mandates of COIs/FFMs.
- Integrate a gender perspective in all steps of the work of a COI/FFM including preparation, investigation, analysis and reporting.
- Ensure gender balance in staffing, as well as assessment of gender-sensitivity in the selection of commissioners.
- Include both a gender advisor and an SGBV investigator in the Secretariat team from the creation of a COI/FFM to the finalization of the report.
- Provide training/briefings for all investigators on gender-sensitive investigation, including the gendered dimensions of human rights violations and specific vulnerability of different categories of women.
- Adopt and adhere to standard operating procedures for investigating SGBV in accordance with international standards.
- Ensure appropriate gender-sensitive security and witness protection measures are in place.
- Integrate investigation of SGBV crimes into the overall investigation plan and strategy, together with a conflict mapping exercise that documents the range of violations experienced by women.
- Ensure coordination and collaboration with relevant UN entities, including UN Women, as well as with women's civil society organizations.
- Ensure that the final report includes specific recommendations in relation to SGBV crimes and gendered dimensions of human rights violations.

It is clear that having targeted expertise, inclusive mandates and the institutional will to investigate violations against women and girls in commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions is profoundly affecting the effectiveness of these bodies. Follow-up action related to the findings of these bodies is not always as strong however. One possible way to ensure that findings from these bodies better impacts action is to encourage the growing informal channels of information sharing between these bodies and the Security Council, particularly in regards to informing country-specific deliberation and action for countries on the Council's agenda (see Chapter 11: *The Security Council*).

REPARATIONS

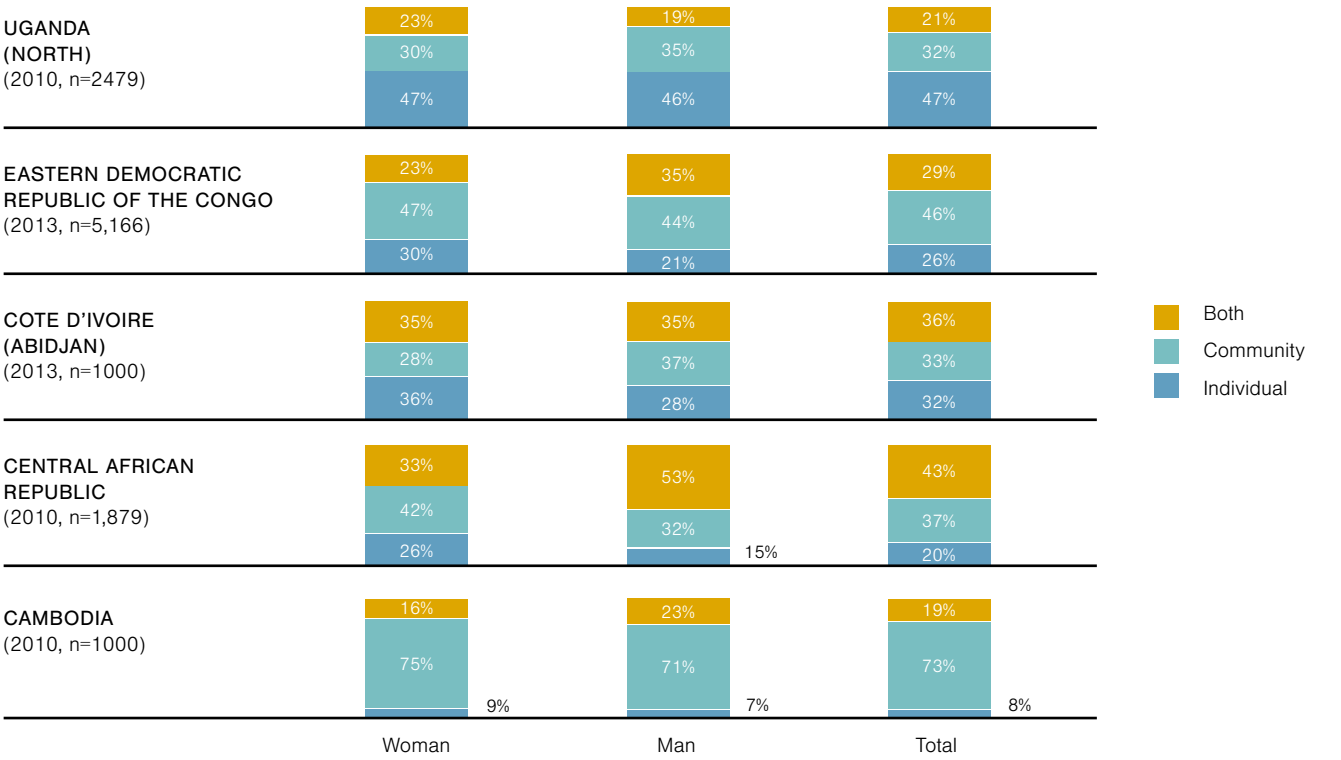
While criminal trials and truth-seeking are critical to fight impunity and reinstate the rule of law, these mechanisms alone cannot bring about the social transformation required to ensure such violations do not occur again, to deliver the redress due to victims or mitigate the consequences of these crimes for survivors and their communities. For these ends, comprehensive, sustainable and transformative reparations for victims are both a right and an integral aspect of peacebuilding.

The International Criminal Court has a broad definition of reparations in its first judgment in the Lubanga case.[56] The measures suggested include financial compensation, restitution, collective reparations, legislative and administrative acts, apologies, and memorialization among others. Reparations have particular importance for women, as they can provide acknowledgement of their rights as equal citizens, a measure of justice, crucial resources of recovery and contribute to transforming underlying gender inequalities in post-conflict societies.[57] Despite their potential however, reparations are the least implemented and funded justice mechanism post-conflict. Where programmes have been implemented, they have too often been piecemeal in nature, delayed by many years, and undertaken with little consultation—and ultimately little reparative value to victims.

> "'Transformative reparations'[...] means land restitution, coupled with land redistribution and access to credit, skills and means to transform that land into a source of livelihood. 'Transformative reparations' means providing fistula surgery to survivors of rape as well as income-generating skills."
>
> **Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka**
> Executive Director of UN Women

The need to ensure that women are consulted and able to actively participate in reparations processes was underscored in the survey-based research study on transitional justice by the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, not least because the study revealed differing perceptions towards reparations by women and men.[58] For example, in Côte d'Ivoire, women were almost three times more likely to mention financial compensation than men, while in the Central African

Percentage of respondents that expressed if reparations are provided they should be given individually/ to the community/both[59]



Republic, this was the reverse. Women generally mentioned the need for psychosocial counselling support more frequently than men, with the exception of northern Uganda. When asked whether reparations should be provided individually, collectively, or both, respondents generally preferred collective reparations, again with the exception of northern Uganda. Importantly though, in all countries, a higher proportion of women than men favoured individual reparations.[60] This highlights the importance of ensuring that women are consulted and able to actively participate in reparations processes.

Over the past decade, policy and jurisprudence has converged on the need for reparations to be transformative in impact, particularly in relation to women and girls. The UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, its Causes and Consequences has noted that since violence perpetrated against individual women generally feeds into patterns of pre-existing and often systemic marginalization, "measures of redress need to link individual reparation and structural transformation."[61] Still, too few reparations programmes correlate with women's experiences of conflict, leaving out redress for reproductive violence, for instance—including forced pregnancy, forced sterilization and forced abortions—as well as the range of socio-economic violations women experience during conflict.[62]

Progress in approaches to reparations

There has been some progress, however. For example, through Morocco's Equity and Reconciliation Commission, a gender-responsive approach to reparations was achieved by acknowledgingspecific harms done to women (including relatives of direct victims), recognizing discrimination in previous approaches to reparations and defining sexual attacks as a category of violations to be compensated.[63]

Reparations in the form of land restitution can be crucial for women, especially in countries where their lack of access to land and inheritance rights as a matter of law and practice pre-conflict can result in heightened uncertainty, insecurity and economic marginalization post-conflict. Colombia's Victims Law includes restitution of land to those who have arbitrarily lost it or have been displaced as a result of the internal armed conflict. The Law's provisions include special measures to protect women's rights, such as giving priority to female heads of households in judicial and administrative processes, providing for specialized attention for women in the processing of requests for restitution, and priority access to other benefits such as credit, education, training and subsidies.[64] The linking of the reparations processes with land and property reform is one element of a transformative approach to reparations.[65]

Perhaps the greatest progress in the area of reparations in recent years has been the increased political willingness to provide reparations for victims of conflict-related sexual violence. Bosnia's war crimes court issued a landmark ruling in June 2015 that granted the first ever compensation to a wartime rape victim.[66] A number of countries are also developing specific legislation in this area. In 2014, the Government of Libya issued a decree calling for the award of reparations to victims of sexual violence during Gaddafi's rule and the 2011 Libyan uprising.[67] The decree offers 12 measures for relief, including monetary and psychological support for victims. While the Reparations Commission remains

FOCUS ON

The Secretary-General's Guidance Note on reparations for conflict-related sexual violence

In 2014, the UN released the Secretary General's Guidance Note on Reparations for Conflict-Related Sexual Violence, which informs the UN's engagement on reparations. The note outlines eight key principles for securing effective redress:

- Adequate reparation for victims of conflict-related sexual violence entails a combination of different forms of reparations.
- Judicial and/or administrative reparations should be available to victims of conflict-related sexual violence as part of their right to obtain prompt, adequate and effective remedies.
- Individual and collective reparations should complement and reinforce each other.
- Reparations should strive to be transformative, including in design, implementation and impact.
- Development cooperation should support States' obligation to ensure access to reparations.
- Meaningful participation and consultation of victims in the mapping, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of reparations should be ensured.
- Urgent interim reparations to address immediate needs and avoid irreparable harm should be made available.
- Adequate procedural rules for proceedings involving sexual violence and reparations should be in place.

to be established, the decree has been heralded as an unprecedented move on the part of the Government. The Kosovo Assembly approved a law in 2014 that legally recognizes the status of civilian victims of sexual violence during the armed conflict,[68] and Croatia's Parliament has recently adopted a law that provides all sexual violence victims of the war with a once-off payment, monthly compensation for the rest of their lives, and access to legal aid, compulsory and additional health insurance, regular annual medical check-ups and accommodation in institutions providing services and assistance to war veterans and war victims.[69]

As with all measures of justice for sexual violence crimes, the design of reparations programmes needs to bear in mind the specific challenges of access and stigma, and be guided by gender and cultural sensitivities including the principle of 'do no harm.' Attention should also be paid to adopting procedural rules that protect the interest of the victim and provide reasonable and appropriate measures for burden of proof, which are more difficult in relation to conflict-related sexual violence crimes. Administrative reparations programmes may be important tools for providing redress for these specific violations.[70]

In Peru, a variety of mechanisms was used for registering victims, including declarations of community leaders and analysis of contextual information.[71] In Chile, the payment of reparations for torture did not require victims to disclose or prove their experiences of torture. The fact that they had been detained in a center known for its extensive use of torture meant that compensation was paid without needing to meet a burden of proof.[72] Such innovative thinking could be applied to sexual violence crimes to find ways around the need for public disclosure and burdens of evidence.[73]

Connecting reparations to broader development policies and actors

While the right to reparations and the right to development are distinct and separate, coordinating programming, strategies and actors can assist in better realizing both rights. For reparations programmes to be fully effective, particularly in contexts of large-scale violations and poverty, complementary linkages must be made to targeted development policies and development actors, even where reparations are limited to individual forms of redress. For example, providing some form of specialized healthcare to victims of the most serious violations requires a functioning healthcare center close to where victims live. Providing scholarships to children of those disappeared, raped, tortured or killed requires a functioning school that can provide quality education.[74] Moreover, in contexts where entire communities have been affected by conflict, linking individual reparations to community reparations and targeted development programmes can mitigate against creating new fault-lines for grievance.[75] For example, a once-off cash payment, even if significant, cannot address the poverty of marginalized communities that can be a root factor of conflict.

Related to this, while some victims prioritize individual justice—punishing the perpetrator and creating a system of deterrence so such acts do not occur again—for others, justice must ultimately be seen from the perspective of the larger community. It is important to consider thus how mechanisms and processes of justice, while giving recourse to individuals, also help societies to heal and recover from past violations, and move towards a sustainable peace. Reparations that are both individual and collective can complement prosecutorial justice, ensuring both redress and societal rebuilding. Collective reparations can also include symbolic measures, such as memorials, apologies and reburials. For women, symbolic acknowledgement of the violation of their rights can also serve as a reassertion of their equal rights as citizens.

Managing expectations

The International Criminal Court, in its first case, set out a comprehensive framework for reparations.[76] The Trust Fund for Victims at the ICC, set up by State Parties, has been left with the task of implementing these reparations with very few resources. The

Trustees are in the process of preparing an implementation plan with a great deal of difficulty. Though the call for reparations is fundamentally valid in terms of theory, in practice few of the institutions, especially in conflict societies, have the capacity to meet the needs of innovative reparations programmes. It is therefore crucial to manage expectations from the beginning, to ascertain what is realistic and possible before promising reparations to victims.

WOMEN'S ACCESS TO JUSTICE IN PLURAL LEGAL SETTINGS

International humanitarian law, resolution 1325 and the six subsequent resolutions on women, peace and security, encourage States to promote and protect women's access to justice throughout post-conflict accountability processes, and equally to undertake legal and judicial reform to ensure access to justice and rule of law for all.

Approximately 80 per cent of claims or disputes are resolved by parallel justice systems, indicating that most women in developing countries access justice in a plural legal environment.[77] Yet, in practice, legal pluralism can pose particular challenges to women, especially where State institutions are weak as they so often are in the aftermath of conflict. In particular, delivering justice for women in the midst of active conflict is inherently difficult. Formal justice systems are either devastated or undermined, and the State may have lost the trust of its people. In these situations, informal justice institutions and the customary laws they mediate are often the only sites of justice and conflict resolution to which people, in particular women, have access, and these often do not provide positive outcomes for women and girls.

In practice, legal pluralism can pose particular challenges to women, especially where State institutions are weak as they so often are in the aftermath of conflict.

While it is a contested concept, legal pluralism refers to systems in which various laws and legal orders coexist. These may include various combinations of codified civil law, religious law, indigenous or customary legal codes, community arbitration or other dispute settlement procedures. They can be formal or informal. Some orders are recognized and sanctioned by the State, while others are not. While plural legal orders can generate uncertainty and challenges, they can also offer opportunities for women to negotiate and advance their justice aims.[78]

Somalia is an example where multiple, overlapping and sometimes contradictory legal systems together with cultural norms, undermine women's rights. Under customary law, a Somali woman who has been raped can be forced to marry her attacker. Rape is seen as an issue to be resolved between two clans in an effort to keep the peace, protect the honor of the victim, eliminate social ostracism and ensure full payment of her dowry by the attacker's clan.[79] In contrast, the formal law carries a punishment of imprisonment, and Islamic Law imposes the death penalty for rape if the perpetrator is married, and 90 lashes for an unmarried accused.[80] Three systems lead to three different outcomes for the same crime based on differing concepts of rights and the rights bearer.

Since the aim of many non-State justice systems is the restoration of peace rather than the provision of redress for individuals, this can often mean discrimination against women is perpetuated and their human rights denied.[81] In some contexts, 'forum shopping' can theoretically offer choice to litigants, allowing them to explore options for a favorable outcome. However, this choice is rarely meaningful for women on account of community and social

FOCUS ON

Informal justice systems and the role of traditional and religious leaders

As the majority of people seek justice through informal justice systems, especially in conflict and post-conflict settings, religious and traditional leaders can play an important role in protecting and promoting women's rights.

Legal orders which apply religious, customary or indigenous laws tend to be dominated by men and perpetuate patriarchal interpretations of culture, provide differential protections to men and women and rarely punish gender-based violence in particular.[82] However, customary law is adaptable and can change in ways that reflect evolving values in society. For example, in Afghanistan, religious leaders are among the traditional 'gatekeepers' for making local decisions, especially with respect to women's rights. While at the national level women rights have encountered resistance, at the local level religious leaders have shown interest in protecting women's rights within an Islamic framework. Civil society organizations have been working with Islamic scholars regionally to develop a curriculum on Women's Rights in Islam. Imams who have participated in the project have referenced in their sermons women's religious and legal rights to familial inheritance, employment, education, participation in political life, and decision-making over their own bodies. While it is difficult to gauge the effect of these sermons, impact studies of various projects show that rates for resolving cases in favor of women disputants improved three-fold.[83]

pressures.

While the challenges to securing women's access to justice in fragile and post-conflict settings are considerable, legal pluralism can be utilized in a positive way, with programming interventions based on a context-specific analysis of how women navigate and use different justice systems, why they choose one over another, what the outcomes are, and how this impacts on their lives.[84] There are a number of examples of governments, international actors and women's organizations engaging with different legal orders to bring about positive change.

Institutional reforms

Plural legal systems, including in post-conflict contexts, can be harder to reform where customary or religious law is exempted from constitutional equality provisions. Further, even where powers held by traditional and religious leaders are constitutionally mandated to be exercised in line with constitutional principles, including gender equality, in practice the reality for women is still often one of systemic discrimination.

In Burundi, although the principle of gender equality and non-discrimination on the grounds of sex is enshrined in the 2005 Constitution,[85] important aspects of family life such as inheritance and matrimonial property schemes are still governed by customary law, which discriminates against women[86] by preventing them from inheriting land from their fathers or husbands.

As the aftermath of conflict is almost always accompanied by constitutional and legislative reforms, it is an important moment of opportunity to entrench gender equality and equal rights across all legal systems. As noted, legislative reform in itself is no guarantee of social change. However, bringing plural legal systems in line with international legal standards can play a seminal role in developing a shared

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understanding of human rights. Affirming the primacy of constitutional laws over religious, customary and indigenous laws, as well as mandating that they are consistent with constitutional norms on equality is a necessary step towards ensuring the protection and promotion of women's rights.[87]

Women's participation in accessing justice

Women's participation in all sites and forms of justice can have transformative impacts in itself. In Timor-Leste, grassroots women leaders' work with the village chief (or 'succo') system has resulted in an increased commitment by succo chiefs to refer gender-based violence to the formal justice system. This has successfully reduced the incidences of domestic violence. Women who participated in such mechanisms have testified about their new-found confidence and ability to understand peace and security issues, which in turn has enabled them to take action on behalf of their entire communities.[88]

Data has shown that in the formal justice sector, employing women on the frontlines of service delivery (as police, corrections officials, legal representatives and court administrators), as well as at the highest levels of policy influence (as legislators, judges and in professional oversight bodies) can create justice systems that are more gender responsive.[89] For example, increasing the number of female police officers correlates positively with an increase in reporting of sexual violence.[90] Equally, in considering the specific needs of women prisoners, including in regard to access to justice, an appropriate gender balance among prison staff is crucial to ensure these needs are met and rights are respected. Women's participation in the judicial sector can be effectively facilitated by programmes that encourage women to pursue legal careers, and that support educational opportunities or employ quotas.

Across all of these approaches to securing justice there is a need to ensure that access is premised on an understanding of the rights bearer. This requires accounting for differentiated needs associated with factors including age, culture, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status and locality, which must equally be considered in the design of response.

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Access to justice while conflict rages

In the midst of conflict, access to justice is at its most scarce, especially affecting marginalized and minority groups, including women and girls.[91] Legal structures that should protect the population tend to be inaccessible and/or destroyed. Even traditional mechanisms to resolve disputes can be compromised, as traditional leaders themselves may have been displaced, imprisoned and sometimes tortured and killed. For example, in Darfur, while rape and other forms of SGBV are endemic to the conflict, access to justice, particularly for women and girls, is almost non-existent. Many courts have been shut down, either by the government or by the rebels, or are simply frozen by the violence and displacement.[92] In some areas taken over by the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA), customary courts were closed and replaced with military-like courts, which are reported to favor combatants over civilians and certain ethnic groups over others.[93] The conflict has also made it harder for traditional mechanisms to resolve disputes as traditional leaders themselves have been displaced, imprisoned and sometimes tortured and killed. It is clear that in situations of conflict, the operation of both formal and informal justice mechanisms are compromised, impacting in particular access to justice for marginalized and minority groups including women and girls.[94] The UN has adopted a number of initiatives to strengthen national level justice responses in the midst of conflict, including one-stop centers (such as in Somaliland and Burundi), women's desks at police stations in Iraq, mobile courts in Eastern DRC and a national police hotline for SGBV victims in Mali.

Legal empowerment Initiatives

Improving access to legal aid and service delivery for survivors of SGBV—including the provision of medical, psycho-social and economic assistance—is an important component of their overall access to comprehensive justice. In Eastern DRC, UNDP supports a large network of legal aid clinics to tackle impunity, particularly for SGBV crimes. These clinics include medical, psychosocial and legal aid, and more recently have begun to address the social reintegration problems faced by SGBV victims through psychosocial support, literacy classes, socio-economic support and education of community leaders on attitudes towards survivors.[95] One-stop centers that offer survivors a range of services in one location, such as medical care, psychological counseling, access to police investigators and legal assistance, are proving to be a successful model that integrates legal services with survivors' broader needs, through a coordinated approach between health professionals, who are often the first point of contact, and police.

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With their knowledge of plural legal systems, and understanding of local socio-political structures, community paralegals can be invaluable in supporting women in navigating the different (formal or informal) systems to their advantage.[96] They can facilitate access to formal systems as well as provide alternatives for women to turn to where their formal rights are not acknowledged by local institutions. The Turkana Women in Development Organization (TWADO) runs a paralegal program specifically focused on monitoring cases that involve violence against women and children in the remote Turkana region of Kenya. They are seconded to local customary dispute resolution processes where they provide input to cases that relate to women's rights. They also monitor the process for cases that

should be referred to the formal courts and support families to access that mechanism.[97]

For female detainees and prisoners, access to legal aid is crucial to ensure a fair trial and sentence, especially considering that women prisoners frequently are victims of abuse, suffer from mental illness, and continue to be the primary caretakers for their children. In Darfur, for instance, UNAMID supported the establishment of legal aid desks in prisons, which have to date benefitted more than 550 prisoners (including men). UNMIL facilitated access to prisoner records by building national capacity on prison data management, which resulted in a 27 per cent decrease in pre-trial detention.

In order to maximize impact, legal reform and support to legal assistance must be combined with awareness-raising and dialogue among State and non-State stakeholders, and among women in both urban and rural settings. This aids in creating a space for women to challenge cultural values and procedures that perpetuate systemic discrimination, and impede their access to justice. In the eastern highlands and Simbu provinces of Papua New Guinea, there are a number of communities that have successfully resolved communal conflict through the establishment of their own peace-restoring and dispute resolution forums. In Kup District of Simbu Province, the organization Kup Women for Peace (KWP) provides training on victim's rights and instruments, including the use of CEDAW, to village leaders and court officials. This has led to a decision to appoint 'community police officers' who act as a link between the community and the nearest police station in the district.[98]

Legal reform and support to legal assistance must be combined with awareness-raising and dialogue among state and non-state stakeholders, and among women in both urban and rural settings.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

Member States, the UN and civil society should:

✓ Adopt a transformative justice approach to programming for women's access to justice, including by developing interventions that support legal orders to challenge the underlying socio-cultural norms and contexts of inequality that perpetuate discrimination against women, and enable conflict-related violations to occur.

✓ Ensure that accountability mechanisms mandated to prevent and respond to extremist violence have the necessary gender expertise to do so, in light of the escalating rate of deliberate attacks on women's rights, including SGBV, by extremist groups.

PROSECUTIONS
Member States and the UN should:

✓ Invest in strengthening national justice systems to investigate and prosecute international crimes, including SGBV, in accordance with the principle of complementarity. This includes by:

- Supporting legal frameworks that incorporate definitions and elements of SGBV crimes, procedures for victim and witness support and provisions for reparations, in line with international standards, including the Rome Statute.

- Working together and providing expertise to ensure States have the technical capacity to investigate and prosecute conflict-related SGBV.

Civil society should:

✓ Advocate for State ratification and domestic implementation of the Rome Statute; and adoption of national legislation in line with international standards on women's rights, including specific legislation on SGBV crimes.

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE
Member States and the UN should:

✓ Invest in the design and implementation of gender-sensitive transitional justice measures that recognize and respond to women's experiences of conflict, and their justice and accountability needs.

✓ Prioritize the design and implementation of gender-sensitive reparations programmes with transformative impact, including through implementing the Guidance Note of the Secretary General on Reparations for Conflict-Related Sexual Violence.

✓ Institute specific measures to ensure the active participation of women and civil society organizations in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of transitional justice mechanisms, so as to guarantee that women's experience of the conflict is included, their particular needs and priorities are met and all violations suffered are addressed.

Members States and the UN should:

✓ Invest in gender-responsive capacity building of the justice sector by:

- Providing gender-sensitive training for all justice sector actors—especially those involved in justice-related service delivery including traditional leaders, health professionals and police.

- Supporting increasing the participation of women at all levels in justice service delivery, across both formal and informal systems, through measures that can include quotas and support to women's legal education, including scholarships.

Members States, the UN and civil society should:

✓ Collaborate on the design and implementation of legal empowerment initiatives that build women's confidence and access to legal systems, and enable women to be active participants in navigating them.

✓ Support grassroots women to lead and engage with traditional justice mechanisms.

Member States should:

✓ Ensure constitutional equality guarantees apply to all laws and justice systems, in line with international law.

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06

KEEPING THE PEACE IN AN INCREASINGLY MILITARIZED WORLD

+ “Time should come, when we don’t really need to refer to resolution 1325, because we have fully mainstreamed the role of women in peacekeeping and peacebuilding, and it will just be a natural phenomenon.”

Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, Namibia Minister of Foreign Affairs,UN Women Video Interview, 2015

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolution 1325

Expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component

2000

2009

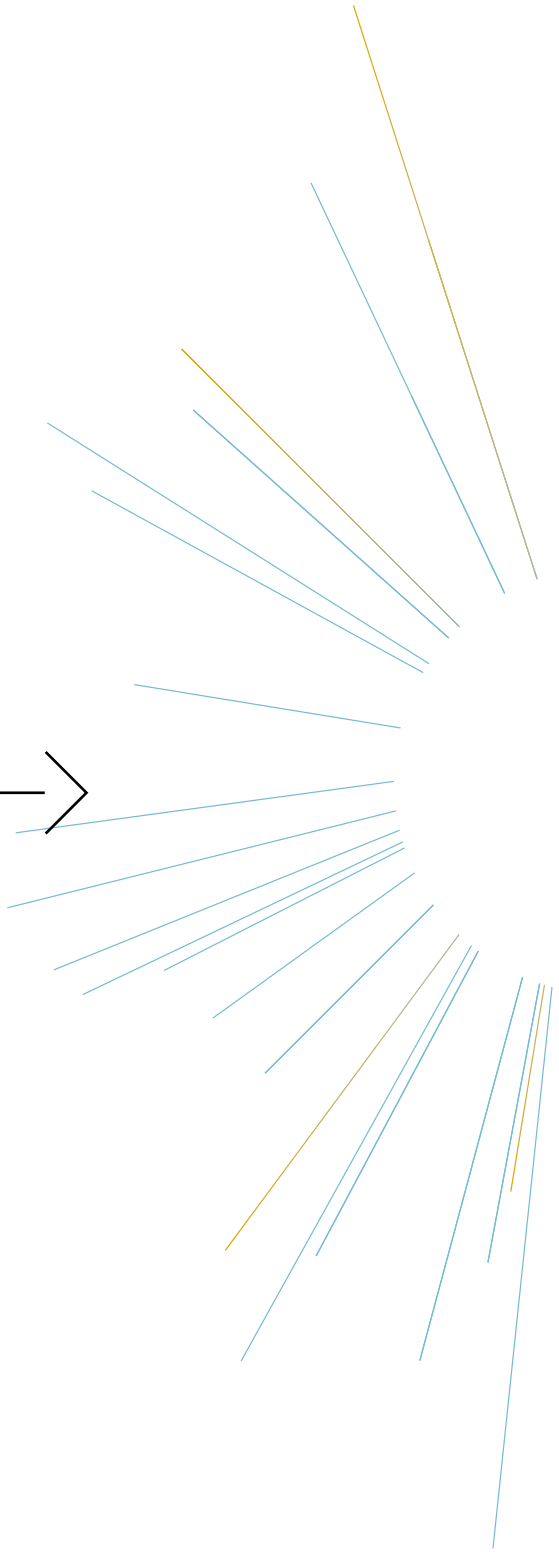
Resolution 1888

Requests the Secretary-General to continue and strengthen efforts to implement the policy of zero tolerance of sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations; and urges troop and police contributing countries to take appropriate preventative action, including predeployment and in-theater awareness training, and other action to ensure full accountability in cases of such conduct involving their personnel

Resolution 2106

Recognizes the role of United Nations peacekeeping contingents in preventing sexual violence, and, in this respect, calls for all predeployment and in-mission training of troop- and police-contributing country contingents to include training on sexual and gender-based violence, which also takes into account the distinct needs of children

2013



When women activists first brought issues of concern to international multilateral fora in the 1920s, they were issues of peace that contained a strong voice against militarization. The world had seen a war that inflicted such mass scale devastation and destruction that for the first time, there were concerted international efforts to ensure 'never again.' With roots in peace movements and anti-militarization campaigns, women's active role on the international stage has always been firm about linking women's rights to peace and peacebuilding. As the world continues to experience protracted and deepening cycles of conflict, the lessons learned from concerted activism over two centuries should be brought to the fore.

At its core, the movement that pushed for the adoption of resolution 1325 in 2000 wanted the same thing as the founders of the United Nations and the writers of its Charter in 1945: less war and greater investments in human welfare, rather than in armaments. The most powerful force driving the advocates for a resolution on women, peace and security—inspired by the century-old feminist and pacifist movements—was the link between gender equality and peace.

Fifteen years after the adoption of resolution 1325, it is clear that the global community has neither achieved gender equality, nor found and sustained peace. On the contrary, we seem to be moving in the opposite direction—away from key elements agreed in the Beijing Platform for Action at the Fourth World Conference for Women in 1995, including commitments to reduce excessive military expenditures, control the availability of armaments, promote nonviolent forms of conflict resolution, and foster a culture of peace.

In recent times, armed conflicts have proliferated at a faster pace than our ability to tackle them effectively. This proliferation has taken place in a context of increased militarization, reflected both in the steady growth of military budgets as well as the frequent use of military force to settle disputes. In

> "We must review and redefine the role, purpose and culture of the military in today's context."
>
> Participant at the Asia-Pacific regional civil society consultation for the Global Study

2000, global military spending was already estimated above one trillion dollars.[1] Since then, annual military expenditures have increased by approximately 60 per cent,[2] or the equivalent of 2500 years of expenditure by international disarmament and non-proliferation organizations.[3] In addition to unilateral military operations, there is now an expanding list of military deployments supported by the UN and regional organizations, such as NATO, the European Union, the African Union and the Arab League.

The UN's peacekeeping budget has more than tripled in the last fifteen years, and while the number of civilian staff in peacekeeping missions has grown by more than 50 per cent,[4] the numbers of uniformed personnel have tripled from 34,000 in 2000 to 106,000 in 2015. Missions now last three times longer than their predecessors.[5] In 2015, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support managed 16 peacekeeping missions, the UN's support to the African Union's mission in Somalia, and a record number of authorized personnel. Recent mandates and policies have acknowledged that peacekeepers must be ready to

In 2000, global military spending was already estimated above one trillion dollars.

Since then, annual military expenditures have increased by approximately 60 per cent.

use force, including proactively, to protect civilians,[6] a task made more challenging by the reality that these missions are increasingly deployed in volatile, insecure environments where there is little or no peace to keep.

This Study emphasizes throughout the need for demilitarization and the development of effective strategies for prevention of conflict and nonviolent protection of civilians. This is one of the key messages and conclusions that emerged strongly from the global consultations and deliberations. However, it cannot be denied that military forces, both national and international, along with armed groups will continue to play a major role in the peace and security agenda of the United Nations. This necessarily raises the question of women's participation in the military. Although there is some debate as to whether the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda—which has its roots in the pacifist, anti-militarist struggle—should include this issue within its goals and advocacy, there is no doubt that women's presence raises awareness of women's issues in theaters of action, helps prevent sexual exploitation and abuse of the local population, and improves operational effectiveness.[7] Furthermore, a commitment to equality under CEDAW requires that women be given the same employment opportunities as men, including within military structures.

Since 2000, national militaries and the partners that work with them on women, peace and security have made efforts to improve the gender balance of military forces, from rank-and-file soldiers to senior officers and leaders; to make sure that gender issues are taken into account in the design, planning, conduct and evaluation of peace operations; to eliminate sexual exploitation, abuse or harassment committed by their own forces, and prevent or respond to conflict-related sexual violence and other human rights violations in the communities where they operate. While some progress is evident, much of it has been through incremental and sometimes ad-hoc measures that have yet to transform military structures and mindsets, or reverse the trend towards higher military budgets and excessive reliance on military solutions (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8: *Preventing Conflict*).

Ultimately, for advocates of sustainable peace and security interlinked with development and human rights, the value of the women, peace and security agenda is its potential for transformation, rather than greater representation of women in existing paradigms of militarized response.

There is no doubt that women's presence raises awareness of women's issues in theaters of action, helps prevent sexual exploitation and abuse of the local population, and improves operational effectiveness.

FOCUS ON

The report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations: Increasing the number of women peacekeepers

The High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations noted in its report both the importance of increasing the numbers of women in UN peacekeeping missions, as well as doing so through measures such as financial incentives:

> *"Recent peacekeeping experience confirms that uniformed female personnel play a vital role in reaching out and gaining the trust of women and girls within local communities, understanding and detecting their unique protection needs and tailoring the responses of peace operations. [...] Troop- and police-contributing countries should implement their national action plans on Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) or develop such plans, and redouble efforts to increase the number of women serving in the national security sector. The Secretariat should develop a gender-sensitive force and police generation strategy to address the recruitment, retention and advancement of female uniformed personnel,* ***including by exploring such incentives as reimbursement premiums****."*[8]

FOCUS ON

New technologies in an increasingly militarized world - Drones

As nations work to enhance and protect military capabilities in a new era marked by global counterterrorist campaigns, sophisticated weapons technology has redefined the scope of the battlefield and blurred the line between weapon and warrior.[9] Today, military members stationed in one part of the world can use an unmanned combat aerial vehicle, commonly known as a drone, to attack a target many countries away. The continuous presence of drones hovering over communities has been linked to increased levels of psychosocial trauma,[10] with some women reporting to have miscarried from the sound and fear of nearby strikes.[11] Evidence that drones have killed humanitarian aid workers has discouraged rescuers from assisting victims, while fear of being perceived as a threat to drone operators has prevented civilians from participating in community gatherings, including funerals,[12] and fear of attack has led to families withdrawing their children from school.[13] Drones' presupposed accuracy means that mistakenly targeted civilians and their families are harmed further by stigma from community members, who may assume that such individuals and their families are affiliated with militant activity.[14]

While there has been considerable debate on the use of drones, including their impact on communities, effectiveness as modern weapons and status under international law, less has been said about their gendered impact. Recent analysis has begun highlighting these dimensions, noting that the impact of drone strikes on civilian populations has been highly sex-specific, targeting men disproportionately[15] and thus giving rise to an increase in female-headed households who, in a context of inequality, often struggle to support themselves.[16]

WOMEN IN NATIONAL ARMED FORCES

Over the last two decades, a growing number of countries have increased the percentage of women in their armed forces. More recently, several have done so as their national military institutions adopt gender policies or sign on to national action plans on women, peace and security.[17] Some of the measures to increase female representation have included:[18]

- targeted recruitment campaigns;
- removing barriers and exclusion of women from certain categories of military personnel;
- improving and diversifying employment pathways;
- using images of female military officers in promotional and communications campaigns;
- conducting surveys and studies on recruitment and retention of women in the armed forces;
- tracking accurate data on women's representation and experiences in the military;
- changes in family policy;
- reforms addressing sexual harassment and abuse within the force; and
- changes to facilities, uniforms, and equipment.

In 2000, only five countries within this military alliance reported specific policies and legislation for women's participation in armed forces. By 2013, these policies were in place in all 28 NATO countries.

A majority of the countries that have taken such measures are NATO countries. In 2000, only five countries within this military alliance reported specific policies and legislation for women's participation in armed forces. By 2013, these policies were in place in all 28 NATO countries.[19] For instance, in 2000, only six NATO countries had equal enlistment for women and men. By 2013, all NATO members offered this opportunity, although there are still certain positions in a number of countries that are closed for women, particularly in combat positions, submarines and tanks. Nevertheless, while these shifts in policy are significant, on average the representation of women has only risen very modestly from 7.4 per cent in 1999 to 10.6 per cent in 2013.

Some non-NATO countries have even higher percentages of women in their armed forces. For example, in Argentina, where measures have been adopted to recruit and retain women in all branches of the armed forces, women now make up 14.2 per cent of the Army, 16.4 per cent of the Navy, and 22.6 per cent of the Air Force, or 16.2 per cent across the entire force.[20] One such measure focused on allowing military women to receive support and exercise their right to sexual and reproductive health services without obstacles or delay—personnel of military hospitals that held a conscientious objection to the interruption of pregnancy were reassigned, and child care centers were opened specifically for parents who work in the security forces.[21] In South Africa, which has one of the highest percentages of women in the military, 34 per cent of the total armed forces are now women and they are aiming for 40 per cent. In addition, the South African National Defence Force now has several two-star generals that are women, and women are engaged in combat operations, pilot combat planes and drive tanks.[22]

FOCUS ON

Women in the Australian armed forces

In June 2014, at the largest summit ever convened on ending sexual violence in conflict, one of the most inspiring speeches came from a man in uniform. General David Morrison, Chief of the Australian Army, shared his experiences on the impact of diversity, in particular women's participation, in national forces:

> *"I can state without hesitation that an end to sexual violence in conflict will not be achieved without fundamental reforms to how all armies recruit, retain, and employ women; and how they realize the improved military capability that is accrued through more effective gender and ethnic diversity [...]. Armies that revel in their separateness from civil society, that value the male over the female, that use their imposed values to exclude those who do not fit the particular traits of the dominant group, who celebrate the violence that is integral to my profession rather than seeking ways to contain it–they do nothing to distinguish the soldier from the brute."*[23]

Australia has adopted specific measures and publishes detailed annual reports on women in the Australian Defence Forces (ADF). In 2014, based on a careful examination of successful interventions in other male-dominated industries and institutions, targets were introduced stating that by 2023, 25 per cent of the Navy and the Air Force, and 15 per cent of the Army must be women.[24] As of June 2014, 15 per cent of the ADF total forces are women, ranging from close to 12 per cent in the Army to above 18 per cent in the Navy and the Air Force.

Australia's specific policy measures are considerable. For example, flexible working arrangements have been introduced, along with a guide for commanders on these arrangements and a target that at all times at least two per cent of the trained force should be taking advantage of these arrangements.[25] The Chief of the ADF, the highest military post, has a gender advisor. Promotion boards are being diversified, and initial-minimum-period-of-service requirements for a number of categories are being reviewed. Gender restrictions have been removed from all ADF combat role employment categories. The Army has revised what it traditionally considered career path models to allow for career breaks, greater posting flexibility for primary care givers, and consideration of commensurate experience instead of traditional military career milestones. Furthermore, in all career development opportunities, the percentage of women participating must always be equal to the percentage of women in the selection pool that is being considered. For secondary schools, the Navy published a book about women at sea, with real stories from women in the Navy in order to highlight these role models to youth. The ADF has a Male Champions of Change initiative, makes extensive use of women in the army in advertising and marketing campaigns, and the Air Force became the first military organization in the world to achieve the accreditation of "Breastfeeding Friendly Workplace."

These positive measures stand in stark contrast however, to the persistent abuse and discrimination against women within national military institutions in many countries. For example, in 2013, a US Congressional Commission found that 23 per cent of US military women had experienced unwanted sexual contact since enlistment, ranging from groping to rape.[26] In 2015, the chief of the Indonesian armed forces reportedly defended the practice of virginity tests for all female recruits.[27] More often than not, military women tend to be subject to discrimination in their military careers, passed over for promotions and opportunities—including deployments in peacekeeping operations—or assigned to menial tasks that do not correspond with their training. In Pakistan, women compete for 32 spots in the Pakistan Military Academy each year, compared with the approximately 2000 spaces allotted to men.[28]

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE MILITARY CONTINGENTS OF UN PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS

Stagnant numbers of women in military peacekeeping roles

An extremely low number of female military personnel are deployed in current peacekeeping missions. **On average, only three per cent of the military in UN missions are women as of July 2015, and the majority of these are employed as support staff**.[29] This number has not risen since 2011, and in fact, it has only risen incrementally over the past two decades—from one per cent of women peacekeepers in 1993—despite repeated calls for more women in peacekeeping since resolution 1325 was adopted in 2000.

One of the most cited reasons for this low number is that the percentage of women in the national militaries of some of the largest troop contributing countries (TCCs) is itself very low.[31] For example, the top three contributing countries—Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan—have few women in their armed forces. Conversely, many of the countries that have a higher percentage of female military personnel contribute few peacekeepers to UN missions. European and North American countries with percentages of women in the military between eight and 20 per cent typically contribute more uniformed personnel and civilian staff to NATO, EU, and OSCE missions, rather than UN missions. Countries like Zimbabwe and Belarus reach 40 per cent of female representation in their deployments, but out of only 85 and five troops respectively.[32] There are notable exceptions to this trend: Ethiopia (2nd largest contributor, 6.3 per cent of female representation), Ghana (9th largest, 10.2 per cent), Nigeria (10th largest, 6.8 per cent), Tanzania (21st largest, 5.2 per cent), South Africa (14th largest, 15.6 per cent), and Uruguay (20th largest, 7.2 per cent) all significantly exceed the global average and deploy large numbers of peacekeepers.[33]

Some of the biggest TCCs are striving to improve their gender balance. In 2014, two Bangladeshi women officers became the first combat pilots in the history of that country, and the Bangladesh Air Force has launched a process to ensure that at least 20 per cent of their officers are women.[34] The number of women in the Rwanda Defense Forces almost tripled in ten years, and will have to increase even more to meet Rwanda's target to ensure that at least 30 per cent of their peacekeepers are women.[35]

More recently, some progress is also being seen in female leadership appointments. The first-ever female force commander in a UN mission, Kristin Lund from Norway, was appointed in 2014, making it also the first time that both the civilian and the military leaders of a mission—UNFICYP in Cyprus—were women. An all-time high was reached in May 2015—almost 40 per cent of peacekeeping missions are led by a woman, a historic record.[36]

No single source contains consistent and comprehensive data on the gender balance of military forces worldwide.[37] For the top contributing countries, estimates of the presence of women in the military are indicated in the table on page 141.

> The presence of women at the field level, particularly in leadership, encourages other women and girls to participate and lead [...].

NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, Statement of the Security Council at the Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security, 2008

Percentage of female military personnel in armed forces, top 15 troop contributing countries to UN field missions, 2015[38]

	TROOP CONTRIBUTING COUNTRY	% WOMEN IN MILITARY
1	Bangladesh	3
2	Pakistan	1
3	India	4
4	Ethiopia	7
5	Rwanda	2
6	Nepal	2
7	Senegal	4
8	Ghana	17
9	Nigeria	10.5
10	Egypt	*
11	China	*
12	Indonesia	2
13	Tanzania	*
14	Morocco	3
15	South Africa	34

* Figures not available for these troop contributing countries.

The key role of female peacekeepers

Women's participation in the military component of peacekeeping has been recognized as a critical factor contributing to mission success, both within the UN normative frameworks on peacekeeping and women, peace and security,[39] as well as by commanders on the ground themselves.[40] They note that women peacekeepers broaden the range of skills and capacities among all categories of personnel, enhance the operational effectiveness of all tasks, and improve the mission's image, accessibility and credibility vis-à-vis the local population. Women peacekeepers also improve targeted outreach to women in host communities. This is crucial for various reasons, including capitalizing on women's familiarity with local protection strategies that affect women, and on their capacity to provide early warning, which is described in detail in Chapter 8: *Preventing Conflict*. It also bears noting that not a single female peacekeeper has ever been accused of sexual exploitation and abuse on mission.

Not a single female peacekeeper has ever been accused of sexual exploitation and abuse on mission.

Female military officers are in great demand for mixed staff protection teams and investigation teams looking into incidents involving female victims or witnesses. They drive strong civil-military coordination, and together with civilian and police counterparts, can more effectively reach out to and interact with civilians in the host country, as they appear less threatening and more accessible to affected populations.[41]

In addition, although women's professional competence extends beyond these areas, commanders have noted that female military officers have a special comparative advantage in house and body searches, interacting with survivors of gender-based violence, working in women's prisons and screening women in disarmament and demobilization sites.

Boosting women's participation as military peacekeepers

Both the UN Secretary-General and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, through the Office of the Military Affairs Advisor, have encouraged TCCs to deploy more women—at least the same percentage of women as is found in their national armed forces. The Office of Military Affairs has appointed a full time military gender advisor with rank of Colonel based at headquarters, and has initiated the establishment of the Female Military Peacekeepers Network (FMPKN) to create a space of mutual support, mentoring, training and advocacy for UN female military staff.[43] UN Women has recently begun conducting two-week

> "In the field, I've always been the one called upon to work with local women—they trusted me more."
>
> **Major Khadessa Sy** of the Senegalese Army, who has served on UN peacekeeping missions in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Liberia[42]

courses exclusively for female military officers, as part of a professional development opportunity that hopes to increase the deployment of women in peacekeeping operations. Similarly, Security Council mission authorization mandates have frequently called on States to consider women's representation in their troop contributions. These recommendations are not enforced however, and there is no mechanism in place to induce compliance.

Investing in women's participation

In examining ways to increase women's participation, the option of financial incentives has rarely been put forth. Recent recommendations from the Special Advisory Group on Reimbursement Rates for Peacekeeping Troops and the Secretary-General have included a *risk premium* (for individuals in units operating without restrictions and assuming exceptional levels of risk), a *'key enabling capacities' premium* (for those contingents deploying key enablers and force multipliers, always in high demand and short supply), and a *readiness premium* (adding a one-time extra pay if the trained personnel and equipment were ready in a very short amount of time, as an incentive to improve pre-deployment training and overall readiness).

Member States should consider adopting a gender-balance premium, defined along a certain set of criteria: percentage of women in the contingent, their rank and function, the specialized training on gender issues that the contingent has undergone, including pre-deployment training on conflict-related sexual violence, and in compliance with the existing Policy on Human Rights Screening of United Nations Personnel.[44] This is a recommendation echoed in the report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations. It would need to be linked closely to force generation, which suggests which countries to approach for pledges and which pledges to accept. Another option for Member States to consider is the offering of in-kind benefits. Both types of benefits would be incentives tied to measurable increases of women in their military deployments.[45]

Similarly, peacekeeping budgets should allocate sufficient funds to better accommodate greater numbers of women among military contingents through necessary changes in mission facilities and life. This could include special family or leave arrangements for women, [46] adequate and appropriate mission facilities for women—from accommodation quarters and sanitary facilities to welfare and recreational spaces and activities, special medical and gynecological care, gender-specific uniforms or body armor;[47] and investments in the internal safety of the compound, among others. **These investments could be furthered immeasurably by adopting as standard practice gender-budgetary analysis in the development of peace operations budgets. This would allow for more robust data on how expenditure impacts the gender-sensitivity of missions and facilitates greater numbers of women's participation.**

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE POLICE COMPONENT OF UN PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS

In 2000, when resolution 1325 was adopted, Lyn Holland became the first American woman to serve in a policing capacity in a peacekeeping mission when she joined the mission in Kosovo to assist victims of

rape. Also in Kosovo, Shahzadi Gulfam, the first Pakistani policewoman to be deployed to a peacekeeping mission, was helping to recruit women to the Kosovo Police Service.[48] In more recent times, the all-female Formed Police Unit from India, first deployed in Liberia in 2007 and subsequently emulated by Bangladesh[49] and other countries, has been celebrated as contributing to better outreach to women in communities. They have also been credited with inspiring Liberian women to join the police force, whose female representation grew from 13 to 21 per cent in five years.[50] In Haiti, Norwegian, Canadian, and Francophone African policewomen have been training, mentoring and accompanying the Haitian National Police to respond to cases of domestic violence and sexual abuse.[51] In Norway, 35 per cent of police officers serving in international peace operations have been female, and in 2014 four out of nine contingent leaders were women.[52]

> "What I have experienced is when local women see you are a woman, their faces light up. It's like they get a connection. They relate."
>
> **Hester Paneras** of South Africa, Police Commissioner of UNAMID[53]

The positive impact of having more women in the police component of missions is not limited to issues that mainly affect women. Their presence has been found to significantly lower rates of complaints of misconduct, of improper use of force, or inappropriate use of weapons, and women tend to be less authoritarian in their interactions with citizens and lower ranking officers.[54]

In 2009, the United Nations launched a campaign with the ambitious goal of ensuring that women make up one-fifth of all UN Police by 2014. Although the percentage of women has grown since then, the campaign has not yet met its target.[55] The Police Division has asked member States to deploy the same proportion of women that they already have in their national police forces, to review their recruitment policies and criteria for deployment to identify any inequalities or barriers to entry for women, and to identify whether their national criteria for recruitment to UN missions matches the UN criteria for recruitment to missions. In view of the applicable selection criteria relating to minimum years of prior national service, rank and other requirements, it would seem worthwhile to consider whether 'preferential' or 'special' measures might be adopted to increase the pool of eligible women for deployment. For example, the requirement of five years of prior national service for eligibility to be deployed as a UN civilian police officer can be prohibitive; instead, a reduced number of years (e.g., three) might be considered for women candidates for a pilot period.

The Police Division has also been giving visibility to the role of women in UN Police. They launched the international network of female police peacekeepers and an international peacekeeping award. They conduct regular mentoring and networking activities, and trainings around the world on strategies to increase women in UN Police and national police forces, and they collaborate on projects aimed at strengthening specific skills that female police need to pass the UN Selection Assistance Test. Importantly, the Police Division is also trying to address women's specific needs for facilities including separate accommodations, and have been working to ensure that women are not segregated in missions and have equal status on the job, a serious problem that is rarely documented.

MAINSTREAMING GENDER IN UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

There has been concrete progress in efforts to integrate a gender perspective into UN peacekeeping operations. In 2000, only UNMIK and UNTAET had

Almost every mandate of UN peacekeeping now includes specific provisions on women, peace and security, and almost every directive for the military and police components of missions now include specific instructions to address women's security.

gender advisors, and only a fifth of all peacekeeping missions had a specialized gender unit, usually comprising a sole officer freshly appointed to what was then a brand new post.[56] Now, all multidimensional peacekeeping missions have gender units,[57] and are also deploying women's protection advisors—first mandated in Security Council resolution 1888 in 2009. Almost every mandate of UN peacekeeping now includes specific provisions on women, peace and security, and almost every directive for the military and police components of missions now include specific instructions to address women's security.

In the last few years, there have been numerous gender-sensitive innovations in peace operations designed to implement commitments on human rights, the protection of civilians, and women, peace and security. These include: the establishment of monitoring, analysis and reporting arrangements (MARA) on conflict-related sexual violence; scenario-based training, prosecution support cells and mobile courts devoted to sexual and gender-based violence; a UNPOL best-practices toolkit on policing and training curriculum for UN Police on preventing and investigating sexual and gender-based violence in post-conflict settings; and special police units solely addressing gender-based violence (such as in Haiti since 2010).

'Open Days' have been organized for women's civil society groups to meet mission leadership, alongside community alert networks, joint protection teams, firewood patrols and civil-military cooperation projects involving fuel-efficient stoves and rolling water containers to spare women and girls a few dangerous trips out of camps to collect firewood or water. Gender-responsive quick impact projects have included the construction of shelters and adequate latrines and showers in camps, and the setting up of all-female formed police units.

Reports from missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Haiti, and Darfur show that protection patrols within and around camps and communities of internally displaced persons, as well as escorts for women during livelihood activities, have helped deter sexual and gender-based violence. Mobile courts, legal aid and the provision of sustained capacity building and mentoring support to prosecutors, judges, judicial investigators, specialized police units and public defense services have helped increase the numbers of prosecutions and convictions for sexual violence crimes in conflict-affected settings like the Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea, Sierra Leone or Somalia.

Unfortunately, while promising, these innovations still remain piecemeal and limited, more often pilot projects and special initiatives rather than the core business

Unfortunately, while promising, these innovations still remain piecemeal and limited, more often pilot projects and special initiatives rather than the core business of the whole operation.

of the whole operation. They lack consistent support from mission leadership,[58] representing more a tick-box obligation rather than a concrete tool to enhance the operational effectiveness of UN peacekeeping. Many of these shortcomings were highlighted by DPKO already in 2010 in their own *"Ten-Year Impact Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325."*[59]

Training

The growing list of training materials on gender, sexual exploitation and abuse, and on prevention and response to sexual violence are welcome, and have noticeably moved training beyond abstract concepts towards more hands-on, scenario-based learning that soldiers can relate to.[60] The length and periodicity of these trainings has also increased, from a forty-minute slot during induction for new arrivals in the mission—similar for all areas of mandate implementation—to specialized courses that now last a week or longer. While several Security Council resolutions have emphasized the importance of specific training in these areas,[61] it remains unclear whether troop contributing countries are undertaking this systematically. There is a need for a more rationalized approach in this regard, including spending less time on new training development, and more time on consistent implementation of training and building on good practice.

Engaging women and addressing their specific needs from mission design to withdrawal

If peacekeeping missions are to respond effectively to the needs of the local population, women's engagement and consultation in-country in the very design of missions right through to their drawdown must be prioritized. Missions should visibly and tangibly signal from the start a commitment to and respect for women's physical integrity, a prioritization of women's security, and an investment in women-led recovery. Unfortunately, this has not consistently been the case. As the High-level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations concludes, "The specific experience, rights, needs and roles of women and girls in conflict situations are often not included in preliminary analysis and assessments and thus do not feed into concrete strategies for the design of missions and the formulation of mandates."[62]

Out of a total of 33 benchmarks adopted by these five missions, none especially referred to gender-specific issues or gender equality.

Similarly, there is a need for concerted attention to gender equality and women's empowerment in mission drawdown and withdrawal. This was stressed in the Security Council's 2012 presidential statement,[63] and in the Secretary-General's 2012 report on women, peace and security, which highlighted the "concern that mission drawdown can be associated with a drop in levels of funding and attention to gender equality commitments, and an erosion in levels of security and protection for women and girls."[64]

The study of gender architecture in the field, undertaken by UN Women and partner entities for the Civilian Capacity Review in 2012,[65] recommended that when a peacekeeping mission and/or special political mission starts to envisage a drawdown, the gender unit and the operational planning unit need to plan for handing over relevant gender-related work to the UN country team and UN Women, while retaining in-house capacity to mainstream gender in mission plans and activities. An example of good practice in this regard was mentioned in the Secretary-General's 2013 report on women, peace and security which highlights the joint work plan agreed to by the mission in Timor-Leste and the UN country team to gradually hand over the mission's gender-related tasks to the country team during the drawdown period.[66]

In current DPKO-led missions, only MINUSTAH, UNMIL, UNMISS, UNOCI, and MINUSMA have established benchmarks to track progress or guide their decisions about reconfiguration or withdrawal. The benchmarks cover issues including security and stabilization, national dialogues and reconciliation, restoration of State authority, reform of the security sector, promotion and protection of human rights and humanitarian aid, free and fair elections, establishment of an independent and credible judicial and penal system, tangible improvements in the living conditions of the population, inclusive peace processes, sustainable development, effective disarmament and dismantling of militias, and training and capacity building of national police. Out of a total of 33 benchmarks adopted by these five missions, none especially referred to gender-specific issues or gender equality. Furthermore, each of these mission benchmarks is measured by a number of indicators. Out of 105 indicators, only five refer to gender issues, and of these most relate to sexual violence.[67] This implies that peacekeeping missions could complete their withdrawal without evaluating if the mission has addressed women's specific needs or the gender-specific provisions in that mission's mandate. It also suggests that missions are not adequately mainstreaming gender in their monitoring frameworks as a whole.[68]

Ultimately, efforts to more effectively mainstream women's participation and consultation—in mission design, implementation, and draw down—would be strengthened by a more effective use of the gender expertise and resources that already exist within the system as a whole, both across the Secretariat as well as the agencies, funds and programmes. This is echoed in relevant recommendations of both the Peace Operations and Peacebuilding Architecture reviews.[69] Strengthening coordination, coherence and integration as well as targeted expertise in the gender architecture of the UN is dealt with in detail in Chapter 10: *Key Actors - The United Nations.*

SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE BY PEACEKEEPING PERSONNEL

Thirteen years ago, the Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peacebuilding made references to this issue in its chapter on violence against women:

> *"While the arrival of peacekeeping personnel has the obvious advantage of providing the local population with an increased sense of security, it may also have some negative repercussions. Sexual violence against women and prostitution, especially child prostitution, may increase with the influx of relatively well-off personnel in situations where local economies have been devastated and women do not have options for employment. In Kisangani and Goma in the DRC, members of local communities told us that peacekeepers were buying sex from young girls and that condoms were visibly scattered in the fields near UN compounds. A local woman told us that girls 'just lie down in the fields for the men in full view of people as they are not allowed into the 12 camps.' We heard similar stories in the Balkans and about conditions in Cambodia after peacekeepers arrived."*[70]

This problem has sullied the overall reputation of peacekeeping missions and profoundly embarrassed the UN.

Although much has been done to address the issue, and there is a markedly different awareness about it among UN personnel now as opposed to fifteen years ago, it is undeniable that this problem has sullied the overall reputation of peacekeeping missions and profoundly embarrassed the UN. While much of the work of missions remains virtually invisible to affected populations and the general public, it is the incidences of sexual exploitation and abuse that continue to grab the attention of both the international community and communities where peacekeepers are deployed. In consultations for the Global Study, women from the African continent were particularly concerned about this issue since much of peacekeeping, regional and international, takes place there. It is truly a frightening phenomenon when your protector becomes a predator. It is crucial that the UN signal a determined commitment to address this issue once and for all.

Within reporting on sexual exploitation and abuse, there is consensus on the nature of the problem and its complexities. Major points of agreement include the following:

- this issue does not only concern military personnel, and often, not even disproportionately so;
- the UN has made some, although very limited, progress in the last decade, as demonstrated by the decline in allegations and the increased responsiveness of some Member States to follow up on allegations;
- the number of allegations—a few dozen a year—nevertheless represents a small percentage of actual violations;
- while most victims are women and girls, men and boys are also affected, and the overwhelming majority do not feel safe reporting or obtaining redress;
- many allegations are not properly investigated by Member States, are considered unsubstantiated, or are resolved with very lenient disciplinary measures or criminal sentences; and
- although there is a widespread perception that sexual exploitation and abuse is mainly about field staff taking advantage of the easy availability of transactional or survival sex in violation of the UN's zero tolerance policy, almost half of all allegations relate to egregious crimes, including rape.

FOCUS ON

The UN's zero tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse

The UN's zero tolerance policy prohibits the exchange of money, employment, goods, services and other assistance for sex; prohibits peacekeepers from engaging in sexual relations with persons under the age of 18 in any circumstances; and strongly discourages, but does not prohibit, non-transactional sexual relationships between UN personnel and local beneficiaries of assistance on the grounds that these relationships "are based on inherently unequal power dynamics" and "undermine the credibility and integrity of the work of the United Nations."[71] The Secretary-General's Bulletin on special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and abuse prohibits sexual activity with children (persons under the age of 18),[72] and sexual relationships between UN staff and beneficiaries of assistance are "strongly discouraged."[73] However, the Head of Mission may use his/her discretion in applying this standard "where the beneficiaries of assistance are over the age of 18 and the circumstances of the case justify an exception."[74]

Where there is disagreement is on how to ensure accountability across different jurisdictions.[75] There is an increasingly vocal call for greater action, especially in the wake of new allegations against AU troops in Somalia and French troops in the Central African Republic, and a generally negative assessment by a team of experts commissioned by the UN to visit four missions where the problem is perceived to be widespread.[76]

Ending impunity

The UN has, over the last decade, invested significant energy and resources to set up conduct and discipline units in each mission and headquarters, and has issued numerous recommendations by the Secretary-General, tasking relevant actors, including Member States as those with primary jurisdiction over their troops, to take stronger action to investigate and punish allegations and redress for victims. These include, as reiterated by the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations:[77]

- Reporting by the Secretary-General on actions taken and not taken by individual Member States in follow up to credible allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse—explicitly naming the countries rather than only the aggregate number of allegations or responses.

- Establishing immediate response teams within missions, available to deploy in 1-2 days to collect and preserve evidence and protect the victims.

- Barring countries listed in the annexes of the Secretary-General's reports on Children and Armed Conflict, and Conflict-Related Sexual Violence from contributing troops, until de-listed.

- Revising the model memorandum of understanding with troop contributing countries to require national investigation officers within contingents and certified training of all troops on sexual exploitation and abuse.

- Completing investigations on sexual exploitation and abuse within six months - UN investigative bodies will have to report on meeting this deadline, and Member States are asked to adopt the same deadline.

- Repatriating, on the orders of the Secretary-General, individual troops, entire units, and commanders of contingents for failing to prevent and punish a pattern of abuse. The UN can also withhold service medals, payments of premiums and subsistence allowances, and suspend the corresponding reimbursement payments for the military personnel involved in an investigation.

- Applying, at the request of the Secretary-General, a range of administrative measures in respect to UN staff: withholding accumulated annual leave and repatriation grants that would normally be payable at the time of separation from the organization, placing individuals on administrative leave without pay, pending completion of investigations and disciplinary processes.

The High-Level Panel further noted that immunity for civilian staff does not apply to sexual crimes, and therefore should not be a way to obtain impunity.[78] Immunity from prosecution was never intended, and does not apply, to UN personnel alleged to have committed sexual exploitation and abuse. The immunity privileges are functional and relate to the exercise of official functions. The process by which the Secretary-General waives this immunity or clarifies it as non-applicable should be expedited to ensure that the conduct of any applicable legal proceedings is not delayed.

These are undoubtedly important steps, but more can be done. Countries that repeatedly fail to live up to their written assurances to investigate and prosecute their soldiers should not be allowed to contribute troops to peacekeeping missions. As recommended in the Zeid report[79] a decade ago and never implemented, if the UN has *prima facie* evidence of misconduct, the home country of the alleged perpetrator should be under the obligation to prosecute. If they do not, they should be obligated to provide a detailed explanation of the reasons why. As called for by non-governmental organizations in 2015,[80] the United Nations should empower an independent commission of inquiry to conduct a broad-based investigation on sexual exploitation and abuse and the handling of allegations by both Member States and the UN itself, including the failure to systematically

The home country of the alleged perpetrator should be under the obligation to prosecute. If they do not, they should be obligated to provide a detailed explanation of the reasons why.

apply many of the powers that it already has to hold individuals accountable for their actions. An Independent Review Panel was established in June 2015 to review the UN's response to the allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse by foreign military forces not under UN command in the Central African Republic, and this type of inquiry should be expanded to the overall response across the system.

While the UN should engage with States to ensure a more rigorous application of the existing legal framework in respect of criminal acts alleged to have been committed by its personnel, whether military or civilian, it should also explore new avenues to ensure accountability. Fresh consideration could be given to the proposal for an international convention under which States would undertake to investigate, prosecute and extradite alleged offenders and to render mutual legal assistance.[81]

Legal and academic experts have put forward the following possible options to ensure accountability in respect of serious crimes committed by UN personnel, including sexual crimes:[82]

(i) the establishment of hybrid courts, between the host State and the UN, which would require that the host State consents to the provision of international assistance to its domestic legal system; and

(ii) the shared exercise of jurisdiction by the host State and other States; where for example, the host State may investigate and prosecute the offence, and the State of nationality of the offender would provide the custodial facilities for any term of imprisonment.

However, the most preferable option—and one that would signal the commitment of the United Nations and Troop Contributing Countries to end this type of behavior altogether—would be the establishment of an international tribunal, created under a treaty between States, with jurisdiction to try UN staff in the field and all categories of peacekeepers.

While such a proposal would have significant resource and other implications—including changes to the current arrangements under which members of the military contingents are subject to the exclusive criminal jurisdiction of their sending States—they nevertheless are valuable contributions to the discussion on ending impunity. In the interim, depending on the context and the nature of due process in the country concerned, consideration should be given to requesting TCCs to waive the immunity of their personnel in respect of credible allegations of serious sexual crimes having been committed by them, so as to allow their prosecution by the host State authorities.

One of the most important measures to be taken to prevent sexual violence and abuse is pre-deployment training. Pre-deployment training on the prevention of sexual violence and abuse must be comprehensive and scenario-based for all troops. Commanders should also be given detailed training with added emphasis on the questions of accountability, reporting and investigation. SRSGs and Force Commanders should also get a week-long mandatory training week at headquarters on the prevention of sexual violence and abuse and other protection issues.

> *"I cannot put into words how anguished, angered and ashamed I am by recurrent reports over the years of sexual exploitation and abuse by UN forces. When the United Nations deploys peacekeepers, we do so to protect the world's*

> *most vulnerable people in the world's most desperate places. I will not tolerate any action that causes people to replace trust with fear. [...] I believe the disturbing number of allegations we have seen in many countries...speaks to the need to take action now. Enough is enough.*
>
> *"I want leaders to know that they are accountable for their troops, police and civilians. They must also ensure that all receive continuous human rights education and training. I want Member States to know that I cannot do this alone. They have the ultimate responsibility to hold individual uniformed personnel to account and they must take decisive preventive and punitive action. I want perpetrators to know that if they commit a crime, we will do everything possible to pursue them and bring them to justice. I want victims to know that we will strive to uphold our institutional responsibility to safeguard their security and dignity."*
>
> Remarks to the press by the Secretary-General on serious allegations of crimes of sexual violence by UN peacekeepers in the Central African Republic, 12 August 2015

Assistance to victims of sexual exploitation and abuse

Another important dimension of this problem is the persistent lack of assistance and support for victims of abuse and exploitation. The General Assembly adopted a resolution in 2008 approving a strategy for assistance to victims–regardless of the substantiation of the substantiation of allegations–with measures including medical care, emergency shelter, food, clothes, basic necessities, legal aid, psychological counsel and assistance pursuing paternity claims.[83] Relevant UN entities were requested to implement the strategy in an active and coordinated manner. Seven years later, these mechanisms to assist victims are largely non-existent, and the urgency of this issue cannot be overstated.

For example, complaints channels are neither known, nor understood nor deemed safe by the community. Further, the Secretary-General has proposed the creation of a common trust fund, but this is meant to fund prevention activities, awareness-raising and community outreach, rather than to compensate victims. Repeated calls for the creation of victims' assistance programmes have not been accompanied by the necessary resource allocations and operational guidance.

The High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations encourages the Secretariat to "initiate consultations with Member States, ensuring the active involvement of local communities and victims of sexual exploitation and abuse, to develop appropriate forms of compensation. Member States should also support the creation by the Secretary-General of an effective and adequately resourced victim assistance programme to support individual victims and children born as a result of sexual exploitation and abuse."[84] The report does not advance specific ideas, but calls for earmarking pockets of funds at the country level. That the international entities operating on the ground set money aside for this purpose—based either on the size of their field presence or the involvement of their employees in accusations—is something that could be considered and piloted.

PROTECTING UNARMED CIVILIANS

The High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations summed up one of the main organizing principles of its 2015 report thus:

> *"Lasting peace is not achieved nor sustained by military and technical engagements but through political solutions [...]. The avoidance of war rather than its resolution should be at the center of national, regional, and international effort and investment [...]. Unarmed strategies must be at the forefront of UN efforts to protect civilians."*[85]

The concerns associated with growing militarization square off against calls for military intervention to prevent atrocities, and against repeated criticisms leveled at UN peacekeepers for their passivity and

"There is something very wrong with a system where the most violent [rebels] are [...] entrusted to shape the future of a population. The military institution continues to be a block to building sustainable peace since it promotes the use of violence and militarism."

Respondent to the CSO Survey, working at the global level in conflict areas of Asia, Middle East, North Africa

A repeated theme in consultations for this study was that women's leadership is a protection strategy in its own right.

inaction when civilians are in need of protection. Both sentiments have been prevalent in debates about peacekeeping and protection of civilians for more than two decades. However, there is ample room to reconcile both ideas by promoting and supporting non-violent protection actions, of which military actors and their police and civilian partners could make more use.

Missions are meant to implement their duty to protect civilians not only through providing direct physical protection, but also through dialogue and engagement and the establishment of a protective environment.[86] A repeated theme in consultations for this Study was that women's leadership is a protection strategy in its own right. On the one hand, women's empowerment and the protection of women's rights reduces women's vulnerability and enhances their ability to protect themselves and claim their rights. On the other hand, women's women's representation, participation and leadership in protection mechanisms–such as political leadership and public administration, military and police, national security institutions, refugee camp committees, community protection mechanisms and accountability bodies among others–are essential to guarantee better protection for women and girls. In this context, while it is important that the mission's protection tasks and activities respond to the most prevalent threats against women and girls in their area of operations, many of these tasks and activities do not require exchanging fire. A non-exhaustive list of the interventions undertaken by peacekeeping missions that could be considered for scaling up and replication include:

- Special attention to women's protection risks or threats in joint protection teams and joint investigation teams.
- Consultation of women in threat assessments and community engagements (from the establishment of community protection mechanisms, to alert networks, to the design of camp layouts, etc.).
- Tailoring protection activities to women's mobility patterns and economic activity (firewood patrols, water-route patrols, field patrols, market patrols and escorts).
- Establishment of safe spaces in camps for women and girls.
- Appointment of female election monitors and special attention to gender-based electoral violence.
- Dial-in radio programmes and cell phones for women to report threats and ensure the community is informed of risks.
- Provision of security umbrella and escorts for women's rights defenders and organizations working on women's rights or gender-based violence.
- Establishment of perpetrator profiling systems by the Joint Mission Analysis Centre that include patterns of attacks against women and girls, including conflict-related sexual violence, and sex-disaggregated tracking of civilian casualties.[87]
- Special attention to women's protection in the implementation of mission-substantive areas, such as disarmament and demobilization activities, security sector reform, transitional justice, mine clearance and small arms control.
- Evacuation of populations at risk from danger zones.

Chapter 8: *Preventing Conflict* describes in greater detail the importance of women's participation in

FOCUS ON

Unarmed civilian protection

Unarmed civilian protection (UCP) is a methodology for the direct protection of civilians and violence reduction that has grown in practice and recognition. In the last few years, it has especially proven its effectiveness to protect women and girls. Initially pioneered and developed by organizations such as Nonviolent Peaceforce, Cure Violence, and Peace Brigades International, it is estimated that, since 1990, 50 civil society organizations have applied UCP methods in 35 conflict areas.[88]

These organizations deploy professionally trained unarmed civilians who provide direct physical protection by presence, and who strengthen local protection mechanisms. This includes, for example, protective accompaniment and inter-positioning, ceasefire monitoring, rumor control, early warning and early response, confidence building, multi-track dialogue and local-level mediation and supporting local organizations committed to protection, reconciliation and human rights. Interestingly, it is estimated that women represent between 40 and 50 per cent of the deployed personnel of these organizations, a percentage much higher than in UN peacekeeping missions.

For example, Nonviolent Peaceforce has been working in South Sudan since 2010. Alerted by South Sudanese women in the Protection of Civilians site in Bentiu that they were being raped by soldiers when exiting the compound to collect water or firewood, the group began to send two or more civilian protectors along with them. No woman has been attacked when accompanied.[89] In the past year, Nonviolent Peaceforce provided over 1,000 accompaniments for vulnerable people, primarily women and children, throughout South Sudan. In Jonglei, Nonviolent Peaceforce facilitated dialogues between the community and the police and military peacekeepers of the UN mission, including community security meetings only for women to express their protection concerns. UNPOL, the national police, and Nonviolent Peaceforce took turns to jointly patrol the areas where there had been more attacks on women. Additionally, ten women's peacekeeping teams have been formed and trained by Nonviolent Peaceforce, intervening in early marriage plans, the return and integration of children, mediating between fighting clans, accompanying rape survivors and engaging with local chiefs. Currently, Nonviolent Peaceforce has more than 150 staff in 11 field sites and their headquarters in Juba. 40 per cent of their staff are South Sudanese and 40 per cent are women.

short-term strategies for conflict prevention, including early warning mechanisms, community dialogue at the local level and women's situation rooms, where women in the affected population monitor for signs of escalation of violence.

To protect the humanitarian space, many advocate for protection by presence, proven to be effective even if it is not armed military presence, but unarmed military personnel or civilian peace forces.[90] Others prefer to invest far more resources and attention on preventive actions that address the root causes of conflict and its economic drivers, foster peace education in schools and among citizens in general, and raise awareness on women's rights and masculinity and its relationship to violence in a given context.

Engaging with non-State actors

Although the Rome Statute recognizes the individual criminal responsibility of members of non-State actors for war crimes and crimes against humanity, these actors are typically not accepted as part of the international community, and many states strongly object to international or regional actors interacting with them, since this may increase their legitimacy and status.

Nevertheless, one way of contributing to a protection environment without resorting to violence is to engage with armed non-State actors. The overwhelming majority of wars today involve non-State actors fighting with a government or with other non-State actors. In recent years, the United Nations and other international actors have highlighted human rights abuses and violations by non-State actors, reminding these groups of their obligations under international humanitarian law and the consequences for committing atrocities. The UN Secretary-General has also included them in 'name-and-shame lists' for grave violations committed against children or for sexual violence in conflict. There have also been examples of constructive dialogue and engagement, including the signing of action plans or commitments by armed non-State actors. For example, Security Council resolutions 1960 (2010) and 2106 (2013) urge parties to make and implement specific and time-bound commitments to combat sexual violence. In this regard, the Secretary-General's Special Representative on Sexual Violence, on behalf of the UN system, has signed Communiqués with several governments as well as engaged with non-State parties to armed conflict on the prevention of and response to conflict-related sexual violence.[91]

There have been examples of constructive dialogue and engagement, including the signing of action plans or commitments by armed non-State actors.

FOCUS ON

Private military and security companies and the WPS agenda

National governments, private corporations, and even the UN often hire private military and security companies (PSMCs) to provide 'security services' in conflict and post-conflict countries. For example, in 2013, the United States had 108,000 contractor personnel in Afghanistan alone, including 18,000 private security contractors.[92] The UN contracts with armed and unarmed private security companies to protect its personnel and assets when the host government is unable or unwilling to do so. From 2013-2014, the United Nations spent more than $42 million on armed and unarmed security providers across 12 countries where there are peacekeeping missions, and 11 countries where there are special political missions.[93] However, this privatization of security has yet to be matched by comprehensive and coherent regulation of PMSCs' personnel and activities.[94] This failure has significant implications for victims of human rights violations perpetrated by PMSCs, including women and girls. In consultations for the Global Study, women from contexts as diverse as the Horn of Africa and the Pacific Islands spoke of the threats to their safety and well-being that these groups pose. And reports of horrific cases of sexual exploitation and abuse by armed and unarmed UN PMSC contractors in the DRC and South Sudan also highlight the relevance of this problem for the UN.[95]

Women, peace and security advocates have made clear that private military contractors must come under greater regulation, and some steps have been taken in this direction:

- The CEDAW Committee's *General Recommendation 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations* includes private military and security corporations among the non-State actors which must be regulated, both by States parties, and through self-policing.[96]

- The *UN Working Group on the use of mercenaries as a means of violating human rights and impeding the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination* has proposed a possible legally binding convention on PMSCs, and has stated that minimum standards for regulation must include clear human rights and humanitarian law standards.[97] The Working Group has also made recommendations specifically to the UN regarding accountability for human rights violations, including sexual exploitation and abuse, committed by armed and unarmed security contractors it has hired.[98]

- The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights recognize the heightened risk of human rights abuse in conflict-affected settings, and suggests that States help ensure that businesses are not involved with such abuses, including by providing adequate assistance to business enterprises to assess and address the heightened risk of abuses, "paying special attention to both gender-based and sexual violence."[99]

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

Member States should:

✓ Set specific targets for the improved recruitment, retention and promotion of women in their armed forces and the leadership of security institutions.

✓ Ensure that every soldier they deploy is thoroughly vetted, trained and held accountable for their actions, including when they abuse or exploit women and girls.

✓ Commit to doctrines and planning that takes into account the impact on women and girls of every military deployment and operation, and that considers the use of unarmed military protection as a preferable or complementary protection method, where appropriate.

The UN, in collaboration with Member States, should:

✓ Encourage Member States to deploy more female military officers to UN peacekeeping missions by adopting financial incentives, such as a gender-balance premium.

✓ Ensure gender-responsive budgeting and financial tracking of investments on gender equality in missions by requesting peacekeeping budget experts and planning officers, along with gender-responsive budget experts, to review mission budgets and make a recommendation on methodology and capacity needed.[100]

✓ Ensure that all UN peacekeepers are provided scenario-based training on issues related to gender equality—from gender mainstreaming in peace operations to preventing and responding to conflict-related sexual violence—by calling on Member States to invest in the capacity of national peacekeeping training centers for the largest troop contributing countries, so that they become permanent features in their pre-deployment training curriculum.

✓ Address impunity and lack of assistance for victims of sexual exploitation and abuse by fully implementing the recommendations of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations[101] and the Secretary-General's recent annual report on sexual exploitation and abuse.[102] In addition:

- Countries that repeatedly fail to live up to their written assurances to investigate and prosecute their soldiers should not be allowed to contribute troops to peacekeeping missions.
- If the United Nations has obtained *prima facie* evidence of misconduct, the home country of the alleged perpetrator should be under the obligation to prosecute, and if they don't, they should be obligated to provide a detailed explanation of their findings.
- The United Nations should empower an independent commission of inquiry to conduct a broad-based investigation on sexual exploitation and abuse and the handling of allegations by both member states and the UN itself, including the failure to systematically apply many of the powers that it already has to hold individuals accountable for their actions.
- Consider engaging with States in support of establishing an international tribunal with jurisdiction to try UN staff and all categories of

peacekeepers that have allegedly committed serious crimes, including sexual abuse.

- Make concrete proposals on the ground about how to fund Victims Assistance Mechanisms and render them operational, including from pooled funds in each country or from the operating budget of the entities that employ the accused.

✓ Take steps to improve regulation and oversight of all private contractors hired by the United Nations with regards to sexual exploitation and abuse. The UN should revise and fully implement guidelines to regulate these companies, including through permanent or temporary debarment of companies from further contracts and keeping a centralized register of companies whose staff have repeatedly been linked to allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse.[103]

✓ Promote women's empowerment and non-violent means of protection, and take into account the whole range of women's protection issues and the interventions to address them—including women's leadership and women's empowerment—in mission planning, implementation and reporting, as well as in policy discussions on the protection of civilians in the context of peace operations.

✓ Scale up their support to unarmed civilian protection (UCP) in conflict-affected countries, including working alongside peace operations.

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32. It should be noted, however, that the percentage in missions is typically lower than the percentage in national armed forces. Most markedly, based on national submissions to the Global Study, in Albania the percentage of women in the armed forces has increased steadily, from 12 per cent in 2010 to almost 18 per cent nowadays, but the percentage of women deployed as peacekeepers by Albania ranges from 1 to 1.5 per cent. Approximately 4 per cent of the Indian armed forces are women, but less than 1.7 per cent of their deployed troops are women. According to Karim and Beardsley (2015, forthcoming), recruiters and commanders often take safety and cultural considerations into account when making decisions about deploying women or not.
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34. Hasan Jahid Tusher, "Country Gets First Female Combat Pilots," The Daily Star, December 18, 2014, http://www.thedailystar.net/country-gets-first-female-combat-pilots-55874; "Air Force to Have 20pc Women Officers," The News Today, March 12, 2015, http://www.newstoday.com.bd/index.php?option=details&news_id=2405408&date=2015-03-12.
35. Georgina Holmes, "Gendering the Rwanda Defence Force: A Critical Assessment," Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding 8, no. 4 (October 2, 2014): 329.
36. This data is calculated annually by UN Women for the report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security. See, "Secretary-General's Report on Women and Peace and Security (2015)," para. 114..
37. Most of the available data pertains to NATO countries and Latin American countries.
38. Based on data collected for the Global Study, including publicly available sources, discussions with gender advisors of national militaries, and researchers Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley who compiled data on almost 50 TCCs from a variety of sources.
39. "Women, Peace and Security," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed July 22, 2015, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/wps.shtml.
40. See, e.g., foreword by Force Commander Major General Paolo Serra in "Promoting Women, Peace and Identifying Security: Piloting Military Gender Guidelines in UNIFIL" (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, June 2014), 4.
41. See, e.g., "Integrating a Gender Perspective into the Work of the United Nations Military in Peacekeeping Operations," DPKO/DFS Guidelines (United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support (DPKO/DFS), March 2010), 19.
42. Ryan Lenora Brown, "Would More Female Soldiers Improve UN Peacekeeping Missions?," Christian Science Monitor, September 21, 2015, http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2015/0921/Would-more-female-soldiers-improve-UN-peacekeeping-missions.
43. "Female Military Peacekeepers Network," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed July 22, 2015, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/military/femalenetwork.shtml.
44. "Human Rights Screening of United Nations Personnel," United Nations Policy (United Nations, December 11, 2012).
45. In the survey that informed the most recent round of reimbursement negotiations, the countries surveyed noted that it costs more to recruit, train and deploy female personnel, which could be a direct justification to argue for a different reimbursement rate. At least one country reported that it has recently introduced an additional allowance for women to encourage them to join the armed forces. Another country reported an additional travel allowance for female troops to make it easier for them to maintain contact with their children. A number of sample countries reported on specific items of clothing provided to women and separate accommodations. Others reported additional costs due to covering women-specific health issues. The extra costs were mainly due to specific needs and facilities for women (including maternity leaves and sanitary facilities) or upfront costs in changes to facilities or uniforms to facilitate women's integration in the armed forces. See, "Results of the Revised Survey to Establish the Standard Rate of Reimbursement to Troop-Contributing Countries, as Approved by the General Assembly in Its Resolution 67/261 on the Report of the Senior Advisory

Group on Rates of Reimbursement to Troop-Contributing Countries," UN Doc. A/68/813 (United Nations General Assembly, March 26, 2014).

46. Family leave is determined by the sending national military.
47. Body armor is provided by the sending national military.
48. Anderholt, "Female Participation in Formed Police Units: A Report on the Integration of Women in Formed Police Units of Peacekeeping Operations," 25.
49. Bangladesh has deployed an all-female formed police unit in Haiti since 2010.
50. Laura Bacon, "Liberia Leans In," Foreign Policy, accessed September 23, 2015, https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/06/03/liberia-leans-in/.
51. "UN Peacekeeping - on the Front Lines to End Violence against Women," UN News Centre, March 8, 2013, http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=44325#.VgWRhstVhBc.
52. "Norway's Input to the Secretary-General's Report on Women, Peace and Security 2014, and to the Global Study on UNSCR1325," Global Study Submission, (March 2015).
53. "Interview with Hester Paneras, Police Commissioner for the African Union - UN Mission in Darfur," UN News Centre, November 11, 2013, http://www.un.org/apps/news/newsmakers.asp?NewsID=98.
54. "Security Sector Reform Integrated Technical Guidance Notes" (United Nations SSR Task Force, 2012); Anderholt, "Female Participation in Formed Police Units: A Report on the Integration of Women in Formed Police Units of Peacekeeping Operations."
55. The police component in missions consists of individual policemen and women, and formed police units. Although women are now 18 per cent of those that are individually recruited, the percentage drops to 10 per cent when adding formed police units. "Gender Statistics by Mission for the Month of May 2015" (Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), May 2015).
56. See Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, "Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building," Progress of the World's Women (New York, NY: United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2002), 67–68.
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58. "Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2015)," para. 239 (vi).
59. "Ten-Year Impact Study on Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security in Peacekeeping" (New York: United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), Department of Field Support (DFS), 2010).
60. Good examples of trainings on gender issues were self-reported by Chile, Croatia, the Netherlands, Latvia, France, Switzerland, Norway, Portugal, Ireland, Sweden, Romania, Malaysia, Bulgaria, Iceland, Lithuania, Austria, Norway, Albania, Germany, Australia, Brazil, Argentina, Spain, Slovenia, and Finland.
61. "Resolution 1960 (2010)," UN Doc. S/RES/1960 (United Nations Security Council, December 16, 2010), para. 10; "Resolution 2122 (2013)," UN Doc. S/RES/2122 (2013) (United Nations Security Council, October 18, 2013), para. 9.
62. "Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2015)," para. 239(ii).
63. "Statement by the President of the Security Council," UN Doc. S/PRST/2012/23 (United Nations Security Council, October 31, 2012), 2.
64. "Report of the Secretary-General: Women and Peace and Security," UN Doc. S/2012/732 (United Nations Security Council, October 2, 2012), para. 61.
65. Carole Doucet, "UN Gender Architecture in Post-Conflict Countries" (UN Women, UN Wide Inter-Agency Task Team, September 20, 2012).
66. "Report of the Secretary-General: Women and Peace and Security," UN Doc. S/2013/525 (United Nations Security Council, September 4, 2013), para. 14.
67. Calculations made by UN Women based on public mission reports.
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69. "Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2015)," para. 242; "The Challenge of Sustaining Peace," UN Doc. A/69/968–S/2015/490 (Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture, June 29, 2015), para. 159.

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71. "Sexual Exploitation and Abuse Policy," United Nations Conduct and Discipline Unit, accessed September 23, 2015, https://cdu.unlb.org/Policy/SexualExploitationandAbusePolicy.aspx.
72. "Secretary-General's Bulletin: Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse," UN Doc. ST/SGB/2003/13 (United Nations Secretariat, October 9, 2003), para. 3.2(b). There is an exception where a staff member is legally married to the person under the age of 18 but over the age of majority or consent in their country of citizenship. Ibid., para. 4.4.
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74. Ibid., para. 4.5.
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99. "Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights" (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 2011), para. 7(b).
100. Even if only some categories of spending are eligible for gender-responsive budgeting and financial tracking, experts on peacekeeping and gender-responsive budgeting should be able to make that determination, and to advise on what methodology to use or whether to focus on either budget design, tracking spending, or (preferably) both.
101. "Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2015)," 76–77.
102. "Report of the Secretary-General: Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Abuse," UN Doc. A/69/779 (United Nations General Assembly, February 13, 2013).
103. Drawn from the 2014 report the UN Working Group on the use of mercenaries, (A/69/338) para. 80, 82–83. Although the recommendations of the Working Group pertain only to security contractors for the UN, here, they should be understood to apply to all types of UN contractors.

07

BUILDING INCLUSIVE AND PEACEFUL SOCIETIES IN THE AFTERMATH OF CONFLICT

"Gender must be at the heart of socio-economic development and peace consolidation. Supporting women in their initiatives is supporting the entire nation."

Respondent to the civil society survey for the Global Study, working in Burundi

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolution 1325

Calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including [...]:

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

(b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives [...], and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

(c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary

2000

2008

Resolution 1820

Stresses the important role the Peacebuilding Commission can play by including in its advice and recommendations [...] ways to address sexual violence [...], and in ensuring consultation and effective representation of women's civil society

Resolution 2122

Urges all parties concerned, including Member States, United Nations entities and financial institutions, to support the development and strengthening of the capacities of national institutions [...] and of local civil society networks in order to provide sustainable assistance to women and girls affected by armed conflict and post-conflict situations

2009

2013

Resolution 1889

Urges Member States to ensure gender mainstreaming in all post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery processes and sectors

As the United Nations has become more and more involved in rebuilding societies after war, it has begun to adopt common principles and practices based on the lessons it has learned. One lesson is the understanding that in post-conflict societies, invariably, where there is little semblance of the rule of law and a great availability of arms, violence against women in all its forms spikes and becomes a major problem for the entire community. At times it may also lead to issues related to human trafficking, drug trafficking and human smuggling. The need to immediately deploy an effective police force—national or international—that is, one trained in dealing with violence against women, is an urgent requirement. Unfortunately in many contexts, this realization comes late, after many women have suffered great violations that colour their experience of peace.

In other situations, instead of universal practices, there is a real need to understand local realities, and a greater need for localization of national and international programmes. The end of the war often results in the rise of female heads of households with urgent need for skills so that women can survive and grow in the immediate aftermath of conflict. For this, there must be a detailed mapping of the actual reality of the locality, in direct consultation with the women: what would they like to do, the nature of the market, the nature of the skills available and the type of plans to be developed by the government. It is only after such a mapping exercise that proper programmes may be developed for women in post-conflict situations. Most international institutions do not do these mapping exercises, and neither do national governments. As a result of these 'one-size-fits-all' policies, a great deal of funds are wasted, as programmes are not really useful for the women, and do not really help them get on with their lives. Detailed mapping requirements must be an essential requirement of any peacebuilding effort.

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION

The effects of a lack of appropriate mapping of women's concerns featured strongly at all the Global Study consultations, and revealed much about the state and level of women's inclusion and participation in peacebuilding efforts. Women in conflict-affected and recovering countries stressed that they lack economic opportunities necessary for survival, remain confronted by daily violence in their homes and communities, struggle to cope with heavy burdens of care and dependency and continue to endure the emotional and physical scars of conflict, without support or recognition. All of these challenges served as barriers, in one way or another, to their participation in peacebuilding.

> *Without women's engagement from the earlier moments of attempting to end the violence to the latter stages of consolidating the peace, the dangers of relapse are greatly heightened.*

Throughout, one message consistently repeated itself: whatever the leadership roles women may have played during the conflict, they found themselves largely locked out of the decision-making forums for building a new society once the conflict was over. This also meant that they shared in few of the resulting peace dividends. Women were routinely excluded from the post-conflict processes that determine power distribution, wealth-sharing patterns, social development priorities, and approaches to justice. Furthermore, they could not look to local or national government institutions for assistance, as the state itself was often being rebuilt and too weak or compromised to play a meaningful role. In this context, the international community has too infrequently played the role it should in placing women's participation in recovery and rebuilding efforts at the center of peacebuilding strategies.

Yet it is often women peace advocates on the ground who are instrumental in stitching the fabric of society back together after conflict has ripped it apart. Research over the past 15 years has concretely established that women's participation builds a stronger and more durable peace as it broadens the peace dividends beyond the fighting parties, engaging a constituency who can promote social acceptance of the peace deal (detailed further in Chapter 3: *Women's Participation*). As reaffirmed by the recent review of the UN's peacebuilding architecture, women's participation is crucial for economic recovery, political legitimacy and social cohesion: "without women's engagement from the earlier moments of attempting to end the violence to the latter stages of consolidating the peace, the dangers of relapse are greatly heightened."[1]

From 2003 to 2010, every civil war that erupted was a resumption of a previous civil war.[2] Approximately half of the conflict-specific items currently on the Security Council's agenda can be considered cases of conflict relapse.[3] Given the importance of women's participation in preventing relapse to conflict, their exclusion therefore impacts not just the lives of women and girls, and their families and communities, but impedes societies' efforts for stability as a whole.

It is clear that there is a need to reimagine 'peacebuilding' in a way which is meaningful for women and girls—leveraging their capacities and contributions, and developing strategies for inclusion which recognize their roles, and diverse experiences of conflict. This inclusive and transformative peacebuilding is not only a series of activities, or checked boxes for women's participation. It is an approach which requires addressing systemic gender inequality, which is among the root causes of conflict.

To remove gender inequality in all of its forms—from gendered poverty and exclusion, to structural discrimination, and violations of human rights—peacebuilding initiatives must empower women and girls economically, politically and socially. They must include long-term development strategies that benefit women and girls from the grassroots, building their capacity for individual and collective action.[4] These initiatives must equally attend to the physical and emotional trauma, and insecurity and violence that women and girls continue to experience after a peace agreement is reached, which pose clear obstacles to their participation in peacebuilding.[5] The trauma that results from war can have lasting effects on women's ability to move forward, and unfortunately, available psychosocial support can rarely grapple with the magnitude of trauma and pain that women in peacebuilding contexts often bear. Chapter 4: *Protecting Rights* addresses psychosocial support in detail, describing it as a necessity, not a luxury, for post-conflict recovery.

The 2015 review of UN peacebuilding architecture highlighted the importance of reconciliation, and addressing the long-term trauma of conflict, to curb the social propensity toward violence, which left unaddressed often manifests through rising rates of domestic violence in the peacebuilding period.[6] At consultations for the Global Study around the world, women spoke about their experiences of escalating domestic violence in the post-conflict period, and explained that a major factor contributing to this abuse was weak or absent rule of law institutions. In Chapter 5: *Transformative Justice*, the Global Study explores

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FOCUS ON

The UN peacebuilding architecture and women, peace and security

In 2010, the Secretary-General, in response to a specific request from the Security Council, submitted a report on 'Women's Participation in Peacebuilding.' The report affirmed that women are "crucial partners in shoring up three pillars of lasting peace: economic recovery, social cohesion and political legitimacy" and laid out an ambitious plan to support, reinforce and capitalize on women's participation in peacebuilding.[7]

The Secretary-General's Seven-Point Action Plan on Gender-Responsive Peacebuilding commits the UN to progress in several thematic and programmatic areas. This includes a tangible increase in its financing for gender equality, setting an initial goal of ensuring that at least 15 per cent of UN-managed funds in support of peacebuilding be dedicated to projects whose main objective is to address women's specific needs, advance gender equality and/or empower women.[8] The Action Plan has been an important tool for planning and target setting. However, from the evidence collected for this study, it is clear that while some progress has been made in the area of processes, not enough impact has yet been felt in the daily lives of women in post-conflict contexts.

how women's access to justice is crucial to building peaceful societies after conflict.

This chapter reviews inclusive and transformative approaches to peacebuilding through a focus on three key aspects of post-conflict peacebuilding—economic empowerment, post-conflict governance, and demobilization, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) programmes and security sector reform (SSR).

Women's economic empowerment for peacebuilding

Conflict has devastating financial costs for societies, not least in the destruction of the domestic economy. As a result, post-conflict contexts are characterized by rapid rebuilding of national economic structures. Too often, the focus of this rebuilding has been on the liberalization of the economy and market reform—increasingly a standard component of post-conflict reconstruction intended to integrate the new state into the global economy.[9] These reforms, which intend to roll back the power of the state over the economy, can, in so doing, aggravate the burden of care on women, exacerbate inequalities and weaken the power of the

> "Women do not 'eat' peace. Women want programs that integrate peacebuilding initiatives with economic empowerment."
>
> Participant in the focus group discussion for the Global Study in Uganda

state to address women's specific needs through programmes and benefits.

Further, in the wake of conflict, large-scale external and domestic investments are often made in infrastructure, markets, labour force development, extractive industries and commercial agriculture. Latest data from the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD-DAC) show that while DAC donors invest large amounts in the economic and productive sectors in fragile states and economies, only a minute percentage targets gender equality as a principal objective. For instance, of USD 10 billion invested per year in 2012-13, only USD 439 million (or 2 per cent) went towards promoting gender equality as a principal objective.[10]

This is an area that clearly has not been a priority for international institutions or States, despite clear evidence that targeting women's empowerment in fact accelerates economic recovery. It is worth noting that several of the world's fastest growing economies, which have only recently emerged from conflict, owe their success in part to women's increased role in production, trade and entrepreneurship.[11] Strategies for rapid economic growth in these contexts included the promotion of girls' education and the expansion of women's access to agricultural extension and credit. In addition, by addressing discrimination, harmful stereotypes, patriarchal structures and exclusion that render women and girls vulnerable to violence and poverty, these States have taken steps to enable them to participate meaningfully and effectively in public and private spheres, and become a driving force in the economy.

The impact of women's participation on economic growth was recognized by the Peacebuilding Commission in a 2013 Declaration in which the Commission reiterated that "the economic empowerment of women greatly contributes to the effectiveness of post-conflict economic activities and economic growth, and leads to improving the quality and social outcomes of economic recovery measures and policies as well as to sustainable development."[12] Beyond economic growth, women's economic empowerment has other important benefits for a society seeking to build peace. Experience and evidence show that women are more likely to spend their income on family needs including health care and education, thus making a proportionately larger contribution to post-conflict social recovery.[13] Studies also indicate that when women control income, they are better able to ensure the security of themselves and their children,[14] to engage in civil society activity and contribute to inclusive governance, particularly at local levels, thereby making a vital contribution to family and community stability.[15] Similarly, women's traditional role in many societies as managers of natural resources means that targeting female food producers—alongside legal recognition of their rights to land, housing and property—can lead to positive outcomes for food security in the aftermath of conflict.[16] One cross-country analysis found that the conflict-affected communities that experienced the most rapid economic recovery and poverty reduction were those that had more women reporting higher levels of empowerment.[17] In Rwanda for example,

Studies also indicate that when women control income, they are better able to ensure the security of themselves and their children, to engage in civil society activity and contribute to inclusive governance, particularly at local levels, thereby making a vital contribution to family and community stability.

initiatives to increase women farmers' leadership in farmers' collectives, and their access to extension services, led to an increase in production yield, thus making a greater contribution to national food security, and increasing the women's status within the community.[18] FAO estimates that giving women farmers the same access to assets and credit as men could help increase their yields by 20 to 30 per cent.[19] This suggests that the potential of agriculture as an engine for economic growth and peace dividend as a whole could be increased by targeting female farmers.

Women heads of household and the burden of care

Households are transformed by conflict-related displacement, conscription and casualties, frequently leaving women as the head of the family in what are often deeply patriarchal societies.[20] In Nepal, widows of the disappeared spoke movingly of their daily struggles to survive and provide for their families (as detailed further in Chapter 5: *Transformative Justice*). Regardless of household composition, women and girls already affected disproportionately by the burden of care globally find these responsibilities exacerbated post-conflict, when educational and health facilities and social services may have been destroyed or become difficult to access.

At the same time, although the absence of a male head of household as a result of conflict increases care burdens for women and girls–and often, vulnerability too–these demographic shifts also present new and important opportunities for women's engagement in spheres and activities typically dominated by men, including male-dominated economic activities. For example, research conducted by Isis-WICCE in northern Uganda (2001), Sudan (2007), and Liberia (2008) found that women who were able to recover from conflict were more economically self-reliant than they had been in the past.[21] The challenge is consolidating and expanding upon gains for gender equality and women's empowerment as men return home, to prevent a reversion to pre-conflict norms that relegate women to the domestic sphere, and reinforce old gender stereotypes. This is especially important as peacebuilding and recovery efforts have tended to focus on building the economic space for men–rather than both men and women–to re-engage and reintegrate into their communities through job creation and expansion initiatives.[22]

Transformative, inclusive and equitable economic recovery

In order for economic recovery to transform underlying gender inequalities, women must be presented with livelihood options that avoid further entrenching gender inequalities and stereotypes.[23] This is a mistake that many internationally directed programmes have in the past made. For example, female ex-combatants have often been limited to choosing between activities such as hairdressing and tailoring, both of which could expose them to a lifetime of low wages and poor working conditions.[24] Instead, livelihood opportunities for women should be expanded and also extended to traditionally male dominated sectors, including extractive industries and natural resource management. In Sierra Leone, the "Women at the Wheel" project launched in 2014 by the Office of

It is worth noting that several of the world's fastest growing economies, which have only recently emerged from conflict, owe their success in part to women's increased role in production, trade and entrepreneurship.

the President, offered taxi driving for women. This promoted women's economic empowerment, provided a service for the population, income for the women and simultaneously served to contradict gender stereotypes regarding 'women's work.'[25] The United Nations Mine Action Service employs women to clear landmines in countries including Afghanistan, South Sudan and the DRC. Women demonstrating that they are capable of the physical and technical demands of the job have had a powerful impact, strengthening women's status within their communities and providing a source of income.[26]

FOCUS ON

Extractive industries and natural resource management

> *"In my country armed conflicts are related to the exploitation of natural resources, which is funded by multinationals."*
>
> Respondent to the civil society survey for the Global Study, based in the DRC

In many post-conflict countries, extractive industries drive economic recovery and are a crucial resource for the national budget. This is evidenced for instance, by the tremendous reliance on oil resources by the two newest countries to join the international community: Timor-Leste and South Sudan.

The Security Council is increasingly recognizing the role that natural resources play in fueling conflict, requesting that the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) work with Central African authorities to develop a national strategy to tackle illicit exploitation and trafficking of natural resources.[27] The gender dimensions of extractive industries and natural resource management are complex, ranging from issues such as conflict over resources fueling extreme violence against women in the Democratic Republic of the Congo,[28] to negative health effects on women and children due to unsafe oil drilling practices in the Niger Delta, Nigeria.[29] Women also continue to be largely excluded from job opportunities in the sector, despite their traditional roles and experience in natural resource management.

Consultations with women's civil society organizations in the global south revealed widespread perceptions that multinational corporations were being engaged to "develop" countries through extractive industries at the expense of local people.[30]

Inclusive, equitable and sustainable management of natural resources in the aftermath of conflict can play a crucial role in building peace and transforming social inequalities.[31] In order for women to reap the economic benefits from this sector, they must have land rights that are legally recognized, and be empowered to participate and lead in decision-making in the home, community and society on how natural resources are used.

Focus group discussions for the Global Study revealed that locally-led initiatives are a key resource for women's economic empowerment, and provide a sense of ownership over economic security. Projects such as community loans and revenue-generating cooperatives have succeeded in providing a stable source of income to women in Burundi and Rwanda for example.[32] However, the danger is that economic recovery for women too often translates *only* into micro-credit or micro-enterprises, while the large-scale projects continue to be dominated by men. As reflected in efforts by the African Development Bank in post-conflict contexts, the vision for economic recovery should be transformative and long-term, assessing not just the state of the inherited economy, but rather what the future economy will be, and how women can be placed to lead, contribute to and benefit from a transformative recovery programme.[33]

Finally, transformative economic initiatives must address the diversity of economic needs among women and girls recovering from conflict, with tailored approaches for particularly economically vulnerable groups, including internally displaced peoples and refugees, indigenous peoples, women and girls with disabilities, older women and the LGBT community, among others. As with the economic empowerment of women in general, the empowerment of each of these groups will contribute to the strength and resilience of peaceful and democratic societies.

WOMEN IN POST-CONFLICT GOVERNANCE

Peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict is often accompanied by sweeping political and governance reforms that are meant to address the root causes of conflict, political exclusion, impunity and absence of the rule of law, centralized governance and economic marginalization. With the foundations of the post-conflict society being laid, governance reforms offer a unique window of opportunity to transform discriminatory social structures, and to promote women's human rights, participation and meaningful engagement. Pursuing the goal of 'gender balance,'

The danger is that economic recovery for women too often translates only into micro-credit or micro-enterprises, while the largescale projects continue to be dominated by men.

as suggested in the Beijing Platform for Action, can encourage transformational change in institutions and has been found to lead to different choices in social spending. This, in itself, can address some of the underlying marginalization and inequalities that generate conflict. In addition, women's equal, meaningful and effective participation in post-conflict government institutions and political processes ensures a greater array of views is reflected in decision-making.

Whether in lobbying for gender-responsive constitution-making or decentralization processes, or supporting women as voters and candidates in elections, it is clear that members of women's civil society often play a key role in transforming the political space. According to the World Development Report of 2012, "women's collective voice—either through direct participation in decision-making institutions or through shaping the context for decisions—can result in policies, programmes, and laws that are quite different from those that would have emerged without it. Providing an environment where women's voice can coalesce into a collective voice can thus promote women's agency and greater gender equality."[34] For example, in Somalia, where women are often excluded from the all-male arena of clan-based politics, women have focused their political energy on civil society organizing—monitoring human rights violations so that perpetrators can be brought to justice when proper institutions are in place, disarming and reintegrating young militiamen and advocating for women's rights.[35]

Women's participation in elected bodies

Over the past 15 years, significant strides have been made in terms of women's representation in parliaments in post-conflict countries. Several of the countries with the highest representation of women globally are also those emerging from conflict, including Afghanistan, Angola, Burundi, Croatia, Iraq, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal, Rwanda, Serbia and South Sudan.[36] Many of these countries adopted temporary special measures as a result of efforts by multiple actors, including women advocates, during and after the peace negotiations. 'Temporary special measures' are instruments, policies and practices aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women,[37] and may include outreach and support programmes, allocation or reallocation of resources, targeted recruitment and promotion and quota systems.[38]

Electoral quotas in particular have had a quantifiable impact on women's representation in conflict and post-conflict countries, contributing to the overall gender balance of their national elected bodies.[39] The 2002 report, *Women, War, Peace*, recommended a 30 per cent minimum quota for decision-making positions, in a clear finding on the value of quotas for women's participation.[40] By July 2015, in conflict and post-conflict countries where legislated electoral quotas had been adopted, women represented almost 23 per cent of parliamentarians, compared to 15 per cent in those countries without legislated quotas. Similar representation rates were evident in 2014, when women occupied 23 per cent of parliamentary seats in countries using electoral gender quotas, and 10 per cent where quotas were not in use.[41]

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Quotas are most effective when they are adapted to the country context and accompanied by enforcement mechanisms. Electoral quotas may be accompanied by a range of measures, including targeted training for women candidates, public awareness campaigns on women's right to participate in political and electoral processes, and working with appropriate bodies to ensure women can participate in a safe and secure environment. All serve to confront the existing cultural and legal discrimination that prevents women's full participation in political decision-making, a fact especially important as the political space evolves in the wake of conflict. The presence of women in decision-making positions, in turn, has an important demonstrative effect: that public life is not the exclusive domain of men.[42] A positive example is illustrated by the case of Afghanistan, where gender quotas have seen an increase not only in the election of women to parliament, but in the registration of women voters, women participants in rallies and public demonstrations, and as candidates.[43]

Women's inclusion in post-conflict political processes has been shown to benefit societies as a whole. Studies have found that states with high proportions of women in parliament are less corrupt,[44] and that women tend to focus more of their legislative proposals on social service oriented legislation–rights, education and health, including sexual and reproductive health—to the benefit of society as a whole.[45]

However, despite progress in some areas, women politicians in post-conflict societies continue to face harmful gender stereotyping, cultural and legal barriers and discrimination that cannot be addressed by gender quotas alone. Violence directed at women

politicians is an especially significant obstacle, and only heightened in contexts of insecurity. In Iraq, for example, women have been targeted while campaigning for office,[46] and in areas occupied by ISIS, women who have run for office have been executed.[47]

Gender-responsive decentralization and public service delivery

Post-conflict governance reforms often include decentralization, so that decision-making power is devolved to levels of government that are closer to the community. As capital-based decision-making is more far-removed and less likely to favour the interests and needs of different groups at the local level, decentralization can provide an important entry point to translate national laws, policies and frameworks to the local level. Such processes can have a major impact on addressing the root causes of conflict.

Much of the focus in promoting women's participation post-conflict has been centered on national level elections. Too little attention has been paid by comparison to women's participation in formal local

> "Evidence shows that women in the front line of service delivery, whether as polling agents, police officers, registration officials, judges, court clerks, teachers, medical attendants, or agricultural extension agents, deliver better quality services for both men and women."
>
> **Ana Lukatela**, "Gender and Post-Conflict Governance: Understanding the Challenges"[48]

FOCUS ON

Gender equality and decentralization in Timor-Leste and Nepal

In Timor-Leste, women's civil society groups and international actors partnered to advocate for a strong gender equality component to be included in the decentralization process post-independence. They were successful and the 2009 'community leadership law' mandated that three out of seven village leaders must be women. Further, the 2010 ministerial directive on local development mandated that women should have 50 per cent representation in each sub-district Assembly.[49]

In Nepal, outcomes were not as positive. Even though a law passed in the post-conflict period mandates local level basic service committees to include women members, the women themselves still feel reluctant to speak up unless they are discussing issues in women-only meetings. This suggests that capacity building for local women's leaders must also accompany efforts to increase their representation.[50]

governance structures. These are crucial not only as the most accessible interface for communities with the state, but also for the delivery of social services. When power is decentralized, women may struggle to have their voices heard if local governance is dominated by powerful male local elites.

Effective and inclusive service delivery can play a conflict-mitigating role by reducing tension and grievances between parties to a conflict over key basic services. The resumption and improvement of basic public service delivery is considered a crucial peace dividend, signaling an inclusive new system of governance and stability.[51] Provision of basic needs like security, water, access to food and health—including sexual and reproductive health—have deep implications for women and girls. In the post-conflict environment women struggle with specific barriers to accessing public services, including the threat of sexual and gender-based violence in insecure environments, difficulties with transport, finances and childcare, and continued marginalization from decision-making processes. Rural women in particular face major obstacles in accessing water, sanitation and health care.

Incorporating accountability to local women in the planning and delivery of services in fragile and post—conflict contexts can be a major contribution to improved social, political and economic outcomes for women. In addition, targeting women as beneficiaries of infrastructure development initiatives, cash transfers, and subsidized goods and services not only enhances the overall effectiveness of such interventions, but has the potential to reduce gendered poverty in conflict-affected societies, and serve as a tool for rebuilding and social protection by facilitating social and economic cohesion.[52]

Government and UN engagement with women in the design and decision—making stages of public service delivery systems—including in monitoring and evaluation—has proven to be a key factor in ensuring the voices of women service-users reach decision-makers, and that quality services reach women.

> "Prioritization needs to be given to restoring social infrastructure and to establishing basic social services – otherwise women will continue to bear an excessive burden of care, in a situation where conflict will have increased the number of disabled and dependents."
>
> Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture "The Challenge of Sustaining Peace"[53]

SECURITY SECTOR REFORM AND DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILIZATION AND REINTEGRATION POST-CONFLICT

Reform of the security sector (SSR) and the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants are the processes through which post-conflict states stabilize the security situation so that longer-term recovery and development can take place. Women and girls can be affected by these processes as victims of violence, members of armed groups, peace leaders in the community, human rights defenders and

every day citizens. Over the past 15 years, increased awareness of the gender dynamics within the security sector has resulted in more attention to the specific needs and capacities of women and girls as ex-combatants, members of host communities and users of security services.

The Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security touch on DDR and SSR from the planning, implementation and accountability perspectives. Technical guidance has been developed, both within the UN and elsewhere, to help practitioners and policy makers to operationalize the normative framework, and to design and implement strategies for gender-responsive DDR and SSR in the field.[54] Furthermore, as a result of the evolving normative framework and operational guidance, important efforts have been made to mainstream a gender perspective in DDR and SSR policy and implementation. This has led to some good practices in the field on the one hand, and highlighted continuing gaps and challenges on the other.

> "We want to be political leaders, and guide society, but we have no resources for basic survival."
>
> Woman ex-combatant,
> Global Study visit to Nepal

Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration

Many of the early DDR processes in the 1990's were criticized for their gender-blindness. Despite the presence of women and girls in armed groups, both in active combat and supporting roles, their needs were not reflected in DDR design and delivery. For example, in Liberia and Sierra Leone, the "no weapons, no entry" criteria excluded many eligible women, especially those in support roles.[55] In addition, demobilization sites frequently lacked facilities and equipment for women and girls, and reintegration programmes failed to offer sustainable and empowering livelihood opportunities.[56]

Although blindness to the needs of women and girls was oftentimes by simple omission,[57] in many other cases, women who had played leadership roles in armed groups were deliberately sidelined into more traditional roles in a misplaced effort to ease the political and economic reintegration of their male counterparts.[58] Whether intentional or not, the exclusion of women and girls from DDR has resulted not only in hardship for them as individuals, but also in missed opportunities to support and strengthen the leadership capacities of these female ex-combatants. Finally, gender-blind approaches fail to assess the role of women in the receiving community, especially their role in supporting social reintegration of ex-combatants, including those who are under-age, disabled or traumatized.

Since 2000, the Security Council has urged the consideration of the needs of women in DDR processes by peacekeeping missions in some of its country-specific resolutions. Whilst this is the case for some specific country resolutions, including some of those related to Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, South Sudan, Sudan and Haiti,[59] overall references to gender and DDR continue to be limited. Analysis of DDR implementation in countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Nepal and Colombia present similar conclusions in that advances in policy do not necessarily translate to better DDR delivery for women.

While several DDR programmes have been relatively successful in mainstreaming gender in the initial disarmament and demobilization phases, their reintegration components have fallen short, either insufficiently or inappropriately addressing the needs and experiences of female combatants, supporters and dependents. This is the direct result of the ongoing failure of DDR programmes more broadly, to effectively assess and address women's and girls' roles as agents during conflict. Instead, approaches keep reaffirming

gender stereotypes, depicting them solely as victims, and failing to capitalize on their leadership skills.[60] For example in Liberia, skills training of ex-combatants focused on perceived women-specific activities such as sewing and hairdressing.[61] These activities reinforced traditional gender roles and also, in the absence of a thorough gender-responsive job market analysis, were not ultimately meaningful and viable economic livelihood options. In Nepal, only a small number of female ex-combatants have been integrated within the army or entered the political arena. The vast majority "became invisible and quietly returned to their communities deeply stigmatized and disempowered."[62] Such women, in Nepal and elsewhere, belong to the many that have been left behind and left out of peacebuilding processes.

While some DDR programmes have grappled with transforming 'violent masculinities,' concrete interventions in this area are nascent.[63] In the same vein, DDR processes that separate child and adult programmes present structural problems and fail to address the specific needs of young girls. For example, several girls under the age of eighteen who were eligible for the children's DDR programme in Sierra Leone did not consider themselves to be children, "either because they were already mothers, or because of the loss of parents, some had taken on adult roles for a number of years."[64] This resulted in many girls not registering for the child DDR-programme. Furthermore, the high levels of psychosocial trauma that women, men, girls and boys experience as a result of conflict-related violence have also been insufficiently addressed by reintegration programmes.[65]

DDR processes often implicitly rely on the unpaid labour of women in the community to care for disabled, young, sick or traumatized ex-combatants. In Sierra Leone, a survey asked predominantly male ex-combatants to identify those who played a significant role in helping them reintegrate; 55 per cent named women in the community.[66] Women grassroots peacemakers in Liberia played a crucial role in mitigating tensions around the return of ex-combatants to the very communities where they had been perpetrators of violence.[67] DDR programmes would benefit from increased engagement and coordination with women peacebuilders as partners, stakeholders and valuable resources in DDR design and delivery.

Security sector reform

Security sector organs in post-conflict contexts often bear the legacy of being the main perpetrators of violence during the conflict. As a result, communities can associate police and armed forces with threats, violence, intimidation and abuse. Therefore, their reform into democratic, effective and transparent institutions is key to gaining the public's trust in the peacebuilding process.

Security sector vetting processes, which exclude perpetrators of human rights violations from security sector employment, are critically important tools to protect civilians from those with a record of abuse.[68] Such processes must also be linked with DDR processes to ensure that former combatants who have committed gender-based violations are also not integrated into the security sector. Failure to engage in vetting, including for sexual and gender-based crimes, puts societies at risk of further violence from dangerous actors, constitutes a significant barrier to seeking justice assistance from the State, erodes public faith and confidence in rule-of-law institutions, marginalizes victims and sends the message that gender-based and sexual violence is socially acceptable.[69] Other measures to develop internal oversight and accountability within the security sector include clear reporting and disciplinary and criminal measures in case of discrimination, harassment and sexual abuse by security forces towards community members or fellow officers.

Effective and inclusive service delivery can play a conflict-mitigating role by reducing tension and grievances between parties to a conflict over key basic services.

Increasing the representation and participation of women, women's human rights defenders and women's organizations in SSR processes—and in the security sector itself—can help shape security institutions that are responsive and representative of the population at large. In this respect, women's organizations and women's human rights defenders have a vital role especially in community security and security sector oversight.

The presence of women can transform an institutional male-dominated culture and promote respect for human rights within security organs.[70] Furthermore, by bringing in a variety of skills and competencies, the increased participation of women can help create a more trusted and legitimate security apparatus. This can result in better policing outcomes for the community, such as improvements to violence against women reporting rates, intelligence gathering, and the treatment of female witnesses, victims and suspects. Data from 39 countries showed a positive correlation between the proportion of female police and reporting rates of sexual assault.[71]

Despite the positive impact of female officers, the global proportion of women in national police forces remains low, with an average of 9 per cent.[72] However, some positive practices are taking place in some countries, including using temporary special measures to increase the numbers of new women recruits,[73] and providing capacity building and skills training to encourage women to join. In Afghanistan, where between 70 and 80 per cent of women of the Afghan National Police are illiterate, an innovative literacy program offered through a mobile phone based application helped female police officers to overcome some of the challenges they face in improving their literacy skills, such as shifts and family duties which often cannot accommodate regular class schedules.[74] Mutual support, in the form of mentoring and networking between female staff is also contributing to the creation of an overall supportive environment for women in the security sector. Female UN police networks that were created within the peacekeeping missions in Darfur, South Sudan and Haiti, played critical roles in helping set up the national female police networks in host state police services.[75]

The presence of women can transform an institutional male-dominated culture and promote respect for human rights within security organs.

Am important innovation in the last 15 years has been the establishment of special protection units in countries such as Afghanistan, Guinea, DRC, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda and Timor-Leste.[76] These units are often staffed exclusively by female personnel or women and men specially trained to deal with victims of gender-based violence. The units have been most successful at increasing awareness of women's rights within the community, and contributing towards rebuilding trust, especially by women, in security sector institutions.[77] In some cases, the units have led to increased reporting and conviction rates, and helped expand survivors' access to services, such as support and referral services. In Guinea, for example, cases increased from 82 to 689 within a year following the creation of the special protection unit.[78]

Special units face a number of challenges however. These range from insufficient links to the judiciary, resulting in limited prosecutions, to lack of appropriate infrastructure to carry out hearings once cases reach the courts. In some cases survivors must also travel long distances to even reach the special units. For such special units to build on their effectiveness, it is thus critical that they be integrated in the overall structures of the security and justice sectors, and that they benefit from the necessary authority, funding and capacity to carry out their duties.

FOCUS ON

Vulnerable Persons Units in Timor-Leste national police

> *"I am here to help survivors use the referral network, get medical treatment if they need it, and get counseling to be able to feel better after their trauma. I help them take their cases through the Prosecutor's Office. This is why I became a police officer."*
>
> Sergeant Amelia de Jesus Amaral, Commander of the Vulnerable Person's Unit (VPU) of the National Police of Timor-Leste[79]

In 2000, the UN Police Force (UNPOL) in Timor-Leste created a Vulnerable Persons Unit (VPU) to investigate cases of domestic violence, sexual violations, crimes against children and human trafficking.[80] The VPU is now a critical component of the National Police Force of Timor-Leste. Its dedicated officers are valuable resources for communities, encouraging reporting and prosecution through their personal assistance to survivors and direct engagement at the grassroots level. A complementary network of thirty-five community centers across Timor-Leste offers survivors mediation, physical and emotional recovery services, legal assistance and skills training. The centers have also become spaces for capacity building and for women's organizations to meet, thus evolving into an empowerment resource for all women, and not solely survivors of gender-based violence.

While this approach has been successful, more resources are sorely needed to broaden its impact—VPU officers still lack sufficient vehicles and other equipment, making it difficult to access survivors in remote areas.

CONCLUSIONS

Across the various elements of peacebuilding, similar concerns emerged from the Global Study consultations with women in post-conflict contexts:

- Gender-responsive peacebuilding as a field continues to suffer from a lack of resources and insufficient expertise and capacity, especially at the country level.
- At the policy level, steps must be taken to improve women's participation in decision-making on peacebuilding priorities and fund allocations at country-level and ensure women fully, meaningfully and equally participate in peacebuilding programming at design, implementation and monitoring stages.
- Gender ministries or national institutions for the advancement of women, women parliamentarians and gender caucuses, and women's organizations should participate in peacebuilding priority setting, decision-making and oversight.
- For women on the ground, the delineations between areas of intervention are meaningless. Women cannot access markets if the roads are inaccessible. Women cannot till the soil if landmines are not cleared. Women cannot avail themselves of income-generating activities if they or their loved ones are injured or traumatized and require care. Psychosocial support must be accessible to women and girls, if they are to rebuild their lives sustainably.

Importantly, women emphasized their need for long-term comprehensive programmes aimed at systemic changes. Without such systemic changes to facilitate and enable political participation, economic security and physical safety, women and girls will not be able to realize their potential as individuals, as well as active contributors to peacebuilding and development.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

Member States and the UN should:

✓ Ensure that all local level peacebuilding efforts are preceded by mapping exercises to ascertain what programmes are relevant for communities affected by war, and which will most effectively empower women. There should not be a one-size-fits-all policy.

WOMEN'S ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT FOR PEACEBUILDING

Member States should:

✓ Consult with local women leaders, including women's human rights defenders, on concessions agreements negotiated as part of post-conflict reconstruction efforts, and ensure a minimum level of 30 per cent women's representation in all decision-making bodies with regards to the country's natural resources.

The UN should:

✓ Design programmes for economic recovery that target women's empowerment, challenge rather than entrench gender stereotypes and are forward looking on the transformative role women can play in an economy for the future.

✓ Design programmes with meaningful participation and end-benefit in mind for rural women, widows and female heads of households.

✓ Develop and use gender-sensitive tools that would map and analyze local contexts and markets to implement livelihood activities that are locally relevant, conflict sensitive, and that empower women instead of further pushing them into poverty.

✓ Develop guidance on post-conflict macroeconomic policies that take into account gender dimensions, and prioritize public expenditure to reconstruct vital services for women.

✓ Design economic recovery programmes and macroeconomic policies in a gender-responsive manner and evaluate their impact on women's economic security and human rights.

Member States and the UN should:

✓ Make effective and meaningful participation of women in decision-making and planning a condition of any UN-supported economic recovery programme.

✓ Design, implement and monitor economic recovery programmes and macroeconomic policies in a gender-responsive manner, and evaluate them for their impact on women's economic security.

WOMEN IN POST-CONFLICT GOVERNANCE

Post-conflict Member States should:

✓ Adopt legislative and policy measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country, and to ensure that women have equal opportunities to participate in the new, post-conflict structures of governance. This includes the adoption of temporary special measures to accelerate achievement of gender equality in all decision-making posts.

✓ Establish quotas for women of a minimum of 40 per cent of service delivery employment opportunities at local level.

- ✓ Provide women and girls with identity documents as a matter of priority during and after conflict, in order to register to vote, access land and avail themselves of social services and benefits, including education and health services.

- ✓ Adopt service delivery measures that specifically target women and take into account the often-disproportionate burden that women face in caregiving responsibilities, including child grants for households; education incentives for girls; free and accessible healthcare of good quality, including sexual and reproductive health, for pregnant mothers and young children; and other measures designed to alleviate the burden of unpaid work and family care.

The UN should:

- ✓ Continue to ensure that technical assistance to post-conflict elections includes advice on temporary special measures. Elections basket funds should allocate a minimum of 15 per cent of their funding to women's participation. Elections bodies should be supported to develop capacity in gender-sensitive data collection and the management of sex-disaggregated data.

- ✓ Provide technical assistance to public administration reform, to assist governments to implement schemes to achieve gender parity in civil service.

- ✓ Facilitate grassroots women's organizations and women human rights defenders' access to participate in the planning and delivery of basic services in crisis contexts, taking into consideration the implications for women's security and their often disproportionate burdens of care.

Member States and the UN should:

- ✓ Provide leadership capacity-building opportunities to national and local women leaders.

SSR AND DDR
Member States should:

- ✓ Incorporate a gender-sensitive approach in SSR and DDR, ensuring that not only are these responsive to women's particular experience of conflict, but that women fully participate, and their rights and perspectives are adequately addressed.

- ✓ Develop and implement strategies to increase participation and leadership of women within armed forces, police services, defense institutions, the penal system and the judiciary.

- ✓ Ensure that security sector reform fosters family-friendly and non-discriminatory work environments free of all forms of harassment and violence within the security sector, in order to increase the participation, retention and promotion of female personnel.

- ✓ Vet candidates for new or re-forming armed and police services for crimes of sexual violence and other violations of international human rights and humanitarian law, giving particular attention to confidentiality and protection of victims of sexual violence.

The UN should:

- ✓ Include gender analysis and full consideration of women's human rights in SSR/DDR planning and implementation, so that entry requirements

do not inhibit women's access, and that reintegration opportunities do not further entrench harmful gender stereotypes and gender-based discrimination, or violate women's human rights.

✓ (Department of Peacekeeping Operations) Should ensure gender-responsive DDR/SSR are integrated in mission planning with dedicated funding, gender expertise, and regular reporting on gender-responsive DDR and SSR in mission reports and briefings to the Security Council.

✓ Ensure female uniformed personnel in all UN peace missions participate in the implementation of DDR/SSR programmes, as they can play a key role in confidence-building, especially in screening activities and providing security in demobilization sites.

The UN and Member States should:

✓ Facilitate the participation of women leaders and organizations in all stages of DDR/SSR

✓ Engagement should be with the entire spectrum of actors involved in SSR, including customary and religious leaders, private military and security companies, security sector oversight actors and the penal system. They should also engage men and boys to strengthen gender equality within DDR and SSR processes, and prevent and respond to human rights violations, including sexual abuse.

The UN and other service providers should:

✓ Ensure reintegration processes respond to trauma and improve the availability and quality of psycho-social support services.

Member States, parties to conflict and mediation teams should:

✓ Ensure the presence of gender and DDR/SSR expertise in the negotiation of formal peace agreements, to make certain that women participate in DDR and SSR programmes.

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08

PREVENTING CONFLICT: THE ORIGINS OF THE WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA

"Women, peace and security is about preventing war, not about making war safer for women."

Participant at the Asia-Pacific regional civil society consultation for the Global Study

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolution 1325

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution

2000

2008

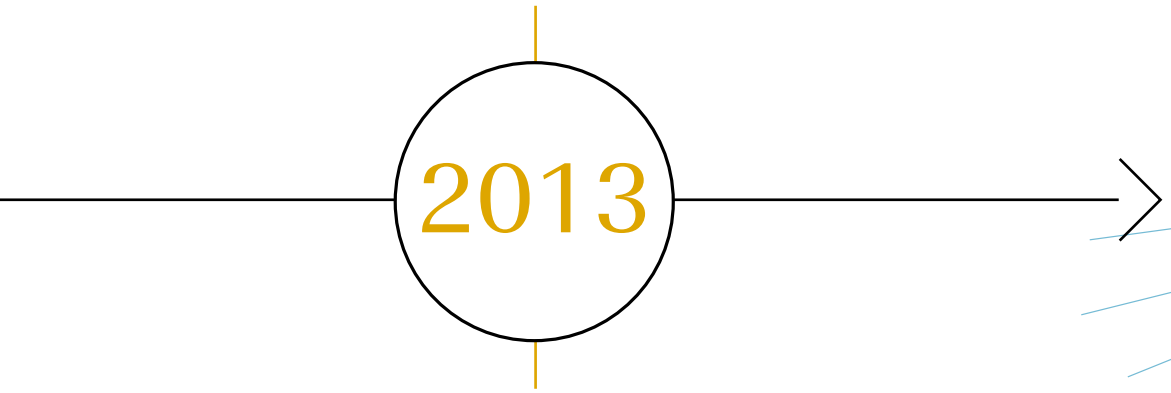
Resolution 1820

Urges the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys to invite women to participate in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and post-conflict peacebuilding, and encourages all parties to such talks to facilitate the equal and full participation of women at decision-making levels;

Urges the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys to invite women to participate in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and post-conflict peacebuilding, and encourages all parties to such talks to facilitate the equal and full participation of women at decision-making levels

Resolution 2106

Affirms that sexual violence, when used or commissioned as a method or tactic of war or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, can significantly exacerbate and prolong situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security; emphasizes in this regard that effective steps to prevent and respond to such acts significantly contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security; and stresses women's participation as essential to any prevention and protection response



Resolution 2122

Requests the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys and Special Representatives to United Nations missions, as part of their regular briefings, to update the Council on progress in inviting women to participate, including through consultations with civil society, including women's organizations, in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security and post-conflict peacebuilding

Throughout history women peace activists from all over the world have united to try and put an end to war. Their call for a commitment to peace and for disarmament has been consistent and universal even when their own countries were at war. The same was true in 2000. When women took their demands for a women, peace and security (WPS) agenda to the Security Council in 2000, they were demanding that prevention of war be a key aspect of the Security Council's agenda along with a recognition of the capacities of half the world's population to resolve the complex challenges of global peace and security.

They were seeking a fundamental shift in how these goals are secured. Their objective was, at its core, the prevention of armed conflict and a roll back of the escalating levels of militarization making homes, communities and nations less rather than more secure. These concerns and fears continue to resonate today. During consultations for this Study, women the world over expressed their conviction that the United Nations had lost sight of its own vision to beat 'swords into plowshares.'[1] Over the years, international actors have increasingly shifted their attention and resources toward militarized approaches to security, resolution of disputes and the hurried and ad hoc protection of civilians in conflict. This is not the 'prevention' envisioned 15 years ago.

It is no coincidence that 2015 saw three major peace and security reviews underway simultaneously in the UN system. The institutions and mechanisms established to make and keep peace are stretched to capacity, functioning on a multilateral logic of a by-gone era and an over-reliance on mitigation of crises once they erupt, rather than sustainable, long-term approaches to peace and security. The recent High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations found that prevention efforts remain "the poor relative of better resourced peace operations deployed during and after armed conflict."[2] A militarized view of conflict prevention sells resolution 1325 short of its transformative vision for a more equal, just and peaceful world, and neglects a proven tool available to achieve this.

> "The adoption of Security Council resolution 1325 was indeed a watershed, and there is much to be celebrated with this achievement. But we also have to use it to challenge the underpinnings of marketised and militarised international peace and security."
>
> **Felicity Ruby**, Secretary-General of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at the time of the adoption of resolution 1325[3]

The resort to armed conflict, whatever the underlying reasons, has disastrous impacts for affected societies. The economic costs, long-term implications for State institutions and normalization of violence with its associated effects, are only a few of the ways in which conflict is felt. Conflict-affected and fragile States have been among the poorest achievers of the Millennium Development Goals.[4] As the report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture notes, all of the ten worst performing countries on maternal mortality are either conflict or post-conflict countries.[5] Wars, and the ensuing organized political and criminal violence and corruption

that accompany them, impede overall economic development—direct (e.g., infrastructure damage) and indirect costs (e.g., reduced tourism) draw substantially from state budgets and GDP. In 2014, violence had a global cost of 13.4 per cent of world GDP—USD14.3 trillion.[6] Furthermore, as a result of the feminization of poverty globally, the nexus between conflict and development lends itself to stark gendered impacts.

This Study is not suggesting that military responses do not have their place in the global lexicon of protection. However, it cannot be denied that the international community has been too slow to put in place effective early warning and prevention measures or address root causes even where they are apparent, and too quick to react to crises with an armed response. An attitudinal shift is needed away from a primary focus on military responses, towards investment in peaceful conflict prevention strategies.

The two concurrent reviews of UN peace and security have both made similar findings. The High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations has stated that, "the prevention of armed conflict is perhaps the greatest responsibility of the international community and yet it has not been sufficiently invested in."[7] The report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture underscored that while militarized responses to conflict "can prove effective in the immediate context of violence, they tend to address symptoms rather than root causes."[8] It also noted that the limited attention by the UN to both the prevention and recovery ends of conflict has been described as an 'inverted U'—in which there is "little effective UN attention to prevention, great attention to crisis response (though still frequently less than is needed), and again relatively little in the recovery and reconstruction phase."[9]

Both reports go on to make a number of important recommendations which seek to strengthen the UN's ability to prevent conflict through short- and medium-term strategies, including: increased attention, resources and coordination for mediation within the UN system; earlier UN engagement to address emerging threats to peace and security; and convening key stakeholders to bring attention to early conflict prevention priorities.

While these recommendations form an important starting-point for discussions about prevention as a priority, the value added of the WPS agenda is its structural assessment and response to conflict prevention: its assertion that sustainable peace will only be possible when all actors address the root causes of conflict and violence, a global political economy which prioritizes preparedness for war over peace, continuities in violence and insecurity which are evidenced particularly through the experiences of women and girls and the growing role of factors such as climate change and natural resource control in creating insecurity.

APPROACHES TO CONFLICT PREVENTION

Approaches to conflict prevention are generally grouped into two categories oriented toward:[10]

(i) Operational, or short-term practical strategies; and

(ii) Structural, or long-term prevention.

Both categories would benefit from greater integration of the women, peace and security agenda.

Operational (short- and medium-term) approaches: prevention and preparedness for potential violence

Operational, or medium- and short-term approaches to conflict prevention encompass the adoption and execution of practical strategies that monitor and prepare for the potential for conflict, and ensure a swift response where violence erupts. Operational prevention includes strategies such as early warning and response, preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping, and the use of information and communications technology (ICT). Although integration of gender as a category of analysis, and the use of women-led or informed strategies of early warning and conflict resolution are proven tools to strengthen the effectiveness of conflict prevention measures, they have to date only rarely been incorporated.

FOCUS ON

UN tools for conflict prevention

In its report, the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations called for decisive and far-reaching change across four areas of the work of peace operations, the first of which is a demand for the UN to bring conflict prevention and mediation back to the fore.[11] The UN already has a number of tools working alongside peacekeeping and special political missions which relate to prevention and mediation—among them, the Good Offices of the Secretary-General, Peace and Development Advisors, and the Human Rights up Front initiative.

The **Good Offices of the Secretary-General** is an important avenue for conflict resolution through preventative diplomacy. Its use has intensified and expanded over the past 15 years, and successive Secretaries-General, their envoys and senior Secretariat officials have attempted to mediate virtually every major armed conflict on the UN's agenda.[12] As discussed in this report in Chapter 10: *Key Actors*, the United Nations must do more to ensure that women occupy senior leadership positions, including relating to the Secretary-General's Good Offices, where women currently serve in only 4 out of 18 appointments.

The UN's **Peace and Development Advisors (PDAs)**[13] work in support of UN Resident Coordinators and Country Teams to develop and implement conflict prevention programmes. They pursue sustainable strategies which build upon the capacities of national actors to carry preventative and peacebuilding work forward.[14] PDAs are also tasked with integrating the women, peace and security agenda into their conflict prevention work. The extent to which this is taken on board seems to vary however, and an internal review for the Department of Political Affairs recommended that senior leadership do more to ensure that PDAs recognize gender mainstreaming as an essential part of their responsibilities.[15] Further, an independent assessment of the PDA programme found that women are under-represented, filling just 6 of 34 PDA posts.[16]

The Secretary-General launched the **Human Rights up Front (HRuF)** initiative in late 2013, with the goal of ensuring that the UN system takes early and effective action, as mandated by the Charter and UN resolutions, to prevent or respond to large-scale violations of human rights or international humanitarian law. As the UN works to implement it—including through its senior advisory group—it must ensure that gender analysis is integrated into all areas of action, and that recommendations pay particular attention to promoting and protecting women's human rights. Also important is a gendered understanding of the human rights violations which are monitored to trigger a response by the system.[17]

All three peace and security reviews undertaken by the UN this year highlight the critical need for greater investment in prevention strategies, including through monitoring and analysis. Implementation of these should consider however that whichever violations are monitored, and whomever is consulted to inform design, analysis and response, will directly affect the strength of efforts and their impacts. In this regard, women's differential experiences of conflict lend themselves to different sources of information and identification of early warning trends, providing a concrete tool to strengthen conflict prevention and mitigation.

We [...] call on the Security Council and all actors to focus on gender-sensitive disarmament and conflict prevention, including early warning.

Rhoda Misaka, a founding member of the South Sudanese Diaspora Association, and member of EVE Organization for Women Development, at the Security Council Open Debate on Sexual Violence in Conflict, 2014

Early warning

Gender-sensitive analysis of conflict can reveal otherwise unseen conflict drivers and triggers, and women's participation is a key avenue to strengthening effectiveness. Women can help identify changing dynamics in grassroots, familial and community level relations that may contribute to national level tensions, which might not otherwise be identified. For instance, women and girls can observe changing patterns in time-allocations spent by men and boys (e.g., training clandestinely), and in the hiding of arms caches in homes and community centers. Studies in Kosovo and Sierra Leone found that women in those contexts had valuable information about the accumulation of weapons and violent attacks being planned, but had no means of reporting or sharing this information.[18]

The continuum of gendered violence in women's lives also means that when there are rising levels of insecurity in society more broadly, women may be the first to be affected. Rising tensions can result for instance, in restrictive freedom of movement for women, increased risk of assault in public areas, and women's inability or lack of willingness to access fields and gardens due to threats. Similarly, increasing levels of domestic violence and the specific vulnerability of women to gender-based violence within and outside the home often reflect growing tensions and militarization in society as a whole. These specific issues can be valuable indicators and sources of information if captured as elements of early warning mechanisms for preventive action, including for the prevention of conflict-related sexual violence. A three-pronged approach that promotes the inclusion of women in early warning, the development of indicators that are gender sensitive, and the development of indicators that are specific to gender-based violations impacting women, increases the effectiveness of our conflict prevention efforts.

Overcoming the exclusion of women and girls from early warning is critical.

Conflict prevention methods are improved through directly engaging with women and providing avenues to capitalize on their knowledge. This includes ensuring that women are consulted during the formulation of early warning systems and that there are specific channels for women to report information to the central data collection site. Where there are barriers in literacy or ICT skills, efforts should be made to ensure that women are trained, or have alternate avenues for reporting. Women's organizations in particular can be instrumental. They often have key insight into changing gender power relations, and specific changes to freedoms available to women, as well as knowledge of changes to rates of gender-based violence, and to patterns of men's behaviors inside and outside of the home. They should therefore be engaged in roles that allow them to maximize the impact of these valuable insights within existing mechanisms.

Early warning mechanisms and indicators must be gender-sensitive. Effective early warning systems are those that ensure equal participation of men and women in the conception, design and implementation of early warning measures. The development and use of indicators that are gender-specific, as well as indicators that are sex-gender specific is critical. Examples of gender-sensitive early warning indicators include:

- Sex-specific movement of populations.
- Increase in female-headed or male-headed households.
- Increased harassment, arrest and interrogation of civilian men by security forces.
- Changes to patterns of gender roles; e.g., men occupied with political activities, women take over more of the productive role of the household.
- Hoarding of goods, lack of goods on the local markets.
- Training in weapons for men, women and children at community levels.
- Propaganda, news stories, programmes glorifying militarized masculinities.

- Resistance or curtailment of women's involvement in marketing and trade, in public community discussions.

- Increased numbers of meetings by men for men.

- Random and arbitrary detention of men.

These kinds of indicators may be included in multiple models of early warning systems and within the policy that informs state-level preparedness and planning. In the Solomon Islands in 2005, UNIFEM (predecessor to UN Women) supported the development of a project—"Monitoring Peace and Conflict Using Gendered Early Warning Indicators"—which identified indicators to reflect the experiences of both men and women with regards to long-term effects of unresolved land disputes; to examine women's role in 'gun-free village' programmes, and to monitor media content reflecting women's experiences and concerns.[19] The model used discussions with community members to elicit men and women's views separately, ensuring the inclusion of both men and women as monitors.

In South Sudan, UNMISS supports the Community Women Peace Dialogue Forum, which engages women to identify early warning signs to solve community conflicts and lead campaigns to prevent sexual and gender-based violence.[20] Additionally, the peacekeeping mission established a 24/7 hotline, the distribution of communication equipment to high-risk communities, and collection and analysis of information in the mission's operations centers. Early warning indicators of conflict in Jonglei state, for example, include unusual movement of all-male groups, rising bride-price and an increase in pregnancy terminations, among others.

A Conflict Early Warning and Response (CEWARN) Mechanism was developed by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), a regional organization which brings together seven countries of the Horn of Africa: Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda.[21] CEWARN receives and shares information on the basis of indicators that monitor potential points of tension, many of which are gender-responsive and enable effective gender-sensitive early warning to take place.[22] CEWARN's early warning reports provide highlights on the impact of pastoral and related conflicts on women and girls; incorporate indicators that capture the role of women in peacebuilding or promoting violent behavior; train field monitors on gender issues; and include gender-related questions and indicators in their field surveys.[23]

FOCUS ON

Community-based approaches to early warning

The Dutch foundation Cordaid has developed a community-based participatory approach to early warning, called the "barometer of local women's security," which has been implemented in seven conflict-affected countries and territories. To create the Barometer, Cordaid works with local women to define what security means to them, and the indicators which should be used to measure it.[24] Women receive training on how to collect relevant data, which Cordaid then captures and analyses in a centralized database, and shares with local, national and international decision makers. Early results of the project indicate that the Barometer bridges the gap between policy makers and local women, and equips women with a voice in the daily peace and security of their community.[25]

FOCUS ON

Monitoring for gendered violence: The UN Action "Matrix of Early Warning Indicators of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence"

Specific systems that monitor for gendered violence are critical not only to the prevention of conflict, but to the prevention of conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence. The UN Action "Matrix of Early Warning Indicators of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence," developed in 2011 for use by actors involved in protection in humanitarian settings is an example of one tool for monitoring.[26] The matrix establishes a clear set of indicators that signal potential, impending or ongoing sexual violence. It enables ample preparedness planning by protection actors, as well as rapid response to risk factors for conflict-related sexual violence.

Indicators include:

- **Military and security factors:** armed groups rewarding or indoctrinating aggressive, hyper-masculine behavior; combatants operating under the influence of drugs or alcohol; and the placement of military bases or encampments in close proximity to civilian centers.

- **Humanitarian and social factors:** changes in the mobility patterns of women and girls (such as their sudden absence from schools or market-places otherwise unexplained by contextual or seasonal factors); an increase in female-headed households due to an absence of men from communities, or to an increase in the number of women rejected by husbands and communities; mass displacement due to insecurity or emergency; and disappearance of girls reported by family or law enforcement officials en route to/from schools in areas where arms bearers are present.

- Political and legal factors: such as violent, unconstitutional changes of power; permissive or encouraging rhetoric about rape and justifications for sexual violence voiced by political leaders; and women candidates and voters in an electoral process targeted for violence, including psychological, sexual and physical violence.

- **Economic factors:** drop in the price of arms or increase in supply; inflation and food insecurity; and increased reports of women's involvement in the shadow war economy, e.g., trafficking, prostitution.

- **Media factors:** increased signs of media repression and restrictions on freedom of expression; public incitement to sexual violence, including by reference to past violations against a community/group to justify future attacks;

- **Health factors:** increase in requests for HIV/STI testing; increase in women seeking clandestine abortions; and increase in female prison population and in reports of women/girls subjected to torture and other forms of ill-treatment.

Early warning mechanisms should specifically capture gender-based violations. Monitoring of violence should ensure that women and girls have safe outlets to report violence, and follow-up response services when they do. As noted above, rising levels of domestic violence in particular may be an indicator of rising levels of violence more broadly, and increased risk and vulnerability to assaults outside the home have also been found to be indicators of incipient conflict. Women and women's organizations will likely have the most accurate information on growing levels of these kinds of violations, and should be connected to formal early warning mechanisms. Indicators should also explicitly cover gender-based violations, including for example:

- Sex-specific violations: increased reports of rape and domestic violence; trafficking and abductions; gender-motivated killings and disappearance of men and women.

- Increased control of women's public movements, dress, agency, growth in fundamentalist views of women.

In Timor-Leste since 2009, the NGO BELUN has coordinated a national early warning and response system.[27] It tries to maintain a gender balance among its community-based monitors, collects sex-disaggregated information in their situation and incident forms, and report on indicators specifically related to gender-based violence in periodic monitoring reports.

USE OF TECHNOLOGY

More than one third of the world's population was online by 2011, and developing countries accounted for 63 per cent of all users, with rates of growth faster than in developed countries.[28] This increased access globally points to the potential technology has to be a widely accessible avenue for conflict prevention efforts.

What is already apparent is that just as new technologies are being leveraged to wage war, they are also increasingly being used to improve physical security and work toward conflict prevention and peace. Drones for example, are being used in post-disaster humanitarian response (and have potential for post-conflict response), as a means to safely reach victims in need of assistance before humanitarian first responders can reach them. In the DRC, MONUSCO has used unpiloted aircraft to track migration and the movements of civilians being pushed from their homes in attacks.[29] They have also instituted a programme to provide women with mobile phones and SIM cards as part of a gender-sensitive early warning system, thus giving affected populations direct access to the UN's available protection resources.[30] In remote stretches of the Amazon, the Wapichana indigenous community of Guyana has partnered with the NGO Digital Democracy to create an early warning system that monitors illegal forestry and gold mining taking place on their land and threatening their environmental security.[31]

Internet social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter provide channels to raise awareness about reports of violence, engage in dialogue with women globally, and spread knowledge of women's diverse roles in different societies. Online platforms are being used to crowd-source information on documented instances of violence against women, in some cases mapping reports of sexual violence or harassment against women to demand accountability for tackling the problem, like the Women Under Siege project in Syria.[32] Satellite technology is enabling peacekeepers to respond in more targeted and effective ways to sites of violence or anticipated violence; this same

Rising levels of domestic violence in particular may be an indicator of rising levels of violence more broadly.

technology also facilitates evidence collection for intervention and prosecution with respect to attacks on communities, described in Chapter 5: *Transformative Justice.*

New mobile technologies are being developed specifically for the purpose of strengthening women's security in conflict. Some smartphone applications are being created to help civilians identify potential dangers in their surroundings, and connect people with nearby allies.

Barriers to women's access to technology

It is important to acknowledge however, that in furthering the use of information and communication technologies (ICT) in conflict prevention, there are key access and control concerns to be considered for women and girls. What technology women access and how, on an individual and collective basis, varies greatly, often corresponding with pre-existing barriers to their access to power and resources such as language, education and affluence.[33] In low and middle-income countries, women are 21 per cent less likely to own a cell phone than a man.[34] This number is 23 per cent in Africa, 24 per cent in the Middle East and 37 per cent in South Asia,[35] and further stratified over the rural/urban divide.

Equally, while a global study found that 93 per cent of women felt safer and 85 per cent felt more independent because of the security offered by owning a mobile phone,[36] in already insecure contexts technology can in fact place women at greater risk. This is particularly the case for women human rights defenders and journalists whose work and personal lives can be subject to online attacks and monitoring—a factor which is analyzed in greater detail in the section on the media in Chapter 10: *Key Actors*.

Beyond economic barriers, other reasons why women and girls remain distanced from new technologies include: lack of awareness of how ICTs can affect their lives; lack of time; concerns over physical security; lack of the technical knowledge to operate a particular technology; fear of ridicule or social censure; lack of access to some types of connectivity; and content that does not respond to their interests and needs. Each of these barriers must be addressed to maximize technology's potential to improve women's and girls' physical security and prevent conflict. **Sustainable Development Goal 5, indicator 5(b), will be a critical tool in this effort, as it calls for States to enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women**.[37]

COMMUNITY-LEVEL MEDIATION, DISPUTE RESOLUTION AND CONFLICT MITIGATION MECHANISMS

Women's situation rooms

Women's civil society organizations in several countries have joined forces to prevent and mitigate incidents of violence against women in elections through awareness raising and mediation. Women's Situation Rooms (WSR) have been established in a number of African countries to monitor and, where possible, prevent or mitigate the eruption and escalation of election-related violence by engaging stakeholders in constructive dialogue and peace advocacy in the lead up to, during and after elections.[38] WSRs facilitate this engagement among a broad range of actors from grassroots to national levels, including young people, the media, political and government leaders, private sector officials and religious and traditional leaders. While WSRs are organic and adapt to the specificities of each national context, these forums generally encompass preventive diplomacy activities; civic education; facilitation of dialogue and advocacy; and training and deployment of female observers to monitor elections country-wide. They also seek to raise awareness about incidents of violence and intimidation against women in the electoral process.

For the period preceding the election, a temporary physical "Situation Room" (a central coordination center) allows key women leaders and organizers, analysts and other stakeholders to gather and coordinate strategies and inputs. Real-time analysis of information reported by the observers and the media also takes place. Where relevant, information is relayed to police and other stakeholders so that appropriate action can be taken. Situation Rooms also bring together prominent women leaders from within each country and neighboring countries, demonstrating solidarity, and providing opportunities for coordination and strategizing across regional borders. As this strategy involves the creation of a central monitoring system based on reports from a wide network of trained observers, more analysis is needed to determine the reliability and effectiveness of the reporting system. Amidst such ongoing efforts to examine the effects of WSR on violence prevention, what has already become evident however, is that they serve as an important forum for awareness-raising and solidarity-building among women and with different stakeholders, with a clear message to uphold peace and mitigate political violence.

FOCUS ON

Women's Situation Rooms: Experiences from three countries

WSRs have now been employed in elections in Kenya (2013), Liberia (2011), Nigeria (2011, 2015), Senegal (2012) and Sierra Leone (2012). WSRs operate in context specific ways, illustrated through some of the examples here:

Kenya

Ahead of the 2013 general election, women's civil society organizations established a WSR in Nairobi led by a team of Eminent Women from Tanzania, Uganda, Nigeria and Liberia.[39] 500 observers were trained and provided reports from across the country. Over 554 incidents were recorded including reports of threats to candidates and voters, and general voter complaints. As cases were addressed, the mechanism contributed to a de-escalation and mitigation of violence.

Nigeria

During the 2015 Presidential and Senatorial elections a toll-free hotline was created and run by 40 trained operators who responded to calls by the general populace (particularly reporting on constraints of women's voting rights). Over 300 female monitors were trained and deployed to ten states. Political, legal and media analysts, police and representatives of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) were able to exchange information and cooperate through this initiative.[40]

Senegal

A WSR was established during the 2012 presidential elections by The Women's Platform for Peaceful Elections.[41] More than 60 women were trained and deployed country-wide as monitors.[42] During the elections, monitors reported incidents to the Situation Room and information was relayed to the police, the electoral commission and other stakeholders.

Building peace at the grassroots level

Women's civil society and community-based organizations are developing deliberate peacebuilding strategies and advancing critical conflict prevention methods at the grassroots level—efforts which have been recognized by the Security Council in resolutions including 2171 (2014),[43] and in the review of United Nations peacebuilding architecture.[44] In Liberia, Palava or 'Peace Huts' have been established as safe spaces where women can come together to mediate and resolve community disputes, including incidents of gender-based violence.[45] Peace Huts are traditionally a means of addressing individual grievances in the community, and their new more inclusive role has been supported by the Liberia National Police who have provided cell phones so that calls can be made to a free help-line. Further, Peace Huts are becoming more inclusive of men and boys' efforts to combat gender-based violence, as evident in the creation of 'anti-rape' football clubs and focus groups for male leaders. Peace Huts have also been integral in the mediation of disputes over extractives; in 2012 Peace Hut women set up a roadblock to protest logging taking place in Gparpolu County.[46] The women's activism resulted in the sacking of the Minister of Forestry and much higher scrutiny on the concession agreements with extractive industries.

In some areas in Colombia, 'peace communities,' have been formed which declare their area and population 'neutral' and free from armed conflict, and which set demands on combatants to not draw these communities into violence. Women are critical leaders in this movement.[47] The Association of Organized Women of Eastern Antioquia (AMOR) directly negotiated with armed factions to secure a temporary humanitarian accord that enabled freedom of movement for communities.[48] In Sudan, the Sudanese Women Empowerment for Peace (SuWEP) movement developed a "Minimum Agenda for Peace" to promote peace across Sudan and South Sudan.[49] Operating across both jurisdictions, the movement included initiatives such as public hearings on women's views on the context, training in conflict resolution and mediation, and broader and multiple peace advocacy strategies.

The presence of strong women's networks, committees and groups working at the grassroots level means that women have important experience as community-level mediators and social mobilizers, and can play a key role in more formal mediation processes when presented with opportunities for inclusion.[50] Teresita Deles, the Presidential Advisor to the Peace Process in the Philippines, the late Dekha Ibrahim from Kenya, and Shadia Marhaban, the former negotiator for the GAM rebel group in Aceh, are examples of women who are internationally renowned as mediators, yet started their work as community organizers and local-level peacemakers. External actors can support the work of such women by providing safe spaces for women to participate in all mediation processes, from the local, to the national, regional and international. States, the United Nations, and civil society must create partnerships to build infrastructures for peace, including opportunities for women of all ages and from different groups to constructively interact to address the causes of tension and conflict within their communities.[51]

STRUCTURAL PREVENTION: ADDRESSING THE FOUNDATIONAL ROOTS OF WAR AND MILITARISM

Structural or longer-term approaches to preventing armed conflict address the underlying causes of war and violence. They aim to bring about a reduction in the potential for armed or political violence over time and promote nonviolent means to address acute need and rights entitlements. They include efforts to address structural inequality and violence, promote human rights and human security, and engage in de-militarization, disarmament and reduction in spending on armaments.

Global military spending in 2014 (USD 1.7 trillion)[52] is almost thirteen times higher than development aid allocations from OECD-DAC member countries (approximately USD 135 billion).[53]

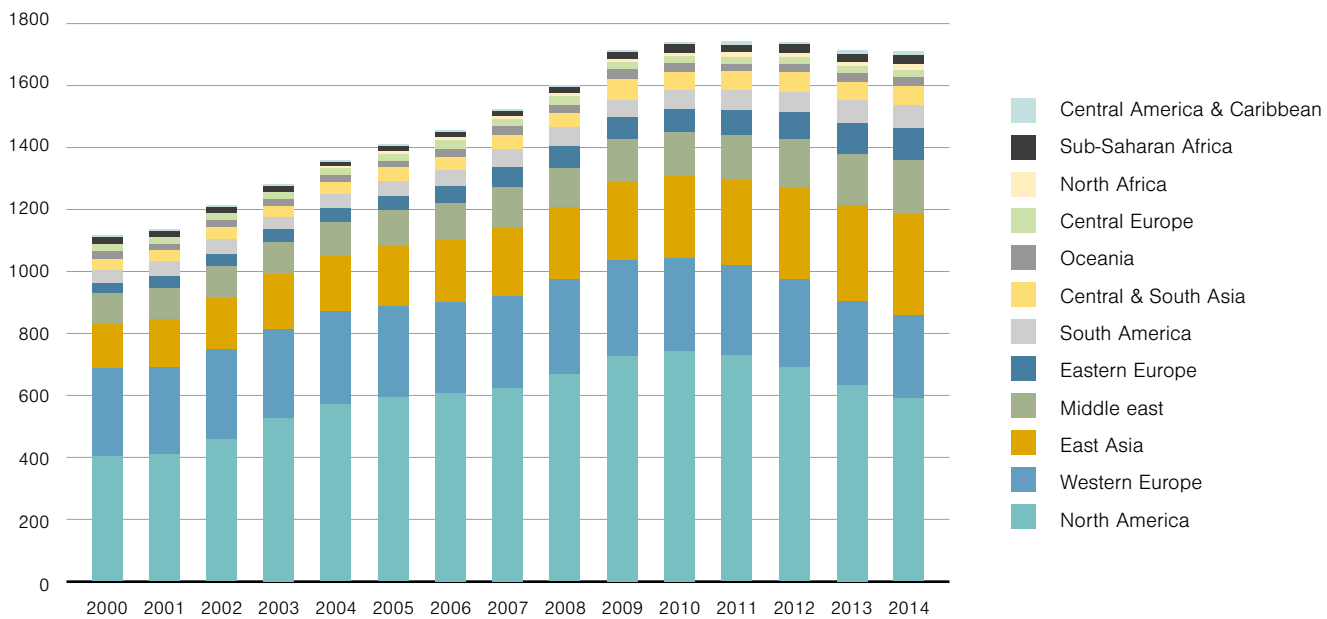
The report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture offers important insight into the drivers

> "It has been very hard to move the focus from prevention of violence against women to prevention of conflicts."
>
> Respondent to the civil society survey for the Global Study, based in Australia

and structural causes of conflict, analyzing a range of factors, from extremism and organized crime to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, weak governance institutions and corruption.[54] The report highlights how social and economic deprivation, coupled with historical exclusion, can animate grievances,[55] and how climate change, environmental degradation and population growth are adding new complexities to the understanding of global security.[56] Most usefully, the review of UN peacebuilding architecture offers insight into possible solutions to these seemingly intractable root causes of conflict—an approach to conflict prevention which views peace as inextricably linked with development and human rights. Mirroring this approach, the 2030 Sustainable Development Goal on peaceful and inclusive societies is premised on the common understanding—developed over the past fifteen years of lagging achievements on the millennium development goals for conflict-affected countries—that human rights, peace and development, the three pillars of the UN's work, are indivisible and interrelated; one cannot be achieved without the others.[57]

In consultations for the Global Study, participants echoed this understanding that peace will be neither achievable nor sustainable without equitable and inclusive development, and the recognition of the full range of human rights. Though the terms 'discrimination' and 'oppression' may no longer be

Total military expenditure by region (Total USD billion, 2011 constant prices and exchange rates)[58]



popular in international reports, in many societies exclusion and the violation of rights is systematic, violent and reprehensible and the result of a deliberate and vicious political will. They require moral condemnation. With this understanding in mind as a cause of immediate concern, three further themes also emerged as core to the WPS agenda's approach to conflict prevention: addressing local and global inequalities; the connections between small arms, crime, violence and gender; and climate change and natural resource scarcity.

Recent large-scale research projects are pointing to the fact that the security of women is one of the most reliable indicators of the peacefulness of a state.

Addressing local and global inequality

From Kosovo, where unequal access to social services has fueled inter-group hostility, to Yemen, where political exclusion has underpinned destabilizing protests and violence,[59] it is clear that inequality—economic, political, social and cultural—heightens group grievances and can lead to conflict. States with high levels of inequality are more likely to be overthrown by unconstitutional or forceful means, including politically motivated violence and terrorism.[60]

While inequality has always been among the key drivers of conflict—recognized by sources as diverse as Aristotle and the UN Charter—today there is cause for growing alarm. The World Economic Forum listed deepening income inequality as the number one trend of concern in 2015,[61] and in almost all countries, the mean wealth of the wealthiest 10 per cent of adults is more than ten times median wealth. For the top percentile, mean wealth exceeds 100 times the median wealth in many countries, and can approach 1000 times the median in the most unequal nations.[62]

For women, income inequality is exacerbated through structural inequalities that lead in all contexts to a feminization of poverty. As of 2007, roughly 20 per cent of women were below the $1.25/day international poverty line, and 40 per cent below the $2/day mark.[63] Girls and young women also suffer disproportionately from poverty, as more than one-quarter of females under the age of 25 were below the $1.25/day international poverty line, and about half on less than $2/day.[64] This leaves women both more vulnerable to violence and insecurity in their lives as well as less able to mitigate the impacts of this violence.

GENDER AND CONFLICT PREVENTION

Under the WPS agenda, the conflict prevention pillar makes critical linkages between the *prevention of armed conflict itself, and the prevention of gender-based harms that precede and result from political violence*.[65]

Growing evidence-based research is showing that states that have higher levels of gender equality (political, social and economic) are less likely to resort to the use of force in relation to engagement with other states. Domestic inequality for women—where a hierarchy of inequalities are evident within the state—is also associated with a foreign policy that is less tolerant of other states and more likely to be belligerent in its international relations.[66] Similarly, recent large-scale research projects are pointing to the fact that the security of women is one of the most reliable indicators of the peacefulness of a state.[67] Where peace is understood as being more than simply the absence of armed conflict, gender inequality—whether in relation to equal legal status for women, sex-selective abortion and infanticide, or the deliberate targeting of women for gender-based harms and murder—globally becomes a key indicator

of a pre-conflict concept of security skewed in favor of men and toward the state. Effective conflict prevention must therefore start from an understanding of the broad and deep insecurities that permeate women's lives *prior* to conflict, and the ways that pre-conflict structural inequality can facilitate violence and insecurity.

Militarism and cultures of militarized masculinities create and sustain political decision-making where resorting to the use of force becomes a normalized mode for dispute resolution. Militarism also metastasizes, taking on forms outside of traditional armed conflict. In consultations for the Global Study, participants identified the various ways in which their lives had been militarized: through military support to extractive industries in Asia; the 'war on drugs' in Latin America; militarized anti-migration initiatives in Europe; and of course, the global 'war on terror.'

Massive funding gaps remain on broad human security needs and measures, particularly women's and girls' empowerment, reproductive health and rights, health and education.[68] Accounts from Cambodia, Costa Rica and Sri Lanka provide positive examples of reductions in spending on security and the military which have effectively redirected financing into social programmes,[69] but overall, there is an imbalance in investment towards the military apparatus rather than peace and prevention efforts.[70] Critically, militarism serves to uphold and perpetuate structural inequalities that in turn operate to disenfranchise women and girls from public goods, entrench exclusion and marginalization, and create the ingredients for a platform of broader inequalities that increase the potential for violent conflict to occur.

Women's experiences of gendered violence manifest within and outside of armed conflict, but with continuities and relations between them. The WHO estimates that 35 per cent of women globally have experienced some form of sexual or physical assault.[71] This violence is often aggravated by conflict, leading to patterns of sexual and gender-based crimes during conflict, and escalated rates of violence against women across societies after conflict.[72] The use of sexual violence during conflict can represent a dramatic departure in form and patterns from peacetime, as these atrocities may in fact be employed as a tactic of war and terror against members of target populations. However, the roots of this violence remain common. As noted by Zainab Hawa Bangura, Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, "[I]f you don't protect your women in times of peace, you will not be in a position to protect them in conflict. Obviously, the issue of sexual violence does not happen by accident, it is related to the structure of the society and community." The prevention of violence against women in conflict rests squarely with the need to prevent violence against women before conflict—and above all, to prevent conflict, itself.

Importantly, the continuum of gender-based violence across contexts underlines the false distinction between the private and political spheres, and between conflict and peace. It points to the need for specific attention to and treatment of gender-based violence as a crucial element in conflict prevention. In the occupied Palestinian territories, women reported increased levels of violence within the home as a result of increased violence outside of the home.[73] In Ethiopia, rising levels of domestic violence were observed prior to the conflict with Eritrea.[74] In the Yugoslav wars, cross-ethnic rape of women escalated prior to the conflict, and women fled on this basis six to eight weeks before the conflict erupted.[75] In Rwanda, as early as 1990, extremist Hutu media began to target Tutsi women, depicting them as spies and a threat to Hutu society, including via pornographic material.[76] Each of these is equally an example of early warning indicators that were simply neglected, owing to the false distinctions created between what is deemed the personal versus the political.

Instead of viewing women's and girl's experience of a continuum of violence during 'armed conflict' and 'peace' as distinct moments, it is the commonalities between both contexts that must be recognized. What is certain is that pre-conflict social, political and economic systems are not gender-neutral, and the potential for the eruption of political violence is infused with a common gendered dynamic. Prevention strategies necessarily require stronger recognition and understanding of the depth of the influence of gender norms, gender relations and gender inequalities on the potential for the eruption of conflict.

"In this country, a young woman cannot walk on the street without fear."

Participant at the El Salvador civil society consultation for the Global Study

The connections between arms, crime, violence and gender

Small arms, and their proliferation, are a direct outcome of the militarization of so-called peaceful societies. Whether in societies that have never experienced armed conflict, or in those that have endured periods or cycles of conflict, the availability of small arms inhibits efforts to prevent armed violence and contributes to the escalation of lethal violence. Access to such weapons intersects directly with and impacts the forms and intensity of women's experiences of gendered violence within and outside of conflict. The overall availability of small arms has significantly broadened the impact of these weapons today. The value of the global trade in small arms and light weapons almost doubled between 2001 and 2011, from USD 2.38 billion to USD 4.63 billion.[77]

"Conflict prevention lies at the core of the [WPS] agenda, and the maintenance of international peace and security [...] Without strengthened investment in women's human rights, equality, education, and women-led civil society, we will not see sustainable peace."

Brigitte Balipou, magistrate in the Central African Republic, board Member of Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS), and Founding Member of the Women Lawyer Association of the Central African Republic, at the Security Council Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security, 2014

In the aftermath of conflict, as state institutions and regulations are being established and conflict-related weapons remain in wide circulation, the easy access to small arms places women at increased risk of violence and insecurity. In many post-conflict societies, there is a noticeable continuity in patterns, actors and forms of violence from the political to the social and criminal spheres, with women at higher risk of being attacked in the public sphere, including by gangs and organized criminal groups. These criminal attacks are a part of the continuum of violence women and girls experience during and after conflict. Rampant impunity, normalization of violence, weakened state institutions, and formalized relationships between state actors and criminal groups all provide a breeding ground for increased criminal activity, made all the more lethal by the easy access to small arms.[78] In Latin America, respondents to a survey of civil society organizations for the Global Study designated organized crime as the most pressing emerging issue for women, peace and security in the region.[79]

Indeed, at Global Study consultations around the world, women and girls living in situations of heightened insecurity because of criminal violence explained how important the WPS agenda was to counter these threats and the growing normalization of violence in their everyday lives. They demanded that global policy frameworks and approaches on peace and security move beyond the limitations of state actors, and the narrow political definitions of these issues, towards broader notions of citizen security. There have been increased efforts to address the proliferation of small arms in recent years. The Arms Trade Treaty (2012) for example, goes some way towards regulating the sale and use of arms and mitigating impacts on rates of gendered violence. In Article 7(4) of the treaty, States Parties are obligated to assess the risk of arms "being used to commit or facilitate serious acts of gender-based violence or acts of violence against women and girls." This provision

FOCUS ON

Girls and gangs in Central America

> *"There has never been peace in this region. The Latin American people have suffered extermination, criminalization and permanent violence[...]. Latin America remains one of the most unequal and violent regions of the world."*
>
> Report of the Latin America regional civil society consultation for the Global Study

The neighboring countries of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala have some of the highest rates of femicide in the world.[80] They exemplify the relevance of resolution 1325 in non-conflict/post-conflict , insecure settings. In these three countries, women and girls experience astonishing rates of lethal and non-lethal violence, primarily as a result of competition between organized crime groups and gangs for control of illicit drug markets. Their daily lives are marked by the same levels of insecurity and violence experienced by their counterparts elsewhere, who are living in situations of armed conflict (as traditionally understood).

Youth gangs have emerged as a recent phenomenon, largely driven by deep socio-economic inequalities, a root cause of the armed conflicts in Central America. At a consultation for the Global Study held in El Salvador, participants stressed how gangs specifically targeted young women, severely curtailing their rights to freedom and integrity.

Research on youth gangs in Central America has begun to reveal the complex roles women and girls play in relation to gangs, including their agency as members and collaborators, and not just victims of violence, while also noting the horrific abuse they endure as initiates and members of these groups.[81] Female participation in gangs highlights the links between conflict, criminal activity, gender-related economic and social exclusion, and sexual and gender-based violence. Understanding these links is essential to making resolution 1325 operational across a range of contexts such as organized crime and gang violence.[82]

Despite the unfamiliar challenges of applying resolution 1325 in these contexts, there are a number of clear opportunities. For example, governments can work with national and international women's organizations to develop and revise National Action Plans to implement resolution 1325 that are context-specific and in line with the UN Convention against Organized Transnational Crime, including its additional protocols on human trafficking and smuggling.[83]

recognizes the link between gender-based violence and the arms trade, and makes it illegal to transfer weapons if there is an overriding risk that gender-based violence will occur as a consequence of such a transfer. In addition, Sustainable Development Goal 16, which focuses on the promotion of peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, includes an indicator on the significant reduction of illicit financial and arms flows, and combating all forms of organized crime.[84] Taken together, these two global policy commitments can provide a framework for addressing the proliferation of arms as a root cause of conflict and a constant source of insecurity for women and girls.

Specific national-level responses have also evolved to address the flow of small arms and light weapons. In response to the high levels of national gun violence in the Philippines, women's civil society organizations lobbied for the adoption of the Arms Trade Treaty and the inclusion of small arms control in the Philippine National Action Plan on resolution 1325. The plan contains an action point on the creation and enforcement of laws regulating possession of small arms, including an indicator on the adoption of regulations on small arms transfer and usage.[85]

In Latin America, Global Study CSO survey respondents designated organized crime as the most pressing emerging issue for women, peace and security in the region.

"Climate change is not gender neutral and [...] the disproportionate burden of climate change already borne by women can only be augmented as climate change induced conflict further threatens their lives, livelihoods, peace, and security."

Asia-Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development, submission to the Global Study[86]

Understanding climate change and natural resource scarcity as causes of conflict

One significant shift over the past 15 years has been the increasingly evident impact of climate change, as societies experience shifting temperatures, recurring droughts, erratic rainfall, extreme weather events and increased insecurity. Climate related stressors—including natural disasters, which have increased in frequency and severity, and natural resource scarcity—are already playing a central role in exacerbating existing social tensions, driving conflict and magnifying existing inequalities, including gender inequality. In order to effectively prevent conflict in the future, we need to acknowledge and better understand the role of climate change as a threat multiplier, aggravating existing fragile situations and contributing to social upheaval and violent conflict.[87] From drought in Darfur, where climate-change stressors are deeply interconnected with the political economy of conflict,[88] to Syria, where drought exacerbated a long legacy of resource mismanagement,[89] to the Pacific, where entire islands are disappearing, forcing communities to relocate and straining local and regional relations[90]—the

impact of climate change on peace and security cannot be ignored.

Women and girls experience the nexus between climate change, and peace and security in direct and profound ways.[91] For example, since women are often the providers of food, water and energy for their families—socially prescribed on the basis of their gender in many societies—they are likely to face increased challenges in accessing resources due to climate change. This becomes a devastating burden in conflict-affected areas, where women face an increased risk of insecurity and violence in carrying out these daily tasks.[92] Climate change is also a growing factor affecting migration and displacement, combining with other influences including unequal land distribution, insecure land tenure and inadequate infrastructure, to push populations to seek alternative livelihoods in urban areas and across borders, raising local, regional and international tensions.[93] As with all displaced populations, women and girls displaced by climate change and resource scarcity are vulnerable to sexual and gender-based violence and other violations of their human rights. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4: *Protecting Rights.*

Despite their direct experience coping with climate change and resource scarcity, women are severely under-represented in decision-making on natural resource management in fragile and conflict-affected settings. For example, lack of access to water is a significant security and political issue in the West Bank.[94] Palestinian women, as the managers of domestic water use, have developed coping strategies to recycle gray water, monitor quality and prevent waste. Despite this knowledge, however, they are under-represented in decision-making at the Palestinian Water Authority, which negotiates directly with the Israeli Ministry of Defence and the soldiers that guard water resources. Similarly, women must also be part of national, regional and international negotiations on climate change, and part of the design and implementation of climate change policies and programmes.

> "The most marginalized need to be at the discussion table. If not, we'll never find a solution on the ground. Climate change is a survival issue, not a question of negotiations. We need to make sure that youth—future generations—are part of the solution."
>
> **Sylvia Atugonza Kapella**, Head of the Riamiriam Civil Society Network in Karamoja, Uganda[95]

As recognition grows that the natural environment is a factor in many armed conflicts, and that environmental degradation has specific gender-related impacts, conflict prevention efforts must necessarily account for these factors. Women's knowledge of the natural environment and resource scarcity can play an integral role in early warning systems for climate-related resource scarcity and conflict, and in developing a sustainable response to conflict.

"The transformative potential of the WPS agenda has not been fulfilled, and this has to do as well with far too little focus on prevention and long-term structural change in societies, with too much focus on very short-term concrete results."

Respondent to the civil society survey for the Global Study, based in Sweden, working in conflict zones in West and Central Africa, Colombia and Myanmar

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

ADDRESSING INEQUALITY, ARMS PROLIFERATION, ORGANIZED CRIME AND MILITARIZATION

Member States should:

✓ As a part of States Parties' obligations to implement the Arms Trade Treaty's provision on gender-based violence (Art. 7(4)), require arms producing corporations to monitor and report on the use of their arms in violence against women.

✓ Meet all Sustainable Development Goals—including goal 5 on gender equality, goal 10 on reducing inequalities within and among countries, and goal 16 on peaceful inclusive societies—ensuring that women and girls benefit equitably from achievement, and prioritizing their consultation and participation in the implementation, monitoring and accountability of programmes relating to the sustainable development agenda.

✓ Adopt gender-responsive budgeting practices, including through consultation with civil society, as a strategy to address, highlight and mitigate militarized state budgets and their destabilizing impact on international peace and security and women's rights.

Member States, the UN and civil society should:

✓ Provide financial, technical and political support to encourage educational and leadership training for men, women, boys and girls, which reinforces and supports nonviolent, non-militarized expressions of masculinity.

✓ Devise educational strategies that lead to a culture of nonviolent resolution of conflict in the home and in public spaces.

Civil Society should:

✓ Produce benchmark tools, with a gender perspective, for monitoring the initiatives taken by arms producing corporations on responsibility for the use of arms.

EARLY WARNING

Member States, the UN, regional and international organizations should:

✓ Include women's participation, gender-responsive indicators and sexual and gender-based violence related indicators (including conflict-related sexual violence) in all early-warning processes, conflict prevention and early-response efforts, with links to official channels for response at the local, national, regional and international level.

✓ Support further collection of data and awareness-raising on causalities between gender inequalities, levels of violence against women and the potential for violent conflict.

TECHNOLOGY

The UN, Member States and civil society should:

✓ Work with the private sector to develop and use new technologies which increase women's physical security and strengthen conflict prevention.

✓ Support the collection of data on the gender digital divide, and the factors inhibiting and promoting women's and girls' access to ICTs, particularly in conflict-affected and fragile settings.

ELECTORAL VIOLENCE PREVENTION, DISPUTE RESOLUTION AND MEDIATION
The UN should:

✓ Fully implement the recommendations of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations pertaining to mediation, ensuring consultation with civil society and women and girls in conflict-affected areas.

✓ Develop new strategies to include the women, peace and security agenda more systematically in its wider preventive diplomacy work, including in early warning mechanisms, insider mediation and building infrastructure for peace.

Member States, the UN and Civil Society should:

✓ Collaborate, including through financial, technical and political support, to strengthen the capacity of women's civil society to organize and play a greater role in national and community-led election monitoring and electoral violence prevention, dispute resolution and mediation initiatives.

CLIMATE CHANGE AND NATURAL RESOURCE SCARCITY
The UN, Member States and civil society should:

✓ Work in partnership with affected women and girls when designing, implementing and monitoring climate-change and natural resource-related strategies, in order to harness their local knowledge and community-level networks for information-sharing.

Member States should:

✓ Work with civil society to develop or revise national action plans for the implementation of resolution 1325 to, as relevant, address the role of climate-related resource scarcity and natural disaster response in exacerbating conflict, and provide inclusive solutions to climate and resource-related insecurity.

✓ Develop gender-sensitive natural resource management policies.

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09

COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM WHILE RESPECTING THE RIGHTS AND AUTONOMY OF WOMEN AND THEIR COMMUNITIES

> "In many ways, [women's rights are] at a crossroads on the international plane. Feminist communities have engaged and fractured on different understandings and criticisms of the politics of counter-terrorism. Today, working for the dissolution of international conflict, feminism's marriage with counter-terrorism is a central starting point for a critical and self-reflective praxis on the global stage."
>
> **Vasuki Nesiah** "Feminism as Counter-Terrorism: The Seduction of Power"[1]

At present the world is gripped with fear of rising violent extremism. Much of it is real but a great deal is also due to media sensation creatively manipulated by the perpetrators. While most of the media's attention has been on acts of systematic terror committed by groups such as ISIS, Boko Haram and Al Qaida in the name of Islam, it is important to note that the growth in extremist violence is not limited to one religion. Even in the Middle East, crimes have been committed in defense of Judaism,[2] and Christian militias exist in many parts of the world.[3] In Asia, groups have committed violations in the name of Hinduism and Buddhism,[4] and in other parts of the world, political ideologies have led groups to take up arms.[5] What is clear is that extremism in all its forms has had serious impacts on the rights of women and girls. From forced marriage, to restrictions on education and participation in public life, to systematic sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), this escalation in violence and insecurity demands the attention of the women, peace and security agenda.

In consultations for this Global Study, women were very firm in their beliefs. Although research shows that societies that respect women's rights are less prone to extremism, women felt strongly that women's rights should not be securitized and should not be seen as an instrumental tool for countering extremism. Rather, women's rights are an end in and of themselves. When women's advocacy becomes too closely associated with a government's counter-terrorism agenda, the risk of backlash against women's rights defenders and women's rights issues, in often already volatile environments, increases.[6] Lessons from such contexts, in which broad-based counter-terrorism efforts have sought to explicitly engage women, indicate that such securitization can increase alienation, heighten women's insecurity, and create a concern of women being 'used' by the government, rather than being empowered to participate fully in society and overcome the barriers they face.[7]

Even while the incidents and events around acts of terror increase, there must also be a word of caution. Extremism must only be of concern to the global community if it ends in violence, hate or violates the rights of others. Freedom of speech in a democratic state requires that different points of view, no matter how extremist, should be allowed expression—except for hate speech. We cannot insist that the whole world has one ideology. Growth and change in a multicultural world will only occur if beliefs are challenged and questioned in light of the very ideals held dear. Fighting extremism cannot be a license to remake the world according to individual understanding of what is correct for any society. Global concern must only be triggered if there is violent extremism that destroys communities and violates the rights of others as set out in international laws and standards.

In a globalized world, it must also be recognized that extremists feed off each other. An extremist burns a Koran in Florida, and there is a riot in Cairo; someone burns a mosque in Rangoon and there is an attack on a Buddhist site in Bihar. Respecting the dignity and autonomy of others is a starting point for the important conversation on violent extremism. The need for political leaders at the international and national level to take a strong stand against hate speech and hate mongering by way of example is also a policy for the international community to consider and foster.

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.

MODERN DAY VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND THE DELIBERATE TARGETING OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

Today, unlike in cases in the past, groups like ISIS and Boko Haram are grounding their violence on an ability to govern and control territory. For example, in Dabiq—the magazine issued by ISIS—appeals are made for doctors, engineers, and professionals to engage in *hijrah* (devotional migration) in order to assist in the construction of an Islamic government.[8] ISIS lures fighters and supporters, including women, from around the world with sophisticated social media campaigns, and promises of meaningful employment. Weak governance institutions, ongoing conflicts, cross-border ethnic and cultural ties, globalized financial and commercial networks, and an impressive command of new communications and information technology platforms have helped violent extremists increase their influence, with specific impacts on the rights of women and girls.

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. For example, kidnappings of women and girls have come to constitute a deliberate tactic of Boko Haram, to lure security forces into an ambush, force payment of a ransom, or for a prisoner exchange.[9] Reports estimate that there have been some 2,000 women and girls abducted since the start of 2014.[10]

The abduction of 276 teenage girls from Chibok in April 2014 by the group has been the largest single incident so far, shining a spotlight on the increasing use of this tactic, and triggering an international campaign to 'Bring Back Our Girls.' Research also indicates that abducted women and girls held in captivity by Boko Haram experience a range of violations including physical and psychological abuse, forced labor, forced participation in military operations, forced marriage to their captors and sexual abuse, including rape.[11]

SGBV is also an explicit tactic of ISIS. Mirroring the accounts of Nigerian girls who have escaped from Boko Haram, Yazidi women and girls who have fled from the control of ISIS in northern Iraq have reported horrific sexual violence, and being traded as slaves among fighters. Information gathered by the Iraqi Fact Finding Mission in 2015 points to the crime of genocide against the Yazidi population, crimes against humanity, war crimes and other serious violations of human rights, including against women and girls. Reports indicate that forced marriage to foreign fighters has become increasingly common in territory controlled by ISIS. This phenomenon has also been observed in internally displaced persons camps, and in neighboring countries, where refugee communities have resorted to measures such as child marriage, removal from school and physical confinement to 'protect' daughters and wives.[12]

"Women's groups are trapped between terrorism and countering terrorism...working in very dangerous context[s] where terrorists [exist] and on the other hand their chances to deliver their voice...[are] shrinking in the name of countering terrorism."

Respondent to the civil society survey for the Global Study, based in Libya

The imposition by ISIS of a strict interpretation of Sharia law previously unseen in the Syrian Arab Republic, setting out edicts on all aspects of life, from dress to movement, employment and religious observance, has restricted basic freedoms, particularly for women. Women and girls over the age of 10 must be fully covered when venturing outdoors and are not permitted to be in the company of men outside of their immediate family. Failure to obey is punishable by lashings carried out by the Al-Hisbah morality police, or increasingly by the all-female brigade Al-Khans'aa.[13] The restrictions are particularly pronounced as the conflict in Syria continues and the numbers of Syrian men killed and disappeared increases, leading directly to a rise in female-headed households in the midst of a systemic oppression of women's rights.[14] Similar mass violations and restrictions on basic freedoms can also been seen in the accounts of women and girls living in northern Mali under Ansar Dine,[15] and in Somalia, under the growing influence of Al Shabaab.[16]

The rise of violent extremism is also present among other religions around the world, although the acts are more isolated, less brutal and not as widespread and systematic. Some orthodox Jewish settler communities in Israel, who also place a great deal of restrictions on women's rights, have periodically engaged in isolated acts of violence in Hebron.[17] Christian militias in the West, with an increasing number of copycat websites of white supremacy, also engage in isolated acts of violence as happened recently in Norway and the United States.[18] In Asia, Buddhist extremist groups have targeted Islamic and Christian places of worship and their rise also has consequences for women and girls. Over the past year in Myanmar some of the most controversial mobilization by monks has focused on the passage of a law that restricts interfaith marriages between Buddhist women and Muslim men, in violation of women's right to freely choose their spouse.[19]

Despite slow global progress towards gender equality, including through the achievement of targets under the Millennium Development Goals, there are concerns that extremist groups favoring more rigid cultural and religious practices may roll back gains made by women, especially with regards to health and education.[20] Hindu extremist groups in India continue to target women and artists who do not live according to Hindu strictures, as well as members of the Islamic community.[21] Throughout the world, extremists have perpetrated acts of violence and made threats to the personal security of women in an effort to limit their basic rights including participation in public life. This was powerfully and tragically highlighted in the attack on Malala Yousafzai by the Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan.[22]

Targeted violence against the rights of women and girls is receiving increasing global attention. Indeed, the UN Secretary-General's 2015 report on conflict-related sexual violence highlights the use of sexual violence as integrally linked with the strategic objectives, ideology and funding of extremist groups.[23] However, even as extremist groups place the subordination of women at the forefront of their agenda, the promotion of gender equality has been an afterthought in the response of the international community. Instead, as extremist groups continue to grow in power and influence, international actors have focused on military and security solutions to stop their progress. This approach is no longer sufficient to address a problem that has changed and evolved.

WOMEN'S ROLES IN VIOLENT EXTREMISM

Women are not only victims, but have long been involved with groups engaged in violent extremism. Their roles vary according to each group and can include conducting suicide bombings,[24] participating in women's wings or all-female brigades within armed organizations and gathering intelligence. Women can also be sympathizers and mobilizers through providing healthcare, food and safe houses to violent extremists and terrorists.[25] For example, while mothers can be an entry point for prevention efforts, they can also be a source of radicalization. One notable leader of Al Qaeda eulogized his mother on social media saying, "She never asked for my return, rather she prepared and urged me to Jihad."[26]

In understanding women's desire to become members of violent extremist groups, it is also critical to recognize the nature of women's agency. Research conducted

into why women joined the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka describe a context in which civil society had been absorbed into a militarized space that offered no outlet for women's grievances.[27] Women who were victims of violence and discrimination often felt they had no nonviolent option. Prolonged displacement also affected their decision to join the group. All of these experiences shaped women's political identities, often creating highly committed female insurgents.[28]

Initial responses to the recent upswing in foreign women traveling to Iraq and Syria to support ISIS[29] have perpetuated stereotypes about women and Islam, assuming young Muslim women must be tricked or brainwashed, or only join ISIS to become 'jihadi brides,' and that they would not join if they knew the full extent of ISIS' horrors toward women.

While in some cases women may be motivated by romance or be unduly influenced, others are drawn to groups like ISIS for many of the same reasons as men: adventure, inequality, alienation and the pull of the cause.[30] Indeed, a recent study by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue outlined three self-identified reasons why women travelled to ISIS: oppression of Muslims throughout the world; desire to contribute to state-building; and individual duty and identity.[31] However, policy and public discourse rarely acknowledge that women may have such grievances and motivations. For example, European women in ISIS have spoken of how alienation and restrictions on their religious practices back home, like France's ban on wearing burqas in public, helped push them into the group.[32] In Western countries, it is Muslim women and girls, particularly in religious attire, who bear the brunt of the Islamophobic attacks and harassment that can increase alienation, as well as, for some, the appeal of ISIS narratives that position the West against Islam.[33]

There are women who do join violent extremism movements, some against their will but others with a measure of enthusiasm. They may join, as was mentioned earlier, because of the same root causes that make men join. In addition, coming from conservative families, they may also be seduced by powerful internet advertisement imagery to join extremist groups as 'liberation' fighters. Academics describing such female combatants have spoken about their 'ambivalent agency,' that allows them a certain freedom from family and social restraints though they have to function within a strict hierarchy dominated by men.

At the same time, it is also evident that women are also on the front lines of countering extremist violence. Mothers de-radicalizing their children, women police officers engaging with local communities to prevent violent extremism, female imams preaching religious tolerance, to name a few. The roles of women are myriad. The opportunities to engage however, particularly at senior levels, have been limited. It is also interesting to note that in the most dangerous areas, older women are the only group to be trusted by both parties to a conflict. In Syria, in situations where international and national humanitarian workers are forbidden, older women from the community are the ones who do the negotiating for the humanitarian needs of the community.[34]

Any attempt to constantly portray women in non-western societies within an extremist frame, as one monolithic group of helpless victims or resistance fighters in states of terror is both incorrect and misses an important dynamic. While there is a conservative backlash in many Asian and African societies, it is also because women are moving ahead, becoming empowered and there is fear that this advance may threaten the social fabric. They are going to schools and universities in ever-larger numbers, they are entering the workforce, and they are becoming tech-savvy with the help of education and social media. Malala's determination and the determination of so many other young women reflect this extraordinary growth in girls' education over the last decade. This is very true throughout Asia where in many societies girls are outperforming boys in educational institutions.[35] The Arab spring saw many women also take to the streets and though they may not have taken leadership positions they appeared active, confident and articulate.

The new world promised by globalization and international social media has given access to new ways of thinking and being for middle class and lower middle

class women and girls. Some women do seize the opportunity provided by a changing world and become professionals and activists, remaking their lives and educating their daughters. The new and diverse ways of living in a globalized world are constantly clashing with traditional values and practices. This tension and contestation between the old and the new is present in most of the Asian and African regions. In some countries, these coexist with a great deal of tolerance. In others, they have become sites of terrible and extreme violence and women's rights, women's personal lives and their bodies have become sites of the contestation.

"While injustices and inequalities embedded in gender relations are a long-term threat to development and stability, gender equality represents a safeguard to the spread of radicalization and violent extremism. It is critical, therefore, that women's leadership be tapped into as a critical resource for peace."

Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, submission to the Global Study

The response by nation states and the international community to international terrorism

The response of the international community to widespread and systematic acts of terror has not been successful for many reasons. Before 2001, most countries dealt with extremism and terrorism as a police matter within the framework of national laws and human rights. Since then, with the coined term 'war on terror,' the response to violent extremism and acts of terror has been primarily through the use of force. There have been many national and international efforts under the rubric of 'counter-terrorism' to deal with these issues. In many countries, counter-terrorism legislation as well as newfound practices of security forces deeply compromise human rights standards and norms of international humanitarian law. Counter-terrorism as a framework lies somewhere in the middle, between a police operation and a war fully governed by international humanitarian law. The ambiguous positioning along with new, unregulated technologies and practices of warfare have created increasing dilemmas for both women's rights and human rights activists and mechanisms. In addition, the concept of counter-terrorism is not static but is constantly evolving to include more actors and more aspects of a community's life. One cannot question the fact that many countries face difficult security choices, but conceptual clarity with regard to what they hope to do and what limits should be placed on certain strategies, must be the first step in moving forward.

Increasing recognition of women's participation and empowerment should not be part of counter-terrorism strategies but a part of the civilian peace agenda

Recent research from many think tanks, highlighted in the journal *Foreign Policy*,[36] has increasingly shown that there is a correlation between women's rights and a decrease in violent extremism. Those countries with relative gender equality are less prone to violent extremism. The revelation of this research data has resulted in a great deal of debate and discussion. Many advocates have different approaches on how to instrumentalize the finding, leading to sharp division among policy makers and practitioners alike.

The first school of thought put forward by many security think tanks is to include the issue of women and women's equality in military planning. It urges field level military officers to engage and befriend women, empower them and to train them to be watchful so as to use them as intelligence. This is a dangerous, shortsighted use of this research. It puts women at risk, alienates them from their communities as well as their families. Though it may produce results in the short-term, in the long-term it will destroy the social fabric of the society that is being rebuilt.

The second approach is the nation building approach which aims at a comprehensive policy, where many strategies, including development, human rights and women's rights, are included in a top down model imposed from above and which essentially supplements a military or securitized counter-terrorism strategy. This second approach is currently dominant in the discourse of the United Nations and OECD countries. The Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy of the United Nations adopted by consensus in September 2006, and its review resolutions,[37] provide the strategic framework and policy guidance to the collective effort of the UN system on countering terrorism. The Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy characterizes terrorism as "one of the most serious threats to international peace and security" and contains four pillars: (I) tackling the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism; (II) preventing and combating terrorism; (III) building States' capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the UN system in that respect; and (IV) ensuring respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis for the fight against terrorism.[38] The peace and security dimensions of counter-terrorism are particularly understood as being expressed in pillars I and IV.[39]

The Secretary General's 2015 report on conflict-related sexual violence highlights its use as integrally linked with the strategic objectives, ideology and funding of extremist groups.

While the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy does not include a specific reference to gender, the resolution adopted at its fourth biennial review in June 2014 encourages Member States, UN entities as well as international and regional organizations to "consider the participation of women in efforts to prevent and counter terrorism."[40] The Secretary-General's 2014 report on Activities of the UN system in implementing the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy notes that women can play a significant role in preventing extremist violence and building resilience against it.[41]

The UN human rights system has increasingly addressed the issue of gender and terrorism. The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) General Recommendation 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations recommended that State Parties, "reject all forms of rollbacks in women's rights protections in order to appease non-State actors such as terrorists, private individuals or armed groups."[42] The Human Rights Council requests the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism to, inter alia, "integrate a gender perspective throughout the work of his/her mandate,"[43] and the 2009 report to the General Assembly by the Special Rapporteur calls on Governments to remedy the gender inequality that makes women the targets of terrorism, and ensure that victims of terrorism receive support, including by repealing discriminatory barriers (e.g., unequal inheritance laws) that frustrate assistance.[44] The General Assembly resolutions on the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism have called on Member States "to shape, review and implement all counter-terrorism measures in accordance with the principles of gender equality and non-discrimination."[45]

The Security Council has increasingly referred to women in its resolutions and statements related to terrorism. Resolution 2178 adopted in September 2014 focuses on the threat posed by foreign terrorist fighters and recognizes for the first time the need to empower women as a mitigating factor to the spread of violent extremism and radicalization.[46] It is also the first time in a Chapter VII resolution that efforts to counter violent extremism, including preventing radicalization and recruitment, are deemed an 'essential element'[47] in addressing the threat posed by foreign fighters. This is emblematic of the shift seen over the past year in particular, in the UN's approach to this issue.

This paradigm shift within the UN system and in Europe remains deeply problematic and goes against everything women actually living in local communities are saying. While empowering women as a bulwark against extremism is an important idea, such empowerment should never be part of Chapter VII of the Charter on the use of force. It should not come within the ambit of counter-terrorism, but as part of the civilian assistance to the development and human rights programmes in the country. To enmesh such programmes in counter-terrorism strategies, sanctioned by the Security Council, is to deeply compromise the role of women's organizations and women leaders associated with the programmes. There has to be a shift towards recognition that countering terrorism should be limited in scope and where broad-based strategies for countering and preventing violent extremism are concerned, the development and human rights agencies should take the lead. The Secretary-General is currently developing a Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism that he will present to the 70th General Assembly in November this year. It is hoped that the Plan will consider these words of caution.

Countering violent extremism and the women, peace and security agenda

As the previous paragraphs point out, in countering violent extremism, the international community is moving toward a nation building approach which includes human rights and women's rights as part of a counter-

FOCUS ON

Utilizing the role of mothers in preventing violent extremism

Noting that mothers are often in a unique position to identify early signs of violent behavior and intervene, a number of initiatives focusing on the roles of mothers have been established in countries including India, Ireland, Nigeria, Pakistan and Yemen. These include Mothers MOVE! (Mothers Opposed to Violent Extremism) and Mothers Schools.

Through Mothers Schools, the organization SAVE provides training and materials for local partners to run home-based workshops with mothers in communities-at-risk for a period of six months.[49] These provide a space for mothers to discuss common issues, particularly regarding violent extremism. However, there is a risk for Mothers Schools to promote a stereotypical view of women's roles in society. It is therefore important that any support to Mothers Schools includes an empowerment component, for example access to income-generating skills or education opportunities for mothers, or their daughters, participating in the programme. Building the capacity of mothers as well as families to detect early warning signs of violence, and intervene emotionally and intellectually, must be supported.[50]

terrorism approach. Many Member States and women's organizations in western capitals strongly support the nation building approach outlined above since it allows for more holistic governance without reliance on purely military means, though it still remains within a military ambit. However, it is ironic that such policies, as well as the groups supporting them, do not recognize the internal contradiction; that human rights and women's rights are also elements of "checks and balances" within a governance system. To include them as counter-terrorism efforts is to deeply compromise their value in any given society.

Consultations in Africa and Asia made it clear that women's organizations in those continents, where these strategies actually play out, were deeply skeptical of including such programmes within the rubric of counter-terrorism, especially if such strategies implied a top-down nation building approach emanating from a global strategy which essentially supplements a military process. Such strategies, initially designed for Iraq and Afghanistan, have not been a total success and cannot really move forward without acknowledging the variation that exists among regions and communities.

The alternative that was suggested, and which this Study endorses fully, is to remove women's rights and even human rights interventions from military responses and counter-terrorism efforts. Their place in these efforts deeply compromises the practitioners. Instead it is important to have a distinct civilian process, that may require the military to provide security but which is fully detached from the military, that places emphasis on respecting the autonomy of local women peacebuilders and civil society organizations. These groups should take the lead and it is important to work with them in partnership to design programmes for combatting violent extremism outside the framework of counter-terrorism or any military process. Some successful examples do exist and such programmes designed by locals, assisted by international actors, are more likely to have resonance in the community without instrumentalizing and securitizing women's rights.

One such programme is the training of women religious leaders to work as mentors in their communities. For example, in 2005 Morocco's Ministry of Habous and Islamic Affairs began certifying female preachers (imams), known as mourchidates. They are charged with promoting religious moderation and tolerance with the objective of curbing violent extremism. As of 2014, there are more than 500 mourchidates working in mosques, communities, and prisons with women and youths in Rabat and Casablanca. The mourchidate initiative has been hailed as a success within and beyond Morocco.[48]

In understanding women's desire to become members of violent extremist groups, it is also critical to recognize the nature of women's agency.

Another area is the use of alternative media that presents a different narrative. Violent extremists have made effective use of social media platforms to advance their aims, whether through engagement, propaganda, radicalization or recruitment. In the same way, media channels can be used to counter the narratives of violent extremists and develop messages on gender equality, good governance, and conflict prevention as it relates to countering violent extremism. One example is Sawa Shabab, a radio series airing weekly in South Sudan based on an educational, peacebuilding curriculum designed and produced with local partners. Sawa Shabab follows the daily lives of different young South Sudanese as they face unique challenges while learning how to become peacebuilders in their communities. The underlying curriculum includes a strong focus on countering stereotypes, respecting diversity and promoting gender equality. After listening to the show, young female participants indicated that 'being educated' is an important quality for young women and awareness among male participants about gender equality had notably increased.[51]

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

Member States, the UN and regional organizations should:

- ✓ Detach programming on women's rights from counter-terrorism and extremism, and all military planning and military processes. Any effort at empowering them should be through civilian assistance to the women themselves or to development and human rights agencies.
- ✓ Protect women's and girls' rights at all times and ensure that efforts to counter violent extremism strategies do not stereotype, instrumentalize or securitize women and girls.
- ✓ Work with local women and institutions to engage women at all levels, and allow local women autonomy and leadership in determining their priorities and strategies in countering extremism.

Member States, the UN, regional organizations and civil society should:

- ✓ Build the capacity of women and girls, including mothers, female community and religious leaders, and women's civil society groups to engage in efforts to counter violent extremism in a manner tailored to local contexts. This can include the provision of specialized training, facilitating, training of women religious leaders to work as mentors in their communities, increasing women's access to secular and religious education to amplify their voices against extremist narratives and supporting mother's schools. All this capacity building should again be through civilian agencies and with women peacebuilders deciding the priorities and the content of their programmes.
- ✓ Invest in research and data collection on women's roles in terrorism including identifying the drivers that lead to their radicalization and involvement with terrorist groups, and the impacts of counter-terrorism strategies on their lives. This should include the impact of counter-terrorism laws and regulations on the operation of women's civil society organizations, and their access to resources to undertake activities relating to countering violent extremism.
- ✓ Ensure gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation of all counter-terrorism and countering violent extremism interventions. This should specifically address the impact on women and girls, including through use of gender-related indicators and collection of sex-disaggregated data.

Member States and the UN should:

- ✓ Develop gender-sensitive disengagement, rehabilitation and reintegration programmes that address the specific needs of women and girls. Draw upon the lessons learned from disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) initiatives under the women, peace and security agenda.

The UN should:

- ✓ Ensure accountability mechanisms and processes mandated to prevent and respond to extremist violence have the necessary gender expertise to fulfill their mandates.

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10

KEY ACTORS FOR WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY: MONITORING AND ACCOUNTABILITY

THE ROLE OF KEY ACTORS

In the first decade of the implementation of Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), few tools and data were available to systematically track progress across the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda. In many areas the evidence available to inform policy-making and programming was limited, good practice was not regularly recorded, and mechanisms for holding different stakeholders to account were largely absent. In the build-up to the tenth anniversary of resolution 1325, growing concerns were expressed that, despite an expanding normative framework and a wide range of activities spurred by the adoption of the resolution, women's and girls' lives were still wrecked by violence, and women's participation at all stages of peace processes remained unacceptably low. This prompted a closer look at issues around monitoring and accountability, in particular because the more transformative and structural changes envisioned by all actors contributing to the birth of resolution 1325 were far from achieved.

In the lead up to the fifteenth anniversary of resolution 1325, policy makers, researchers and practitioners looked back to assess what this resolution and related normative frameworks on women, peace and security had achieved. They also looked ahead to see what needed to be done in the future to address emerging priorities and concerns, and bring about concrete change in areas where progress has been sluggish. Importantly, Security Council resolution 2122 (2013) recognized with concern that without a significant implementation shift, women and women's perspectives would continue to be underrepresented in conflict prevention, resolution, protection and peacebuilding for the foreseeable future, and as such encouraged Member States, regional organizations and United Nations entities to start reviewing existing implementation plans and targets.

This chapter examines initiatives taken by different stakeholders to accelerate action, measure progress and deliver better results on the ground. It highlights good practice and puts forward concrete proposals for future action. As the review of the implementation of resolution 1325 coincides with other major policy reviews and debates underway—including discussions linked to the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals, targets and indicators; the 20-year review of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action; the 2015 High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations; the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture; and the preparations for the World Humanitarian Summit—the chapter also explores linkages and synergies between the various agendas on issues concerning peace and security from a gender perspective.

MEMBER STATES

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolution 1325

Urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels [...] in mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict

Resolution 1889

Welcomes the efforts of Member States in implementing its resolution 1325 (2000) at the national level, including the development of national action plans, and encourages Member States to continue to pursue such implementation

2000

2009

Resolution 1888

Encourages Member States to deploy greater numbers of female military and police personnel to United Nations peacekeeping operations, and to provide all military and police personnel with adequate training to carry out their responsibilities

Resolution 1889

Urges Member States, United Nations bodies and civil society, including non-governmental organizations, to take all feasible measures to ensure women and girls' equal access to education in post-conflict situations, given the vital role of education in the promotion of women's participation in post-conflict decision making

Resolution 2106

Urges concerned Member States to ensure full accountability, including prosecutions, in cases of [sexual exploitation and abuse by UN personnel] involving their nationals

2013

Resolution 2122

Encourages concerned Member States to develop dedicated funding mechanisms to support the work and enhance capacities of organizations that support women's leadership development and full participation in all levels of decision-making, regarding the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000)

> "For this fifteenth anniversary I would like to see more member states develop and adopt national action plans...[N]ational action plans that will have the active participation of civil society, of local communities... National action plans that would have the necessary budget and technical resources so that we will not see governments napping..."
>
> **Mavic Cabrera-Belleza**, International Coordinator, Global Network of Women Peacebuilders

While the full implementation of Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) is the duty of multiple stakeholders, Member States have the primary responsibility to ensure that global commitments and obligations on women, peace and security are integrated into domestic policies, laws, planning and budget processes. Nation states remain the most influential actors in the implementation of the WPS agenda.

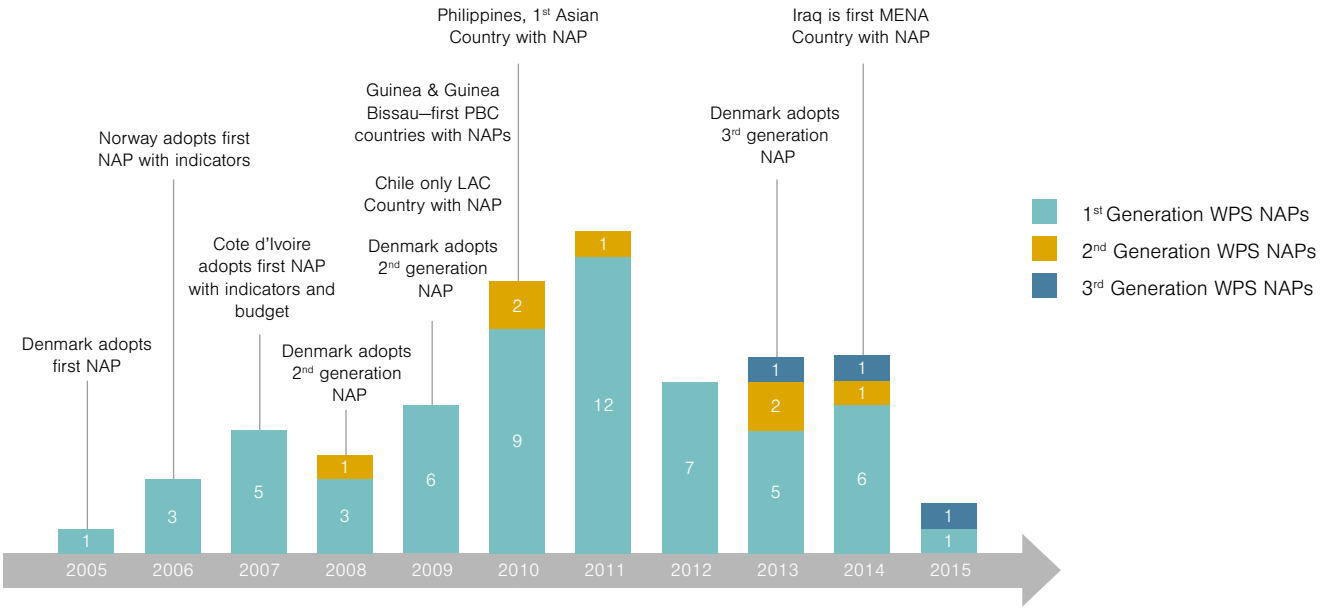
NATIONAL ACTION PLANS

UN agencies and donor countries have identified the formulation of national action plans (NAPs) as a critical tool for moving forward Member State commitments in this area. These plans, when they are successful, provide an opportunity for national stakeholders to identify priorities, determine responsibilities, allocate resources, and initiate strategic actions within a defined time frame. However, consultations in all regions for this Global Study indicated that this conception of an action plan was sometimes based on an idealistic premise that all sectors within a country would work together regardless of diversity, division or polarity. Likewise, bringing all groups under one umbrella, regardless of divergent agendas, could lead to unrealistic and unachievable action plans, especially when resources were limited. It is therefore essential to first understand ground realities in an armed conflict situation before pushing for national action plans and defining their content.

As of July 2015, 54 countries have adopted a NAP (24 in Europe, of which several have already launched their third generation NAP; 17 in Africa; nine in Asia; three in the Americas; and one in Oceania).[1] Several NAPs are due to be updated soon and close to 20 more countries are in the process of preparing their first action plan.[2] Some of these are expected to be launched in time for the 15th year anniversary of resolution 1325 and the High-Level Review in the Security Council in October 2015. Notably, among countries that have adopted or are currently drafting NAPs, some are situations on the agenda of the UN Security Council, while others are hosting a peacekeeping or special political mission, have received funds from the Peacebuilding Fund, and/or were included on the World Bank's list of Fragile Situations in 2014.[3]

NAPs have evolved significantly since Denmark launched the first one in 2005, followed by other western European and Nordic countries. Côte d'Ivoire was the first post-conflict country to adopt a plan in 2007, followed by Uganda in 2008, and Liberia in 2009. Most early NAPs had a stronger focus on processes rather than outcomes. Analyses of some of these early documents show the absence of a clear division

Number of National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security adopted by year[4]



between comprehensive goals, strategic objectives and actions, lack of clear lines of responsibilities, budget and timelines, and of coordinating and oversight mechanisms.[5] Since then, newly developed or second or third generation NAPs have attempted to address these earlier deficiencies.

WHAT MAKES A HIGH-IMPACT NAP? STANDARDS EVOLVING FROM LESSONS LEARNED AND GOOD PRACTICE

The growth in the number of NAPs globally is often welcomed as an illustration of Member States' growing commitment to implement resolution 1325. However, it is important to bear in mind that these are simply processes and facilitators of action, not ends in themselves. In regional and country consultations for this Study, civil society organizations echoed past lessons learned in NAP reviews and identified common elements necessary to the development of a NAP that can be a tool for coherent, targeted and impactful action.[6] These elements include:

- strong leadership and effective coordination;
- inclusive design processes;
- costing and allocated budgets for implementation;
- monitoring and evaluation; and
- flexibility to adapt to emerging situations.

Strong leadership and effective coordination

Effective NAP development, implementation and monitoring require clear government commitment and leadership, both at political and technical levels.[7] The choice of government institution to conduct the coordination of the NAP is crucial, and ideally the process should be led by a high-level ministry that not only has political influence but also enjoys the confidence of women's groups. Evidence points to stronger outcomes where these processes are coordinated by line ministries such as the Ministry of Defense or Foreign Affairs, rather than the Ministry of Gender, as this can signal that the

plan is central to issues of peace and security and is mainstreamed across all relevant departments.[8]

Beyond clarity on responsibilities and coordination within the government, an issue strongly emphasized in NAP review processes and consultations for the study was the importance of effective coordination between the range of actors involved in the realization of the WPS agenda. To do this, several countries have established at the national level either a task force, or a steering committee or working group to coordinate the various ministries and other stakeholders involved.[9] Opportunities for cross-learning and good practice exchange with other countries have also proven valuable in informing the design of an effective NAP.[10]

> "For women and girls in conflict countries, all too often, governments see the resolutions as a policy document and not legally binding which translates into weak National Action Plans that do not allocate funding or support to NGOs."
>
> Respondent to the civil society survey for the Global Study, organization working at the global level in Myanmar, Iraq and the US

Inclusive processes

In addition to government leadership, effective national implementation plans and strategies require broad participation of civil society organizations, academic institutions, donor partner governments, women, men, as well as local communities and populations directly affected by conflict. These actors can make substantial contributions to the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and review of such plans.

Tensions may exist in some contexts between wide-ranging consultations and possible time and resource constraints, as well as decision-making traditions that make it difficult for governments to collaborate with civil society partners in some contexts.[11] Yet, the benefits of broad participation are too many to ignore. Inclusion can raise awareness, contribute to advocacy initiatives, and ensure a variety of perspectives on issues of security that affect diverse stakeholders. In turn, broad participation, which reinforces the right to equality and non-discrimination, makes the resulting plans and strategies more responsive to the needs and expectations on the ground, and increases the level of ownership and commitment to implementation.

There is growing good practice to build on from both non-conflict and conflict-affected settings. In the Netherlands, for example, the second NAP was co-signed by three Dutch government ministries, four research institutions and over 30 civil society organizations including multinational NGOs, women's peace movements and diaspora organizations.[12] In Sierra Leone, the year-long NAP design process began by establishing a Government-Civil Society Task Force, the WANMAR 1325 Task Force, comprised of 35 government representatives, civil society and local organizations.[13] Following the launch of the NAP, the WANMAR 1325 Task Force was transformed into a steering committee to guide the implementation process. The inclusion has facilitated strong buy-in from local-level government bodies to translate the NAP into their own contexts. Seven of the 19 sub-national local councils are currently implementing NAP activities.

In Sierra Leone, the year-long NAP design process began by establishing a Government-Civil Society Task Force, the WANMAR 1325 Task Force, comprised of 35 government representatives, civil society and local organizations.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, by emphasizing human security, the government has used the NAP as a platform to achieve meaningful change at the community level.[14] The plan has facilitated a move away from a traditional, militarized concept of national security to focus on civilian safety and protection from all forms of intimidation and threats on a daily basis. Specifically, the Agency for Gender Equality worked with local government and civil society actors, with technical support provided by the Institute for Inclusive Security, to develop local NAPs in five pilot municipalities that address women's daily security concerns, including protection from gender-based violence and discrimination, human trafficking, access to legal protection, education, healthcare, natural and economic resources, and environmental and infrastructure concerns such as recent floods, landmines, street lighting and public transportation.

Since 2010 a range of 'localization' initiatives have been implemented by the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP) and partners in Burundi, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Liberia, Nepal, the Philippines, Serbia, Sierra Leone and Uganda, with good practices emerging.[15] For example, in the Philippines, localization workshops held in 2012 inspired the inclusion of four women in the Bodong traditional peace council in the Kalinga province—a 24 member century-old council appointed by tribal elders, which until then had been exclusively male.[16] The workshops also led to government officials in the municipality of Real, Quezon province, passing a resolution guaranteeing 50 per cent women's representation in appointed posts in local governance bodies.

FOCUS ON

Nepal's national action plan: A case study of a participatory approach

The armed conflict in Nepal between government security forces and the Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist left more than 14,000 dead and 200,000 displaced.[17] Its impact on women and girls was especially devastating, including widespread sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). There was a high level of female participation in the conflict—approximately 30–40 per cent of the Maoist combatants were female, and women were also heavily involved in bringing about an end to the conflict. Despite this, Nepali women were ultimately absent from the formal peace negotiation table.[18]

In 2011, following extensive advocacy by the Nepali women's movement and the UN, and under the leadership of the Ministry of Peace and

Reconstruction (MoPR), the Government of Nepal launched its National Action Plan on Security Council resolutions 1325 and 1820. The process to develop the NAP was highly participatory from national to district level including participation by line ministries, civil society, women's organizations and external development partners. More importantly, the process included broad consultations with women and girls directly affected by conflict.

A key element of this successful participatory and consultative approach was the partnership and joint effort of the Peace Support Working Group, a consortium of development partners and UN entities, working closely with NGO and CSO networks such as CARE, Shanti Malika and Sankalpa, who had long-standing trust and good relationships with women and the wider community at the local level. Long-term support from these organizations to women's groups and their ability to facilitate participation by women to identify their social, economic and other development needs provided the basis for consultations on the NAP. Further, to strengthen oversight, a civil society "1325 Action Group" was established to monitor implementation.

The MoPR, and ministries of Federal Affairs and Local Development, with Nepali CSOs, developed NAP Localization Guidelines in 2013 with the goal of integrating activities directly into local planning processes.[19] This also led to the inclusion of resolutions 1325 and 1820 in school curricula, and in police and army training.[20] In terms of funding, the co-existence of both the Nepal Peace Trust Fund and the UN Peace Fund was instrumental to start-up implementation by line ministries, as they complemented each other in the NAP "localization" process. The Funds included support to the "District Coordination Committees" and the Local Peace Committees (LPCs), including application of gender-responsive budgeting to planning processes at the district level.

With support of the 1325 Action Group, Saathi, a national NGO, and the MoPR undertook the latest NAP Mid-Term Monitoring Report launched in October 2014.[21] The review revealed important areas of progress, including increased awareness of how the WPS agenda should inform policy implementation, resource allocation, and capacity-building of government and security officials. The WPS agenda had also increasingly been mainstreamed into wider development efforts, such as in the delivery of basic services. Further, evaluation of implementation in Far West communities showed improved attention to district level NAP implementation and to the development of local monitoring reports submitted to the MoPR. The mid-term report also documented how women have become more active as peace agents and human rights defenders, resolving conflicts at the family and community levels and assuming leadership roles that were previously considered culturally inappropriate for women.

Challenges were also reported however. There continues to be a lack of dedicated budget to address WPS-related needs, as well as weak coordination between responsible agencies. Difficulties remain in terms of strengthening day-to-day implementation of localization guidelines, which require local planning and budgeting processes to be revised to ensure that NAP activities are systematically incorporated. In addition, official and accurate data regarding conflict-affected women and survivors of SGBV is often missing, despite the fact that unofficial estimates exist. This makes it harder to push for effective action by agencies, such as the Local Peace Committees. Finally, Nepali survivors of conflict-related violence, including gender-based violence, continue to face obstacles in seeking justice and related compensation and reparations.

"Governments [must] take concrete measures [...] to implement National Action Plans. This will strengthen full and equal participation for women in post-conflict decision-making processes and positions."

Respondent to the civil society survey
for the Global Study, based in Iraq

Costing and budgeting the implementation of national action plans while managing expectations

There is resounding consensus that predictable and sustainable financing is a prerequisite for the effective realization of the WPS agenda at both national and international levels. However, a review of 47 NAPs in 2014 showed that only 11 had a specified budget, with great variation in terms of the proportion of the allocated budget.[22] Civil society groups expressed a great sense of frustration and cynicism in this regard, about NAPs just being pieces of paper and idealized concepts that will not work in underdeveloped societies.[23] Unless plans were realistically drafted and funded, and expectations properly managed, there was a danger of them falling into disuse and only fueling cynicism within society.

To guarantee sustainable funding, a comprehensive and realistic costing of NAPs must be carried out from the planning stage, and specific funding earmarked for their implementation. Here, a preliminary institutional audit can be helpful, providing a government with specific information that addresses stakeholders' resource and capacity constraints so as to help establish clear lines of responsibilities and accountability. Countries including Ireland, Norway, Rwanda, Sweden and the UK have carried out institutional audits prior to beginning their NAP development processes. In the UK, a preliminary audit helped to identify existing initiatives and remaining gaps in gender-related activities across the government.[24] Clearly allocated budgets and responsibilities, which both include and benefit civil society organizations, are a good indicator of existing commitments. At the same time, some departments may back out of specific commitments for lack of funding.[25]

Partnerships with bilateral, regional and multilateral agencies can provide an avenue to generate wider political and sometimes financial support for the national application of WPS resolutions and thus increase chances of success. This is especially needed in conflict and post-conflict countries, where the government's ability to fully finance their commitments under NAPs is likely to be limited.

> "Success is still limited, due to absence of strong in-country monitoring systems. Mostly programs are conducted in capitals in center with very limited spread in the regions."
>
> Respondent to the civil society survey for the Global Study, working in conflict areas of Armenia/Azerbaijan

In some settings, such as Burundi for example, a Multi-Stakeholder Financing Mechanism has been set up to support implementation. This has, however, been challenged by limited continuity and buy-in from various stakeholders.[26] In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the dedicated NAP-funding mechanism supported by Austria, Sweden and Switzerland, and other international organizations including UN Women, UNDP, NATO, the European Union Police Mission (EUPM), and the European Union force (EUFOR), has proven fundamental to translating words into meaningful action.[27] While donors should continue to provide predictable, long-term and substantial financial and other resources, the role of the United Nations—including through South-South cooperation and capacity building for both governments and civil society—is also crucial. In addition, innovative sources of funding and support, including from the private sector, should be considered.

FOCUS ON

Financing for the implementation of national action plans

In 2013, Cordaid and GNWP conducted a survey[28] among Member States that have adopted National Action Plans (NAPs), to establish the current financing landscape of such plans. A number of common concerns and priorities were put forward by the respondents that participated in the survey. In particular, the findings reaffirmed the urgency of adequate, sustained and dedicated financing for the effective implementation of NAPs as well as the broader WPS agenda.

The main survey findings showed that:[29]

- The majority of governments do not earmark funding for either the development or implementation of NAPs.
- The sources and sustainability of financing for NAP implementation vary greatly, with implications for tracking, monitoring and accountability.
- Many governments finance the implementation of their NAPs based on shifting national priorities and do not fund all pillars adequately.
- Mechanisms for tracking and monitoring NAP financing are often non-existent or inadequate.
- While many governments employ gender-responsive budgeting, the particular approach used varies, with funding for NAP implementation typically not guaranteed.
- The critical role of civil society—particularly women's rights organizations, networks and movements—in NAP development and implementation is not adequately supported, resourced or recognized.
- There is an expressed interest in contributing to funding a Multi-Stakeholder Financing Mechanism for NAP implementation (a suggestion that has been captured within the proposal for the Global Acceleration Instrument for Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Action; see Chapter 13: *Financing* WPS).

Establishing robust frameworks for monitoring, reporting and evaluation

For NAPs to show concrete results in the lives of women, girls and their communities, their actual impact should be systematically monitored and regularly assessed. An effective monitoring and evaluation system can help improve policies and programmes, strengthen commitment and partnerships, encourage accountability, and build a foundation for sustainable investments.[30] Establishing such a system must take place necessarily at the planning stage, alongside a comprehensive context analysis and assessment of different factors, actors, risks and needs. The context analysis serves to create a baseline critical for future monitoring and evaluation.

In Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Rwanda, for example, the formulation of NAPs was preceded by baseline analyses using information gathered at the community level.[31] In Rwanda, such analysis revealed the feminization of poverty as one of the key underlying structural problems women face on a daily basis, a factor that impedes the full implementation of resolution 1325. This observation provided an important foundation for post-conflict programming that could then tackle structural obstacles to women's empowerment while also aiding the post-conflict transitional process.[32]

Since 2010, greater emphasis has been given to the development of indicators, benchmarks and targets that help measure progress on NAP implementation and improve reporting. For example, in 2009, only six of 15 NAPs (40 per cent) included result indicators. By 2014, out of 47 NAPs reviewed, 30 contained indicators for monitoring progress (close to 64 per cent), and 19 had measurable targets, all of which included quotas on women's participation in conflict prevention, protection, governance and recovery.[33] In addition, the submission of an annual implementation progress report to parliament is an emerging good practice. This could be further strengthened by making a version of the progress report available to the public. In three countries, Liberia, Nigeria and the US, NAP progress is reported directly to the President.[34]

The role of civil society in collecting up-to-date information on the situation of women affected by conflict, as well as in maintaining the momentum for NAP implementation, is well recognized. While the majority of NAPs include provisions for civil society involvement, the level of direct participation in monitoring and reporting varies. For example, in countries such as Austria, Australia, Belgium, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Liberia, the Netherlands and the US, civil society can produce shadow reports and/or are invited to comment on annual implementation reports as part of national monitoring mechanisms. In Australia, this takes the form of a civil society report card that is presented annually in conjunction with the Australian NAP's progress reports.[35] In Chile, the government recently committed to creating a space for public dialogue with civil society in order to close the existing gaps in implementing its second NAP launched in 2015.[36]

"NAPs, national consultations and monitoring, [have] opened new opportunities for women's participation in peacebuilding and conflict prevention on one side and protection of women and girls from violence on the other."

Respondent to the civil society survey for the Global Study, working in conflict areas around the globe

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving forward beyond 2015: Proposals for action

All relevant actors—Member States, civil society, donors, and multilateral agencies—should:

✓ Document best practices, and promote and adopt global standards for the design, monitoring and implementation of high-impact NAPs, and other women, peace and security domestication tools, building on lessons learned across the areas of: a) leadership and coordination, b) inclusion and collaboration with civil society, c) costing and financing, d) monitoring and evaluation, and e) flexibility and adaptability of plans.

✓ Strengthen national and global reporting mechanisms for monitoring progress in the development and implementation of NAPs, to enhance transparency and facilitate exchange of learning, and scale up good practice.

Member States should:

✓ Support and invest in participatory processes, social accountability tools and localization initiatives to link global, national and local efforts and ensure the voices of the most affected and marginalized populations inform and shape relevant responses and monitoring of progress.

✓ Provide capacity building and support the development, financing, implementation and monitoring of NAPs in conflict-affected countries that lack the resources to initiate and sustain a NAP development and implementation process, through partnerships, bilateral and multilateral cooperation, including through North-South, South-South and triangular cooperation, and with civil society.

The UN should:

✓ Facilitate the establishment, by the UN Standing Committee on Women, Peace and Security, of a comprehensive and accessible database of NAPs to share good practices, lessons learned, and ensure transparency and accountability.

✓ Ensure the proposed new Assistant Secretary-General for Crisis and Conflict role at UN Women includes a specific focus on monitoring and reporting on NAPs.

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REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolution 1820

Urges appropriate regional and sub-regional bodies in particular to consider developing and implementing policies, activities, and advocacy for the benefit of women and girls affected by sexual violence in armed conflict

Resolution 1888

Urges the Secretary General, Member States and the heads of regional organizations to take measures to increase the representation of women in mediation processes and decision-making processes with regard to conflict resolution and peacebuilding

2008

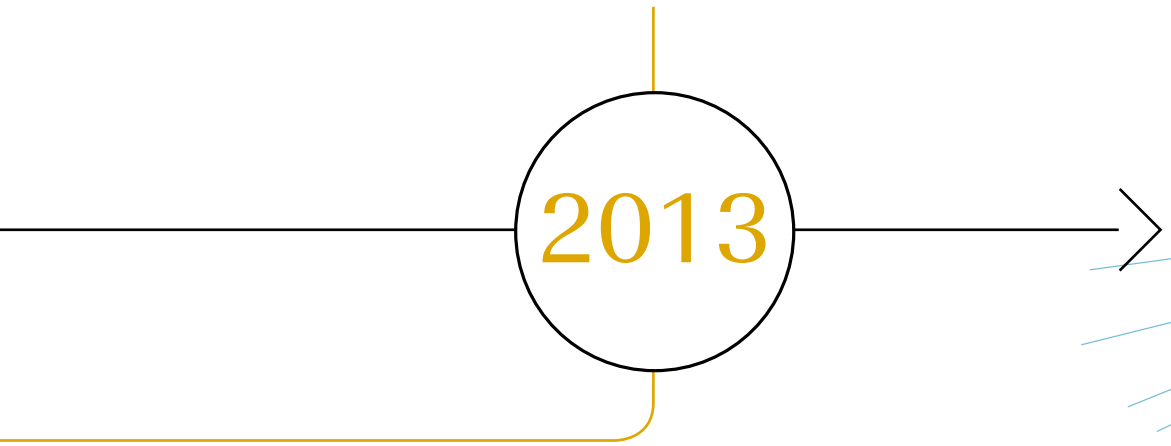
2009

Resolution 2106

Reiterates the importance of addressing sexual violence in armed conflict whenever relevant, in mediation efforts, ceasefires and peace agreements; requests the Secretary-General, Member States and regional organizations, where appropriate, to ensure that mediators and envoys [...] engage on sexual violence issues,

Resolution 2122

Further recognizes with concern that without a significant implementation shift, women and women's perspectives will continue to be underrepresented in conflict prevention, resolution, protection and peacebuilding for the foreseeable future, and as such encourages those Member States, regional organizations as appropriate, and United Nations entities [...] to start reviewing existing implementation plans and targets



including with women, civil society, including women's organizations and survivors of sexual violence, and ensure that such concerns are reflected in specific provisions of peace agreements, including those related to security arrangements and transitional justice mechanisms

Since 2000, the magnitude and complexity of global security threats, crises and intra-state conflicts that frequently spill across borders have prompted an increase in regional approaches to security management, peacemaking, protection and prevention. Cooperation in the area of peace and security between the United Nations and regional and sub-regional organizations such as the African Union (AU) and the European Union (EU) has intensified, with specific application in countries such as the Central African Republic, Mali, Somalia and Sudan, and with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Afghanistan. The adoption in 2013 of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region[1] by 11 countries under the auspices of the AU, the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the United Nations is one concrete example of intensified cooperation and new partnerships.

> "How can political, economic and social institutions be strengthened in such a manner that they work harmoniously to replace the legacy of conflict and violence with a new, inclusive and more people-centred order of relations in support of achieving sustainable development?"
>
> **Rosa Emilia Salmanca**, keynote remarks, UN General Assembly Thematic Debate on "Ensuring Stable and Peaceful Societies," 24 April 2014

Regional consultations for this Study highlighted the numerous ways in which regional and sub-regional organizations have integrated global women, peace and security commitments within their security, crisis-response, human rights or peacebuilding efforts since 2000. This includes: the adoption of specific regional policy frameworks, monitoring tools and action plans; development of jurisprudence on women's rights; appointment of high-level representatives to drive action on women, peace and security; closer engagement with women's organizations to strengthen early warning systems; and interventions to boost technical gender expertise within these regional organizations. Analysis indicates, however, that progress made by these initiatives—and the leadership support they receive—is highly uneven across regions and sub-regions. As a consequence, the results on the ground remain mixed or too recent to properly assess.

REGIONAL POLICIES AND ACTION PLANS ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

As of May 2015, five organizations—the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS),[2] the EU,[3] the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD),[4] NATO,[5] and the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF)[6] —had adopted dedicated regional action plans (RAPs) on women, peace and security. Other notable regional initiatives since 2010 include:

- the development of a strategy on 'Protection of Arab Women: Peace and Security' by the League of Arab States (which is to be complemented by a regional action plan on women, peace and security in 2015);[7]
- the adoption of an action plan for the implementation of resolution 1325 in support of the

Stronger take-up of the WPS agenda by key regional organizations has contributed to an increase in related NAPs by Member States.

Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and the Region; and

- the AU's launch of a new major five-year Gender, Peace and Security Programme for 2015-2020.[8]

Increasingly, regional organizations have improved sector-specific guidance and strategic planning tools that integrate women's human rights and gender perspectives, including in areas such as mediation, security sector reform, transitional justice, disaster risk reduction and countering violent extremism; building on global normative frameworks on women, peace and security.

Regional and sub-regional policies and action plans on women, peace and security can be complementary and mutually reinforcing to national action plans (NAPs), as well as to other national and regional human rights and related sectoral policies and action plans. They can help promote peace and security in the context of cross-border conflicts, for example the monitoring of pastoralist conflicts in the Horn of Africa's region; the facilitation of dialogue between Serbia and Kosovo by the European Union, and efforts by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 2011 that resulted in the cessation of violence along the Thai-Cambodian border. They provide opportunities to share limited resources and build on neighbors' experiences, often in similar historical, cultural, and socio-economic contexts.[9] They also may give access to groups who may have no voice nationally because of structural issues or discrimination, for example through mechanisms such as the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and the European Court of Human Rights. The effectiveness of RAPs, however, depends largely on a number of factors including: the political commitment underpinning their implementation; the existence of a conducive environment; the involvement and strength of civil society; adequate financial, human and technical resources; coordinated implementation; and a strong regional monitoring and evaluation system.

In a number of regions, stronger take-up of the WPS agenda by key regional organizations has contributed to an increase in related NAPs by Member States. For instance, in West Africa, where Member States committed to the development of NAPs in the ECOWAS regional action plan, 12 out of 15 countries developed these plans within three years of its adoption. In the EU, by May 2015, 17 out of 28 Member States had developed NAPs and a number supplemented these with additional policy guidance related to women, peace and security. In the Pacific Islands region, the RAP guided the development of national plans in the Solomon Islands and the Bougainville Autonomous Region of Papua New Guinea. Regional organizations can also play a key role in capturing and sharing lessons learned and good practices across their Member States. The OSCE, for example, in cooperation with the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) published a study analyzing the 27 NAPs in the region, highlighting good practices, gaps and challenges.[10] OSCE, along with UN Women and partners also informed the NAP development process in the Ukraine initiated in 2015.

IMPROVING THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The promotion of women's human rights, leadership and meaningful participation is core to advancing regional organizations' global and regional commitments, as well as the recruitment and appointment of women to senior positions.

Data shows an overall upward trend in the representation of women in senior positions in regional organizations since 2012,[11] although spotty data availability prevents more robust trend analysis, and much of the data that does exist points to continued low levels of women's representation in key areas of staffing. Information provided by NATO for instance showed that women held six out of 38 executive leadership positions (16 per cent) at NATO headquarters12 as of December 2014, and two out of seven in country offices (28 per cent). In addition, one of the two NATO Special Representative positions was held by a woman, bringing the overall rate of women holding leadership positions to 19 per cent—still low. In the EU's External Action Service (EEAS) women held three out of 28 headquarters-based executive positions (11 per cent) and 31 out of 135 positions in country offices and missions (23 per cent). Although one of the two EEAS mediators in 2014 was a woman, women held only one out of 10 (10 per cent) of the special envoy and representative positions.[13]

In the case of the Pacific Island Forum Secretariat, women held four out of seven headquarters-based executive positions (57 per cent), but the rate of female special representatives or envoys was low—five per cent (just two out of 36).[14] Notable achievements have been made by the AU Commission. Not only has parity been reached among its Commissioners, but in terms of top leadership, the appointment of Ms. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as the AU Commission Chairperson in 2012 signaled an important shift in female representation.

FOCUS ON

Building capacity on gender within NATO

NATO's efforts in implementing resolution 1325 and related commitments on women, peace and security have led to considerable strengthening of gender expertise and capacity within the organization. A 2012 review found that whilst a robust policy platform had been established, the challenge lay in putting the policies into practice throughout the entire organization.[15] Among other things, the review recommended that every Commander's initial mission analysis be informed by resolution 1325, and that relevant planning, report and assessment tools be revised to include a gender perspective.

The Resolute Support Mission in Afghanistan was a key step forward in this context. Its planning process showed that integrating a gender perspective is no longer an afterthought but part of the entire planning cycle, from political decision-making to development of the Operational Plan and generation of forces. The Resolute Support Mission was also the first mission where Allies and Partner Nations made the required gender expertise available at all levels from the very start of the mission.[16]

A well-functioning network of gender advisors and focal points are now in place across both civilian and military elements of NATO institutions and field commands. Gender advisor posts are fully established and budgeted, and advisors are trained at the Nordic Center for Gender in Military Operations.[17] In recent years, much has also been invested in developing and improving gender training for all categories of staff, including pre-deployment training, to raise awareness about the responsibilities of all staff to implement commitments on women, peace and security and build their capacity to do so.

International organizations must support local organizations by building their capabilities and strengthening their international position to be effective internationally, regionally, and locally.

Respondent to the civil society survey for the Global Study, based in Iraq

BUILDING GENDER EXPERTISE

The adoption of resolution 1325 and related global commitments on women, peace and security have had a tangible influence on the gender-responsiveness and architecture of regional security organizations. Within the OSCE it added momentum for creating support mechanisms such as a Gender Section in the Secretariat, a Gender Unit within the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, and the establishment of a Gender Focal Point System throughout the Organization. A notable development was the inclusion of a gender advisor at the very outset of the establishment of the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission in Ukraine after the 2014 crisis.[18] Similarly, the AU established civilian protection and gender units in its field missions, for example in Somalia (AMISOM) and in Darfur (UNAMID) and included gender experts in post-conflict needs assessment teams.

The EU's work on women, peace and security is supported by gender advisors and focal points in different sections at its headquarters, as well as by the informal EU Task Force on Security Council resolution 1325, consisting of representatives of EU Member States and institutions. At present, all of the 16 Common Security and Defense Policy missions currently deployed by the EU have either a gender advisor or a focal point who, in the majority of missions, also cover other interrelated issues such as women's human rights.[19]

Regional envoys have increasingly been appointed to coordinate and drive action. These high-level dedicated posts have demonstrated real impacts for their respective organizations.

HIGH-LEVEL REPRESENTATIVES OR ENVOYS ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

The appointments of dedicated advocates have also contributed to strengthening collaboration and partnerships between these organizations and the UN, as manifested through the adoption of Memorandums of Understanding, joint missions and initiatives. Regional envoys have increasingly been appointed to coordinate and drive action.[20] These high-level dedicated posts have demonstrated real impacts for their respective organizations. The NATO Secretary General appointed the first Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security in August 2012 to serve as the high-level focal point on all aspects of NATO's contributions to the WPS agenda. The position has now been formalized into a permanent NATO senior staff position within the office of the Secretary General.[21] As at June 2015, discussions were underway on the appointment of a similar position within the EU. Further, in January 2014, Bineta Diop was appointed the first Special Envoy for Women, Peace and Security of the African Union Chairperson.

EXPANDING CAPACITY TO MONITOR AND EVALUATE RESULTS

Since 2010, regional and sub-regional organizations have strengthened their efforts to build systems for monitoring progress, evaluating results and sharing good practice on the implementation of the WPS agenda. For example:

- The Council of the EU has adopted a set of indicators to assess progress on their Comprehensive Approach to the implementation of Security Council resolutions 1325 and 1820.[22] Building on lessons learned in compiling data, these are currently under review to enhance measurability and effectiveness.

FOCUS ON

The first year of the AU Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security

> *"Achieving our goal of silencing the guns by 2020 requires a complete paradigm shift. We need to think out of the box, we need to innovate, to build solidarity, chains among women, to reach out to traditional leaders, religious leaders, involve our men and educate our boys."*
>
> **Bineta Diop**, Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission.

Since her appointment in 2014, Special Envoy Bineta Diop has been working to promote an end to the victimization of women and children during conflicts, and to advocate for women's participation in peacebuilding and state-building processes. In her first year, the Special Envoy's approach focused on understanding the realities of conflict-affected communities through direct interactions to hear their views.

She undertook solidarity missions to the Central African Republic, Nigeria and Somalia. In Nigeria, her visit lent visibility to the efforts of Nigerian women in their fight for the release of the Chibok girls, as well as highlighted the importance of education for girls in the face of the Boko Haram onslaught against education.[23] In the Central Africa Republic, her joint visit with UN Women Executive Director, Dr. Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, in May 2014, led to a joint plan of action between the UN and AU for support to women's participation in forthcoming elections, rule of law reform and transition mechanisms.

In March 2014, the Special Envoy was appointed to the AU Commission of Inquiry on South Sudan. Her engagement facilitated close interactions with South Sudanese women, ensuring there was specific focus on the crimes committed against them during the conflict, and reinforcing the importance of women's involvement in the peace process. In December 2014, the AU Peace and Security Council urged the African Commission, through the coordination of the Office of the Special Envoy, to formulate a Continental Results Framework to monitor the implementation by AU Member States and other relevant stakeholders of commitments on women, peace and security in Africa.

- NATO included a monitoring and evaluation framework with indicators in its 2014 Action Plan for policy implementation on women, peace and security. As part of a stronger commitment to monitoring and reporting, Allies and Partner Nations are briefed every six months on progress made, and the NATO Secretary-General is obliged to publish an Annual Report on the implementation of the Policy on Women, Peace and Security.[24]

- In 2015, the AU initiated the development of a Continental Results Framework on Women, Peace and Security in Africa. This will build on the notable policy-level advancements across the continent in recent years, and will include recommendations for improving institutional capacities for sex-disaggregated data collection, particularly in fragile and post-conflict settings, including through the deployment of gender experts, capacity building and technology development, and by strengthening national statistical institutions.[25]

Further opportunities for cross-learning and information sharing should be explored. These could include mechanisms for the dissemination of women, peace and security-related statistics and other information collected at global, regional and national levels; and stronger engagement of beneficiaries in the design, implementation and evaluation of projects and programmes. One area where little comparable information is available, that would benefit from greater information sharing and cooperation, is the financing of regional initiatives on women, peace and security. More must also be done to formally engage and partner with local women peace leaders, women's human rights defenders and other civil society organizations in the work of regional organizations. Such engagement and partnership can usefully contribute to strengthening regional and national efforts of implementation of the global WPS agenda, as well as monitoring of implementation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

Member States should:

- ✓ Ensure adequate funding and political will to effectively implement regional policies and action plans on women, peace and security, as well as other interrelated policies, sector-specific action plans and strategies.
- ✓ Support and fund the attendance and meaningful participation of civil society organizations in regional decision-making processes

Regional organizations should:

- ✓ Appoint high-level women, peace and security representatives to drive implementation at the regional level, building on the experience of the AU and NATO.
- ✓ Establish channels for women leaders and civil society organizations to systematically contribute to the conflict-prevention and peacebuilding work of regional organizations, including by establishing regional advisory bodies of women peace leaders.
- ✓ Build regional capacity for monitoring and reporting on progress in the implementation of the WPS agenda.
- ✓ Increase engagement and interaction with international and regional human rights mechanisms to ensure full consideration of women's human rights, a central component of the WPS agenda.
- ✓ Establish a network of women's human rights and gender advisors and focal points to further mainstream gender perspectives across all workstreams.

Regional organizations and the UN should:

- ✓ Collaborate to establish avenues for cross-learning and information exchange on gender-sensitive priorities and concerns pertaining to the implementation of the WPS agenda, including by integrating these issues in joint dialogues and intergovernmental meetings on cooperation between the UN and regional organizations in the areas of peacemaking, preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping and peacebuilding—such as the regularly scheduled meetings between the UN Security Council and AU and EU.

REFERENCES

1. "A Framework of Hope: The Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Region" (Office of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region of Africa, 2013).
2. The ECOWAS first Plan of Action for the implementation of UNSCRs 1325 and 1820 was adopted in Dakar, Senegal in September 2010, during the celebration of the 10th Anniversary of resolution 1325 (2000).
3. In 2008, the EU adopted the "Comprehensive Approach to the EU implementation of the UNSCRs 1325 and 1820 on WPS" which in 2010 was complemented by a set of indicators that form the basis for reporting on implementation.
4. The IGAD-RAP for 2011- 2015 to implement UNSCRs 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2008) was one of the core outcomes of the IGAD Women and Peace Conference held between 26th and 29th April 2011 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
5. A revised NATO policy and Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security were developed in 2014 with NATO's partners in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), as well as with Afghanistan, Australia, Japan, Jordan and the United Arab Emirates, and with New Zealand as an associate. All together 50 Nations have signed up for the Policy and Action Plan.
6. The Pacific Regional Action Plan: Women, Peace and Security, adopted in 2012, covers the period 2012-2015. A Pacific Islands Forum Reference Group was established to provide oversight and initial funding was obtained from Australia to support its implementation.
7. "The Arab Region Report on the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 and The Regional Strategy on Protecting Women in the Arab Region" (League of Arab States, June 2015).
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11. See, e.g., "Report of the Secretary-General: Women and Peace and Security," UN Doc. S/2014/693 (United Nations Security Council, September 23, 2014).
12. This covers NATO headquarters international staff, excluding International Military Staff and Delegations.
13. "European Union - Input to the Global Study on Women, Peace and Security" (European Union, March 2015).
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15. "Review of the Practical Implications of UNSCR 1325 for the Conduct of NATO-Led Operations and Missions" (NATO, Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations, Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI), 2013).
16. "Submission of NATO to the Global Study" (North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), March 23, 2015), 4.
17. Ibid., 10.
18. Ormhaug, "OSCE Study on National Action Plans on the Implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325."
19. "European Union - Input to the Global Study on Women, Peace and Security," 13.
20. These appointments are mirrored at the national level, with ambassadors in countries including the United States, Australia and Sweden working as dedicated advocates for gender equality.
21. "Submission of NATO to the Global Study," 5. Following Norwegian diplomat Mari Skåre, Dutch diplomat Marriët Schuurman was appointed the NATO Secretary General's Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security in October 2014.
22. For a full list of indicators, see "Indicators for the Comprehensive Approach to the EU Implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on Women," July 14, 2010. Data is compiled and reported bi-annually, but availability is still low for some of the indicators.
23. "Report of the Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission" (African Union Commission, January 30, 2014).
24. "Submission of NATO to the Global Study," 4.
25. "Towards a Continental Results Framework on Women, Peace and Security in Africa," Recommendations from High Level Side Event to the 59th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (Conference Room 11, UN HQ: Office of the Special Advisor on Africa (OSAA), African Union (AU), UN Department of Public Information (DPI), UN Women, NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS), March 10, 2015).

THE UNITED NATIONS

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolution 1325

Further urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel

Resolution 1888

Expresses its intention to ensure that resolutions to establish or renew peacekeeping mandates contain provisions, as appropriate, on the prevention of, and response to, sexual violence, with corresponding reporting requirements to the Council

2000 2008 2009

Resolution 1820

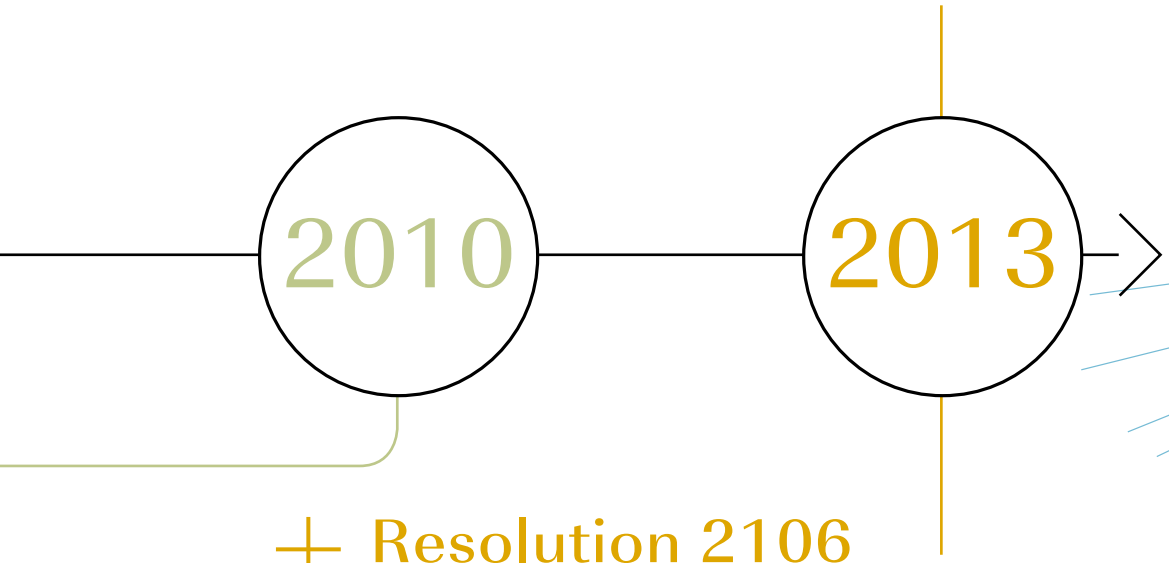
Requests the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to encourage dialogue to address this issue (sexual violence) in the context of broader discussions of conflict resolution between appropriate UN officials and the parties to the conflict, taking into account, interalia, the views expressed by women of affected local communities

Resolution 1960

Requests the Secretary-General to track and monitor implementation of these commitments by parties to armed conflict on the Security Council's agenda that engage in patterns of rape and other sexual violence, and regularly update the Council in relevant reports and briefings

Resolution 2122

Requests the Secretary-General to strengthen the knowledge of negotiating delegations to peace talks, and members of mediation support teams, on the gender dimensions of peacebuilding, by making gender expertise and gender experts available to all United Nations mediation teams



Resolution 2106

Recognizes the distinct role of Gender Advisors in ensuring that gender perspectives are mainstreamed in policies, planning and implementation by all mission elements; calls upon the Secretary-General to continue to deploy Gender Advisors to the relevant United Nations peacekeeping and political missions as well as humanitarian operations and to ensure comprehensive gender training of all relevant peacekeeping and civilian personnel

Perhaps the most visible progress made in the area of women, peace and security over the past decade and a half has been a near universal recognition of the critical role of women in preventing and responding to conflict, and building peace. This shift is evidenced in the growth of the normative framework in the Security Council, the integration of these norms into the work of other UN bodies, the accelerated creation of national action plans on women, peace and security, and the evocation of these commitments in statements of Member State delegates during deliberations and debates. As just one example of this, when the Security Council convened an Arria formula meeting in January 2014 to hear the views of Syrian women on the conflict in their country—a convening that itself would have been unlikely just five years ago—participation in the meeting was at ambassador level for most Council members, and each seemed to read from the script; reiterating the need for an inclusive process and noting the importance of women's participation. While a growth in norms, policy, and rhetoric cannot on its own lead to the impactful change needed on the ground in conflict-affected countries, it establishes standards against which key actors can be held to account, measuring their actions against their own commitments and rhetoric.

The UN, as a body responsible for establishing these global norms, has a particular responsibility to ensure their full implementation within its own efforts, and provide a model of leadership for others. In line with this, the UN has gradually integrated commitments on gender equality, women's human rights, and empowerment into entity-specific policies, guidance, training, monitoring and reporting. More entities are employing technical gender expertise to inform their work. At headquarters, there has been a push to develop common frameworks to monitor the UN's work in this area, and to improve accountability. And at the highest levels, increased attention has gone towards improving the gender balance of the UN workforce, including in leadership positions.

> "Advancing the cause of women, peace and security must be integral to our peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding efforts, not an afterthought."
>
> **Ban Ki-moon**,
> United Nations Secretary-General

Despite this progress, global consultations for this Study revealed that these efforts are still seen as lacking, with limited perceived impact on the ground. Those consulted shared the view that the expectations of where the UN should stand with regards to progress in the implementation of the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda are considerably higher than the results to date. In responses to a global civil society survey undertaken as a contribution to this Study and the 2015 High-Level Review,[1] slightly over half of respondents indicated that the UN works too much with larger organizations and not enough with grassroots organizations, and that processes are too slow and bureaucratic. Furthermore, almost one third of respondents saw lack of coordination between UN entities and donor countries on the ground as a major challenge. These views from those who should be the beneficiaries of the WPS agenda point to the need for much more to be done to integrate gender and women's participation in all areas of the UN's peace and security efforts. New and innovative ways of working should be sought which prioritize

outcomes, address specific obstacles to women's participation, make more effective use of existing capacities and resources, scale up investments, and demonstrate more effective senior leadership to bring the UN in line with expectations and ensure that it is indeed 'fit for purpose' in the current context.

This chapter examines three distinct but interconnected areas where the UN system must focus greater attention to effectively accelerate implementation of the WPS agenda: enhancing system-wide accountability, coordination and coherence; increasing women's representation and leadership both at headquarters and in the field; and strengthening the UN's gender architecture.

IMPROVING SYSTEMS FOR MONITORING PROGRESS AND COORDINATING ACTION

In October 2010, in a ministerial-level meeting of the Security Council, the Secretary-General pledged the development of a more comprehensive and measurable approach to implementing resolution 1325 (2000) in the UN system. This was in response to a global call for enhanced accountability and action.[2] A number of key initiatives have been established since then. These include the Secretary-General's Seven-Point Action Plan on Gender-Responsive Peacebuilding , the set of indicators to track the implementation of resolution 1325, and the UN's Strategic Results Framework on Women, Peace and Security, all of which are closely related.

FOCUS ON

UN monitoring and accountability frameworks on women, peace and security

The Secretary-General's Seven-Point Action Plan for Gender-Responsive Peacebuilding[3] sets out the most tangible set of targets to date across the following areas: mediation, post-conflict planning and financing, governance, rule of law and women's economic recovery. Notably, under the area of financing, the Secretary-General committed the UN system to allocate at least 15 per cent of UN-managed funds in support of peacebuilding to projects that address women's specific needs, advance gender equality or empower women as their principal objective. The action plan was endorsed by the UN Policy Committee, and the Secretary-General included its implementation among his priorities for his second term. As of September 2013, 12 UN Country Teams had volunteered to spearhead implementation of the plan.[4] The global set of indicators to track implementation of resolution 1325 was developed at the request of the Security Council[5] and presented in October 2010 as an annex to the annual Secretary-General report on women, peace and security.[6] The set includes 26 indicators.[7] Several Member States and regional organizations have adapted indicators from this set to their own national/regional needs and are including them in their own monitoring frameworks, including national action plans on women, peace and security.[8]

To further guide the UN's own implementation of resolution 1325, the Security Council requested the development of a strategic framework.[9] This resulted in the UN Strategic Results Framework (SRF) on Women, Peace and Security.[10] The SRF measures progress attained by UN entities across several functional areas including: gender expertise and gender balance; planning and financing; the promotion of women's participation, security and their rights; monitoring and reporting; and consultative mechanisms with women leaders and groups.[11]

Each of these UN accountability frameworks has contributed to better quality information on progress, implementation trends and good practices across a range of areas.[12] They have also cast a light on areas of stagnation and regression, such as women's representation in managerial positions in the UN system, the financing of the WPS agenda and weaknesses in the UN gender architecture.

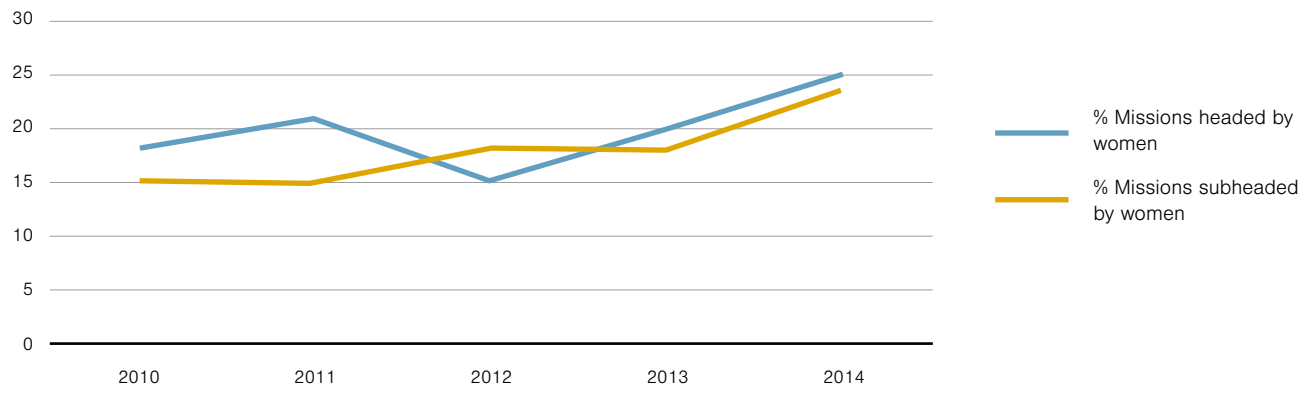
An internal assessment of the above-mentioned monitoring frameworks explored how to use the findings effectively to inform policy change, planning, resource allocation and programming.[13] Key findings include the limited usability of the frameworks for accountability and advocacy purposes owing to the existence of three separate but related UN frameworks on the same issue. In addition, several of the targets and indicators attached to these frameworks are complex and—as currently framed—immeasurable. Progress to date is most visible within entities that have benefited from senior leadership support and managed to integrate system-wide commitments into entity-specific frameworks and tools.[14] Harmonizing the various frameworks, refining indicators and targets, separating progress from outcome measures and securing the necessary political support from each of the responsible entities as well as from senior UN leadership would make a significant difference in implementation.

ENSURING THE UN IS LEADING BY EXAMPLE: REPRESENTATION AND LEADERSHIP

Women's representation among UN staff

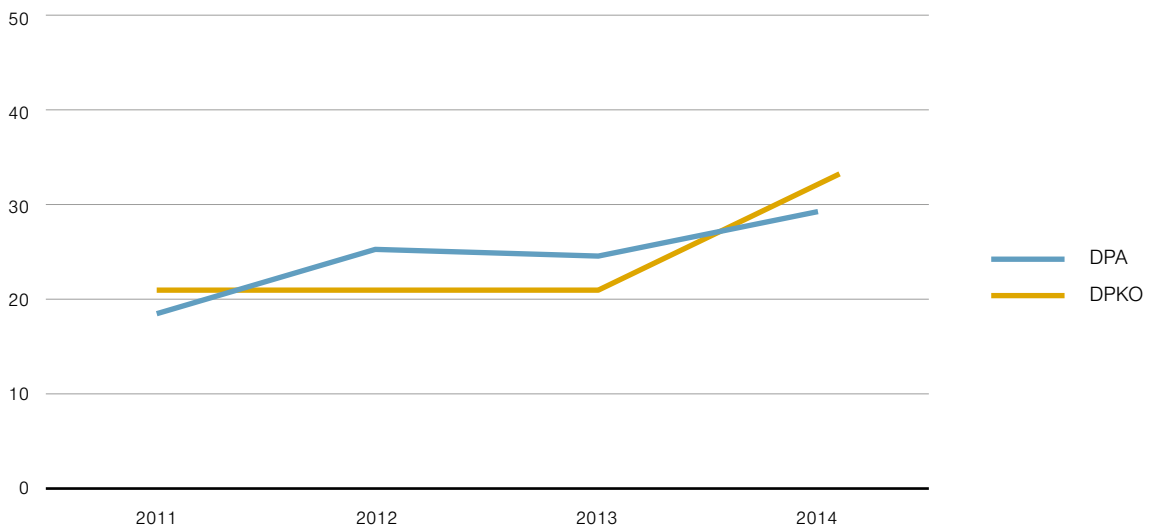
In 1987, Dame Margaret Anstee became the first woman to be named an Under-Secretary-General of the UN (USG)—42 years after the organization's founding.[15] Since then, more women have been appointed to senior leadership positions, particularly as heads of missions. In the last decade, driven by the Secretary-General's commitment to this issue, the numbers are markedly higher. The proportion of peacekeeping and special political missions headed by women has fluctuated since 2011, with rates between 15 to 25 per cent.[16] An all-time high was reached by DPKO in May 2015 with almost 40 per cent of peacekeeping missions led by a woman. There has also been a positive trend in the number of women deputy-heads: in 2011 only 15 per cent of field missions were deputy-headed by women; by 2014 this number had reached 24 per cent although it declined once more to 19 per cent as of January 2015. There is a considerable way to go however to reach gender parity, called for as a goal by 2015, in the positions of special representatives and special envoys,[17] and the overall pace of progress across all levels of UN staff has remained slow.

Peacekeeping and Special Political Missions headed and subheaded by women[18]



In peacekeeping missions, the share of managerial positions (P5 to D2) held by women shifted upwards from a constant 21 per cent between 2011 and 2013, to 33.4 per cent in 2014.[19] Similarly, in special political missions the rates shifted upwards from 18 to 29 per cent between 2011 and 2014. While this ascending trend is positive, faster change is possible. For example, UNAIDS launched its Gender Action Plan with an emphasis on accountability and career development, which resulted in an 8 per cent increase in P5 representation, and an almost 50 per cent increase in female heads of country offices in only one year, from 2013 to 2014.

Percentage of women in P5 to D2 positions in peacekeeping and special political missions[20]

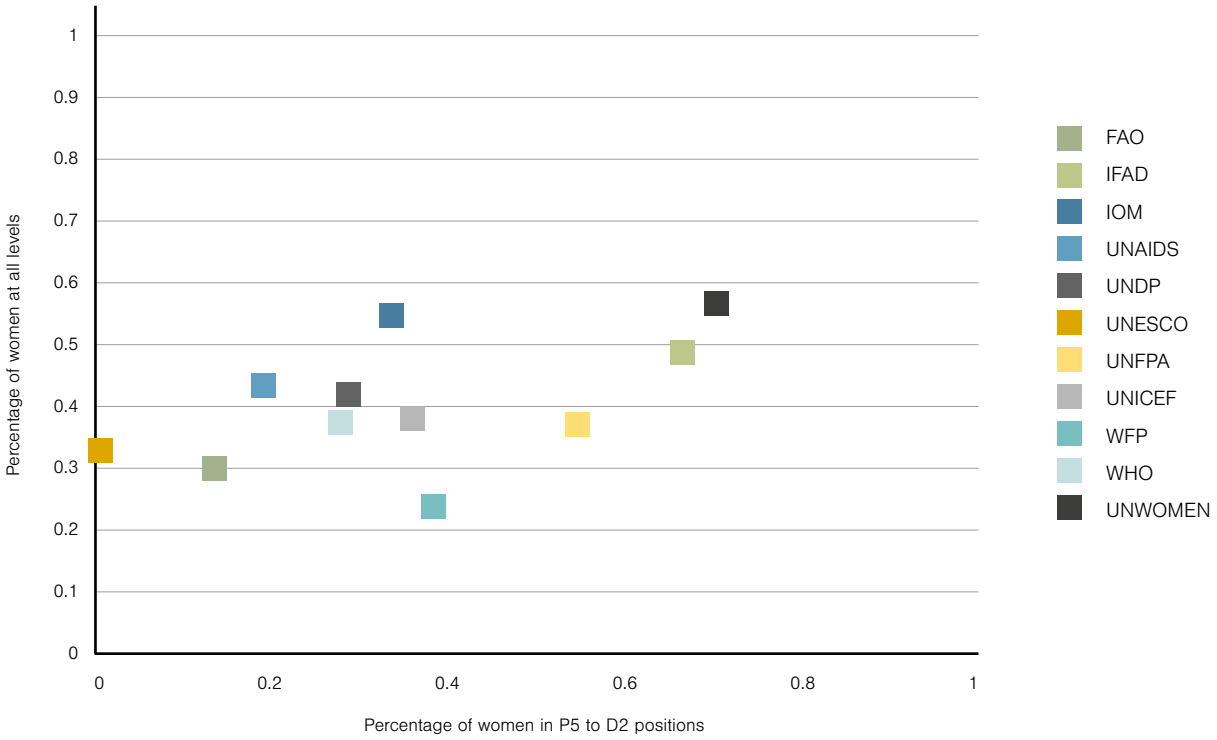


In other UN entities working in conflict and post-conflict countries,[21] the proportion of women in managerial positions varies widely, with entities such as IFAD, UNFPA or UN Women reaching or even surpassing gender parity, and others such as UNESCO, FAO and UNAIDS falling below the 20 per cent mark.[22] Most notably, the Secretariat's gender balance in conflict and post-conflict field settings is significantly worse than that of other large UN entities such as UNHCR, WFP, UNICEF, UNFPA, and UNDP, and underperforms NATO, the World Bank, the European Union, and IOM in the overall percentage of women working in conflict and post-conflict locations.

UNDP and UNAIDS scored high on gender balance, reporting overall female representation rates beyond 40 per cent.[23] However, in both organizations more women were concentrated in the lower level posts—in UNAIDS, female representation in managerial level posts was as low as 18 per cent. This was the case in most reporting organizations in 2014: the rates of female representation was larger in lower professional positions (P4 and below), with the exceptions of IFAD, UNFPA, WFP, and UN Women, where more women were represented in managerial posts than overall in the organization. The only two entities that reported parity or beyond parity rates of female representation at all levels were IOM and UN Women.

Gender balance that is tipped in the other direction (i.e. 'beyond parity') can also be problematic however, particularly when it relates to those working on gender issues specifically. Having only women working on women, peace and security sends the incorrect signal that this is an agenda that impacts, and is the responsibility of, only one half of the population, rather than a peace and security issue for both men and women. As noted by the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, "There is a prevailing erroneous notion that women and peace and security is 'a woman's issue' that can be addressed only by women, instead of being understood as a peace and security issue for men and women and for society as a whole."[24]

Percentage of women in senior and in all positions in 2014 (conflict and post conflict country offices only)[25]



Compared to 2010 and earlier, more women are playing key roles relating to the Secretary-General's Good Offices including as the Secretary-General's Special Envoys, Advisors or Coordinators. Yet as of May 2015, this amounted to four women in total actively engaging in these functions across regions.[26] Gaps also remain with regard to women's representation among senior leadership across UN country teams. As of May 2015, there were 53 women (39 per cent) out of a total of 136 Resident Coordinators leading UN country teams. However, this number was significantly lower in conflict and post-conflict settings. Out of the 33 countries and territories reviewed,[27] 31 had Resident Coordinators leading UN country teams. Of these, only six (19 per cent) were women.

Equally of note, although there are almost 7,000 international civilian staff in field missions (peacekeeping and political), less than 30 per cent are women and women account for only 20 per cent of those in senior management positions.[28] Among national staff, which make up an even larger share of the workforce in missions, the percentage of women is only 17 per cent. Even more worrisome, surveys reveal that Secretariat staff in both field missions and headquarters continue to place little value on gender balance at the workplace.[29]

The low percentages, especially at the senior manager level, are expected to drop in the near future because of the higher attrition rate affecting women, the drawdown and closing of some of the missions with better gender balance, and the impending retirement of many women at the P5 level.[30] The biggest problems exist at the P5 to D2 levels where the process is regulated by the staff selection system rather than the SG's appointment process, which, by contrast, has seen significant progress.

In 2015, the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations noted that the Secretary-General should continue to appoint more women to senior mission leadership positions, both from within the Organization and outside, and to support the promotion of serving female staff to senior leadership roles, including through mentoring programmes, and recruitment of new female staff. A range of options for accelerating progress has been identified by the UN Department of Field Support, the Office of Human Resources Management, and the UN Focal Point for Women and relevant entities, including the requirements that at least one woman candidate is shortlisted; that a talent-pipeline be established for recruiting, promoting and retaining women senior managers; and that in-depth research is carried out on the barriers that women face. Human Resources Management has introduced a self-monitoring scorecard that requires missions to make a 50 per cent gain in their current performance gap towards parity.[31] In addition, the Secretary-General has committed to issue periodic directives to heads of departments reminding them of their gender balance targets.[32] These measures need to be supported and implemented, and this Study recommends a number of additional measures listed below.

Although there are almost 7,000 international civilian staff in field missions (peacekeeping and political), less than 30 per cent are women and women account for only 20 per cent of those in senior management positions.

Importantly, evidence suggests that elevated women representation rates at entry levels do not necessarily translate into high representation in decision-making positions, unless initiatives to support retention, recruitment and promotion are also consistently developed and applied. In some parts of the system, the representation of women has remained almost static, with negligible improvement.[33]

While it is important to recognize the challenges faced by organizations in reaching gender balance, the UN must lead the way and be the standard bearer on this fundamental goal, particularly as it requests other actors and Member States to take bold steps for gender equality. In the context of Beijing+20, a renewed call for action was made to make the UN system 50/50 by 2030.[34]

Leadership

Ownership and implementation of women, peace and security commitments requires leadership from the

highest levels. Indeed, one of the key lessons learned in three years of UN-SWAP implementation is that success is predicated significantly on the dedication of senior management to gender equality and the empowerment of women, and to their consistent commitment and messaging to set the 'tone at the top.'[35] In particular, a committed leadership within UN field operations and offices that recognizes the importance of addressing the issue of women's rights and gender equality, and enthusiastically supports women's participation, sends a strong signal about the legitimacy of the issue, reassures women's organizations and builds the credibility of gender experts working at all levels.

In order to achieve this, systematic inclusion of these goals and expectations must be included in all key mandates, instructions, operational guidance, terms of reference and senior level compacts as well performance evaluations of senior staff. Not only must these goals be part of the culture of what is expected of UN leaders, but those who do not deliver must be seen to be held to account, rather than simply recycled into other senior positions, or worse yet, promoted.

Not only must these goals be part of the culture of what is expected of UN leaders, but those who do not deliver must be seen to be held to account, rather than simply recycled into other senior positions, or worse yet, promoted.

For example, resolution 2122 requested the Secretary-General's Special Envoys and Special Representatives to UN missions, from early on in their deployment, to regularly consult with women's organizations and women leaders, including socially and/or economically excluded groups of women, and to report to the Council on these and other measures to fulfill their mandate on women, peace and security.[36] Language on this commitment should be integrated into the terms of reference of SRSGs and Special Envoys, and the Security Council must be more consistent in asking questions of those who are tasked to brief on a situation (see Chapter 11: *The Security Council*).

In line with this recommendation, the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations requested that compacts between the Security Council and heads of missions specify three gender-related performance indicators: commitment to promote gender mainstreaming across all mandated tasks; commitment to encourage national leaders to take ownership of the WPS agenda; and commitment to increase gender parity amongst staff.[37] However, these targets are vague and, as currently phrased, immeasurable. The language must be further refined and specific definitions will need to be agreed in order to ensure that the performance of heads of mission can be accurately assessed.

Finally, the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations noted that all briefings and reports to the Security Council should include the differentiated impacts of conflict on women and girls, as well as an analysis of successes, challenges, failures, and recommendations to address implementation deficits in this area.[38] UN Resident Coordinators, particularly in conflict-affected countries, should similarly have women, peace and security as one of the priority areas of their terms of reference.

FOCUS ON

Leading by example on the women, peace and security agenda

In March 2013, Mary Robinson, the former president of Ireland and UN high commissioner for human rights, was appointed Special Envoy to Africa's Great Lakes region to bolster implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the Region. The Framework, an accord dubbed the 'Framework of Hope,' was signed by 11 African countries in February that year. Not only was Robinson the first woman to be appointed a UN Special Envoy, she also focused attention on the WPS agenda from the outset. This included ensuring that relevant language was added to her Terms of Reference, requesting from UN Women the secondment of a senior gender advisor to her team, and establishing channels for regular exchange with women's civil society organizations and leaders through the women's platform for the Peace and Security Framework. In July 2013, the Special Envoy, in partnership with Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS) and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), organized the first Regional Conference on Women, Peace, Security and Development held in Bujumbura, Burundi. The meeting culminated in the adoption of the Bujumbura Declaration and the draft Regional Action Plan on the implementation of resolution 1325 by the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi in support of the Framework of Hope. Robinson also played a key role in securing notable financing for gender-based projects in the region, including USD 150 million from the World Bank. Unfortunately, the systematic approach and strong prioritization on these issues demonstrated by Mary Robinson in taking on her duties as Special Envoy does not yet constitute regular practice applied by all Special Envoys and Senior Representatives appointed by the Secretary-General.

STRENGTHENING THE UN'S GENDER ARCHITECTURE: PROGRESS AND CHALLENGES

While steps have been taken to follow-up recommendations for strengthening the UN's gender architecture—and good practice is emerging—evidence suggests that many of the challenges identified in the 2012 Gender Architecture Review remain.[39] Implementation is largely left in the hands of small teams (sometimes just one gender advisor or focal point) in missions and other field-based entities, including UN Women. This negatively impacts the capacity to follow-up and support key commitments, such as the promotion and expansion of partnerships with women's civil society networks and local women's groups.

A committed leadership within UN field operations and offices that recognizes the importance of addressing ... and enthusiastically supports women's participation, sends a strong signal about the legitimacy of the issue.

FOCUS ON

Women, peace and security and peace operations missions in the report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations

The High-level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations report devotes a chapter to the women, peace and security agenda, noting that it is an area where implementation remains lacking despite a strong normative foundation.[40] In citing some of the obstacles in relation to peace operations missions themselves, the report highlights in particular that:

- The 'gender issue' is too often routinely assigned to staff in gender units, instead of integrated into all relevant functional units;
- There is an absence of sufficient policy, substantive and technical capacity to support the gender work of missions, both within missions and at Headquarters;
- The lack of mission funding to support gender-related activities limits the capacity to engage effectively with the local population, especially women and girls;
- There is an uneven commitment to the agenda at the most senior levels and within the ranks of all mission personnel, both civilian and uniformed, and at Headquarters, and a failure to understand the integration of gender and the advancement of the women, peace and security agenda as a responsibility of all staff; and
- Outreach to women leaders and women's civil society organizations, especially at the senior mission level, is often irregular or informal. This is a critical missed opportunity to engage women in contributing to the work of the mission. By failing to work closely with women, a mission forfeits the opportunity to contribute to their capacity as partners and leaders when the mission leaves.

Responsibility for the full implementation of the WPS agenda rests across a number of UN entities, all of which are represented along with civil society on the UN's Inter-Agency Standing Committee on Women, Peace and Security. The Standing Committee is chaired by UN Women, and coordinated through the agreed Strategic Results Framework on Women, Peace and Security. Across all responsible entities, there is a need for dedicated women, peace and security expertise, in addition to effective gender mainstreaming, for meaningful results. Specific recommendations in relation to strengthening capacities and dedicated expertise in these entities are included in relevant chapters of this Study.

In 2012, as follow-up to the Secretary-General's report on civilian capacity in the aftermath of conflict,[41] UN Women, in coordination with DPKO, DPA, UNICEF, UNDP and UNFPA, commissioned a review of gender expertise in post-conflict contexts to assess the adequacy of deployment and coherence throughout the UN system, in addressing gender issues in peacekeeping and peacebuilding contexts.[42] Based on good practice, several recommendations were put forward, including proposals to:

- Place senior gender experts in the field offices of the Secretary-General's Special Representatives

and Resident Coordinators, with direct access and reporting lines to senior management;

- Include technical sector-specific gender expertise within substantive sections or units of the mission, as well as in strategic technical assessment teams and missions; and

- Improve coordination and coherence through the gender theme groups of the UN country teams.

Similarly, the report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations included a number of recommendations on strengthening the gender architecture of missions and ensuring that missions have the necessary gender expertise and capacity. One of its recommendations echoed the 2012 Gender Architecture review mentioned above, whereby senior gender advisors should be located in the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, reporting directly to the SRSG and advising him or her and senior mission leadership at the strategic level. Additionally, it recommended that gender expertise should be integrated within all functional components requiring gender knowledge and experience.[43] For example, Political Affairs officers with expertise in women's engagement in mediation, negotiation, and other political processes; DDR officers with expertise on issues relating to the special needs of women who formerly served as combatants; Electoral officers with expertise on preferential statutory and other measures to involve more women in electoral processes, among others.[44] Embedding combined sectoral and gender expertise in each of the thematic sector areas of the mission was successfully implemented in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) in 2006, and has been highlighted as a good practice.

While in-mission capacity is crucial across peace operations missions, equally critical is the dedicated capacity at headquarters level, where staffing is necessary for comprehensive gender mainstreaming.

DPKO and DPA

As the UN departments primarily responsible for executing the Security Council's mandates for peace operations, DPKO and DPA have a unique role in implementing the WPS agenda, both within the UN system and in the field, and in ensuring the quality of information, intelligence and analysis that is transmitted to the Security Council to inform deliberations and action. On the whole, a key finding of a DPA internal review of its WPS work seems to reflect a challenge that is consistent across the peace and security architecture of the entire UN system: staff members with gender-related responsibilities are "under-ranked, under-staffed and under-resourced and often relegated to the most junior staff."[46]

DPKO is perhaps the most visible face of the UN system in conflict-affected countries. As highlighted in its own internal strategies, the core tenets of the WPS agenda are fundamental to its work in peacekeeping.[47] DPKO has established both a gender unit at headquarters and gender expertise in its peacekeeping missions, with a goal of incorporating gender dimensions in peacekeeping missions' mandated tasks. In an important development, all multidimensional peacekeeping missions now have posts for senior gender advisors. These senior advisors play an important role in ensuring a gendered perspective is integrated in all areas of the mission's work, and a gender analysis is included in briefings and reports from the mission to the Security Council.

However, the role and sectoral expertise of gender advisors has varied widely—at times making these difficult jobs to execute, with little traction among uniformed contingents or specialist sectors, and

FOCUS ON

Lessons from the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT): Establishing an innovative gender architecture from the outset

In the wake of the major political, humanitarian and security crisis that erupted in Timor-Leste in April-May 2006, the Secretary-General asked his Special Envoy, Ian Martin, to lead a Multi-Disciplinary Assessment Mission to Timor-Leste to develop recommendations for a new UN presence to follow the UN's political mission (UNOTIL). The Multi-Disciplinary Assessment Team was comprised of representatives in 13 sectors, including a 'Gender Dimensions' sector which was tasked under the Terms of Reference to: "Assess the gender dimensions of all issues covered by the assessment in order to develop recommendations for integrating gender perspectives in all functional areas of the post-UNOTIL mission, including on the gender capacity required for this purpose."

The findings of the Assessment Mission, and its recommendations for the mandate of the new mission were presented to the Security Council in a report of the Secretary-General.[45] After considering the report and its recommendations, the Council adopted resolution 1704 of 25 August 2006 which authorized the establishment of UNMIT with broad-ranging mandated tasks, including to: "mainstream gender perspectives and those of children and youth throughout the Mission's policies, programmes and activities, and, working together with United Nations agencies, funds and programmes, support the development of a national strategy to promote gender equality and empowerment of women."

Based on the scope of the tasks as set out in the resolution, it was decided that the proposed budget to be presented by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly for the new Mission should include posts supporting priority substantive areas requiring gender expertise, as well as a small Gender Affairs Unit (with one P5 senior gender advisor, one P3 officer, two national political officers, one UN Volunteer and one local administrative assistant). The budget proposed the inclusion of dedicated posts with functions requiring both sectoral and gender expertise, including for: the Administration of Justice Support Unit; gender and juvenile issues; the Electoral Assistance Office and the Serious Crimes Investigation Team, with appointed officers reporting directly to the head of the respective Unit/Office. The General Assembly approved all of these posts, conveying support for this innovative approach.

In addition, various coordination mechanisms were established to promote integration of the activities of UNMIT and those of the UN agencies, funds and programmes in furtherance of a 'One UN' approach and the 'Compact' with the Timor-Leste Government, including in the area of gender. An outstanding example was the UNMIT/UN Country Team's Thematic Working Group on Gender, chaired by the UNMIT Deputy SRSG for Governance Support, Development and Humanitarian Coordination (ASG level) who also served as the Resident Coordinator/Humanitarian Coordinator heading the UN Country Team.

Timor-Leste serves as an example of good practice on several levels, including senior leadership (in both DPKO and UNMIT), the inclusion of gender and conflict analysis from the outset, the importance of putting forward concrete gender-specific recommendations in reports and mission mandates with accompanying budgets, the establishment of posts requiring both sectoral and gender expertise, and the establishment of mechanisms for coordination in the area of gender, that bring together all relevant partners on the ground.

isolated from senior leadership and key decisions.[48] It is telling that while nine of the 16 active peacekeeping missions managed by DPKO have a senior gender advisor, seven of these posts were vacant at the end of 2014.[49] Furthermore, gender affairs units are typically the smallest or one of the smallest of all substantive units in each mission, as compared to other thematic areas of the mission mandate, from human rights to protection of civilians, rule of law, security sector reform, disarmament, electoral support and child protection.

Women's protection advisors (WPAs) are also an important part of the architecture, and work to operationalize the series of Security Council resolutions on conflict-related sexual violence, to strengthen the response of human rights, gender and other relevant components on sexual violence in conflict, to help implement the new Monitoring, Analysis and Reporting Arrangements (MARA), and to take forward a protection dialogue on this issue with parties to armed conflict.

For its part, DPA's role provides vital opportunities to ensure women's rights and participation in key aspects of conflict prevention and resolution. In the past several years, DPA has taken an increasingly consistent approach to integrating the WPS agenda into its work, and the entity's recent internal assessment on women, peace and security points to a number of these efforts, as well as the core challenges remaining.[50] These obligations and commitments have been particularly noticeable in the unit that provides support to mediation processes and conflict resolution processes globally, which houses the Gender Unit.

Staff members with gender-related responsibilities are "under-ranked, under-staffed and under-resourced and often relegated to the most junior staff."

In terms of capacity on women, peace and security, DPA has utilized a combination of gender advisors and gender focal points in its Special Political Missions. While only six of the 12 Special Political Missions had a dedicated gender advisor post in 2014, all Special Political Missions had appointed Gender Focal Points.[51] The seniority of these focal points is also on the rise. While this points to a positive trend, focal points, no matter how senior, should complement not substitute for dedicated gender expertise.

While in-mission capacity is crucial across peace operations missions, equally critical is the dedicated capacity at headquarters level, where staffing is necessary for comprehensive gender mainstreaming across the range of work of both DPKO and DPA. At present, the DPA Gender Team has just one gender advisor funded from the regular budget, with one additional temporary position covered from extra-budgetary sources. Similarly, DPKO has just three budgeted posts.[52] Seniority, staff numbers, stability of contract and political leadership is needed to provide essential funding and capacity for the Secretariat to more effectively deliver on its commitments on women, peace and security. Gender units with senior leads and sufficient staffing should be institutionalized within the regular budget envelope of both DPA and DPKO/DFS.

Dedicated and sufficient gender staffing within a mission is crucial, but these capacities must be linked to, backed by, and have access to, the expertise of the broader system in order to leverage their full potential. Recognition of this need was reflected in a further recommendation of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations which noted that "missions should have full access to the policy, substantive, and technical support from UN Women on implementation of the SC resolution 1325 and successive resolutions, together with support

currently received from the Departments of Political Affairs and Peacekeeping Operations and Political Affairs."[53] Similar language is included in the report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture, which indicates that "to promote better delivery of gender-sensitive peacebuilding, UN Women (together with other relevant UN agencies, funds and programmes) and the lead departments responsible for peace operations, DPA and DPKO, should actively explore enhanced ways to work in partnership."[54]

Strengthening the partnerships between UN Women and field missions would capitalize on existing and limited resources for the implementation of resolution 1325 within the UN system.

UN WOMEN

The General Assembly's Special Committee on Peacekeeping (C34) has requested in annual resolutions that DPKO and DPA cooperate and coordinate with UN Women (and other relevant UN actors) in the implementation of the women, peace and security mandate and the promotion of gender perspectives in peacekeeping operations.[55]

UN Women's capacity on women, peace and security includes a dedicated team on Peace and Security in headquarters and peace and security advisors in regional offices. There is also dedicated capacity in some (but still too few) conflict-affected country offices. Security Council resolution 2122 (2013), requests more regular briefings by UN Women's Executive Director, highlighting the important role of the entity in bringing the experiences of women and girls in conflict-affected countries to the attention of this body. Capacity at the country-level generally remains a challenge for UN Women in carrying out their mandate. While this reflects the dearth of resources for capacity and expertise on women, peace and security in the broader UN system, the capacity at the country-level must be addressed as a matter of priority, so as to translate the agenda into visible impacts for conflict-affected societies.[56]

Strengthening the partnerships between UN Women and field missions would capitalize on existing and limited resources for the implementation of resolution 1325 within the UN system, maximize the UN's existing gender expertise, and leverage UN Women's comparative advantages. This includes its continuous interaction with women's civil society organizations on the ground, and its ability therefore to bring a vital constituent closer to mission actors and help with outreach. Its unique role as a hybrid entity—both part of the UN Secretariat and part of the wider system of agencies, funds, and programmes—with a mandate that encompasses both a normative and coordination function, as well as a policy and programming function, offers the potential to better link the peace and security agenda with other areas of the UN's work. Moreover, its technical expertise on women, peace and security and position as a global advocate should be seen as an asset for supporting mission actors.

In addition, greater coherence would help to address some of the broader structural issues identified by both the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations and the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture, in particular the disconnect between UN Country Teams and peace operations missions. In the area of women, peace and security, the review of UN peacebuilding architecture found that fragmentation and 'silos' impact the ability of the UN to implement its commitments this area, noting that "Mission components tended to concentrate on narrow but important questions of political participation and the prevention of conflict-associated

sexual and gender-based violence, while the UNCTs worked on gender-sensitive approaches to economic recovery and inclusion without always bringing a 'peacebuilding lens' fully to bear... separate funding silos and institutional imperatives reinforce[d] these tendencies."[57] As such, the review recommended greater "coherence and integration between missions and UNCTs in the delivery of gender-oriented peacebuilding."[58]

Further, greater integration, complementarity and coherence on women, peace and security between peace missions, UN Women and other UNCT actors should also be pursued by building on and expanding models of integration, co-location, joint work-planning and the development of common implementation frameworks like common Gender Theme Group work-plans; the Global Focal Point for Police, Justice and Corrections Areas in the Rule of Law in Post-conflict and other Crisis situations; the One Gender Framework in Liberia; or the Implementation Frameworks for the Secretary-General's Seven-Point Action Plan.[59] Options for establishing more formal partnerships between key entities with technical gender expertise in conflict and post-conflict settings should be explored, including between DPKO, DPA and UN Women.[60] Improved coordination through interagency forums should include elevating the importance of gender theme groups which often suffer from low participation and prioritization.

The capacity at the country-level must be addressed as a matter of priority, so as to translate the agenda into visible impacts for conflict-affected societies.

Finally, building capacity for rapid deployment of temporary gender expertise is another area requiring more focus, including to support investigations into human rights violations, mediation efforts, the undertaking of different technical assessment missions and planning processes and crisis response. In conflict and crisis settings, such expertise may be needed on short-notice as processes and situations can shift quickly. Despite growing evidence of strong impact of strategic and timely deployments,[61] cumbersome administrative procedures and limited capacity to maintain sector-specific rosters of technical gender experts have limited the potential for scale up. This is an area that could be further developed through close collaboration of key UN entities and interested Member States.

HIGH-LEVEL LEADERSHIP ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

In consultations globally, Member States, civil society and affected women voiced the need for more visible, dedicated and senior level leadership on women, peace and security in the UN system. Such leadership would be fundamental to drive accountability, champion the voices of women, coordinate the system and accelerate implementation.

As one possible response to this need, there has been some initial discussions and consideration by Member States on the idea of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General on women, peace and security. However, while a new SRSG post would address the need for dedicated senior level representation, it would, in fact, risk doing more to undermine rather than strengthen the agenda.

In particular, an SRSG post does not 'fit' the nature of the women, peace and security mandate. The current related Security Council mandated SRSGs on Children and Armed Conflict, and Sexual Violence in Conflict are compliance and accountability mandates that involve the naming and shaming of credibly suspected perpetrators of grave violations, which is not the case for women, peace and security. Secondly, the creation

Stronger determination from both UN senior leadership and the UN membership is required to guarantee that staffing and resource needs are met to effectively deliver on these mandates on the ground.

of such a post could risk narrowing the parameters of resolution 1325, restricting the agenda to those countries on the Council's agenda, and weakening the prevention as well as post-conflict peacebuilding pillars. For large parts of the globe—including where conflicts are either subnational in nature or are not deemed to be a threat to international peace and security—this would mean that the work of such a Special Representative would not apply, essentially narrowing and neutralizing the universal application of resolution 1325. Thirdly, the creation of a new office would divert already limited resources, and risk creating new institutional tensions and confusion over reporting lines and points of accountability in the UN system. Lastly, the creation of a new post would bifurcate the WPS agenda into two distinct protection and participation elements, rather than enabling implementation as a comprehensive and interlinked process.

As the lead on the WPS agenda in the system, UN Women has a particular responsibility in this regard, and in performing the function of briefing the Security Council on issues of relevance to women, peace and security. This necessarily requires dedicated senior level leadership in support of the Executive Director of UN Women. As such, a dedicated office and budget should be established at UN Women at the ASG level to be devoted full time to conflict and emergency settings, dedicated to driving the implementation of the main recommendations of this Global Study, to scaling up the programming good practice highlighted in it, and to strengthening UN Women in the field.

Without significant bolstering of the UN's institutional gender architecture in conflict-affected and crisis settings, the capacity to provide gender-sensitive conflict early warning, support women's engagement in conflict resolution, deliver adequate immediate and long-term recovery services to women and girls affected by conflict or crisis, or provide the Security Council with adequate intelligence about gender-specific threats, challenges and opportunities for women's engagement in different processes will continue to fall short of expectations and needs. Uneven leadership and commitment from senior managers across missions and at headquarters is another key challenge identified pointing to a need to strengthen the accountability framework for implementing the women, peace and security mandate.[62] Stronger determination from both UN senior leadership and the UN membership is required to guarantee that staffing and resource needs are met to effectively deliver on these mandates on the ground.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

To more effectively drive implementation of the WPS agenda beyond 2015, including follow-up to findings of this report and gender-specific recommendations of the related high-level reviews and processes, the UN should take action in a range of areas, including:

Monitoring and accountability frameworks

Harmonize, strengthen and refine existing monitoring and accountability frameworks (specifically strategic frameworks and indicators) on women, peace and security and humanitarian action by:

- ✓ Building on monitoring experience to date and taking into account new developments in gender statistics, information management systems and emerging priorities.
- ✓ Eliminating duplication and focusing on issues of utmost relevance to achieving commitments.
- ✓ Ensuring measurability of indicators, feasibility of data collection, and attaching to each indicator jointly agreed methodological guidelines that are in line with international statistical standards.
- ✓ Designing and setting up clear reporting mechanisms and enforcing periodic reporting requirements from key actors.
- ✓ Integrating system-wide women, peace and security commitments into policies, strategies, planning documents and monitoring and evaluation tools of all UN entities working in conflict and post-conflict settings.
- ✓ Strengthening financial and technical capacity of UN entities—including in field missions and country teams—to regularly collect, analyze and report women, peace and security statistics in coordination with national statistical systems where relevant, and to use women, peace and security statistics to inform reports, statements, programme planning, budgeting and implementation.
- ✓ Sharing gender-specific information in code cables, periodic updates, data reporting mechanisms and early warning systems amongst all key actors, including UN field missions and country teams in a timely manner.

Gender-balance

Accelerate action to reach the Organization's staffing gender parity goal at all levels, by:

- ✓ Removing obstacles to the recruitment, promotion and retention of women staff in all categories and levels, and—with the support of Member States—investing in the implementation of recommendations put forward in previous reviews and in reports of the Secretary-General on the improvement in the status of the representation of women in the UN system.
- ✓ Integrating gender-balance targets as an indicator of individual performance in all compacts with senior management. The gender-balance targets in the HRM scorecard should be reviewed every quarter at the senior level by mission and country teams.
- ✓ Investing in making mission life and spaces more friendly and safe for women (e.g., special family or leave arrangements for women, adequate and appropriate mission facilities for women, from accommodation quarters and sanitary facilities to welfare and recreational spaces and activities,

special medical and gynecological care), and making contract benefits better known to potential women candidates, as well as improving outreach and communications activities regarding life and work in peacekeeping missions.

✓ Facilitating women's representation among national staff contracts in missions through better childcare policies and facilities, and revising experience requirements in countries where women have limited education opportunities or access to the workforce.

✓ Actively mentor and groom women in P2-P4 posts to promote career advancement and prepare them for management positions.

✓ Introducing greater flexibility in some requirements until parity is reached: for example, allowing for current P5s to be directly eligible for D2 positions if they are eligible for D1 positions, and for D1s to be eligible to apply for ASG positions; reconsidering the non-reversion policy, by which staff at the D2 level are asked to relinquish their right to return to their parent UN organization when assuming head and deputy head of mission positions for a limited duration.

✓ Auditing missions who have remained stagnant or regressed, instituting a system of sanctions and rewards for performing and under-performing missions, and holding leaders accountable for progress or lack of progress with regards to gender targets.

✓ Since many of the women that leave the organization may have partners but no children, providing full consideration to adding a third category of duty stations that are conducive for couples without children, or staff with healthy adult dependents.

✓ Ensuring all review processes integrate a gender perspective, and appoint more women to High-Level Reviews and panels.

Leadership

Make senior leadership accountable for implementing women, peace and security commitments, including recommendations put forward in this Study, through:

✓ Inclusion of concrete performance measures in senior managers' Compacts between the Secretary-General and his/her Special Envoys, Representatives, Advisors and other Senior Managers, and revision of senior managers' Terms of Reference to reflect women, peace and security as a key priority. This should include Resident Coordinators in conflict-affected countries.

✓ Full compliance with the UN-SWAP commitments demonstrated by marked progress across all indicators by the 2017 deadline.

✓ Routine inclusion of gender, conflict and crisis analysis in thematic and country-specific briefings and reports to the Security Council and other key UN bodies.

Gender architecture

✓ Ensure the presence of gender expertise in missions at the senior decision-making level and all relevant substantive units, by placing senior gender advisors in all peace operations missions, from the outset and for the whole duration of missions, situated directly in the office of the SRSG, supported by hybrid gender expertise in each of the technical units of the mission (e.g., rule of law, human rights, DDR, SSR, elections).

- ✓ (Member States should) invest in DPKO and DPA gender units at HQ, to increase the resources, seniority and number of staff, ensuring a minimum number of posts are included in the regular budget and giving due consideration to the placement of these units in the Office of the USG.

- ✓ (Member States should) invest in strengthened UN Women country offices in conflict-affected contexts to further inter alia support to women's organizations, women's leaders, and strengthen the UN's implementation of women, peace and security commitments.

- ✓ Strengthen the UN's gender architecture to promote women's full participation in efforts to advance peace and security by expanding the support base for gender work within the missions, and maximize the impact of existing resources, by establishing a formal cooperation arrangement between DPKO, DPA and UN Women so that existing missions have access to UN Women's technical, political and policy expertise. Through this arrangement, UN Women would bring its existing resources, capacities, expertise, and staffing as the lead on women, peace and security to support the relevant components of peace operations missions.

- ✓ Pilot in two future missions: UN Women's more effective integration into missions—including in the strengthening of rosters, joint selection of staff, training, support through communities of practice, surge capacity and rapid deployments and technical support. The final say on recruitment would rest with the SRSG as well as accountability—there would be a single line of reporting to the SRSG with access to UN Women for information sharing, and gender staff would be backed technically and have a link to the entity responsible for gender equality.[63] The model should be carefully monitored and assessed on challenges and successes after 2 years.

- ✓ (The Secretariat should) explore the possibility of joint rosters with UN Women for rapid and targeted deployment of technical gender expertise, and open new avenues for using existing rosters managed by agencies, funds and programmes.

- ✓ Establish the position of Assistant Secretary-General, with a dedicated budget, at UN Women, with responsibility for work in the area of conflict, crises and emergencies, under the guidance of UN Women's Executive Director. This ASG would drive the implementation of the recommendations of this Study, help scale up the programming good practice described, and strengthen UN Women's field presence in conflict and emergency settings, with the support of Member States and partners.

REFERENCES

1. Findings are based on 317 completed surveys from 72 countries and 16 focus group discussions collected between February and May 2015. See, "Global Report: Civil Society Organization (CSO) Survey for the Global Study on Women, Peace and Security: CSO Perspectives on UNSCR 1325 Implementation 15 Years after Adoption" (Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, Cordaid, NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, International Civil Society Action Network, July 2015); "Focus Group Discussion Report for the Civil Society Organization (CSO) Survey: Civil Society Input to the Global Study on Women, Peace and Security" (Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, ICAN, NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, Cordaid, May 2015).
2. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, "Remarks to the Ministerial Meeting on Security Council Resolution 1325: A Call to Action," September 25, 2010.
3. The Seven-Point Action Plan formed part of the Secretary-General's 2010 report on women's participation in peacebuilding, which sought to ensure that the UN responds better to women's needs and priorities, and supports women as equal participants in shaping their communities and societies post-conflict. "Report of the Secretary-General: Women's Participation in Peacebuilding," UN Doc. A/65/354-S/2010/466 (United Nations General Assembly, United Nations Security Council, September 7, 2010), sec. IV.
4. Chad, Liberia, Guatemala, Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Sudan, Comoros, Kyrgyzstan, and Mali.
5. "Resolution 1889 (2009)," UN Doc. S/RES/1889 (United Nations Security Council, October 5, 2009), para. 17.
6. "Secretary-General's Report on Women's Participation in Peacebuilding (2010)," annex.
7. The Security Council supported taking forward the indicators and encouraged Member States to take the indicators into account, as appropriate, in implementing Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) and subsequent resolutions on women and peace and security. See, "Statement by the President of the Security Council," UN Doc. S/PRST/2010/22 (United Nations Security Council, October 26, 2010). The 26 indicators can be divided into two groups: those that measure progress achieved by international and regional entities, and those that measure outcomes at the country level. Data collection and annual progress monitoring and reporting has been taking place since 2011.
8. An independent report of the Special Advisory Group on Civilian Capacity in the Aftermath of Conflict in 2011 recommends that to: "[i]ncrease accountability for gender equality...[t]he Secretary-General, through UN-Women, should encourage annual independent audits of progress towards gender equality against the indicators set out in his report, and hold his senior leadership accountable for such progress." "Civilian Capacity in the Aftermath of Conflict: Independent Report of the Senior Advisory Group" (United Nations, March 2011), 23. See also, "Report of the Secretary-General on Civilian Capacity in the Aftermath of Conflict," UN Doc. A/66/311-S/2011/527 (UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, August 19, 2011), para. 52.
9. "Statement by the President of the Security Council on Women, Peace and Security (2010)."
10. "Report of the Secretary-General: Women and Peace and Security," UN Doc. S/2011/598 (United Nations Security Council, September 29, 2011), annex. The SRF was developed by the UN Standing Committee on Women, Peace and Security and presented to the Council in 2011. It includes targets intended to be revised over time to reflect new opportunities and emerging priorities.
11. In addition to these frameworks dedicated specifically to the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda, the UN System-wide Action Plan on Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN-SWAP), which was endorsed by the UN Chief Executives Board in 2012, contains a number of related targets on gender equality and the empowerment of women. It comprises a set of 15 indicators clustered around six functional areas, against which the performance of UN system entities is measured and reported on annually. "Report of the Secretary-General on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective into All Policies and Programmes in the United Nations System," UN Doc. E/2011/58 (United Nations Economic and Social Council, April 1, 2015).
12. UN entities' commitment to compile and report data annually on progress towards the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) through the indicators has helped inform the annual report of the Secretary-General on women, peace and security to the Security Council, as well as entity-specific policies and programmes.
13. Undertaken by UN Women with the support of the UN Inter-Agency Standing Committee on Women, Peace and Security, as part of the commissioned research for the Global Study.
14. The Department for Political Affairs (DPA), for example, has translated the women, peace and security commitments and indicators that fall directly under their mandate into entity-specific policies, guidance and training, including into DPA's Strategic Plan and Multi-Year Appeal Results Framework. Similarly, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) incorporated the 1325 indicator related to women's access to and benefits from early economic recovery programmes into their strategic plan.
15. From 1992 to 1993 Dame Anstee served as the Secretary-General's Special Representative to Angola and head of the UN peacekeeping mission there.

16. “Report of the Secretary-General: Women and Peace and Security,” UN Doc. S/2015/716 (United Nations Security Council, October 9, 2015), 114.
17. “Report of the Secretary-General: Women, Peace and Security,” UN Doc. S/2002/1154 (United Nations Security Council, October 16, 2002), para. 44; “Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly on the Improvement of the Status of Women in the United Nations System,” A/RES/58/144 (United Nations General Assembly, February 19, 2004), para. 7.
18. These aggregates are is calculated annually by UN Women for the report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security. See, “Secretary-General’s Report on Women and Peace and Security (2015),” para. 114.
19. Ibid., para. 115.
20. Ibid.
21. For the analysis this includes countries or territories in which a political, peacebuilding or peacekeeping mission operated during 2014, or concerning that with which the Security Council was seized and which had been considered by the Council at a formal meeting during the period from 1 January 2014 to 31 December 2014, or countries or territories that received programmatic funds from the Peacebuilding Fund in 2014.
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51. 44 per cent were men in 2014. Ibid., para. 56. The gender focal point is not a full-time position; persons appointed as gender focal points normally have other areas of responsibility. Furthermore, the review notes that individuals responsible for gender mainstreaming in missions "are given increased responsibilities without additional resources and often with insufficient support from the senior leadership, while the gender advisors are also increasingly called upon to build the capacity of government counterparts and women's organisations in the host country." Ibid., para. 54.
52. Four posts on conflict-related sexual violence are funded from extra-budgetary sources.
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59. The Global Focal Point arrangement, established in 2012, has led to better mainstreaming of gender issues in the rule of law area through integrated planning and programming, and access to mutual rosters by DPKO, UNDP, UN Women and other UNCT entities, resulting for instance in co-location in Central African Republic and joint projects in Mali.
60. An independent evaluation of UN Women's peace and security programming recommended in particular that at the country level, there should be an increase in joint programming and collaboration with other UN entities on peace and security and humanitarian response. The evaluation went on to note that "in some cases, this may require the development of memorandums of understanding on ways to work together, to facilitate country-level inter-agency relations. This seems particularly appropriate to facilitating in-country relations between UN Women and DPKO." "Thematic Evaluation of UN Women's Contribution to Increasing Women's Leadership and Participation in Peace and Security and in Humanitarian Response," 11 (emphasis added).
61. The deployments of experts from UN Women-Justice Rapid Response roster, and the Team of Experts in the Office of the SRSG on sexual Violence in Conflict are two such examples, which are discussed in Chapter 5: Transformative Justice.
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THE MEDIA

"I, a girl, am going down to Tahrir Square, and I will stand alone. And I'll hold up a banner.... Don't think you can be safe anymore. None of us are. Come down with us and demand your rights, my rights, your family's rights."

Asmaa Mahfouz, Egyptian activist

On 18 January 2011, 26-year old Egyptian activist Asmaa Mahfouz spoke these words in a video uploaded to YouTube, calling for protesters to join her in toppling the corrupt government of Hosni Mubarak.[1] The video quickly went viral on social media platforms, and became one of the sparks for the Arab Spring. Throughout the region, women—often at great personal risk—countered state-owned national media with citizen journalism and social media, influencing the global mainstream media as they went. Asmaa and her video message shone a powerful light on today's access to technology, online platforms and media tools for women and girls around the world to drive discourse and foster social change.[3]

At a time when conflict both takes root in communal disputes and spills across borders, media can play a key role in advancing the WPS agenda, by rallying messages and people; creating awareness and breaking taboos; providing comprehensive narratives on gender and women's lives in conflict and post-conflict settings; and importantly, holding states accountable.

But, as emphasized by many during the consultations for this Global Study, in order to do so, information must be accessible to women and girls regardless of age, ability and location, and be appropriately representative of their experience. This remains a particular challenge in many conflict and post-conflict contexts, where infrastructure has been destroyed, literacy rates are low or mainstream media—owned by national private sector actors—may be manipulated or controlled by conflicting State and non-State parties to serve their cause. Moreover, in militarized societies, women's voices, concerns and experiences tend to be marginalized by the 'tyranny of the emergency.'

Ultimately, the media is but an avenue, and it is up to those using it to define its content and value, ideally using its various mediums of communication to contribute to the accurate portrayal of women's lives in conflict and post-conflict contexts—highlighting the whole range of their roles and strengths as well as the impact of conflict in their lives.

> When a society is threatened by violent conflict, opposing sides seek to control the media. [...] To get one's message out in the media is extremely important since the public generally accept what is presented in the news as 'truth.'"
>
> **Pernilla Ahlsén**, "Peace Journalism: How Media Reporting Affects Wars and Conflicts"[2]

WOMEN- AND COMMUNITY-LED MEDIA CHANNELS

MAMA FM, a community radio station in Uganda, is one of a handful of women-run radio stations in the world.[4] In order to ensure that women from marginalized communities without access to a radio

Information must be accessible to women and girls regardless of age, ability and location, and be appropriately representative of their experience.

are able to listen, they organized 'women's listening clubs' in 15 districts of Uganda—spaces for women to gather, listen and discuss.[5] MAMA FM's media channel is an example of how media can be a doubly-powerful tool, spreading messages of gender equality and women's empowerment at the grassroots level, all while bringing women together to build and strengthen networks of peacebuilders and decision-makers. Similarly, in Fiji, the feminist media network FemLINKPACIFIC uses radio and television-based dialogue to draw rural women and government officials together to discuss development and human security challenges, providing a unique public platform for women to share their ideas and perspectives with government decision-makers and the public alike.[6] FemLINKPACIFIC has played a key role in supporting women's participation in peacebuilding in the region, and in informing the development and implementation of the Pacific Regional Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security.

FOCUS ON

Libya – The 'Noor' Campaign

The Noor Campaign, led by NGO Voice of Libyan Women, seeks to address the misrepresentation of Islam within Libyan culture to justify the perpetration of violence against women. In order to confront this distortion of the religion, the campaign uses Islamic teachings to show that Islam does not tolerate any form of discrimination against women.[7]

The first phase of The Noor Campaign was officially launched on 5 July 2013 through a nation-wide media campaign designed to start a conversation about the treatment of women under Islam. The launch intentionally coincided with the start of the holy month of Ramadan; a time for peace and reflection, but also a time when Libyans are especially tuned in to popular mediums such as radio and television. Additionally, thirty-three billboards in 17 cities throughout Libya highlighted different themes about women's security in the public and private spheres. Two radio advertisements broadcast throughout the country, encouraged the Libyan public to think about the treatment of women during the holy month of Ramadan. National TV stations aired four advertisements on domestic violence, and videos of the ads were also broadcast through social media channels using the hashtag #NoorLibya—these were widely viewed in Libya and abroad. Further phases of the campaign built on this in several ways, including through outreach to community members and students in seminars, workshops and surveys. The Noor Campaign exemplifies grassroots, religious-based activism for women's rights. It illustrates how modern-day advocates are using an array of arguments while exploring old and new mediums, to disseminate their messages to a wider audience, and in so doing contribute to societal transformation.

> "Media has a constructive role to play for the society. Today news channels and even some newspapers are mouthpiece[s] of some social issues, which helps us to estimate the realities of lives."
>
> Respondent to the civil society survey for the Global Study, working in Afghanistan

INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM – TELLING THE STORIES THAT NEED TO BE TOLD

Various forms of investigative reporting can be powerful tools in making hitherto invisible issues visible to the greater public, and in helping to break taboos. For instance, a number of documentary films have offered a close-up look at the impact of war on women. In 2006, filmmaker Lisa Jackson traveled to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to interview women survivors of conflict-related sexual violence. Her documentary, *The Greatest Silence*, received international acclaim at a time when sexual violence in conflict was receiving little attention in the mainstream media.[8] In recent years, media outlets around the world have highlighted rape as a weapon of war in the DRC and elsewhere, illuminating both the gravity of these crimes and the ongoing impunity for perpetrators who commit, command or condone these crimes.

In many cases, the media's portrayal of this form of violence has been an oversimplification of the complex horrors endured by Congolese civilians, and particularly women and girls. However, the coverage has undeniably also served as a tool for galvanizing international pressure to demand an end to one of the gravest conflicts of the 21st century, and an end to conflict-related sexual violence globally. International media efforts and campaigns to end sexual violence in conflict have led to a shift in public consciousness and political will.[9] This attention has undoubtedly bolstered efforts for the adoption of a series of Security Council resolutions on the prevention, protection and accountability for conflict-related sexual violence crimes,[10] and continues to help maintain pressure on governments, national courts, as well as the International Criminal Court to hold perpetrators of sexual violence accountable for their crimes. The media itself has been especially vigilant in shining a light on sexual abuse by UN Peacekeepers, raising international attention when the UN has itself been slow to act.

Positive stories that go beyond the portrayal of women as victims of conflict to examine and highlight their various roles in peacebuilding have gained momentum. For example, the 2008 award-winning PBS documentary, *Pray the Devil Back to Hell*, tells the story of the Liberian women who took on the regime of former President Charles Taylor in the midst of the country's brutal civil war, and won a once unimaginable peace. Such stories, that capture the capabilities, spirit and leadership qualities of women, can be valuable in awareness-raising and provoking much needed attitudinal change in traditionally patriarchal societies and indeed, on the international stage.

Still, such portrayals of women are rare, and many more stories are simply not being told. A 2015 analysis undertaken by the Global Media Monitoring Project (WACC)[11] in 15 conflict and post-conflict countries found that **only 13 per cent of stories in the news media on peace and security-related themes included women as the subject**, and women were

"I believe that making sexual violence against women in conflict visible [...] can have an effect on public policy, and [help] change the discourse in terms of violence against women."

Jineth Bedoya Lima,
Journalist, UN Women Video Interview, 2015

Regardless of the topic, only four per cent of the stories portrayed women as leaders in conflict and post-conflict countries.

central to the story in only six per cent of cases. Regardless of the topic, only four per cent of the stories portrayed women as leaders in conflict and post-conflict countries and only two per cent highlighted gender equality or inequality issues, while no story did in Uganda, South Sudan or the DRC. The portrayal of women as leaders was highest in Mali (20 per cent of the stories) and non-existent in Nepal and Palestine. The analysis also found that a woman was more than twice as likely as a man to be identified as the victim in a story, and mentions of women's experiences were largely reserved for stories covering women's access to psychological support in conflict, post-conflict or refugee settings, or stories on sexual violence.

On the global level, the media often possess the power to make one story sensational and another invisible.

In the years following the adoption of resolution 1325, there has been a sea change in women's abilities to represent themselves and their causes in the media.

What determines the 'news worthiness' of a particular issue can often rest on whether it has received the vocal support of an influential person or group. The media coverage that follows often becomes a huge event with wasteful costs. Meanwhile, women on the frontline, those who actually engage in humanitarian negotiations, face the fighting, and protect the innocent are often invisible in the media, their voices usurped by celebrity hubbub and the politics of spectacle.

In the years following the adoption of resolution 1325, there has been a sea change in women's abilities to represent themselves and their causes in the media, whether through traditional and less gender-inclusive mediums such as television, radio and print—which are part of organized industry and owned by public or private sector actors—or newer and more widely accessible platforms, such as various forms of social media and mobile technology.

In this context, women- and community-led media channels can play an important role in expanding perspectives and deepening the analysis of issues considered in societal debates. They can also be instrumental in increasing access to key information for hard to reach or marginalized constituencies.

RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MEDIA TODAY

Modern media technologies are not always favorable to women's rights. In today's hyper-connected world, anyone can run his or her own media campaign, and disseminate his or her ideas through the use of internet or mobile technologies. For example, messages can encourage violence against women and a rollback in women's rights. Extremist groups are increasingly using the internet and social media—and in constantly evolving ways—to spread their messages of violence and hatred, and swell their ranks with new recruits. The expansion of access and use of the internet has also enabled the rise of cyberbullying; with the touch of a button, a person can threaten a woman, and members of her family, with violence, sexual assault or murder, oftentimes anonymously.

FOCUS ON

Global agreements and the role of the media

The Beijing Platform for Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, recognized the role of the media and its potential to make a positive contribution to gender equality, and called for an increase of women in the media, and the abandoning of stereotypes. This includes balanced and inclusive reporting on conflict-related issues.[12] The CEDAW Committee also highlighted the media's role in its General Recommendations (No.19 and 23), particularly the importance of a positive and non-stereotypical portrayal of women by the media; and the need for effective measures by States Parties to ensure that the media respect and promote respect for women. In conflict-affected areas, media outlets—public or private—can influence paradigm shifts surrounding women's engagement and leadership, by broadening their focus beyond sexual violence, and women as victims, and portraying the work women are already doing on the ground in conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

FOCUS ON

A cautionary tale

While the positive aspects of the media with regards to women, peace and security are welcome, it is important to recognize that in certain contexts media has also played a very negative role. Who can forget that the drumming up of hatred that led eventually to genocide in Rwanda was by radio stations?

Even today, many private radio and TV stations, as well as social media and print media, often employ what verges on hate speech against people of different ethnic or religious groups, and against political adversaries. In addition, facts are deliberately distorted, and inaccurate stories cleverly planted as part of psychological operations (PSYOPS) or war strategy either by state intelligence agencies or rebel groups. These aim to delegitimize certain voices, arouse hatred against certain public figures—often strong and independent women—and develop a climate of fear, that in the end also suppresses press freedom.[13]

In this era of sophisticated media campaigns, it is impossible to maintain that the press is neutral, objective or heroic. While their freedom should necessarily be guaranteed, there must be a recognition of the potential for malevolence and the need to guard against its consequences for women and society at large. A code of ethics drafted by the media could go some way towards providing guidance on sensitive issues and on the proper treatment of such issues by media actors.

The Association of Progressive Communications' "Take Back the Tech" campaign has launched an online platform which crowd-sources reports of online threats, harassment and hate speech against women in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Colombia, DRC, Kenya, Macedonia, Mexico, Pakistan and the Philippines, in order to show that these incidents are neither isolated nor anomalous, and to advocate for recognition and redress for technology use spurring gender-based violence at the local, national and international levels.[14]

Another deep concern is the growing risk to journalistic independence and the physical security of media professionals, especially in crises and conflict-affected settings. Journalists, photojournalists and human rights observers who seek to report on conflict put themselves in great danger and often find their movements tracked as they try to report the truth about war to the greater public. Data published by the Committee to Protect Journalists in 2015 reveals that since 2000, 446 journalists have been killed as a result of journalistic activities in conflict and post-conflict countries.[15] Although men dominate the journalistic profession in conflict settings, the risks for women are higher: 64 per cent of women journalists killed worldwide died in conflict countries, compared to 54 per cent in the case of men. The largest number of female journalists killed has taken place in Iraq (13), while the largest number of male journalists killed has taken place in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories (153), followed by Syria (79). A shocking 70 per cent of the total women journalists and 62 per cent of men journalists killed worldwide were murdered, while others were killed in crossfire or as a result of dangerous assignments. Even worse, 53 per cent of the perpetrators of murders of women journalists in conflict settings are enjoying impunity or partial impunity.

Another deep concern is the growing risk to journalistic independence and the physical security of media professionals, especially in crises and conflict-affected settings.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

Media outlets should:

- ✓ Commit to accurately portray women and men in all their diverse roles in conflict and post-conflict settings, including as agents of conflict prevention, peacemaking and peacebuilding.
- ✓ Increase women's representation and voice in newsrooms, in decision-making and leadership roles.
- ✓ Monitor media content, including information which may harm or stigmatize victims of sexual violence in conflict, and take into account special protection measures when covering stories on women and children.
- ✓ Create a code of ethics drafted by media personnel for media personnel as guidance with regard to sensitive issues.

Member States should:

- ✓ Protect, when threatened, the reputations and lives of women and men human rights defenders and journalists by strengthening legal frameworks, providing security and addressing impunity of perpetrators.
- ✓ Develop and enforce laws and mechanisms to prevent, investigate and punish harassment, threats and hate speech published on internet and mobile platforms.
- ✓ Appoint more women in state-owned media structures, and allocate funding to increase women's participation and leadership of media initiatives, including community radio, in fragile, conflict and post-conflict contexts.

All actors should:

- ✓ Support initiatives to increase training on gender-sensitive reporting and how to use, produce and disseminate media materials, taking into consideration that some women have limited access to assets and ICT, and restrictions on mobility.

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CIVIL SOCIETY

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolution 1888

Expresses its intention to make better usage of periodical field visits to conflict areas, through the organization of interactive meetings with the local women and women's organizations in the field

2009

2010

Resolution 1960

Underlines that, in order to carry out their mandate, missions must communicate effectively with local communities; and encourages the Secretary General to improve their capacity to do so

Resolution 2106

Underlines the important roles that civil society organizations, including women's organizations, and networks can play in enhancing community-level protection against sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations and supporting survivors in accessing justice and reparations

2013

Resolution 2122

Encourages concerned Member States to develop dedicated funding mechanisms to support the work and enhance capacities of organizations that support women's leadership development and full participation in all levels of decision-making, regarding the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000), inter alia through increasing contributions to local civil society

In 1915, amid the devastation of World War I, over 1,000 women from 12 different countries gathered in The Hague, Netherlands to protest the atrocities of the war, debate how to put an end to it and prevent future violence and conflict.[1] The gathering sowed the seed for a new organization: the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). It also provided one of the origins of a social movement that, with a growing chorus of voices, would eventually push for recognition of the role of women in peace and security that culminated in Security Council resolution 1325 some 85 years later.

Civil society played a powerful role in lobbying for the adoption of resolution 1325 and contributing to its drafting—and there is perhaps no other international agenda which has placed civil society so firmly at its center. This is in no small part due to the central contributions of women's organizations to conflict prevention, peacemaking, and on the front lines of post-conflict recovery, when the State and donor community have yet to assume their roles.

Indeed, it is for this reason that preparations for this Study were centered on consultations with women's civil society, including dedicated meetings in all regions globally. A High-Level Advisory Group, comprised in the majority of civil society voices, supported the work of the Global Study. The secretariat also worked with partner NGOs to administer a worldwide survey of civil society organizations, and to host a website platform to invite civil society submissions on recommendations. The support of civil society, and their feedback, inputs, experience and expertise has been critical to the findings and recommendations of this Study—and it is important that every opportunity be leveraged to continue to advocate for these voices to be heard in policy making circles—whether it be in New York, Addis Ababa, London or Moscow.

> "We have the power to stop war and turn our upside down world right."
>
> **Leymah Gbowee**,
> Nobel Laureate

The centenary commemoration of WILPF was recently convened in The Hague, bringing together men and women peacemakers from over 80 countries in support of a common goal: sustainable peace.[2] Many of the discussions in The Hague focused on the effective implementation of resolution 1325. In particular: the need for States to place human rights and equality, disarmament and peace at the center of foreign policy; the need for the UN to democratize and fulfill obligations under the Charter, including an end to the secretive and exclusive selection of the Secretary-General; the importance of recognizing human security as key to global security; and the need to end the reliance on a project-based approach to the implementation of resolution 1325, which places the priorities of donors before those working to ensure real and sustainable implementation in the field.

THE POWER OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS FROM THE GROUND UP

All over the world, from Guatemala City, to Kathmandu, to Kampala, civil society organizations have demonstrated the power of social movements to effect real change from the ground up. From pushing for the highest body on peace and security to heed women's voices, to mobilizing globally for an arms trade treaty, or locally to end violence against women, progressive social movements can do more to effect real progress in the lives of men, women, boys and girls than States and multilateral institutions can alone.

In part, this unique impact derives from the fact that many civil society organizations are close to the grassroots. One must also recognize the ability of

these organizations to shape public and government agendas and create the political will for action. Research carried out by Womankind Worldwide and Action Aid in five fragile and conflict-affected countries showed the vital role played by women's rights organizations at the grassroots level in mitigating conflict and building peace, from setting up underground schools and health clinics in Afghanistan, to contributing to the reintegration of ex-combatants in Sierra Leone.[3] As one report highlights, "women activists and grassroots organizers of Afghanistan, Nepal, Liberia, or Somalia are the best navigators of their own cultural and political terrain. They know which issues are most important."[4]

Yet, 15 years after the adoption of resolution 1325, we still lack effective systems for regular engagement and consultation with such women's groups to ensure that their knowledge, experience and capacities are supported and are informing national, regional and global level policy-making.

Where progress and broader transformation had taken place, the main factor of success was often credited to collaboration and joint action with other civil society organizations, using civil society's role as a watchdog and independent monitor.[5] Greater collaboration and support is essential therefore for grassroots organizations, especially those targeting women who experience intersectional discrimination, including on the basis of age, sexual orientation, indigeneity and disability.

Also key is the ability of civil society organizations to shape public and government agendas and create the political will for action.[6] Women's organizations and movements play a crucial accountability role, monitoring government action and holding them to account on their commitments to women, including on peace and security.[7] Examples of this role include the 1325 Monitoring Project carried out by the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders;[8] the Mapping of Women, Peace and Security in the UN Security Council undertaken by the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security;[9] and Cordaid's Barometer of Local Women's Security.[10]

> Civil society, including women's organizations, should play a prominent role in the development of all programmes carried out by the UN, and should be taken seriously as partners by the different entities.
>
> Respondent to the civil society survey for the Global Study, based in the Netherlands, working in Asia and the MENA region

Notable results have been achieved by coalitions of organizations stretching across social movements, such as the International Campaign to Ban Landmines. Similarly, regional coalitions have played a central role in mobilizing for peace. For example, in the Balkans, organizations including the Regional Women's Lobby and the Regional Women's Lobby for Peace, Security and Justice in South East Europe have successfully used the language of resolution 1325 to link human with regional security, on issues ranging from development to constitutional reform.[11] Another is the work being done to tackle violence against women. In their landmark study published in 2012, Mala Htun and S. Laurel Weldon looked at 70 countries over four decades to examine the most effective way to reduce women's experiences of violence.[12] Analyzing the effect of different variables on the scores of an Index of Government Response to

Violence against Women, they found that the mobilization of strong, independent feminist movements was the variable that had the most consistently significant effect.

The civil society global survey

In preparation for this Study, a global survey was shared with civil society organizations working to implement the WPS agenda. Its findings—based on 317 responses collected from organizations active in 71 different countries; 17 focus group discussions (FGDs) held in 16 countries including over 200 participants; and one international 1325 expert conference[13]—provide a wealth of quantitative and qualitative data illustrating both positive impacts, as well as gaps and challenges.[14]

When reflecting upon how their work has changed since 2000, many civil society respondents indicated that resolution 1325 had been instrumental in galvanizing women's efforts on a broad range of peace and security issues. It has also served as a framing tool and a source of legitimacy to demand action from their governments and the international community, leading to the development of international standards including in areas such as sexual violence in conflict.

Still, a majority of respondents rated resolution 1325 as only 'moderately effective' because its transformative potential had not been fulfilled.[15] In field visits and consultations, numerous organizations expressed concern that gains made at normative levels had not translated into desired impact on

FOCUS ON

Building coalitions – learning from the International Campaign to Ban Landmines

The influence of strong coalitions and the importance of working together have been demonstrated through the work and results of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL). Since its launch in 1992, the ICBL has been the voice of civil society in the diplomatic arena, pushing for changes in government policies and practices on addressing the suffering caused by landmines. The campaign includes national and international NGOs, as well as dedicated individuals across many disciplines including human rights, development, refugee issues, and medical and humanitarian relief. Since its launch, the campaign has grown to become a network with active members in some 100 countries all working to rid the world of antipersonnel landmines, and support landmine survivors to lead fulfilling lives.[16]

The ICBL and its founding coordinator, Jody Williams, jointly received the 1997 Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to bring about the Mine Ban Treaty (Ottawa Treaty). The signature of this treaty (which bans the use, production, stockpiling and transfer of anti-personnel mines) is seen as the campaign's greatest success. Together with five women Nobel Peace Laureates, Williams established the Nobel Women's Initiative in 2006 and is also active today in theCampaign to Stop Killer Robots, an international coalition that is working to preemptively ban fully autonomous weapons.

> "We want the opportunity to make decisions about the services we receive."
>
> Woman ex-combatant,
> Global Study visit to Nepal

the ground. Change was not being felt in local communities, including those most affected by conflict. In some settings, key needs and priorities put forward by women, such as income-generation and livelihood opportunities, continued to be overlooked in projects and programming even when strongly articulated by the women themselves.

In terms of constraints more generally, the top three obstacles limiting the effectiveness of civil society's work identified by respondents to the global survey were:

- Lack of resources (explained in more detail in Chapter 13: *Financing WPS*);
- Gaps between international policies and local realities; and
- Lack of trust between governments and civil society.

CHALLENGES FACED BY CIVIL SOCIETY IN CRISES AND CONFLICT-AFFECTED SETTINGS

Civil society organizations are playing an ever-growing role, including in direct service provision, at the frontlines of conflict and disaster—often at great risk and sacrifice. Women's human rights defenders for example have increasingly become targets of violence, facing particular risks that must be urgently addressed by the global community. Such risks have expanded dramatically across the world in 2015, yet security measures to keep women's human rights defenders safe are lagging far behind.[17] Organizations working in the context of ongoing conflict, including from the Middle East and North Africa, pointed to insecurity and militarism as some of the main challenges they faced.

While security conditions may be worsened by conflict, these conditions are overlaid onto an already existing global shift towards shrinking civic space. A recent report showed that in 2014 democracy was on the retreat and free assembly violations were on the rise

> We must acknowledge the value of civic contribution, build the capacity of marginalized voices, ensure a place at the table for civil society actors, and safeguard their activities."
>
> **Zeid Ra'ad Al-Hussein**, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights[18]

in more than 96 of the UN's 193 member states.[19] Tactics deployed to close civic space include passing restrictive laws and targeting individual civil society organizations by raiding their offices, freezing their bank accounts or deregistering them. Strategic use of mechanisms such as the Universal Periodic Review and submissions to the treaty bodies, particularly CEDAW, can be used to highlight repressive actions by governments to silence civil society, providing for greater scrutiny and policy response (the role of such human rights mechanisms is described in detail in Chapter 12).

Lack of trust between governments and civil society is another challenge that has impacted negatively on analysis of needs and priorities; formulation of policies and strategies; and support for their implementation. Despite recognition that more inclusive peace processes lead to stronger support for and sustainability of peacebuilding outcomes, civil society activists have often found themselves kept outside key negotiations, and their analysis and data not considered with the same seriousness as inputs from 'official' sources.

Linked to this, at the WILPF 'Women's Power to Stop War' conference, participants also expressed frustration at the nature of their engagement with the multi-lateral system, where they often felt patronized or treated in a token way.[20] Despite their mistrust however, these groups consistently continued to express their desire to collaborate with governments and the international community—69 per cent of those who participated in the CSO survey responded that they had worked with their national government and ministries in some way[21]—although affirming that they also needed to maintain an independent voice when doing so.

FOCUS ON

Civil society is not one voice

> *"Within civil society organizations, we have to be careful about lumping all women into one category. Many women are divided across political ideologies. However, in women being divided, the greater struggle for rights can sometimes be lost."*
>
> Participant at the Nepal civil society consultation for the Global Study

While coalitions or social movements may speak with one voice on specific issues, civil society, in and of itself, is almost never a singular voice. The diversity of views is crucial in representing different people, interests and experiences, but it can also be a challenge. In conflict and post-conflict settings, in particular, civil society may be divided, fragile and at times controlled by elites or diaspora.[22] In fact, in recent years, groups holding views in opposition to rights already granted in international legal frameworks have demonstrated their effectiveness in mobilization as well, raising the threat of a rollback of these established rights.

> "The CSOs play the role of the watchdogs and [remain] the voice of the voiceless. By these efforts, the problems of the marginalized can easily be addressed by the responsible service, the UN and other related services."
>
> Respondent to the civil society survey for the Global Study, working in Cameroon

Need for more inclusive spaces

Given that civil society is often in the best position to connect and share local issues with national leaders, bringing the perspectives of women and girls at the grassroots to the national, regional and global levels,[23] much more should be done to create more inclusive spaces for decision-making, consultation, interaction and debate between civil society, national governments and the international community.

Annually since 2010, United Nations peace operations have held 'Open Days on Women, Peace and Security,'[24] which provide an opportunity for women in the countries where these operations take place to speak directly with high-level UN officials, to voice their concerns and identify needs and priorities to decision-makers. However, while useful, this once-a-year interaction is far from adequate. Instead, regular forums should be instituted for better interaction, feedback and consultation between senior leadership in peace operations missions, women leaders and civil society groups.

EMERGING AND SYSTEMIC ISSUES

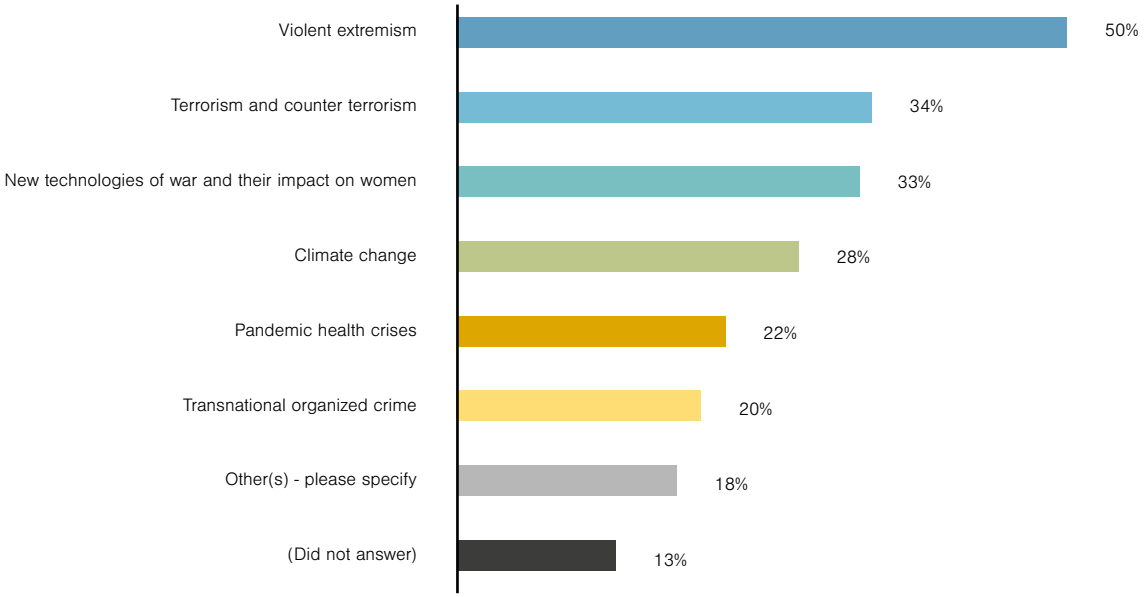
The civil society survey and focus group discussions shed light on both emerging and systemic issues affecting the work of women's organizations and activists worldwide, including militarization, gender inequality and violence against women. A majority of respondents recognized the threats and challenges to their work posed by the rise of violent extremism, often described in tandem with issues of terrorism and counter-terrorism.[25] New technologies of war and their impact on women also ranked highly as an emerging issue.

The two graphs below illustrate the range of responses to the survey question: 'What emerging global issues have affected your work on women, peace and security?'[26]

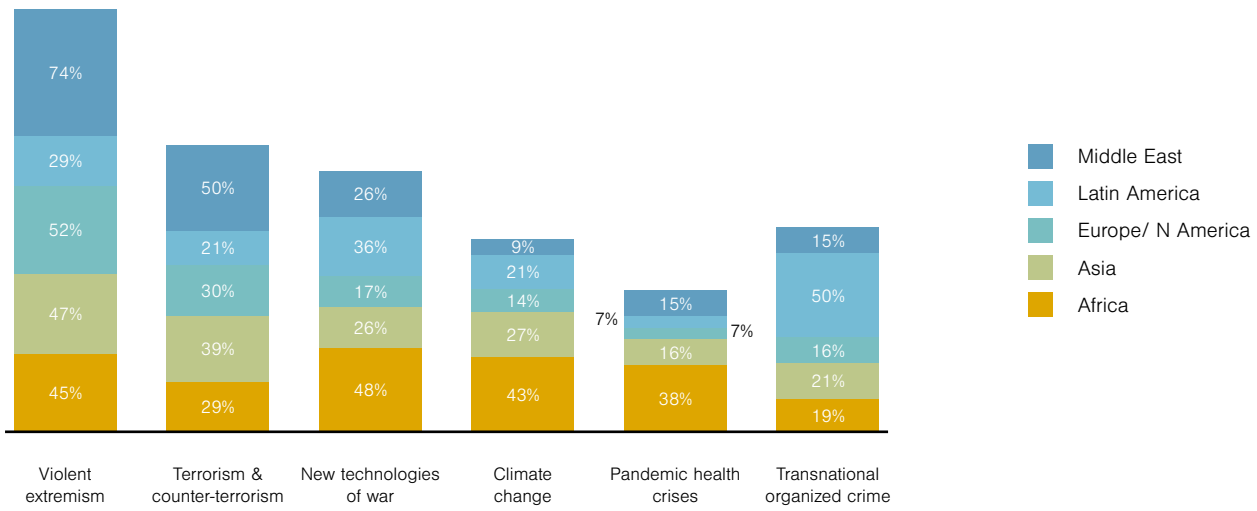
It is noteworthy that many of the same needs around women's organizing for peace identified in the *Independent Experts Assessment* led by Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf in 2002 still ring true today, namely safety, resources, political space and access to decision-makers.[27] This points to obstacles and gaps that are systemic in nature—such as entrenched and pervasive social exclusion, gender inequalities, violence against women—as well as incongruity between the rhetoric of political commitment, necessary resource allocations and actual impact on the ground.

In order to achieve the transformative potential of resolution 1325, a majority of civil society groups emphasized the urgency of reprioritizing the conflict prevention elements of the WPS agenda. They repeatedly called for long-term integrated strategies

Proportion of respondents who selected each of the following categories in response to the survey question: What emerging global issues have affected your work on women and peace and security the most (multiple responses possible)?[28]



Proportion of respondents by region who selected each of the following categories in response to the survey question: What emerging global issues have affected your work on women and peace and security the most, (multiple responses possible)?[29]



that address the root causes of armed conflict rather than just the symptoms.

The top priority beyond 2015 identified across regions is women's full and equal participation in all conflict prevention, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction processes. Importantly, this must go beyond numbers, and instead measure participation by impact and the existence of spaces for women to organize themselves. This lies at the core of resolution 1325, and yet has remained one of the areas with least traction.

> "As we learn from the past 15 years and prepare for the post-2015 agenda, CSOs stand ready to work with all actors to achieve the transformative potential of this landmark resolution."
>
> Report on outcomes of the civil society survey for the Global Study[30]

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

The UN, regional organizations and their Member States should:

- ✓ Institutionalize the participation and consultation of civil society and conflict-affected women, including from the grassroots, in local, national and global decision-making processes, including the development, implementation and monitoring of national action plans.
- ✓ Ensure meaningful consultation and direct participation of women in peace processes, and ensure funding and security for their attendance at negotiations.
- ✓ Establish, finance and support knowledge-sharing mechanisms to ensure timely and transparent sharing of information between civil society and government, with special efforts made to reach and engage local communities.
- ✓ Create and maintain, in law and in practice, a safe and enabling environment ensuring access to justice, accountability, and end of impunity for human rights violations against civil society advocates and women human rights defenders, so they are able to operate free from hindrance and insecurity, and exercise fully their rights to freedom of opinion and expression, association and peaceful assembly.

Women's civil society organizations and movements should:

- ✓ Build strategic alliances across civil society networks to strengthen constituencies and impact on emerging global, regional and national issues regarding human rights, sustainable development, and peace and security.
- ✓ Develop joint advocacy strategies.
- ✓ Broaden engagement with the multi-lateral system, in particular the Universal Periodic Review and treaty body mechanisms, to draw attention to implementation of the WPS agenda and the human rights elements that underpin it.

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DATA AVAILABILITY AND NATIONAL STATISTICS

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolution 1325

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls

2000

Resolution 1889

Requests the Secretary-General to ensure that relevant UN bodies, in cooperation with Member States and civil society, collect data on, analyze and systematically assess particular needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations

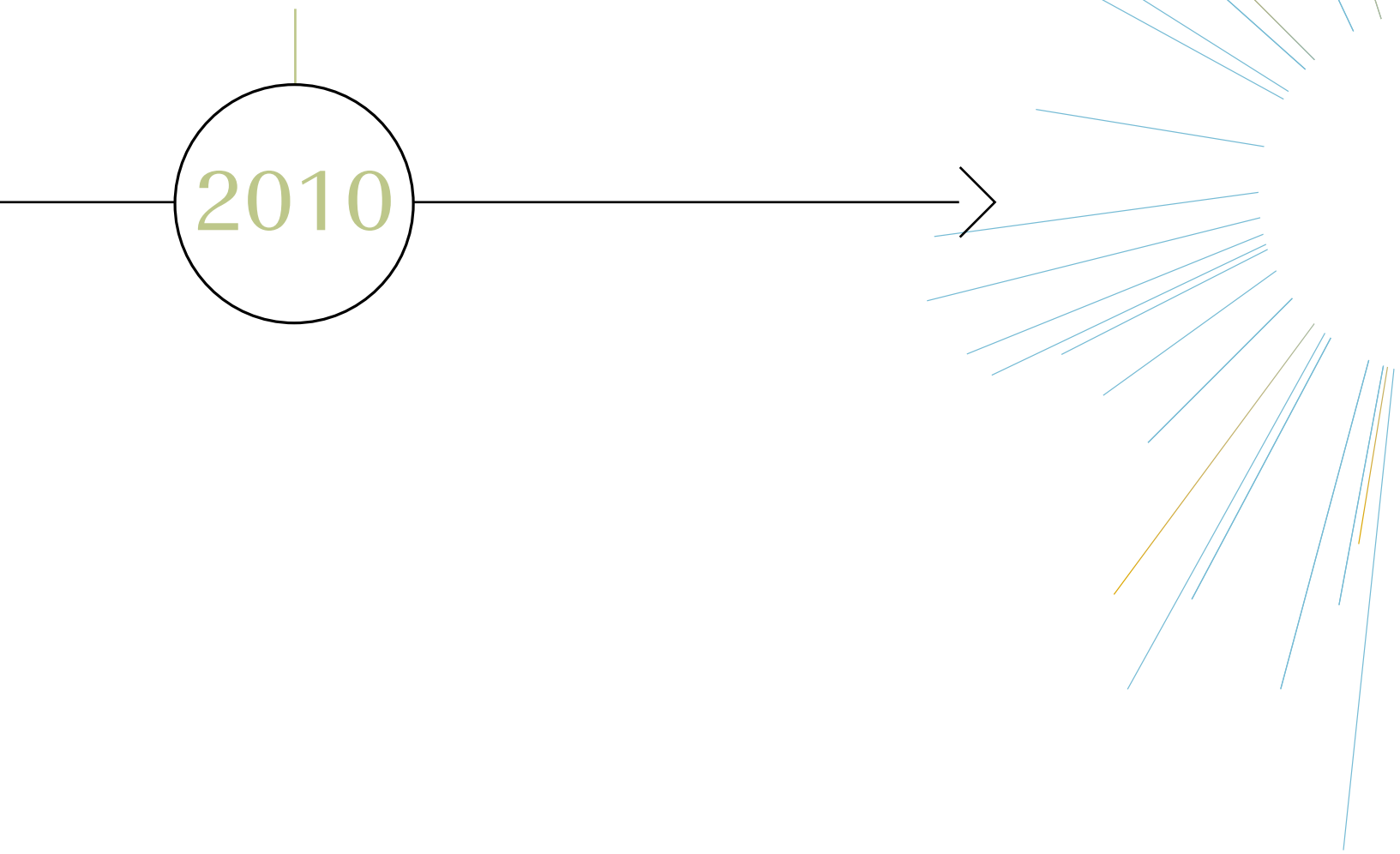
2009

Resolution 1888

Requests that the Secretary-General ensure more systematic reporting on incidents of trends, emerging patterns of attack, and early warning indicators of the use of sexual violence in armed conflict in all relevant reports to the Council

Resolution 1960

Requests the Secretary General to establish monitoring, analysis and reporting arrangements on conflict-related sexual violence, including rape in situations of armed conflict and post-conflict and other situations [and] to engage with United Nations actors, international institutions, civil society organizations, health-care service providers, and women's groups to enhance data collection and analysis of incidents, trends, and patterns of rape and other forms of sexual violence



> "...[W]e must be careful of how we measure our progress. If we use the wrong metrics, we will strive for the wrong things."
>
> **Joseph E. Stiglitz,** Nobel laureate[1]

Data are among the most valuable commodities for social change. When available, accessible and reliable they can enhance accountability, trigger public action, inform evidence-based decision-making and enable public policies that truly tackle the needs of the population. If adequately disaggregated, they are an essential tool for targeting interventions that address inequalities and promote progress among those who are lagging behind.

The contribution of effective data analysis to political, economic and social progress has been exemplified in many areas. For instance, as a result of monitoring efforts for Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 7, the increased availability of geographically disaggregated data on access to improved water sources helped identify which urban and rural areas were in most need of adequate infrastructures. As a result, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Health Organization (WHO), in coordination with national governments, were able to better target the building of water facilities and rehabilitation of community wells. These and similar efforts contributed to an increase in the proportion of the population in developing regions with access to improved water sources from 76 per cent in 1990 to 89 per cent in 2010, when the MDG target was declared achieved.[2] In turn, this contributed to a dramatic decrease in global child mortality rates (from 99 per 1,000 live births in developing regions in 1990 to 53 in 2012),[3] as it is estimated that every day more than 3,000 children die from diarrhoeal diseases.[4]

Illustrative examples also exist in peace and security-related fields. For example, in the early 2000s, few attempts had been made at the global level to measure women's participation in peace processes. Research studies after the ten-year anniversary of resolution 1325 drew attention to both the strikingly low levels of participation of women at peace tables and the weak inclusion of gender-responsive language in peace agreements.[5] Efforts to track women's contributions to peace processes exposed the paucity of women's voices and paved the way for more regular monitoring, which has contributed to a rise in initiatives aimed at increasing women's participation. The evidence also sparked a range of qualitative studies on women's contributions to peace processes, shedding light on structural and other obstacles preventing participation and strengthening evidence for women's inclusion (see Chapter 3: *Women's Participation*).

The need for more relevant and reliable statistics on women, peace and security-related issues is widely understood and was raised by participants in consultations for this Study. For instance, participants called for further research into the correlation between militarized societies and sexual and gender-based violence, highlighted data gaps in this field, and emphasized the need to strengthen data collection and analysis to monitor the effects of climate change on women and communities in conflict-affected and fragile settings.[6] They also demanded that sex-disaggregated data be integrated into all national planning, including disaster risk reduction programmes and emergency response.

Since the passage of Security Council 1325, there have been notable advances in the availability of gender statistics and the capacity to monitor women, peace and security data. Yet statistics that measure needs, gaps and progress on the ground in conflict and post-conflict settings remain scarce. This limits the ability to accurately capture the needs and challenges faced by women and girls in conflict situations and, as a result, the ability of actors to target programming, understand needs and monitor the impact of interventions.

Efforts to track women's contributions to peace processes exposed the paucity of women's voices and paved the way for more regular monitoring, contributing to a rise in initiatives aimed at increasing women's participation.

Numerous measures exist to assess progress related to women, peace and security. Among them are the indicators related to resolution 1325, for which data compilation is annually coordinated through the UN Standing Committee on Women, Peace and Security. This information is presented to the Security Council in the Secretary-General's annual report on women, peace and security. Here, as with so many monitoring efforts, the paucity of data available impacts on outcomes.[7] To date, most of the indicators with available data concern efforts carried out by international entities for the implementation of resolution 1325, while data for numerous indicators meant to measure actual outcomes at the country level remain largely unavailable.

FILLING DATA GAPS TO GET THE FULL PICTURE ON THE GROUND

One of the key reasons why few countries produce and report quality women, peace and security data annually is inadequate coordination between peace and security institutions and statistical systems due to either a lack of political will or understanding of the critical role that quality statistics can play in promoting peace through targeted interventions. Additional challenges include that statistical capacity in conflict-affected contexts is often limited, resources tend to be diverted away from statistics into emergency needs, the feasibility of conducting household surveys is affected by safety concerns and even administrative record-keeping might be interrupted. In some settings, even when statistics are calculated, confidentiality concerns and statistical laws prevent security-related data from being disseminated. Yet, efforts are in place to overcome some of these challenges and demonstrate that compiling and disseminating statistics in fragile settings is not only necessary but possible.

Numerous international and regional initiatives are driving coordinated methodology and data production in conflict settings. For instance, the United Nations Statistical Commission has recently endorsed the use of an international standard for data collection and analysis on crime drivers and factors.[8] Extremely relevant for fragile settings—where, as noted in other chapters, women continue to experience high levels of violence and insecurity post-conflict—crime statistics are increasingly available in a sex-disaggregated manner. However, police-recorded offences and other administrative records do not yet specify sexes of victims and perpetrators consistently. Strengthening national registries and other administrative data sources to ensure consistent recording of sex-disaggregated data in the long-term could play a truly transformative role in the lives of women in conflict and post-conflict settings, where survey data collection is not always feasible.

The incidence of sexual and gender-based violence, heavily underreported in registries, is often better captured through surveys. However, conducting specialized surveys can be expensive. Due to financial constraints, special violence modules are often attached to wider household surveys instead, which in some cases may be inadequate to capture actual incidence due to sampling issues or to skill limitations among the enumerators. In conflict countries, where rape may be used as a weapon of war and sexual violence frequently goes far beyond intimate partners, capturing this phenomenon is even more difficult and registry data is less reliable.

In the absence of reliable figures for the incidence

of violence, perception surveys are useful tools to assess feelings of safety among different population groups. They can also provide valuable insights on governance, leadership and inclusiveness issues, which might be difficult to capture using other statistical tools.[9] Perception and observation surveys conducted within the framework of the Strategy for the Harmonization of Statistics in Africa (SHaSA) are a prime example of a bottom-up initiative that is making a difference in the official measurement of governance, peace and security issues across the continent.

National statistics are expected to be an important input to monitor the implementation of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted by the UN General Assembly in September 2015 and should guide interventions to promote sustainable development in the years to come. Sex-disaggregated governance, peace and security statistics will be necessary to monitor progress towards the achievement of a number of SDG targets, and national statistics offices must therefore be guaranteed adequate financial and technical support for the production of these figures.[10]

FOCUS ON

Statistics for decision-making: The Strategy for the Harmonization of Statistics in Africa

The Strategy for the Harmonization of Statistics in Africa (SHaSA)[11] is a continent-wide effort put in place to generate comparable statistics for decision-making. SHaSA entails the adoption of international standards and methods adjusted to African realities, as well as efforts to enhance coordination and sustained production of harmonized statistics. In this context, a specialized technical group on governance, peace and security statistics was created in 2012 and developed a harmonized set of data collection instruments for periodic monitoring, including two add-on survey modules, one on governance and one on peace and security.[12] Implementation of data collection exercises utilizing these modules has either already taken place or is currently ongoing in at least 13 African national statistics offices.[13]

Analysis of microdata compiled through this initiative in Uganda in 2014 provides relevant insights into people's perceptions and experiences of gender-related issues pertaining to governance, peace and security. For instance, when asked about their main concerns, 51 per cent of the population, men and women alike, were very or fairly worried about threats of physical violence against women by third parties. Similarly, 69 per cent of people were worried about being victims of human trafficking. Physical risks associated with armed conflict worried 40 per cent of women and 38 per cent of men. Yet, the most cited reasons of concern among both sexes were hunger and eviction, which worried almost 80 per cent of women and 70 per cent of men. Women and men perceived the existence of tension, conflict or violence among groups in their areas differently. While more men identified tensions regarding natural resources[14] and ethnic differences,[15] women were a lot more likely to mention tensions between groups regarding economic competition.[16]

Gender analysis of national and sub-national governance, peace and security statistics, including microdata of this kind, is essential for a comprehensive understanding of the needs and priorities of communities in fragile settings. International financial and technical support to national data collection efforts is therefore critical to further the women, peace and security agenda.

The Minimum Set of Gender Indicators, adopted by the UN Statistical Commission in 2013, can play a key role in improving the availability of gender statistics to assess women, peace and security progress on the ground. The Minimum Set represents a major normative advance in the area of gender statistics, and Member States have agreed to use these indicators to guide the national production of gender statistics.[17] Though not necessarily focused on capturing gender issues in conflict and post-conflict settings, the Minimum Set comprises indicators on issues such as sexual and gender-based violence, women's human rights, women's employment, political representation, access to resources and public services, which can be of crucial relevance in fragile settings. Regional organizations are setting up tailored initiatives to support the national production of gender statistics utilizing the Minimum Set.[18]

WORKING TOGETHER TO MEASURE WHAT WE TREASURE: AN AGENDA FOR ACTION

Despite promising initiatives underway to develop indicators and track progress at global, regional and national levels, it is clear that a significant challenge for effectively monitoring progress towards commitments on women, peace and security is the lack of comparable, timely and reliable data. Statistics for many relevant indicators are still not produced regularly in conflict and post-conflict settings. Even where 'snapshot' data exist, there are often no trend data to enable monitoring of changes over time. In the coming years, data requirements to monitor the achievement of the SDGs will be substantial, particularly for tracking gender equality, women's empowerment and the human rights of women and girls as well as measuring peaceful and inclusive societies. To target interventions and ensure women and girls in conflict and post-conflict settings achieve sustainable development, specific women, peace and security statistics will be needed as well.

> "Statistics are a critical tool when it comes to building policy, as well as bringing about effective action."
>
> **Marcela Eternod Arámburu**,
> Executive Secretary, National Institute for Women of Mexico

National governments must prioritize the production of gender statistics that are relevant in fragile settings, as well as of specific women, peace and security statistics. Involving women in data production processes and developing clear strategies for dissemination and use of these statistics in policy-making is key as well. In many conflict and post-conflict countries, only with additional financial and technical support from bilateral and multilateral actors can the production of quality outcome-level data become a reality. A partnership of national governments beyond fragile states, with the support of international entities, needs to address women, peace and security-related data production in a holistic manner: from assessing the relevance of indicators, establishing internationally agreed definitions and aligning efforts with existing international statistical mechanisms to reviewing and reinforcing data production, coordination and reporting mechanisms.

At the international level, peace and security actors must shift their monitoring focus towards more outcome-oriented measures, assess the impact of interventions and pay increased attention to quality. Managerial support, statistical expertise and resources allocated to statistics are needed in international entities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Measuring progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

International entities working on women, peace and security should:

✓ Review and revise existing women, peace and security monitoring frameworks to eliminate overlap and enhance the measurability and relevance of indicators.

✓ Establish, under the auspices of the UN Standing Committee on Women, Peace and Security, a partnership comprising international, regional and national data producers for the creation of an on-line gender, conflict and crisis database to bring together and disseminate available data.

✓ Utilize the gender, conflict and crisis database to inform programming and to facilitate sharing of knowledge and good practice.

✓ Further disseminate data through the use of an on-line repository.

✓ Focus women, peace and security monitoring efforts towards measuring outcomes and impact on the ground by:

- Providing technical and financial support to national statistical systems and civil society organizations working in coordination with these systems for the production of women, peace and security statistics;
- Enhancing collaboration with existing statistical coordination mechanisms at the international level, including those within the auspices of the UN Statistical Commission and in preparation for SDG monitoring; and
- Engaging statistical experts within relevant organizations.

National governments should:

✓ Prioritize the production of national women, peace and security statistics, including by allocating sufficient financial, technical and human resources, integrating them into existing statistical efforts and ensuring their use for policy formulation.

✓ Ensure relevant national statistics are systematically disaggregated by sex and other key variables and timely reported to the international statistical system.

✓ Include gender statistics in work programmes of existing statistical coordination mechanisms working on issues related to governance, peace and security.

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8. “International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes (ICCS)” (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2015).
9. World Value Surveys and Gallup World Polls are examples of perception surveys that provide these kinds of inputs periodically and are increasingly conducted in fragile countries. However, run by third party entities, these often remain outside the realm of official statistics and are rarely used for the formulation of public policies in countries.
10. Numerous initiatives are currently in place to enhance the production of these statistics, including the Praia Group on Governance Statistics and the Inter-Agency and Expert Group on Gender Statistics. The Praia group on governance statistics was formally established in the 46th Session of the United Nations Statistical Commission, and is expected to play a key role in jumpstarting the production of national governance, peace and security statistics and to integrate gender and human rights statistics as one of its key thematic areas.
11. “Strategy for the Harmonization of Statistics in Africa” (African Union Commission, African Development Bank, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2013).
12. With an action plan and budget for a progressive continental roll-out of the instruments, two ‘add-on’ household survey modules and two schedules of administrative items were developed, one on Governance and one on Peace & Security statistics.
13. Benin, Cameroon, Cape-Verde, Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, Ghana, Côte d’Ivoire, Kenya, Madagascar, Mali, Senegal, Seychelles and Uganda.
14. 53 per cent of men vs. 36 per cent of women
15. 16 per cent of men vs. 8 per cent of women
16. 56 per cent of women vs. 31 per cent of men
17. “Statistical Commission: Report on the Forty-Fourth Session (26 February-1 March 2013),” UN Doc. E/2013/24-E/CN.3/2013/33 (United Nations Economic and Social Council, March 1, 2013). Other efforts, such as different sector specific initiatives launched by UN entities, such as OCHA’s indicators on world humanitarian data, UNHCR’s statistics on refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced people and other populations of concern, FAO’s Gender and Land Rights Database and OHCHR’s Human Rights’ indicators, will also be relevant in producing women, peace and security related statistics to inform related SDG monitoring and improving the overall analysis ofgender dimensions in conflict, crisis and post-conflict settings. Civil society is also recently emerging as an important data production actor in the context of SDG monitoring.
18. For instance, in Asia and the Pacific, ESCAP supports national capacity building to respond to data needs utilizing the Set in order to promote gender equality and women’s empowerment.“Regional Consultative Workshop to Develop a Framework and Core Set of Gender Statistics and Indicators in Asia and the Pacific, United Nations Conference Centre, Bangkok, 46 November 2013” (UNESCAP, 2013), http://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/Report-workshop-on-gender-statistics.pdf.

11

WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL

"It is equally important that the Security Council, as the highest UN body entrusted with peace and security matters, leads by example in fully implementing the WPS agenda."

The NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, submission to the Global Study

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

2000

+ Resolution 1325

Expresses its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups

2009

+ Resolution 1888

Expresses its intention to ensure that resolutions to establish or renew peacekeeping mandates contain provisions, as appropriate, on the prevention of, and response to, sexual violence, with corresponding reporting requirements to the Council

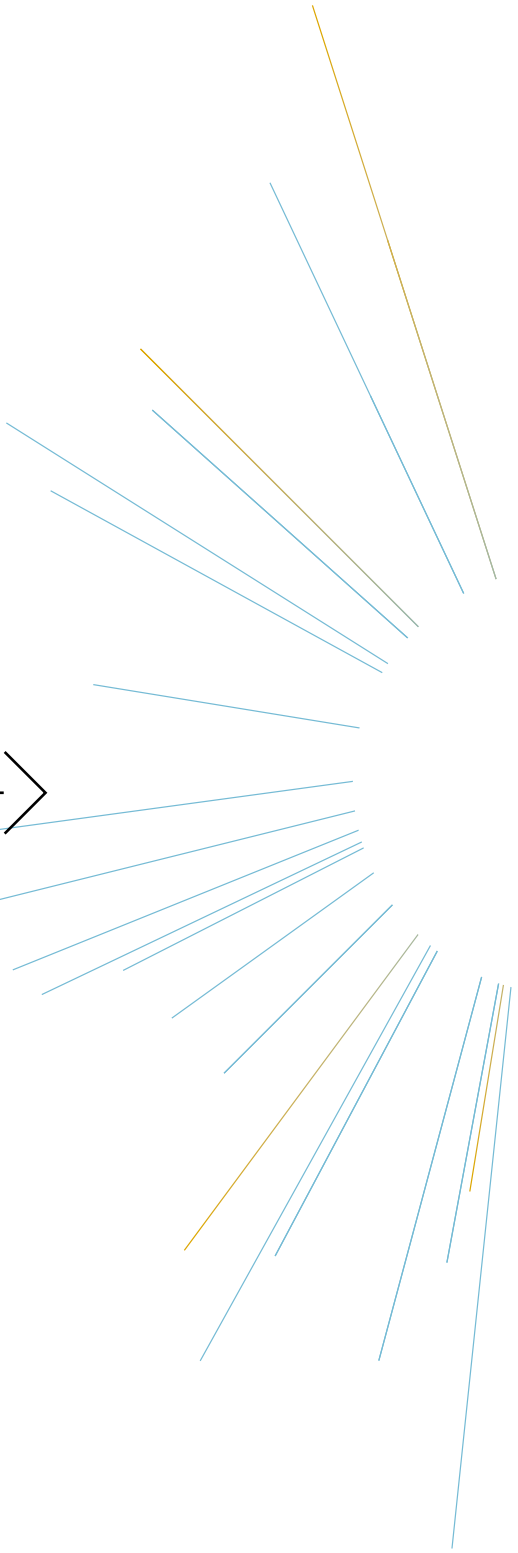
Resolution 2122

Expresses its intention to increase its attention to women, peace and security issues in all relevant thematic areas of work on its agenda, in particular protection of civilians in armed conflict, post-conflict peacebuilding, the promotion and strengthening of the rule of law [...], peace and security in Africa, threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts, and Maintenance of international peace and security

2013

Resolution 2016

Reiterates its demand for the complete cessation with immediate effect by all parties to armed conflict of all acts of sexual violence and its call for these parties to make and implement specific time-bound commitments to combat sexual violence



The Security Council adopted resolution 1325 a year after it had adopted thematic resolutions on the protection of civilians, and children and armed conflict. These decisions came at a time of self-reflection in the UN following a decade of peacekeeping failures in Rwanda, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia. Women were specifically targeted in Rwanda and Bosnia, including through systematic sexual violence. The thematic resolutions also followed mobilization by women's groups globally, including the global south, to draw attention to the gendered nature of conflict, not least at the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, and through the Windhoek Declaration of 2000.

At the time, there was some doubt and indeed, resistance—as reflected in the oral history project undertaken in support of the Global Study—by some Council members about embracing the importance of women's role in peace and security.[1] Two main factors ultimately, would lead to the eventual adoption of resolution 1325. First, the sheer effort, determination and personal conviction of several individuals serving on the Council at the time, in particular the permanent representatives of elected Council members Bangladesh, Namibia, Canada, Jamaica and Mali; and second, the influence of women's NGOs advocating the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action within the environment of assessment of the UN's overall approach to peace operations. It was in this context that the Council adopted resolution 1325, which, put simply, determined that addressing the needs, views and participation of half of society would provide a positive peace dividend for all of society.

It would be eight years before the Council produced further resolutions on the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda. The next catalyst was the jurisprudence on sexual violence crimes coming out of the international criminal tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia that recognized sexual violence as a war crime, a crime against humanity, and a possible constituent act of genocide. This jurisprudence combined with highly credible reports of mass sexual violence perpetrated against the women of the eastern DRC, all contributed to the context and political climate in which resolution 1820 was adopted in 2008. This second resolution specifically addressed sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations and expressed the Security Council's willingness to impose sanctions against perpetrators of sexual violence in armed conflict. Resolution 1820, importantly, highlighted women's capacity and legitimacy to participate in conflict prevention and resolution, as well as post-conflict public life, as essential to long-term prevention and protection strategies.

In the ensuing years, resolutions 1888 (2008), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), and 2122 (2013) on women, peace and security were adopted. With the exception of 1889 and 2122, these resolutions were largely focused on sexual violence and other protection issues. They served to establish an architecture that would define how the Council would consider the protection elements of the WPS agenda in its daily work.

In principle, the Council has a conflict prevention role where the encouragement of women's participation—both as a pillar and contributing factor—could significantly enhance conflict prevention. In practice, however, the Council's conflict prevention toolbox has been underutilized. The Security Council has rarely acted to proactively prevent conflict, and instead has focused largely on protection concerns, as reflected

In practice, however, the Council's conflict prevention toolbox has been underutilized. The Security Council has rarely acted to proactively prevent conflict, and instead has focused largely on protection concerns, as reflected across its body of work.

A key area of concern is how information to the Council... is received, discussed and sufficiently analyzed to lead to a relevant and achievable mission level response, and accountability by the UN system for implementing that response

across its body of work. This co-relates to a notable lack of investment by the UN as a whole in conflict prevention, a finding that was echoed in the recent reports of both the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations as well as the report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture.[2] The translation of this in the realm of women, peace and security, has meant a stronger focus on the protection of women and girls, in particular from sexual violence in conflict, and a less consistent recognition and systematic inclusion of their participation in the agenda. Indeed, protection concerns fit more immediately into how the Council views its role in maintaining international peace and security whereas participation, while recognized as an important component to a longer-term, structural peace and security strategy, does not carry with it the same immediate requirement for physical protection in the way that mass atrocities do.[3]

A PROGRESSIVE COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENTATION AND ACTION ON THE WPS AGENDA

Resolutions 1889 and 2122 are exceptions to the focus on protection, and contain elements of specific concern to the Council's working methods. Resolution 1889, adopted in 2009, requested a set of indicators to track resolution 1325's implementation on a global level, and to be reported on to the Council every year in the Secretary-General's report on women, peace and security (see Chapter 10: *Key Actors - Data*).

Resolution 2122, adopted in 2013, was perhaps the most significant outcome for the WPS agenda to date in relation to the Council's own commitments to implementation and action. The Council requested several practices to be consolidated. These included the following:

- Improved information flow into the Council, including regular briefings by the head of UN Women and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) on Sexual Violence in Conflict;
- Special Envoys, when addressing the Council, to also report on progress made in meeting regularly with women leaders and groups, and inviting women to participate in conflict-resolution processes;
- The UN Secretariat's Department of Political Affairs and Department of Peacekeeping Operations to include information on women, peace and security in all of their reports and regular briefings to the Council; and
- Commissions of inquiry, investigating situations on the Council's agenda, to include in their briefings information on the gender-specific elements of conflict.

In addition, the Council stressed the need for consistent implementation of resolution 1325 in its own work, including by ensuring mission mandates include women, peace and security provisions such as provision of gender expertise, and mainstreaming gender into disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), security sector reform (SSR) and election support activities. The Council committed itself to integrate women, peace and security into other thematic issues it regularly considers, such as the rule of law and counter-terrorism. There is also a

key instruction to leadership of peace operations to stay apprised of and take requisite action on threats to women and women's rights in armed conflict and post-conflict situations. The Council additionally emphasized the importance of its own interaction with civil society both in New York and during visiting missions to the field. Throughout, the Council emphasized the need for the substantive engagement of women in peace processes, and for gender experts to be embedded within mediation teams.

Resolution 2122 thus achieved a great deal in elucidating ways the Council could improve its own accountability to women, peace and security commitments. However, significant challenges remain to transforming the spirit of the WPS agenda into concrete and consistent implementation. Within the Council, the political will to address this agenda across the body of the Council's work waxes and wanes. Moreover, there would appear to be a general lack of understanding of the WPS agenda that results in it being regularly overlooked or conflated solely with protection from sexual violence.

The following sections describe how improved Council working methods combined with improved flows of gender conflict analysis from the UN system can help shift the perspective of Council members who view women, peace and security as a 'woman's issue'[4] or, as some experts describe it, a tick-box obligation, to, instead, a tool with the potential to enhance the Council's own peace and security objectives and its very effectiveness in achieving these objectives.

Significant challenges remain to transforming the spirit of the women, peace and security agenda into concrete and consistent implementation.

STRENGTHENING QUALITY INFORMATION FLOWS TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL

A key area of concern is how information to the Council...is received, discussed and sufficiently analyzed to lead to a relevant and achievable mission level response, and accountability by the UN system for implementing that response.

UN gender architecture and the broader UN system

The Council's work on women, peace and security is reliant in many ways on the information and analysis it receives from the UN system itself. Strengthening the gender architecture of the UN (dealt with in detail in Chapter 10: *Key Actors - The United Nations*) has specific implications for the quality and quantity of information received by the Security Council.

For example, and more specifically, the Council has created a robust architecture around sexual violence in conflict. This includes the Office of the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, the Team of Experts on Rule of Law and Sexual Violence in Conflict, women's protection advisors and the inter-agency network UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict. All play a critical role in ensuring flows of information and analysis on the protection elements of the WPS agenda to the Council.

As regards the UN system as a whole, avenues to strengthen interaction and information flows across the entire system should be pursued, and efforts made to limit the fragmentation and silos that can hamper effective response.[5] The Human Rights Council, owing to the creation of an increased number of commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions in the past decade, as well as through the work of its conflict-relevant Special Mandate holders, can serve as one important source of information for the Council on countries of concern.
There has been a trend towards regular Arria-formula meetings[6] or informal interactive dialogue meetings with commissions of inquiry. As a result of a request

in resolution 2122 that all such bodies include findings on gender-based crimes when briefing the Council, these interactions have led to significant new flows of information on the impact of conflicts on women and girls that would otherwise have not been brought to the Council's attention. While this is a positive practice, efforts should be made to standardize it.

Also, just as the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons briefed the Council during the 2014 Open Debate on women, peace and security, speaking in particular to the gendered impacts of the highest levels of displacement since World War II, such invitations of relevant mandate holders should equally be considered for integration into the Council's lexicon of established practice.

Data collection

Data collection has been a fundamental challenge for the WPS agenda, with the lack of information acting as a barrier to assessments of progress in programming and policy, and also as a useful excuse for lack of action from less-supportive stakeholders.

The Council has supported the women, peace and security indicators and the standardized monitoring, analysis, and reporting arrangements (MARA) on sexual violence in conflict, both information-gathering processes to measure and move forward implementation of the WPS agenda. The 2015 Secretary-General's annual report on conflict-related sexual violence was particularly strong, in part due to increased deployment of women's protection advisors to human rights components of missions to support reporting and strengthen the overall capacity of missions on conflict-related sexual violence.[7] This demonstrates how the Council's demands for stronger gender staffing structures in UN missions can deliver improved reporting and analysis.

The women, peace and security indicators are intended to gauge longitudinal progress across the agenda's pillars of prevention, protection, participation, relief and recovery. Reporting emanating from the UN system and Member States is compiled by UN Women. Despite encouragement from civil society, these indicators are not reflected in regular country reports received by the Security Council, though they are reflected in the Secretary-General's annual report on women, peace and security. Equally, all Secretary General's reports to the Council should include sex-disaggregated data as part of their analysis.[8]

Interaction with civil society

Civil society, and women's organizations in particular, are key actors for implementation of the WPS agenda, often functioning during active conflict as the only actors in conflict-affected communities delivering services and services and sustaining dialogue, and in the long-term, leading post-conflict recovery. They are also critical sources of information, able to provide missions as well as the Security Council much needed information on the local context, the impact of the conflict and the suitability of responses. Furthermore, women's civil society represents a core constituency of the Council and an important stakeholder in their decisions. Resolution 2122 specifically recognizes "the importance of interactions of civil society, including women's organizations, with members of the Council at headquarters and during Council field missions and commits to ensuring that its periodic field visits to conflict areas include interactive meetings with local women and women's organizations in the field."

Over the past 15 years, the Council has regularly heard from women civil society leaders during the annual debate on women, peace and security; and in recent years also during the annual debate on sexual violence in conflict. On occasion, Council members have taken the initiative to hear from women on specific country situations, such as the Arria-formula meeting held on 17 January 2014 with Syrian women to discuss the peace talks for that country. However, these initiatives remain ad hoc and too infrequent. More consistent engagement with women's civil society as a key source of information is

> "If I can make one proposal to the Security Council [...] it will be strengthening women's organizations working already on 1325."
>
> **Katherine Ronderos,** Director, WILPF Colombia, UN Women Video Interview, 2015

needed, and not only during thematic debates, but during country-specific deliberations.

Further, these efforts should be strengthened with more regular interaction at the field level between senior leadership of missions and women's organizations. Such interactions would strengthen the quality of information flows to the mission, with a knock-on positive impact on the information and analysis made available in briefings and reports to the Council as called for in resolution 2122.

IMPLEMENTATION IN THE COUNCIL

The important role the Security Council has played in establishing the ambitious normative framework of women, peace and security cannot be overstated. However, while the Council has helped to set the agenda, implementation of that agenda has proven to be a wholly separate challenge, with the Council thus far being largely inconsistent in its oversight of how its decisions on women, peace and security have been translated into action.

As noted by the report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations: "Despite annual debates on women and peace and security of the Security Council, there is inconsistent application of the agenda during the rest of the year, including during mandate formulation and renewal consultations, which is exacerbated by the lack of attention to those issues in briefings and reports to the Council by the Secretariat and senior mission leaders."[9]

Since the Council is not an implementing arm of the UN system, it cannot be expected to achieve the requisite outcomes in isolation or without quality information and analysis. Instead, implementation requires significant work by the broader UN system, Member States and civil society. Nevertheless, the Security Council can still strengthen its own accountability for decisions made on women, peace and security, and hold the Secretariat accountable for its role in consistent implementation.

Addressing the implementation gap

In the years since resolution 1325 was adopted, the Council has significantly expanded its engagement with the WPS agenda, particularly through the addition of operational language in its resolutions. Steady progress has been made in including gender language in its outcomes—specifically, within presidential statements and resolutions. For example, in 2000 only 25 per cent of relevant resolutions included a reference to women, whereas that proportion increased to 94 per cent in 2013.[10] There was also a noticeable increase in mainstreaming gender language in Council outcomes from 2011 onwards. This is likely due to the establishment and operationalizing of UN Women and the office of the SRSG on Sexual Violence—which has led to a better flow of information to Council members—as well as more regular Secretariat interaction with Council members that has resulted in better working level outcomes. The Secretary-General's reports have also exhibited an upward trajectory of women, peace and security reporting in country-specific reports. Only half of such reports referenced women in 2000 compared to 83 per cent in 2013 and 89 per cent in 2014.

Other examples of progress include briefings by the

SRSG on Sexual Violence in Conflict and the Executive Director of UN Women on country-specific situations, and not just on the thematic issue of women, peace and security. The Special Representative has also regularly briefed Security Council subsidiary bodies such as the Sanctions Committees for the CAR, DRC and South Sudan. Furthermore, expert groups associated with the CAR, DRC, Sudan and Somalia sanctions regimes regularly provide gender analysis in their reports.

Despite the positive developments in Council outcomes in New York and improved flows of information from the Secretariat to Council members, what has not happened however, is better implementation of the WPS agenda in the field by peace operations. There is effectively an implementation deficit. Although the gender-specific language in Council resolutions and presidential statements provides UN actors with the opportunity to improve women, peace and security implementation, without the necessary leadership and follow-up in the Council, the Secretariat and in peace operations, there will not be a significant corresponding positive impact on the ground.[11]

In interviews with a wide array of stakeholders, a common theme emerged regarding what is necessary to address this deficit. In particular, Council members pointed to the function of the Secretariat to provide timely and relevant information firmly rooted in the peace and security context. They expressed that when such information was included in a Secretary-General's report or in a briefing by the head of a peace operation, it tended to be descriptive rather than analytical. Council members also seemed frustrated by civil society's expectations of what could reasonably be achieved by the Council.

Members of the Secretariat expressed a need for Security Council members to exhibit high-level commitment, and in particular, to ask follow-up questions when heads of mission brief the Security Council; noting that it was hard to convince Special Representatives in the field to give the issue thoughtful consideration in their already limited time with Council members when the Council did not do so itself. The Secretariat also noted that the proliferation of mandate tasks required by the Council did not match the human and financial resources made available to a mission.

There was also self-reflection among Secretariat staff who reported that their own leadership often did not prioritize or take gender-staffing needs seriously.[12] One common complaint by staff, applicable across peace operations, is that when hard-fought gender positions are approved for a mission, they are rarely made part of the mission's core budget (with the exception being the UN Mission in South Sudan). The result is that, during a mission's drawdown, or if a mission is facing budget constraints, gender expertise is usually the first to be cut from the payroll.

Certainly, many exceptions to these observations were cited as examples of strong implementation of women, peace and security in the field. However, all stakeholders agreed that consistent and reliable leadership was lacking, both in New York and in the field. Ultimately, any system of accountability that is institutionalized in the work of the Security Council and that can remain effective over time requires an approach that is resilient to the Council's changing dynamics due to shifting geo-political realities, and to the annual turnover in Council membership of five elected members. Such a system will need to recognize that although individual actors will always matter in taking important strides toward implementation, a reliance on individual personalities or particularly strong Council members is unsustainable in the long-term.

In sum, the following are recommended as focus areas for how the Security Council can help to address the implementation deficit:

- Improving quality information and analysis flowing into the Council;

- Consistent and high-level leadership on women, peace and security, in addition to the sexual violence in conflict leadership, within the UN system (see Chapter 10: *Key Actors - The United Nations*); and

- Concrete, specific guidance on how to advance the WPS agenda in the daily work of the Council that will in turn create higher standards of accountability for implementation in the field.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S USE OF SANCTIONS: EVOLVING CONSIDERATION OF WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

Sanctions are an important tool available to the Council to enforce peace and security.[13] The concept of sanctions was sharpened in the 1990s to move from sanctions affecting entire populations, to include targeted measures aimed at changing behavior or to constrain certain activities of specific individuals responsible for actions that the Council wanted to minimize.[14] Many of these early sanctions regimes were established prior to or shortly after the adoption of resolution 1325. Given the way in which the Council used sanctions at the time, combined with the lack of any well-established framework to provide guidance, it is not surprising that the Council did not take into account the devastating impact that conflict has on women's lives when it established the early sanctions regimes; in particular, that disruptions caused by economic sanctions fall more intensively on groups and individuals affected by preexisting social, economic and political discrimination.

Resolution 1325 signaled the Council's willingness to consider sanctions' potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions. This guidance came at a time when the Council was shifting away from comprehensive sanctions toward 'targeted sanctions' or 'smart sanctions.' Considering women, peace and security when using targeted sanctions—focusing on specific entities or individuals who hold decision-making powers or are personally suspected of bearing the greatest responsibility for serious violations of international law—only emerged in the late-2000s.

Overall, there has been a general trend to more systematically refer to gender issues in Council resolutions related to sanctions regimes. In 2010, looking at the Council sanction resolutions adopted over a 10-year period, PeaceWomen noted that 15.8 per cent (12) contained women and/or gender references.[15] This proportion has further increased in recent years: as of April 2015, among the 75 resolutions linked to 16 sanctions regimes currently active, 22 include some references to gender/women's rights (29.3 per cent).[16]

Key gender considerations for sanctions regimes

There are four key areas in which gender considerations could be better operationalized in sanctions regimes: designation criteria, referral processes, delisting and humanitarian exemptions.

Designation criteria - The main dimension in which the Council considers gender issues in sanctions regimes relates to the designation criteria. Despite systematic sexual and gender-based crimes or violations of women's rights being included as designation criteria, very few individuals have thus far been sanctioned for such violations.[17]

Referral process - The second most frequent way in which gender considerations are taken into account relates to the referral process. In four situations[18] the Special Representative of the Secretary General on Sexual Violence in Conflict and/or the UN mission are explicitly invited to refer individuals and/or entities to be included in the sanctions list for cases of sexual violence and/or gender-based crimes. However, it is unclear if any submission of names by the SRSG has resulted in a listing.

Delisting process - Delisting procedures have constituted a prominent issue for sanctions related

to counter-terrorism. However, only one such process includes gender considerations, the 1988 Taliban Sanctions Committee. Both resolutions 1988 (2011) and 2082 (2012) require this sanctions committee to ensure that the delisting process takes into account the respect of women's rights by individuals and/or entities, by specifically citing respect for the Afghan constitution, including its provisions on human rights and the rights of women, as part of the delisting criteria. Such a delisting criterion could be applied in other sanctions regimes that target political spoilers that may eventually need to be part of a political solution.

Humanitarian exemptions - While exemptions on humanitarian assistance have been incorporated into Security Council sanctions resolutions related to Somalia, they have not included gender-specific considerations. These considerations could be incorporated in other sanctions regimes where there are sanctions on commodities such as timber in Liberia and diamonds in Côte d'Ivoire.

ADDRESSING CONFLICT-RELATED SEXUAL VIOLENCE THROUGH SANCTIONS

Following the adoption of resolution 1820 in 2008, references to the Council's concern regarding sexual violence increased in resolutions renewing sanctions regimes, and similarly, increased in expert groups' reports submitted to the relevant sanctions committees. Resolution 1888 (2009) further developed such language and called for all relevant UN missions and bodies to share information with sanctions committees and their expert groups. More recently, resolution 1960 (2010) asked the Secretary-General to include in his annual reports on conflict-related sexual violence an annex listing parties credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for patterns of rape and other forms of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict, and placing this on the agenda of the Council "as a basis for more focused United Nations engagement with those parties, including, as appropriate, measures in accordance with the procedures of the relevant sanctions committees."

The Council is increasing the application of targeted sanctions and has used individual sanctions to explicitly address sexual and gender-based violence in armed conflict in four instances. It added sexual violence as a criterion for targeted sanctions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo through resolution 1807 (2008); Somalia in resolution 2002 (2011); the Central African Republic in resolution 2127 (2013) and South Sudan in resolution 2206 (2015). However, only the 1533 DRC Sanctions Committee and the 2206 South Sudan Sanctions Committee have actually listed individuals for such violations. The other two sanctions committees have not, despite the ability to do so.

The designation criteria of sanctions regimes are evolving to include these violations. Of the currently 16 United Nations sanctions regimes, five have human rights and sexual violence related designation criteria.[19] Out of more than 1,000 listings in these sanctions regimes, 16 individuals and four entities have been designated based on these criteria.[20] For example, in May 2014, the Council's Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee added Boko Haram to the sanctions list following a series of terrorist attacks, including the mass kidnapping of schoolgirls.[21] In addition, a growing number of monitoring teams, groups or panels include an expert on human rights and gender-based violence—of the currently 12 panels and monitoring groups, six have such expertise, which represents significant progress.

Gender-sensitive designation criteria: Sanctions regime on South Sudan

Perhaps the strongest gender and human rights language to be found in designation criteria is the recent decision on South Sudan. On 3 March 2015, through resolution 2206 (2015), the Security Council decided to create a sanctions regime that could impose targeted sanctions "in order to support the search for an inclusive and sustainable peace in South Sudan."

The designation criteria would allow the 2206 South Sudan Sanctions Committee to target individuals and entities directly or indirectly responsible for "the targeting of civilians, including women and children, through the commission of acts of violence (including killing, maiming, torture, or rape or other sexual violence), abduction, enforced disappearance, forced displacement, or attacks on schools, hospitals, religious sites, or locations where civilians are seeking refuge, or through conduct that would constitute a serious abuse or violation of human rights or a violation of international humanitarian law."

Given the disproportionate and differential impact, recognized in resolution 2122, of violations such as enforced disappearances, forced displacement and deliberate destruction of civilian infrastructure on women and girls, comprehensive designation criteria can go far to ensuring sanctions regimes are in line with women, peace and security commitments.

Most recently, in 2014, the Compendium of the High-Level Review on Sanctions noted that more concerted attention was needed to include in sanctions regimes issues related to sexual violence and other forms of gender-based crimes and targeted attacks against women. It noted that expert groups should have greater access to information and substantive support from within the UN system on specific issues, and noted that numerous rosters, including the Justice Rapid Response/UN Women dedicated roster of sexual and gender crimes investigators, had been made available to sanctions expert groups.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO IMPROVE THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S APPROACH TO WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

While acknowledging that there are various circumstances beyond the Council's control that create obstacles to implementation, there are two clear factors related to the work of the Council that could however, be improved. First is the Council's uneven approach to applying a coherent gender strategy to country situations. Second is the continued culture of viewing women, peace and security as an "add-on" component to a mandate versus being one of the central tenets that support conflict prevention and underpin long-term stability. This is compounded by the detrimental culture in parts of the Secretariat and in the field that view women, peace and security solely as a 'women's agenda.'

There are a number of relatively straightforward steps that the Council and the UN system can immediately take to address these factors, and in so doing, begin to close a large part of the current implementation gap.

Women's protection advisors and gender advisors

- The Secretariat could improve its deployment of women's protection advisors and gender advisors, ensuring such posts are part of a mission's core budget and structured in line with recommendations on gender architecture (in Chapter 10: *Key Actors - The United Nations*). Leadership in peacekeeping, peacebuilding and political missions could better integrate such advisors' work in the operational framework of the mission. The Council could also improve its understanding of the distinction between women's protection advisors and gender advisors (a problem expressed by Council experts)[22] and be more consistent with following up on their deployment.

- The Council could consistently underscore the importance of women's protection advisors' role in coordinating and convening the Monitoring, Analysis and Reporting Arrangements (MARA). In 2014, the Council only specifically referenced the MARA in relation to two missions despite calling for advisors in five missions. Further, it would be useful to recall the initial concept behind appointing women protection advisors, that is, as an operational security role that includes working with military and police counterparts to advise on how the mission could protect women from the wide array of violations they face in conflict. While the reporting role such posts have taken on in relation to the MARA is important, the operational security advisory function is still not a part of the mission response. There should be more direct interaction by such advisors not only with the head of mission but also with force commanders of peacekeeping operations.

- Similar emphasis on the important role that gender advisors play is needed. Although the Council has repeatedly requested for gender advisors in both mission mandates and in its women, peace and security resolutions (notably resolutions 1889 and 2122), the Secretariat has fallen short on deployment in numbers, in recruitment of advisors with sufficient seniority in the mission structure, and in maintaining existing posts (see Chapter 10: *Key Actors - The United Nations*). A number of operations meant to have such advisors are therefore lacking them. Reports from both DPA and DPKO vary in their inclusion of analysis and recommendations on women, peace and security issues. Strengthening both content and consistency of this material is a core role for gender advisors, and critical to improving the flow of key information to the Council.

Reports and briefings

- The Council can significantly underscore the importance of the WPS agenda simply by asking mission leadership follow-up questions when they come to New York to brief, in line with resolution 2122. If Council members exhibit greater commitment then it will likely result in the Secretariat and mission leadership approaching the task with more attention.[23]

- While research revealed a continued positive trend in reporting by the Secretary-General on women, peace and security issues in his country-specific reports, there remains room for improvement. In particular, the Council could request analytical, versus descriptive, reporting on gender issues throughout the report as well as the inclusion of a separate, more analytical section dedicated to capturing the country's and the mission's progress, challenges and recommendations towards better implementation of women, peace and security. Employing such analytical sections should be achievable with appropriate gender expertise within UN missions. Where reports include a separate section on sexual violence, they should also include a broader section on women, peace and security in order to capture challenges of women's participation and empowerment, and reinforce the linkages between sexual violence and systemic gender-based discrimination.

- The women, peace and security indicators are intended to gauge longitudinal progress across the agenda's pillars of prevention, protection, participation, relief and recovery. Reporting emanating from the UN system and Member States is compiled by UN Women. Despite encouragement from civil society, these indicators are not reflected in regular country reports received by the Security Council, though they are reflected in the Secretary-General's annual report on women, peace and security (for more on the 1325 indicators, see Chapter 10: *Key Actors - Data*). Equally, all Secretary General's reports to the Council should include sex-disaggregated data as part of their analysis.[24]

- The interaction by the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict with the Council continues to be notable. The Special Representative has briefed not only on her broader mandate but also on country-specific situations such as the CAR, Darfur, South Sudan and Syria. The Council could continue to consolidate into practice briefings by the Special Representative prior to mandate renewals, or on unfolding situations of conflict where sexual violence is a concern. Importantly, the Council should extend such interactions also to the Executive Director of UN Women through more frequent invitations—in particular when the Council is considering a mandate to support post-conflict structures in a country-specific situation—which will contribute to ensuring broad participation and decision-making by women.

Security Council visiting missions

- The Council has committed in past Presidential Statements "to integrate gender perspectives into the terms of reference of its visits and Missions to countries and regions in conflict. To that end, the Council requests the Secretary-General to establish a database of gender specialists as well as women's groups and networks in countries and regions in conflict, and to include gender specialists in the teams where relevant."[25] Whenever the WPS agenda has been incorporated into the terms of reference of the visit, the Council has engaged with stakeholders on the ground, albeit to varying degrees. However, when women, peace and security issues were not included in the terms of reference then gender-related concerns tended to be subsequently overlooked by Council members during the visiting mission.[26] The Council could make a more concerted effort to consistently incorporate a gender perspective into its terms of reference for visiting missions, including by fulfilling its stated intention of a specific women, peace and security-focused mission before the Global Review of resolution 1325 in 2015.[27] While that mission has not happened within the proposed time frame, there is continued value in having it take place, since it could then also establish good practice for future visiting missions.

- There are positive examples of Council members hearing the views of women's civil society: in Sierra Leone in May 2012 on parliamentary quotas for women, in the DRC in October 2013 on accountability for sexual violence, in Mali in February 2014 on women's difficulty in being included in the national dialogue and in South

More consistent engagement with women's civil society as a key source of information is needed, and not only during thematic debates, but during country-specific deliberations.

Sudan in August 2014 on women's representation in South Sudan's peace talks. However, because these interactions with civil society are often held towards the end of visiting missions, the opportunity to convey gender concerns to national leadership during the Council's high-level political dialogue while in-country is usually missed. If such stakeholder feedback was sought at the outset of a visiting mission, there would be a greater chance for Council members to incorporate such feedback in their subsequent interactions with political leaders and mission leadership. Follow-up questions could then also be posed to Special Representatives on progress towards addressing these challenges when they come to New York to brief the Council.

Improving engagement with local actors

- Better engagement could be defined as discussion with actors on the ground about how the UN system could contribute to women's economic and political empowerment, whether and how UN peacekeeping could stabilize areas so that IDPs can return home, addressing the structural obstacles to including more female police in UN operations and in national security structures, and offering concrete options for perpetrators of sexual violence to be held to account. In addition, there could be specific discussion of what messages civil society actors would like delivered more forcefully to national leadership and mission leadership.

Sexual exploitation and abuse

- Referencing of the UN's zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse by its own personnel is not included systematically in relation to mandates. This is something that could be undertaken as an immediate measure by the Council in all resolutions renewing or establishing peace operations mandates. The Council could also consistently request troop-contributing countries to undertake pre-deployment training, preventive measures and disciplinary action if necessary (for further recommendations on this issue, see Chapter 6: *Keeping the Peace*).

Women's participation

- There continues to be worrying indications that the Council's focus is less sharp when it comes to the women's participation aspect of the WPS agenda. Despite the robust language on the participation elements of women, peace and security, of the nine resolutions adopted in 2013 that included new, substantial and operational references to women, the language therein was almost exclusively protection related.[28] More concerning than the metrics, however, is that references to women's participation remain extremely general whereas protection language is specific in enumerating the violations and articulating what peace operations and the UN system should do in response. The challenge in moving the agenda forward lies in going beyond general calls to specific accountability measures to ensure field missions implement their women, peace and security obligations more concretely.

- The Council's architecture on sexual violence in conflict—such as the Office of the Special Representative, the Team of Experts on Rule of Law and Sexual Violence in Conflict, women's

protection advisors and the inter-agency network UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict—plays an important role in ensuring flows of information and analysis on the protection elements of the WPS agenda to the Council. A similar specific focus and systems are required with regards to women's participation in conflict prevention, peacemaking and peacebuilding.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STRENGTHENING SECURITY COUNCIL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA

Co-leadership role by elected members

Consistent and coherent leadership is sorely needed to accelerate implementation of resolution 1325 and subsequent resolutions. Political will and consistent oversight by the Security Council are central to improving the Council's own follow-up on the implementation of the WPS agenda, and it is important that Council members address their own lack of leadership on the issue. Given that the gaps in implementation are exacerbated by the absence of key issues being raised in the closed consultations of Council members, an accountability process requires concerted leadership by Council members in cooperation with the UN system.

At present, the Council considers the WPS agenda on two tracks, with a permanent member assuming leadership on each: the US leads on sexual violence in conflict, and the UK leads on the broader women, peace and security issues. In theory, having a permanent member explicitly minding each of the two tracks results in a stronger institutional memory of how the agenda has evolved in the Council's work, and provides the 'muscle' when other permanent members are reluctant to incorporate strong gender concerns into Council outcomes. In practice, however, the turnover of diplomatic personnel is a major obstacle to building such institutional memory. In addition, and perhaps an even greater barrier, is the fact that the political priorities of the P5 members and their willingness to leverage their political capital are not always aligned with women, peace and security objectives. It is more often an elected member of the Council who is vocal in keeping women, peace and security issues alive in Council discussions.[29]

In this context, it could be useful to reduce the ad-hoc nature of this practice by having elected members take on an informal co-leadership role during their two-year term, alongside the relevant permanent member, to take better advantage of the energy and resources these elected members bring to the Council. The role of this elected member could be to lead a broader accountability system within the Council in order to leverage relevant and security-specific women, peace and security objectives into the Council's outcomes.

Working group

Two ideas that have been continuously floated to support the Council's implementation of its women, peace and security commitments have been the establishment of a Council working group, and high-level leadership on women, peace and security. Neither idea has been fully developed but both have elements that are worth exploring. The discussion on high-level leadership is covered in Chapter 10: *Key Actors - The United Nations*.

To more fully realize its women, peace and security commitments, the Council would benefit from a mechanism that is not only focused on protection, and punitive decisions in the sanctions committees, but also engaged

An effective group focused on women, peace and security should be an informal expert group with a clearly defined set of issues to track.

with the more thorny participation aspects of the women, peace and security agenda. It is with regards to the latter that the Council needs to play a greater supportive role.

The Council already has a working group on children and armed conflict, and an informal expert group on protection of civilians. Both offer possibilities and drawbacks when determining how a similar women, peace and security working group may be effective. There are two key considerations. First, it is important to ensure that any such system recognizes and incorporates the unique elements of the issue, not least the 'agency and empowerment' aspects, which provide a particular challenge to the Council's scope of work. Second, while there are successes in both the children, and protection of civilian structures (respectively formal and informal models), it is vital to also include an assessment of the challenges both models face.

The working group on children and armed conflict has the benefit of being formal—this allows it to adopt formal conclusions and have continuity in its work. It is effective because it is narrowly focused on an agreed and finite range of violations, and because it keys in Council members to the challenges to children's security in country-specific situations. The chair of this working group has the ability to mainstream child protection concerns throughout the work of the Council, including by asking questions in briefings and supporting the inclusion of children's concerns in products of the Council. The working group also has the ability to conduct field visits, and has made such trips to Afghanistan, DRC and Myanmar. There are nevertheless also drawbacks to the working group's formal status. Marginalization is a significant issue as the children's agenda can become buried in a Council subsidiary body, and not be pulled back up into the public work of the Council. Furthermore, the workload of the working group has been described by Council experts as crushing, leaving little room for flexibility or creativity. In fact, partly due to the group's success, and not least due to its highlighting of state and non-state perpetrators, the group's work has become progressively rote and rigid, primarily adopting conclusions rather than being able to drive forward the more substantive and controversial elements of the agenda.[30]

While the informal expert group on the protection of civilians does not have status as a subsidiary body of the Security Council, its informal nature has given it a certain degree of nimbleness in setting up processes that enable the Council to mainstream protection issues in its work. For example, Council members receive regular briefings from OCHA on country situations prior to mandate renewals. Representatives of other parts of the UN system—such as DPKO, DPA, UN Women, UNHCR, the offices of the Special Representatives on Children and Armed Conflict and Sexual Violence in Conflict, UNMAS and UNICEF—attend depending on the issue being discussed. This group has also developed an aide memoire to guide the Council's work on protection issues in mission mandates. An important drawback to the effectiveness of this group lies in the fact that because it is not a formal body, attendance and input by all Council members is not required. This group also only meets for mandate renewals and does not work to track protection of civilian implementation more broadly.

Drawing on these experiences, it would appear that an effective group focused on women, peace and security should be an informal expert group (like the protection of civilians model) with a clearly defined set of issues to track (like the children and armed conflict model). A necessary part of this group's work would be similar to that of both models: mainstreaming gender concerns in all Council outcomes, and connecting the Council more concretely to the security challenges and participation barriers women face in country-specific situations. It would need to include information sharing with UN Women, the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, and UN Action—especially information from DPA and DPKO country desk officers to convey gender analysis from the gender advisors and women's protection advisors in field missions and OCHA—in order to strengthen the Council's response to gender in its humanitarian outcomes.[31]

More specifically, this group's work could include:

- Tracking briefings and reports on country situations for gender content. This information can serve as the basis to ensure that critical, gender-specific

security issues are raised in consultations with briefers that are more free-flowing due to the closed and informal nature of the meetings. It would also enable the Council to tailor a mission's mandate, and women, peace and security language to the specific and prioritized gender concerns of that particular situation.

- Undertaking field visits to identify key interlocutors and issues in a country-specific situation, in particular, ahead of Council visiting missions. Such advance work could help to ensure Council visiting missions use their limited time in the field to engage with truly key stakeholders on women, peace and security challenges. This can, in turn, improve Council members' gender-specific messaging to government and mission leadership during their visit.

- Making sure elements of the WPS agenda are reflected in the Council's work in all thematic areas, as per resolution 2122. These include: protection of civilians in armed conflict; post-conflict peacebuilding; the promotion and strengthening of the rule of law in the maintenance of international peace and security; peace and security in Africa; and threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts.

- Tracking how the Council is including other important aspects of resolution 2122 when establishing or renewing peace operations, such as deployment of gender advisors and women's protection advisors, and providing guidance on prototype language for gender components in peace operations.

- Linking women, peace and security elements to mandate tasks such as election preparation and political processes; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes; security sector and judicial reforms; and wider post-conflict processes.

It should be noted that the mainstreaming task is far easier than the more challenging one of tracking implementation on the ground and engendering Council accountability and leadership in New York. For the group to be effective in achieving the latter it will need to clearly define what the Council can reasonably be expected to be accountable for.

In order to be targeted in its efforts, an incremental approach is suggested in the start-up phase. The working group could initially limit the number of country situations in which it will track implementation for any given year to test how it can improve the Council's performance on women, peace and security. The goal would be to progressively include all country situations for the working group's consideration. While it would be up to Council members to determine their approach, initial cases could be representative of the types of situations the Council regularly considers: e.g., a UN mission in a crisis situation (like Mali or CAR), a post-conflict situation (such as in Côte d'Ivoire), and a situation without a Security Council mandated-mission but subject to intense Council scrutiny, UN mediation or UN agency and programme presence on the ground (such as the conflict in Syria). Specific analytical focus on these situations would not preclude the group from its other mainstreaming tasks. The group could then use the mandate or relevant resolutions for the selected country situations to further narrow its scope of study so that tasks a UN peace operation or mediation process have been directly mandated to carry out—such as electoral support, security sector reform, DDR, rule of law, monitoring ceasefires, support in legislative or constitution drafting, meaningful interaction with civil society, etc.—can be implemented with a gender lens (irrespective of the mandate's women, peace and security language).

Such an exercise in tracking implementation, would require open lines of communication between Council members, UN Headquarters and field missions.

This exercise will test how well gender is being mainstreamed in the field and quickly identify gaps that require prioritization not only by Council members but also by Special Representatives leading field missions. The information gleaned from a narrow study on implementation could be used to inform serious, analytical and probing questions of Special Representatives when they brief on a country situation. This in turn could lead to a cascade effect of mission leadership and the Secretariat taking their own gender commitments, including appropriate gender staffing structures and reporting lines, more seriously.

Additionally, such an exercise in tracking implementation, which would require open lines of communication between Council members, UN Headquarters and field missions, could build an informal network of information sharing that could enable the Council to provide better guidance in mandate renewals and better convey to the field what its gender priorities should be. In that regard, relevant Council members should work to ensure, in their other role as a member state in the General Assembly's Fifth Committee for administration and budgetary matters, that missions have the resources required to implement the gender components of Council mandates.

Other areas a potential informal expert group could explore include:

- Whether relevant sanctions committees that already have gross violations of international human rights and humanitarian law as designation criteria could include gender-specific violations as a further listing criteria.

- How to strategically deploy the option to raise women, peace and security concerns with other Council members during briefings or when issues are brought up under 'other matters' in consultations.

- How the Council can fully utilize its Arria-formula meetings, open debates and briefings to raise women, peace and security concerns and solicit concrete recommendations to take the agenda forward.

Finally, in line with the recommendation above on co-leadership in the Council, it is recommended that there be co-chairs by a Permanent and non-Permanent member of the Council, with UN Women providing the Secretariat function for the new group.

This exercise will test how well gender is being mainstreamed in the field and quickly identify gaps that require prioritization.

UN system's implementation of the WPS agenda

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Council needs improved information and analysis from the UN system. This was highlighted by the Council's request to DPKO and DPA in resolution 2122. As the UN entities primarily responsible for executing the Council's mandates for peace operations, both entities have a central role in implementing the WPS agenda within the UN system and the field, and in ensuring that all reports and briefings to the Council include information on women's participation.

At present this information is provided in an ad hoc manner, often focused on only one aspect of the women, peace and security agenda (usually protection). It is often lacking in astute analysis, or totally absent from both briefings by heads of peace operations, and the Secretary-General's country reports. Improving this information and analysis, and ensuring that pathways are available to bring this information to the Council in a timely manner, will require additional resources and leadership from within key UN entities. Therefore, it is vital that DPKO, DPA, as key peace and security actors, and UN Women, as the lead on women, peace and security, improve their regular resourcing of the women, peace and security capacity, devote political capital to ensuring these matters are taken seriously in their daily work, and that country work on the issues is consistently brought into both country reports and urgent and regular briefings to Council members.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

The Security Council should:

✓ Establish an informal expert group to maximize information, monitoring and support capacity from the UN system as a whole. Initially the group should be focused on 3-4 countries. This would allow for a comprehensive and targeted approach to monitoring consistent implementation by the Council of resolution 2122, including ensuring that women, peace and security information is part of all briefings and reports to the Council and that questions are asked consistently of senior leaders on these issues.

✓ Increase the channels for flow of information from the Human Rights Council and related bodies, including from mandate holders with conflict-relevant mandates, Commissions of Inquiry and other fact finding bodies, to provide important sources of information for Council deliberations and outcomes. More consistent approaches, including regular Arria-formula meetings between the Security Council and the Human Rights Council-established Commissions of Inquiry on countries of concern should be established.

✓ Invite regular civil society briefings, including women's organizations in particular, not only on thematic but on country-specific deliberations.

✓ Ensure greater and more effective capacity for gender analysis in conflict-affected countries (see Chapter 10: *Key Actors - United Nations*).

✓ Increase the reporting of dedicated high-level leadership within the UN system on women, peace and security from specific country contexts (see Chapter 10: *Key Actors - United Nations)*.

✓ Ensure that senior mission leadership consistently includes women, peace and security analysis in all reports and regular briefings, in line with resolution 2122.

✓ Consistently incorporate a gender perspective in terms of reference for visiting missions, and give it priority at the outset of the visit.

✓ Expand ownership of the women, peace and security agenda within the Council beyond one 'penholder' or lead, to include a co-lead role with an elected member.

✓ Ensure that Council members who are also members of the General Assembly's Fifth Committee facilitate approval of resources required to implement gender components of Council mandates.

✓ Periodically request SRSGs to present on an ad hoc basis country reports on implementation of the women, peace and security mandate. This could provide opportunities for collective review, focus and action at the country level while providing the Council with more in depth and substantive information on specific context.

✓ Strengthen its work in the sanctions committees by:

- Using existing sanction regimes more effectively to enforce thematic priorities—in line with the high-level sanctions review—including women, peace and security, and consider adopting thematic sanctions regimes in addition to country-specific sanctions to

address global threats such as sexual violence in conflict, human trafficking, and gross violations of women's rights.

- Expanding the designation criteria in other relevant sanctions regimes where sexual and gender-based crimes and specific attacks against women are persistently perpetrated.

- Calling for information-sharing between the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, UN Women as appropriate, and all relevant sanctions committees and associated expert groups.

- Formally requiring expert groups assisting sanctions committees to include gender experts as part of the composition of such expert groups, and in line with the recommendations of the High Level Review on Sanctions, requesting the General Assembly to make additional resources available to provide the requisite technical, language and substantive skills needed to strengthen capacity of sanctions bodies and their expert groups.

- Including respect for the rights of women as delisting criteria in sanctions regimes that target political spoilers that may eventually need to be part of a political solution.

- Ensuring that specific information about the gendered effects of sanctions is systematically included in all reporting on the implementation of relevant sanctions regimes.

REFERENCES

This chapter is based on background research prepared by Amanda Roberts and Sarah Taylor. Much of the analysis is based on interviews conducted by the co-authors over the course of 2011-2015 with diplomats serving on the UN Security Council from Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, Germany, Guatemala, India, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Morocco, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States. Interviews over the same period of time were regularly conducted with UN Secretariat staff from the Department of Political Affairs and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and with UN Women. The research draws from observations of peace operations in the DRC, South Sudan, Somalia, Liberia, Mali and Sierra Leone, and relies on the co-authors' rigorous review of Security Council outcomes from 2000-2014, and data gathered by the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security on the UN Secretariat's oral and written reporting to the Security Council for gender content during the same time period. The analysis also draws on the research and publications produced under Roberts' professional affiliation with Security Council Report, in addition to Taylor's former affiliation with the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security.

1. Including, at the time, among the five permanent members (or P5), two of which, the UK and US, now lead on the issue in the Council.
2. For the Council, this is in part perhaps owing to an increased workload which has the Council reacting to proliferating and existing crises, as well as fragmentation in the approach to peace and security within the system. See, "The Challenge of Sustaining Peace," UN Doc. A/69/968–S/2015/490 (Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture, June 29, 2015), para. 67.
3. It should be noted that the distinction between participation and protection, particularly within the WPS agenda, is a largely arbitrary one, given that sexual violence and the threat of sexual violence also impedes women's political, economic and social participation, and that efforts at protection will be weakened without an emphasis on women's participation to inform these efforts.
4. The High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations noted that, in general, "There is a prevailing erroneous notion that women, peace and security is "a woman's issue" that can be addressed only by women, instead of being understood as a peace and security issue for men and women and for society as a whole." See, "Uniting Our Strengths for Peace - Politics, Partnership and People," UN Doc. A/70/95–S/2015/446 (High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, June 16, 2015), para. 239(i).
5. Fragmentation of the UN system and its impact on peacebuilding, and peace and security more generally, was one of the key findings of the Report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture. See, "Report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture (2015)," para. 61–67.
6. Arria-formula meetings are informal, confidential gatherings which enable Security Council members to have a frank and private exchange of views with persons whom the inviting member or members of the Council believe it would be beneficial to hear. These meetings do not constitute an activity of the Council, and participation is for individual members to decide. Arria-formula meetings are a relatively recent practice of the Security Council, initiated by Ambassador Diego Arria of Venezula in 1992.
7. "Report of the Secretary-General: Conflict-Related Sexual Violence," UN Doc. S/2015/203 (United Nations Security Council, March 23, 2015), para. 4.
8. DPA reports that the integration of sex-disaggregated data into reports of Special Political Missions has increased significantly since 2010 when it took on 15 WPS related commitments.
9. "Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2015)," para. 239(viii).
10. In relation to the statistical analysis in the chapter, technical resolutions, like rollover extensions, were excluded from the pool as were peacekeeping missions not charged with supporting post-conflict processes in host countries, such as the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) or the UN Disengagement Observer Force in the Golan Heights (UNDOF). Also excluded were the extensions of expert groups assisting sanctions committees dealing with matters where women, peace and security issues were not reasonably expected to be part of the scope of work (for example, non-proliferation).
11. The case of Timor-Leste (detailed further in Chapter 10: Key Actors - The United Nations) and Somalia demonstrate that while consistent women, peace and security language in Council outcomes is important, it is possible to have a robust interpretation and implementation in the absence of such language (Timor-Leste), as well as to have robust language with little implementation on the ground (Somalia). The full thrust of political will, expertise, and leadership both within the Security Council and throughout the UN system is needed to push forward implementation.
12. For example, when the Security Council adopted resolution 2100 in April 2013 to establish MINUSMA in Mali, the Council specifically called for the deployment of gender expertise. Nevertheless, there was serious resistance at that time by leadership in both DPKO and at mission level to actually put in place a staffing structure that provided for such a deployment.
13. For further information on this topic, see "Women, Peace

and Security," Cross-Cutting Report (Security Council Report, April 2014); "Women, Peace and Security: Sexual Violence in Conflict and Sanctions," cross-Cutting Report (Security Council Report, April 10, 2013); Simon Tordjman and Anthony Amicelle, "The Gendered Dimensions of International Sanctions: Normative Evolution and Operational Dilemmas" (UN Women, Forthcoming).

14. In the 1990s and the 2000s the Council also began to include sanctions on commodities such as timber, diamonds and charcoal to staunch natural resource extraction that was funding conflict.

15. Maria Butler, Kristina Mader, and Rachel Kean, "Women, Peace and Security Handbook: Compilation and Analysis of United Nations Security Council Resolution Language (2000-2010)" (PeaceWomen Project of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, October 2010), 10.

16. Data sourced from: http://www.un.org/sc/committees/list_compend.shtml.

17. Out of six regimes with implicit or explicit mention of gender based crimes as listing criteria, only 16 individuals and four entities have been designated based on such criteria: 12 individuals and four entities by the DRC Sanctions Committee, one individual by the South Sudan Sanctions Committee and another three individuals by the Côte d'Ivoire Sanctions Committee Côte d'Ivoire, DRC, Sudan and South Sudan.

18. Côte d'Ivoire, DRC, Sudan and South Sudan.

19. Data sourced from: http://www.un.org/sc/committees/list_compend.shtml.

20. Data sourced from: http://www.un.org/sc/committees/list_compend.shtml.

21. United Nations News Service, "Boko Haram, Nigerian Group That Kidnapped Schoolgirls, Put on UN Terror Sanctions List," UN News Centre, May 23, 2014, http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=47874#.VfHQGBFVhHx.

22. This is a frequently asked question by both Security Council members as well as UN leadership at headquarters and in the field. Gender advisors are responsible for integrating a gender perspective into all aspects of a peace operation. Women's protection advisors have a specific mandate to monitor and advise on conflict-related violations against women. This confusion has led to a conflation of the two and a belief that if one is mentioned in a mandate, this sufficiently addresses the need.

23. DPA provided anecdotal evidence supporting how such follow-up can have a positive cascade effect. During closed consultations, a Council member asked a gender-specific question to the head of mission who was not able to respond with relevant information. It seems the head of mission paid increased attention to the gender unit upon return to the field.

24. DPA reports that the integration of sex-disaggregated data into reports from Special Political Missions has increased significantly since 2010 when it took on 15 WPS related commitments.

25. "Resolution 2122 (2013)," UN Doc. S/RES/2122 (2013) (United Nations Security Council, October 18, 2013), para. 17.

26. Reports of Security Council Missions available at: http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/missions/

27. "Resolution 2122 (2013)," UN Doc. S/RES/2122 (2013) (United Nations Security Council, October 18, 2013), para. 17.

28. Only one resolution on Mali included comparable references to both protection and participation elements—however as noted above strong gender language in a Council outcome did not translate into implementation on the ground and was in fact resisted by senior mission leadership. In 2014, the Council did a better job reflecting women's participation in operative paragraphs of Council resolutions (48 per cent).

29. Spain's leadership during 2015, including in relation to the 15-year review of women, peace and security, is one such example.

30. See, e.g., "Children and Armed Conflict," Cross-Cutting Report (Security Council Report, February 21, 2014); "Children and Armed Conflict," Cross-Cutting Report (Security Council Report, August 27, 2012).

31. The informal Expert Group on the protection of civilians has an aide memoire with specific gender provisions that a new women, peace and security group could utilize and expand upon for its own work. "Aide Memoire for the Consideration of Issues Pertaining to the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict," Policy and Studies Series (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), Policy Development and Studies Branch, 2014).

12

LINKAGES BETWEEN HUMAN RIGHTS MECHANISMS AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY: OPPORTUNITIES FOR ENHANCED ACCOUNTABILITY FOR IMPLEMENTATION

+ "I don't think any other Security Council resolution has been translated into so many languages and is being used in so many kind of organic, indigenous ways by people."

Sanam Naraghi-Anderlini, Co-Founder, International Civil Society Action Network,
UN Women Video Interview, 2015

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolution 1325

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts

Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court

2000

Resolution 2106

Notes that the fight against impunity for the most serious crimes of international concern committed against women and girls has been strengthened through the work of the ICC, ad hoc and mixed tribunals, as well as specialized chambers in national tribunals; reiterates its intention to continue forcefully to fight impunity and uphold accountability with appropriate means

Resolution 2122

Recalls in this regard applicable provisions of international law on the right to reparations for violations of individual rights

2013

The Security Council, with its adoption of resolution 1325 and the six subsequent resolutions on women, peace and security, has made clear that women's human rights and gender equality are central to the maintenance of international peace and security. To fully realize the human rights obligations of the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda, all intergovernmental bodies and human rights mechanisms must act in synergy to protect and promote women's and girls' rights at all times, including in conflict and post-conflict situations.

The range of human rights mechanisms include the human rights treaty bodies—including the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women—the Human Rights Council and its Universal Periodic Review and special procedures, regional human rights courts and commissions, and national human rights mechanisms. These mechanisms have long addressed elements of the WPS agenda, including the obligation of States to uphold women's and girls' rights to education, health, participation in governance, and to live lives free of violence and discrimination. In consultations for the Global Study around the world, women reaffirmed the centrality of human rights and gender equality to the WPS agenda, and reinforced that the agenda is not only relevant for the Security Council, but is the responsibility of a full range of actors, including in particular Member States.

This chapter describes how the effective use of these mechanisms, and increased information-sharing with the Security Council, can build the capacity of the international community, including civil society, to hold Member States to account for their implementation of global commitments on women, peace and security, and offer new opportunities for deeper analysis, preventive action and durable solutions to conflict.

> "...[S]ustainable peace requires an integrated approach based on coherence between political and security measures, development and human rights agendas, including gender equality and the rule of law."
>
> Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, submission to the Global Study

THE CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is often described as an international bill of rights for women. With 189 States parties, it is one of the most-ratified treaties in the world. In resolution 2122, the Security Council recognized the importance of CEDAW and its Optional Protocol to the WPS agenda, and urged Member States to ratify both documents.[1] On the same day that the Security Council adopted resolution 2122 (2013), the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the body which oversees the implementation of the Convention, adopted General Recommendation 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations.[2] This general recommendation clarifies State and non-State obligations to implement the Convention before, during and after conflict and political crises, and through contributions to international peacekeeping forces, and as donors providing assistance—reaffirming CEDAW's role as one of the most important accountability tools for the WPS agenda.

CEDAW General Recommendation 30 clarifies the Convention's linkages with the Security Council, calling for

implementation of the resolutions on women, peace and security to be premised on a model of gender equality, as enshrined in the Convention. The development of the general recommendation was informed by a wide and deep process of consultation with conflict-affected women and civil society actors in different regions of the world. The general recommendation is notable also for its inclusion of non-State actors—although CEDAW cannot place obligations on non-State actors,[3] the Committee urges them to respect women's rights in conflict and post-conflict situations, and to prohibit all forms of gender-based violence.[4] It also affirms the responsibility of States for non-State violations of women's rights—including for the actions of corporations, armed groups, and other individuals, entities and organizations operating extraterritorially but under the control of the State.[5] States should engage with non-State actors to prevent human rights abuses relating to their activities in conflict-affected areas, in particular all forms of gender-based violence. They should adequately assist national corporations in assessing and addressing the heightened risks of abuses of women's rights; and establish an effective accountability mechanism.[6]

In addition to its substantive rights guarantees, CEDAW contains a periodic reporting and review process under its Article 18, which requires all States parties to report on measures they have adopted to give effect to the provisions of the Convention including in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations.[7] Under Article 18 (1), States parties undertake to submit a report within one year of ratification, and thereafter at least every four years "and further whenever the Committee so requests."

Article 18(1)(b) of the Convention further mandates the Committee to request 'exceptional reports' where there is special cause for concern about a violation of women's human rights. The Committee has already used exceptional reporting since the 1990s to address women's human rights in conflict and post-conflict situations. The Committee should consider expanding its use of exceptional reporting and calling for special sessions specifically to examine implementation of General Recommendation 30. These measures would play an important role in tracking what is happening to women during a conflict, highlight their agency, draw attention to areas where support is needed, track levels of consultation and participation in possible peace processes, and raise the level of scrutiny as to State conduct and responsibility.

CEDAW reporting, whether regular or exceptional, offers an important—and yet to be fully utilized—accountability mechanism also for the implementation of commitments on women, peace and security. General Recommendation 30 makes the following specific recommendations to States parties in their reporting to the Committee:

- States parties should report on the legal framework, policies and programmes they have implemented to ensure the human rights of women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict.

- States parties should collect, analyze and make available sex-disaggregated statistics, in addition to trends over time, concerning women, peace and security.

- States parties' reports should address actions inside and outside their territory in areas under their jurisdictions, in addition to their actions taken individually and as members of international organizations as they concern women and conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations.

- States parties are to provide information on the implementation of the UN Security Council agenda on women, peace and security, in particular resolutions 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013) and 2122 (2013).

- States parties should specifically report on compliance with any agreed benchmarks or indicators developed as part of that agenda.

A new Guidebook on CEDAW General Recommendation 30 and the UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security offers States parties further guidance on reporting, including a checklist of questions.

FOCUS ON

Checklist of questions for States Parties reporting to CEDAW[8]

Conflict Prevention

- What early warning systems are in place for the prevention of conflict? Do early warning systems promote the inclusion of women? Are early warning indicators gender sensitive and specific to gender-based violations impacting women?
- Detail the extent to which women's formal and informal conflict prevention efforts are supported.
- What measures have been taken by arms-exporting States parties to ensure that these arms are not being used to commit or facilitate violations of women's human rights including Gender-Based violence? Has the State ratified the Arms Trade Treaty and what measures have been taken to implement the Treaty?
- Detail efforts by States parties, through domestic and foreign policy, for the effective regulation over conventional and illicit arms, including small arms.

Gender-Based Violence

- What measures have been taken to prohibit, prevent and punish all forms of conflict-related violence against women and girls perpetrated by State and non-State actors?
- What measures have been taken to protect civilians from conflict-related sexual violence?
- Detail processes for standardized data collection on conflict-related violence against women and girls.
- What legal, medical and psychosocial services are available to victims of conflict-related violence? What measures have been taken to ensure effective access to these services by all women and girls?
- Detail procedures for ensuring that all humanitarian, military and police personnel contributing to international responses to conflict are appropriately trained in the prevention of sexual violence and codes of conduct on sexual exploitation and abuse. Detail measures through foreign policy, membership of international financial institutional and intergovernmental organizations, to strengthen judicial, health and civil society responses to conflict-related sexual violence.
- Detail the contribution of States parties to UN efforts to prevent sexual violence in conflict, for example, through funding, personnel and political leadership.

Trafficking

- What measures have been taken by the by States parties to ensure that migration and asylum policies do not operate to deter or limit opportunities for women and girls fleeing conflict zones to lawfully access asylum, and thereby decrease vulnerability to trafficking and exploitation?
- What bilateral and multilateral measures have been taken by States to protect the rights of trafficked women and girls and to facilitate the prosecution of perpetrators of trafficking and sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA)?
- What measures have been taken to adopt a policy of zero tolerance on trafficking and sexual exploitation and abuse, which also addresses national troops,

peace-keeping forces, border police, immigration officials and humanitarian actors?

Participation

- What obstacles, including legal, social, political or institutional, exist to women's participation in conflict prevention, management and resolution?
- What measures, including temporary special measures, have been taken to ensure women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and resolution?
- To what extent are women's civil society organizations included in peace negotiations and post-conflict rebuilding and reconstructions? Detail the measures, including temporary special measures, taken to ensure the inclusion of women's civil society in peace negotiations and post-conflict rebuilding and reconstructions.
- What training has been provided and to whom to support women's civil society participation and leadership in such processes?
- What numbers of States parties' negotiation and mediation personnel are female, including at senior levels?
- What technical assistance have States parties offered through their foreign policy and membership in intergovernmental and regional organizations to promote women's effective participation in conflict prevention, mediation and peacebuilding?

Access to Education, Employment and Health, and Rural Women

- What measures have been taken to ensure women's and girls' access to education at all levels in post-conflict contexts?
- How do post-conflict economic recovery strategies promote women's participation and equality? Do these policies address women's roles and needs within both the formal and informal sectors? Do they recognize the particular situation of rural and other disadvantaged groups of women, as disproportionately affected by the lack of adequate health and social services and inequitable access to land and natural resources?
- Detail provision for sexual and reproductive healthcare, including access to information, psychosocial support, family planning services, maternal health services, safe abortion services, post-abortion care and HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment and support. What measures have been taken to ensure equal access of women and girls to such services?
- What foreign policy and practice, through bilateral and multilateral activity, has been undertaken to ensure women's participation in economic recovery and related decision-making?

Displacement, Refugees and Asylum Seekers

- What preventative measures have been taken to protect against forced displacement and violence against internally and externally displaced women and girls?

- Do policy and legal responses to displaced populations recognize the gender-specific needs of displaced women and girls? Do these laws and policies recognize the different needs of displaced women and girls at different stages of the displacement cycle, during flight, settlement and return? Do these laws and policies respond to multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination faced by different groups of displaced women and girls, including women with disabilities, older women, women with HIV/AIDS, women belonging to ethnic, national, sexual or religious minorities?

- Detail efforts to ensure the protection of civilians, the prevention of sexual and gender-based violence, and equal access to supplies and services in camps, located within the State party's territory, bordering States, and through foreign policy and membership of intergovernmental agencies and organizations.

Security Sector Reform and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR)

- What efforts have been taken to ensure that DDR processes are gender sensitive and have been developed in coordination with security sector reform initiatives?

- Detail measures to ensure that perpetrators of conflictrelated gender-based violence have been excluded from reformed security sector forces.

- What measures have been taken to ensure that security sector reform results in security sector institutions that are inclusive of women, liaise with women's organizations and respond to women's and girls' gender-specific post-conflict security needs?

- Detail provision for gender-sensitive investigation of sexual and gender-based violence and the prevention of sexual violence within reformed security sector institutions.

- Detail protection measures for women and girls in and near cantonment sites.

- What measures have been taken to ensure that female combatants are included in DDR programmes and that the specific needs of victimized girls within demobilized armed groups have been addressed?

Constitutional & Electoral Reform

- Detail measures taken to ensure registration and voting of women voters. Detail measures, including temporary special measures, for the equal participation of women in all official processes of constitutional and electoral reform.

- What measures are being taken to ensure that reformed constitutions and electoral systems respect women's human rights, prohibit direct and indirect discrimination, and will guarantee the participation of women?

- Detail actions taken, through domestic and foreign policy, to ensure women's safety prior to, and during, elections.

Access to Justice (Accountability, Amnesty, Rule of Law Reform, Transitional Justice)

- Do amnesty laws permit impunity for gender-based violence? To what extent have sexual and other forms of gender-based violence been prosecuted as elements of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity?

- What measures are in place to ensure women's equal participation in post-conflict constitutional and legal reform processes?

- How have transitional justice mechanisms ensured the inclusion of women and addressed gender-based violations in their design and implementation?

- Detail procedures for gender-sensitive investigation of conflict-related violence against women. What measures have been taken by the security and justice sectors to end impunity for such violations? What reforms to the legal and judicial sectors have been undertaken to ensure access to justice and redress for sexual violence?

- Detail remedies available to women and girls who are victims of conflict-related sexual violence, as well as measures to ensure women's effective access to such remedies.

- How has accountability for sexual violence in conflict been advanced through States parties' foreign policy and membership in intergovernmental organizations?

Nationality & Statelessness

- What measures have been taken to prevent Statelessness of women and girls affected by conflict, including the recognition of the equal right of women and men to nationality on the basis of marriage and other family relationships, and the recognition of the particular disadvantages faced by women in accessing consular assistance and necessary documentation to establish citizenship?

Marriage and Family Relations

- What measures have been taken to prevent, investigate and punish gender-based violations such as forced marriage, forced pregnancies, abortions or sterilization in conflict-affected areas?

- Detail gender-sensitive legislation and policies to guarantee women's inheritance and effective access to land in post-conflict contexts.

Some States parties have been asked by the CEDAW Committee during constructive dialogues to provide information on the implementation of the resolutions on women, peace and security. Twelve conflict and post-conflict countries had their reports considered by the CEDAW Committee during 2013 and 2014. This questioning applies periodically to all States parties, and also presents an important opportunity for civil society, through parallel reporting, to complement the information contained in States parties' reports.

The constructive dialogues and the concluding observations of the CEDAW Committee can help to bring much needed attention to issues of critical importance. In its concluding observations of July 2013 on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), for example, the Committee expressed concern about the failure of the authorities to prioritize the protection of civilians, and the denial by key State officials of the extent of violence committed against women in conflict-affected areas.[9] The Committee also expressed concern about the limited regulation of small arms and light weapons and their impact on the security of women. The case of Syria provides another illustrative example.

Article 8 of the CEDAW Optional Protocol also offers an important accountability mechanism for the women, peace and security agenda: individuals or groups of individuals may submit reliable information to the Committee indicating grave or systematic violations by a State Party of rights set forth in the Convention, which would include conflict-related violations as defined in CEDAW General Recommendation 30. If a State party to the Optional Protocol has not opted out from the inquiry procedure, at its discretion, the Committee may then designate one or more of its members to conduct an inquiry and to report urgently to the Committee.

While almost all countries in the world have ratified CEDAW, many have made reservations that limit its implementation. Further efforts should be taken to remove such reservations.

OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS TREATY BODIES

In addition to the CEDAW Committee, there are nine other treaty bodies charged with monitoring implementation of the major human rights treaties.[10] All treaty bodies play an integral role in monitoring violations of women's rights in conflict and post-conflict settings, and their engagement can inform policy of other Member States, assist in documentation relevant to other parts of the UN system (for example, a Universal Periodic Review or a commission of inquiry) and ultimately be of use in a criminal investigation. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and its treaty body, the Committee on the Rights of the Child, are particularly important tools in this regard. The CRC and an optional protocol to the Convention on the involvement of children in armed conflict, address States Parties' obligations with regards to the specific rights and needs of adolescent girls living in conflict-affected countries.[11] For example, in its concluding observations on Rwanda under the optional protocol on armed conflict in 2013, the Committee recommended that Rwanda give particular attention to girls, including teenage mothers and their children, in the development of demobilization, disarmament and reintegration policies and programmes.[12]

The human rights conventions and treaty bodies serve as important mechanisms for engaging in long-term, structural prevention of conflict. For example, the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights requires States parties to provide equitable access to education, health care, and employment. The Committee has raised concern over budgetary allocations for the progressive realization of each of these rights in relation to military and defense expenditure.[13] By examining inequality and political

Reservations to CEDAW as of March 2015[14]

FOCUS ON

Concluding observations regarding gender-based human rights violations in Syria[15]

Syria ratified CEDAW in April 2003, and has presented two reports to the CEDAW Committee—its initial report in 2007, and its second periodic report in 2014. Following the reporting by the Syrian Government in 2014, and supported by a parallel report submitted by Syrian women's human rights organizations and international allies, the Committee issued strong and comprehensive concluding observations. These concluding observations could serve as a model for the engagement of civil society with human rights mechanisms on the WPS agenda.

The Committee's concluding observations and recommendations picked up on the issues raised in the parallel civil society report. The Committee responded to civil society demands to address violence against women and discriminatory cultural practices and stereotypes, calling for Syria to hold State and non-State actors accountable for gender-based violence; to provide necessary medical and mental health treatment to survivors; and to ensure that a reparations program is carried out which addresses the needs of women and girls, and addresses structural inequalities. The Committee also addressed humanitarian concerns, urging Syria to revive its peace process and to include women meaningfully at all stages of peace negotiations and in transitional justice processes.

The Committee's concluding observations illustrate how the Convention and its reporting mechanism can be used to expose human rights violations in conflict, and address structural and institutional obstacles to gender justice and equality. Syria's consideration by the CEDAW Committee also demonstrates the importance of a strong and unified civil society voice in ensuring the Committee hears and responds to the concerns of women living in conflict-affected countries.

economy as drivers of conflict, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has an important role in holding all States parties accountable for the 'prevention' pillar of the WPS agenda.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL

Universal Periodic Review

The Universal Periodic Review (UPR) is the main mechanism of the United Nations Human Rights Council (HRC) to assess on a regular basis the human rights situation of each Member State. It provides an opportunity for States to examine each other's activities to implement all human rights obligations, including the provisions of CEDAW and the other human rights treaties. Unlike the expert reviews conducted by the CEDAW Committee, UPR takes place through an interactive dialogue between the State under review and other Member States—any Member State can pose a question or make a recommendation to the State under review. As a peer review mechanism, UPR thus plays a special role in ensuring that women's rights in conflict and post-conflict contexts are discussed on an international stage among Member States.

Recent periodic reviews of conflict and post-conflict countries have addressed issues relating to the implementation of resolution 1325, and they have been particularly strong in their recommendations regarding accountability for conflict-related sexual violence. In 2014, Ireland recommended that the DRC work to ensure full implementation of resolutions 1325 and 2122, including by increasing women's participation in peacebuilding.[16] More than two dozen States made recommendations to the DRC regarding conflict-related sexual violence. Estonia, Luxembourg and France each made recommendations to the Central African Republic to implement resolution 1325, including through increased women's participation in the transitional process, while nine States made recommendations regarding conflict-related sexual violence.[17] These recommendations send a clear and important message: Member States of the international community value gender equality and women's rights, particularly in conflict-affected contexts, and are willing to hold their peers to account on obligations and commitments made in this regard.[18]

Civil society and other stakeholders also play an important role in strengthening UPR as an accountability process, first through submissions to the HRC which describe progress and gaps in implementing States' obligations regarding women's human rights and gender equality, and second using the outcomes of UPR to advocate for change in their home countries. As one important form of information-sharing across human rights bodies, regional human rights bodies—the Council of Europe, the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights, and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights—also submit reports to the HRC on their Member States undergoing review.[19]

Special Procedures and Other Mechanisms

The Special Procedures of the HRC are independent experts entrusted with the mandate to examine, monitor, advise and publicly report on human rights

Recent periodic reviews [...] have been particularly strong in their recommendations regarding accountability for conflict-related sexual violence.

situations in specific countries or on human rights related themes worldwide.[20]

Mandates, whether country-specific or thematic, are implemented in a range of ways, including through reports, country visits, communications on alleged violations of human rights to the Governments concerned and press releases on specific matters of concern. Spearheaded by the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, these mechanisms have over the past 17 years increasingly focused attention on women's human rights in conflict and post-conflict situations through their thematic and country visit reports. The thematic and country-specific findings and recommendations put forward by these experts form an additional accountability tool which could be better utilized for the implementation of the WPS agenda, in particular by informing the work of the Security Council and other international and regional bodies concerned with the maintenance of peace and security.

The thematic and country-specific findings and recommendations put forward by these experts form an additional accountability tool which could be better utilized for the implementation of the WPS agenda.

Already, the HRC's Special Procedures have played an important role in advancing the WPS agenda. For example, the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women issued a seminal report on reparations, which has furthered acceptance of the need for justice to transform underlying social inequalities that affect women and girls (see Chapter 5: *Transformative Justice*). The Working Group on Discrimination against Women in Law and in Practice issued its first thematic report on discrimination against women in public and political life including in times of transition,[21] and the Working Group on Enforced Disappearances adopted a General Comment on gender and enforced disappearances.[22]

Issues related to women, peace and security have also been raised by the Working Group on discrimination against women in law and practice, the 14 Special Rapporteurs with country-specific mandates, and the Special Rapporteurs on: the human rights of internally displaced persons; extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions; the right to food; minority issues; contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; extreme poverty and human rights; the situation of human rights defenders; trafficking in persons, especially women and children; and the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence. Many of the fourteen country-specific special procedures also regularly include analysis of women, peace and security-related themes in their reporting to the Human Rights Council.

While special procedures have a strong track record of drawing international attention to issues within the WPS agenda, the UN can do more to ensure that this information and analysis reaches global peace and security decision-making bodies, including the Security Council. For example, the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons briefed the Security Council in October 2014 in connection to the open debate on women, peace and security.[23] Equally, States engaging with the special procedures mechanisms should provide information to these mechanisms on progress made in implementing the WPS agenda, including the seven Security Council resolutions, and CEDAW General Recommendation 30.

FOCUS ON

Special Rapporteur on the Promotion of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Guarantees of Non-Recurrence: Integrating gender into conflict-related justice efforts[24]

The mandate of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Guarantees of Non-Recurrence was created by Human Rights Council resolution 18/7, adopted in September 2011. The mandate holder is tasked with dealing with situations in which there have been gross violations of human rights and serious violations of international humanitarian law. Resolution 18/7 specifically notes that the Special Rapporteur will "integrate a gender perspective throughout the work of the mandate"—a request which consistently appears in HRC resolutions regarding special rapporteurs.

As the first Special Rapporteur holding this mandate, Pablo de Greiff has used Security Council resolution 1325 as the key framework to inform the gendered elements of his mandate in thematic and policy level work as well as in country-specific engagement. In particular, reports and recommendations of the Special Rapporteur consistently reflect the issue of protection of women and girls from gender-based violence, and emphasize the fight against impunity for crimes relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls. The Special Rapporteur has established a close cooperation with UN Women, the AU Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security and others to inform technical elements of work and support women's participation in consultations.

In addition, the Special Rapporteur has continuously emphasized that an overly narrow focus on sexual violence must be avoided. Instead, equal focus must be given to the full range of gender-related violations. He has advocated for Member States to adopt policies to subvert pre-existing patterns of structural gender-based discrimination and inequalities, highlighting the positive 'spill-over effect' of such a transformative approach in relation to domestic legislation and policies.

A review of cases of gender-related human rights violations in conflict and post-conflict settings brought to the attention of UN special procedures mandate holders since 2011[25] provides a troubling picture of the broad nature of such violations. It includes communications concerning incidents of rape, other forms of sexual violence and violations against survivors and those working to assist them; police beating of rape victims; harassment, enforced disappearances, and killings of women's human rights defenders; conflict-related killings; extrajudicial executions; arbitrary detention, intimidation, and harassment of LGBT persons; trafficking; sentencing on grounds of adultery and apostasy with risk of corporal punishment; discriminatory legislation, including regarding nationality; arbitrary closure of women's rights organizations; disproportionate use of force during the dispersal of demonstrations; forced and early marriage; and attacks against and killings of residents of a refugee camp. These communications affirm the importance of using special procedures to advance accountability for the WPS agenda outside and alongside the Security Council, which has tended to focus on conflict-related sexual violence as a civilian protection concern, often to the exclusion of the full range of human rights violations women experience in conflict settings.

In addition to special procedures, the HRC also has the power to create expert fact-finding bodies to investigate, legally analyze and report on situations of armed conflict or mass atrocity, in the form of commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions. This adds another important tool for accountability under the WPS agenda, and the HRC must continue to strengthen these bodies' abilities to report on sexual and gender-based violence and violations of women's and girls' human rights (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5: *Transformative Justice*), and expand the flow of information between these commissions, UN entities and the Security Council (discussed in Chapter 11: *The Security Council*).

> "The participation and leadership of IDP women in finding durable solutions that address their very specific concerns is critical."
>
> **Chaloka Beyani**, Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons briefing the Security Council during the 2014 debate on Women, Peace and Security

REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS MECHANISMS

Regional and sub-regional human rights mechanisms also play a key role in advancing implementation of the WPS agenda, and holding States accountable to commitments for gender equality in conflict-affected contexts. The Inter-American system—the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights—provides a strong example of accountability for State violations through regional mechanisms, particularly by reinforcing norms of women's human rights and advancing innovative ideas for gender justice. Europe has also developed jurisprudence on women's rights through the European Court of Human Rights. The Istanbul Convention, a European treaty on violence against women, which entered into force in 2014 and is applicable during times of armed conflict, includes a promising new accountability mechanism: an expert monitoring group, which will become operational in 2015. Sub-regional courts, such as the East African Court of Justice and Caribbean Court of Justice, also afford opportunities to address gender inequality and violations of women and girls' human rights in conflict.

The African regional human rights system—which includes the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, and African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights—has some of the strongest normative frameworks for women's rights. This includes the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa, the first international or regional human rights instrument to include provisions on abortion. Unfortunately, the African system sorely lacks in enforcement, however, painting a dim picture of justice for women's rights violations on the regional level. The African Commission, which receives individual complaints of human rights violations, has received only one complaint in its history (of 550 such complaints) requesting a remedy for a violation of women's rights.[27]

Even the most robust regional human rights mechanisms have been criticized for inefficiency, and for failing to alter the behaviour of Member States with their judgments. For example, the European Court of Human Rights in recent years has made considerable effort to reduce the number of cases pending before it. In 2014 however, there still remained nearly 70,000 such cases.[28]

FOCUS ON

Gender justice in the Inter-American system

The Inter-American system, comprised of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights, has adopted a comprehensive approach to gender justice, which recognizes the importance of addressing structural and intersectional discrimination as a root cause of human rights violations. The Inter-American approach should serve as a model for all regional accountability mechanisms in implementing the WPS agenda.

In 2006, the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights released a report on Violence and Discrimination against Women in the Armed Conflict in Colombia.[29] The report, based on a visit of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Women to the country, recognized the heterogeneity of Colombian women and their experiences of armed conflict, and the need for responses to gender-based violations, which recognized diversity and intersectionality. The report shed particular light on the experiences of indigenous and Afro-Colombian women, who are the victims of religious, ethnic and gender-based discrimination, aggravated by conflict-related violence and displacement. The report made detailed recommendations, mapping a route to justice for conflict-related gender-based violence for all Colombian women and girls.

In its 2009 judgment in the Cotton Field v. Mexico case,[30] the Inter-American Court of Human Rights found that the Mexican state had failed to act with due diligence to prevent, investigate and prosecute the disappearance, rape and murder of women in Ciudad Juaréz by non-State actors—a violation of international human rights law. Although the Cotton Fields judgment does not concern conflict-related gender-based violence, per se, it has important implications for redress for such violations in other contexts. The Court found that the victims and their families were entitled to gender-sensitive and transformative reparations, and that such reparations must seek to accomplish more than a simple return to the status quo, they must also address the underlying structural inequalities that led to the violation.

Reports and judgments such as these represent important advances in the regional and global understanding of what it means to do justice for women victims of gender-based violence, and to provide them with a modicum of accountability against States, particularly vis-à-vis violations by non-State actors. These documents are also evidence of the importance of enhancing synergies and information flows between the international and regional human rights systems, and civil society. Both documents mentioned above make frequent reference to CEDAW reports on Colombia and Mexico, reports by UN special rapporteurs, statements from the High Commissioner for Human Rights and numerous NGO reports documenting violations against women.

NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTIONS AND MECHANISMS

The UN General Assembly has recognized the role of independent national institutions in working together with Governments to ensure full respect for human rights at the national level, and in supporting cooperation between Governments and the United Nations in the promotion and protection of human rights.[31] The Secretary-General has also highlighted their role in reports to the Security Council. In addition to their responsibility for ensuring general compliance of the State with human rights obligations, national human rights institutions (NHRI) are uniquely placed alongside other national-level mechanisms to lead on implementation of recommendations from all international and regional human rights mechanisms. This includes setting timelines, benchmarks and indicators for success, including those on women's human rights issues related to the WPS agenda. Building the capacity of NHRIs to monitor gender-specific human rights violations in conflict and post-conflict settings remains a priority. This includes investing in expertise and staff capacity to monitor and report on key aspects of the WPS agenda and CEDAW General Recommendation 30.

Progress monitoring on the gender-balance and architecture of NHRIs active in conflict and post-conflict settings since 2011[32] shows that the degree of women's participation in the leadership of such bodies remains uneven, as does the availability of gender expertise to support investigations. Out of 33 countries and territories reviewed in 2014,[33] 24 had NHRIs of which 13 had been accredited with either A or B status by the International Coordinating Committee for National Human Rights Institutions.[34] This means that they comply either fully or partially with internationally-accepted principles relating to the status of national institutions (the 'Paris Principles'),[35] requiring that they: have a broad mandate based on universal human rights standards; are autonomous from Government; have their independence guaranteed by statute or constitution; are pluralistic, including through membership or cooperation; are adequately resourced; and have adequate powers of investigation.[36] Some countries such as the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are in the process of establishing NHRIs. As of 2014, almost half of these institutions (11) had specific units, departments or committees dealing with women's rights and gender issues, while 13 have released special reports, sections of reports or programmes on women's rights.

The substance and quality of NHRI engagement on women, peace and security varies widely. Afghanistan's Independent Human Rights Commission offers one good practice example of active engagement in monitoring and reporting on women's rights violations. It has a separate Women's Rights Unit tasked with promoting and protecting women's rights, and addressing the underlying causes of violations of women's rights.[37] The unit has produced thematic reports on the situation of women in Afghanistan and has called on the Government to address the increase in the level of violence against women. A number of press releases condemning violence and killings of women in the country have also been issued.

Building the capacity of NHRIs to monitor gender-specific human rights violations in conflict and post-conflict settings remains a priority. This includes investing in expertise and staff capacity to monitor and report on key aspects of the WPS agenda.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

Member States should:

✓ Ratify, remove reservations to, and fully implement CEDAW, and report on the implementation of obligations relating to women, peace and security in regular reporting to the CEDAW Committee and other treaty bodies.

✓ Report on the implementation of obligations relating to women, peace and security in the UPR; participate in the review of other States undergoing review by asking about their implementation of these obligations; and establish national mechanisms of reporting and follow-up of recommendations emanating from the UPR and other human rights mechanisms.

✓ Encourage civil society to submit independent parallel reports, and provide financial support to enable their participation in the UPR process and other human rights treaty body reviews.

✓ Provide multilateral and bilateral assistance, and ensure the political support and independence of regional and national human rights mechanisms to address violations of women's rights in conflict-affected contexts, and fully implement the judgments and recommendations of these institutions.

Civil Society should:

✓ Submit parallel reports to treaty bodies and the UPR highlighting State obligations relating to women, peace and security.

✓ Work with women and girls affected by conflict who wish to submit complaints of individual rights violations to treaty bodies and regional, sub-regional and national human rights mechanisms.

The CEDAW Committee (and, where relevant, other human rights treaty bodies) should:

✓ Question countries under review on the implementation of their obligations under the Convention relating to women, peace and security.

✓ Encourage and support civil society to submit country-specific information for State party reporting, including State obligations relating to women, peace and security.

✓ Consider expanding the extraordinary reporting function, and holding special sessions to specifically examine conflict countries and their implementation of General Recommendation 30.

Human Rights Council Special Procedures, commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions should:

✓ Include conflict and gender analysis in their work in conflict-affected countries, including in the mandates of commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions.

REFERENCES

1. "Resolution 2122 (2013)," UN Doc. S/RES/2122 (2013) (United Nations Security Council, October 18, 2013).
2. "General Recommendation No. 30 on Women in Conflict Prevention, Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations," UN Doc. CEDAW/C/GC/30 (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, October 18, 2013).
3. The Committee noted, however, that under certain circumstances, in particular where an armed group with an identifiable political structure exercises significant control over territory and population, non-State actors are obliged to respect international human rights. Non-State actors should respect women's rights in conflict and post-conflict situations and should commit themselves to abiding by codes of conduct on human rights and the prohibition of all forms of gender-based violence. Ibid., para. 16.
4. Ibid., para. 15. As an example of such self-policing, in the Concluding Observations of the Committee to Syria, the Committee calls upon non-State armed groups which have signed the declaration of Commitment on Compliance with International Humanitarian Law and the Facilitation of Humanitarian Assistance to abide by it in order to facilitate access of humanitarian aid to civilian population, in particular women and children. "Concluding Observations on the Second Periodic Report of Syria," UN Doc. CEDAW/C/SYR/CO/2 (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, July 18, 2014), para. 11.
5. "CEDAW General Recommendation No. 30 (2013)," para. 14–15, 17.
6. Ibid., para. 14–15 and 17.
7. The Committee has requested and examined exceptional reports from the States of the territory of the former Yugoslavia- Serbia and Montenegro; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Rwanda; the Democratic Republic of Congo; and more recently to address communal violence in Gujarat, India and its impact on women, as well as Guinea to address the massacre in the stadium in Conakry.
8. This checklist is excerpted from, Catherine O'Rourke and Aisling Swaine, "Guidebook on CEDAW General Recommendation No. 30 and the UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security" (UN-Women, 2015).
9. "Concluding Observations on the Combined Sixth and Seventh Periodic Reports of the Democratic Republic of the Congo," UN Doc. CEDAW/C/COD/CO/6-7 (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, July 30, 2013).
10. "Monitoring the Core International Human Rights Treaties: What Are the Treaty Bodies," United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, accessed July 7, 2015, http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/Pages/TreatyBodies.aspx.
11. Article 38 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child obligates States Parties to respect international humanitarian law in armed conflicts which are relevant to the child, and to protect and care for children affected by armed conflict. Article 39 obligates States Parties to take all feasible measures to ensure protection and care of children who are affect by armed conflict. An optional protocol to the convention focuses specifically on the involvement of children in armed conflict.
12. See, e.g., "Concluding Observations on the Initial Report of Rwanda Submitted under Article 8 of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict," UN Doc. CRC/C/OPAC/RWA/CO/1 (Committee on the Rights of the Child, July 8, 2013).
13. See, e.g., "Concluding Observations of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on the Second Periodic Report of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea," UN Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.95 (United Nations Economic and Social Council, December 12, 2003).
14. "Progress of the World's Women 2015-2016: Transforming Economies, Realizing Rights" (UN Women, 2015), annex 6.
15. "CEDAW Concluding Observations on the Second Periodic Report of Syria (2014)."
16. "Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Democratic Republic of the Congo," UN Doc. A/HRC/27/5 (United Nations Human Rights Council, July 7, 2014), para. 134.98.
17. "Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Central African Republic," UN Doc. A/HRC/28/17 (United Nations Human Rights Council, January 6, 2014), para. 105.12–105.15.
18. Charlesworth and Larking point to "the power and potential of [UPR as a] human rights mechanism," arguing that there have been "significant implementation rates within states in the years following their review. This applies even to recommendations rejected by states under review." Hilary Charlesworth and Emma Larking, Human Rights and the Universal Periodic Review (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 14.
19. The Council of Europe and the Inter-American Commission submit these reports regularly, when a Member State is under review. The African Commission does so less frequently. "Workshop on Regional Arrangements for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights: Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights" (United Nations Human Rights Council, April 8, 2013), para. 24.
20. The system of Special Procedures is a central element of the UN human rights machinery and covers all human

rights: civil, cultural, economic, political, and social. Special procedures are either an individual (called "Special Rapporteur" or "Independent Expert") or a working group composed of five members, one from each of the five UN regional groupings. All serve in their personal capacity; they are not UN staff members and do not receive financial remuneration.

21. Human Rights Council, "Report of the Working Group on the Issue of Discrimination against Women in Law and in Practice," UN Doc. A/HRC/23/50 (United Nations General Assembly, April 19, 2013).

22. Human Rights Council Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, "General Comment on Women Affected by Enforced Disappearances," UN Doc. A/HRC/WGEID/98/2 (United Nations General Assembly, February 14, 2013).

23. "Security Council Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security Meeting Records," UN Doc. S/PV.7289 (United Nations Security Council, October 28, 2014).

24. "Special Rapporteur on the Promotion of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Guarantees of Non-Recurrence," United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, accessed September 28, 2015, http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/TruthJusticeReparation/Pages/Index.aspx.

25. The number and nature of communications has been systematically monitored and reported since 2011 through the UN indicators to track the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000). From 1 January to 30 November 2014, acting in response to reported allegations of human rights violations, United Nations special procedures mandate holders sent 29 communications to 19 of the countries and territories reviewed, which marked and increase from previous years.

26. "Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Its Causes and Consequences, Rashida Manjoo" (United Nations Human Rights Council, June 10, 2015), para.17.

27. Ibid., para. 24. The case, Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights and INTERIGHTS v. Egypt, was decided in 2011.

28. "European Court of Human Rights: Annual Report 2014" (Strasbourg, France: Registry of the European Court of Human Rights, 2015), 63; Christian M. De Vos, "From Rights to Remedies: Structures and Strategies for Implementing International Human Rights Decisions" (Open Society Foundations, June 2013).

29. "Violence and Discrimination against Women in the Armed Conflict in Colombia," OEA/Ser.L/V/II. Doc.67 Eng (Organization of American States, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, October 18, 2006).

30. Ruth Rubio-Marín and Clara Sandoval, "Engendering the Reparations Jurisprudence of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights: The Promise of the Cotton Field Judgment," Human Rights Quarterly 33, no. 4 (2011): 1062–91.

31. See, e.g,. "Resolution Adopted on National Institutions for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights," UN Doc. A/RES/66/169 (United Nations General Assembly, April 11, 2012); "Resolution Adopted on Effective Promotion of the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities," UN Doc. A/RES/68/172 (United Nations General Assembly, January 23, 2014); "Resolution Adopted on The Role of the Ombudsman, Mediator and Other National Human Rights Institutions in the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights," UN Doc. A/RES/69/168 (United Nations General Assembly, February 12, 2015), 168.

32. Information for NHRIs has been systematically monitored and reported on since 2011 through the UN indicators to track the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000).

33. Countries or territories in which a political, peacebuilding or peacekeeping mission operated during 2014, or concerning which the Security Council was seized and which had been considered by the Council at a formal meeting during the period from 1 January 2014 to 31 December 2014, or countries or territories that received programmatic funds from the Peacebuilding Fund in 2014.

34. "Report of the Secretary-General: Women and Peace and Security," UN Doc. S/2014/693 (United Nations Security Council, September 23, 2014), fig. 7.

35. "Resolution Adopted on the Role of the Ombudsman, Mediator and Other National Human Rights Institutions in the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights," UN Doc. A/RES/48/134 (United Nations General Assembly, December 20, 1993), 134.

36. For information on the accreditation procedure, see "International Coordinating Committee for National Human Rights Institutions (ICC)," United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, accessed September 28, 2015, http://nhri.ohchr.org/EN/Pages/default.aspx.

37. "Women's Rights Unit," Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission, December 5, 2011, http://www.aihrc.org.af/home/women/486.

13

FINANCING OF THE WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA

"We need long-term financial support—not driven by donor priorities for projects—in order to build our capacity to participate and address the structural inequalities which drive conflict in our region."

Participant at the Asia-Pacific regional civil society consultation for the Global Study

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolution 1325

Urges Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes

Resolution 1888

Requests that the Secretary-General continue to direct all relevant United Nations entities to take specific measures to ensure systematic mainstreaming of gender issues within their respective institutions, including by ensuring allocation of adequate financial and human resources within all relevant offices and departments and on the ground

2000

2009

Resolution 1889

Urges Member States, United Nations bodies, donors and civil society to ensure that women's empowerment is taken into account during post-conflict needs assessments and planning, and factored into subsequent funding disbursements and programme activities

Resolution 2106

Recognizing the importance of providing timely assistance to survivors of sexual violence, urges United Nations entities and donors to provide non-discriminatory and comprehensive health services, [...] encourages Member States and donors to support national and international programs that assist victims of sexual violence such as the Trust Fund for Victims [...]; and requests the relevant United Nations entities to increase allocation of resources for the coordination of gender-based violence response and service provision

2013

Resolution 2122

Encourages concerned Member States to develop dedicated funding mechanisms to support the work and enhance capacities of organizations that support women's leadership development and full participation in all levels of decision-making, regarding the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000), inter alia through increasing contributions to local civil society

Despite the wealth of evidence highlighting the benefits that investing in women can bring in terms of conflict prevention, crisis response and peace, the failure to allocate sufficient resources and funds has been perhaps the most serious and persistent obstacle to the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda over the past 15 years.[1] The scarcity of funds for the WPS agenda is in line with the enormous global funding gap for gender equality more generally. Research shows a consistent, striking disparity between policy commitments to gender equality and women's empowerment, and the financial allocations to achieve them.

The lack of prioritization, and failure to effectively use this tool for change is demonstrated no more clearly than by looking at global spending patterns. As described in Chapter 8: *Preventing Conflict*, 15 years on, the world continues to pour resources into short-term militarized responses rather than investing in conflict prevention, social justice and inclusion. As the data in this chapter reveals, of the aid that is being channeled to fragile and conflict-affected states, it is still negligible amounts that are being routed towards furthering gender equality and women's participation, or meeting women's needs.

The High-Level Review provides a unique opportunity for ensuring robust and predictable financing for the implementation of the full WPS agenda beyond 2015—a priority recommendation emphasized in regional and country consultations and in other contributions to the Global Study. A number of recommendations related to financing this agenda have been put forward, including within the framework of the New Deal for building peaceful societies, established at the High-level Forum on Aid Effectiveness held in Busan in December 2011.[2]

These include:

- emphasizing the application of gender analysis in needs assessments, planning and monitoring of budgets;
- attaching dedicated budgets to national implementation frameworks such as national action plans;
- consistently using tools such as gender markers to assess performance and improve accountability for financing gender equality; and
- allocating more resources to support and build the capacity of women's organizations operating in conflict and post-conflict settings.

None of these recommendations are particularly new, and many have been echoed in Security Council outcomes. However, as this chapter shows, their implementation has been patchy and incomplete.

TRENDS IN DONOR SPENDING

Recent reports by the OECD[3] and the UN Secretary-General on women, peace and security[4] find that fragile states and economies, including conflict-affected countries, lag far behind other developing countries in achieving the MDGs and their gender-related targets.[5] Data shows that fragile countries and economies are currently home to 43 per cent of the world's population living in absolute poverty.[6] In 2012, an estimated 50 per cent of out-of-school children of primary school age lived in conflict-affected areas,[7] and according to 2013 estimates, maternal mortality ratios were 2.5 times higher in conflict and post-conflict countries than in the same set of developing countries.[8]

In conflict and post-conflict settings, domestic finance is often either completely depleted or vastly insufficient to address the risks to sustainable development resulting from fragile situations. Alternative sources of development finance, such as private finance or technology and innovation investments are equally scarce. As a result, donor funds make up the bulk of financing. These are, however, generally focused on emergency response, such as humanitarian assistance, during the crisis itself, leaving little left over for rebuilding the state and establishing peace dividends for society until stability is secured. Beyond official development assistance (ODA), other types of interventions, such as sustainable debt financing, also facilitate the mobilization of resources for public and private investment, which in turn affect domestic resource allocation and impact food, health, education, energy, infrastructure and other areas of importance for sustainable development, many of which affect women disproportionately.[9]

While it can be argued that the picture is not entirely bleak—data shows that ODA to gender equality in fragile states and economies is on an upward trajectory—in reality, this growth rate originates from a near negligible starting point; meaning that despite growth, only a tiny proportion of aid to fragile states and economies addresses women's specific needs.

Data analysis of bilateral sector-allocable ODA from OECD-DAC members shows that support for gender equality and women's rights in fragile states has grown by 10 per cent on average per year since 2008.[10] Since the adoption of the MDGs, aid[11] to gender equality in fragile states and economies has quadrupled, from USD 2.6 billion per year in 2002-03 to USD 10.3 billion in 2012-13.[12] Nevertheless, in 2012-13, just 6 per cent of all aid to fragile states and economies targeted gender equality as the principal objective. In the case of peace and security specific aid, this figure was only 2 per cent.[13] This suggests that while OECD-DAC members are making efforts to integrate gender equality into their interventions in fragile contexts, few are investing substantially in dedicated programmes to advance gender equality and women's rights.

The few that are, represent strong examples of progress within these overall figures. For example, Sweden has significantly increased its share of aid targeting gender equality in conflict-affected and fragile states to about USD 1.47 billion in 2014—five times higher than in 2000.[14] Canada reports the largest share of aid to fragile states and economies targeting gender equality as a principal objective (43 per cent in 2012-13). In addition, Portugal, Korea and Japan reported the largest increases in aid to gender equality in fragile states and economies since 2008.

Nevertheless, in 2012-13, just 6 per cent of all aid to fragile states and economies targeted gender equality as the principal objective. In the case of peace and security specific aid, this figure was only 2 per cent.

FOCUS ON

Making funding decisions using gender equality criteria

Canada's Global Peace and Security Fund contributes to projects in fragile and conflict-affected states in support of international peace and security. The Fund's efforts to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls were notably enhanced through the adoption of Canada's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security in 2010, which sets out a specific requirement for project funding to be assessed against their contribution to gender equality. The Fund's Project Assessment Team evaluates whether or not proposals further the implementation of Canada's commitments on women, peace and security by asking applicants to specifically address the question: "How will this project address the different needs of women, men, boys and girls?" The impact of these measures has been significant. Evaluating projects' support for women, peace and security is now a standard procedure. Over the three-year period for which reports have been published, the proportion of projects with a gender focus increased from approximately 12 to 85 per cent.[15]

Unpredictability of gender equality focused aid

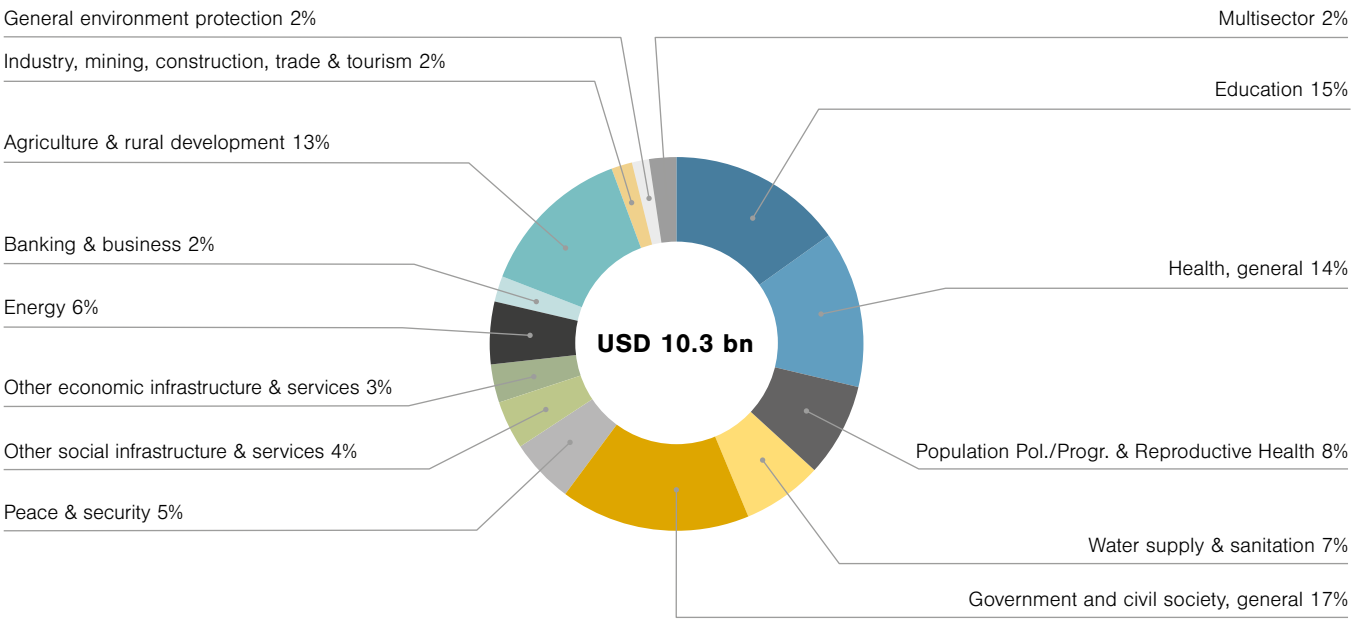
The priority given to gender equality varies enormously across fragile contexts. OECD-DAC data shows that 67 per cent of aid to Nepal targeted gender equality in 2012-13 compared with just 14 per cent of aid to Iraq.[16] Additionally, more than 50 per cent of aid to gender equality in fragile states and economies was concentrated in just 8 countries in 2012-2013, although the list of main aid recipients has shifted significantly in the past six years.[17] This highlights the fact that long-term support to women, peace and security interventions continues to be limited.

Part of this volatility relates to the overall context of fragile state aid. According to the World Bank, on average, aid flows to post-conflict countries and fragile states are more volatile than flows to countries that are neither fragile nor post-conflict, although large variations do exist between countries.[18] Unpredictable aid flows make it difficult for countries to plan development strategies effectively, with particular impacts on women, peace and security. Here the double bind of unstable aid alongside limited resources has an aggravating effect on efforts to meet women's needs.[19] Besides increasing aid predictability, other ways to enhance the effectiveness of aid allocated to gender issues in conflict and post-conflict settings include ensuring its timeliness, untying aid, aligning it to national priorities and targeting aid orphans and underfinanced sectors. Although the global share of aid that is untied has risen from 68 per cent in 2006 to 79 per cent in 2012, national governments and civil society organizations still run into significant obstacles to access aid. Innovative approaches to financing and other types of interventions in fragile countries aim at addressing some of these issues.

Which sectors are prioritized?

OECD-DAC data shows that most bilateral aid in support of gender equality in fragile states and economies goes to social sectors such as education[20] and health, while significant financing gaps remain in the economic and productive sectors, and the peace and security sector.[21] Peacebuilding and state building processes

Sectorial distribution of aid targeting gender equality in fragile states and economies (2012-13 average commitments, 2012 prices)[22]



"It is a continuing frustration that the level of rhetoric for gender equality, and the level of ambition expressed, is not evidenced in financing. We must not miss the chance to achieve radical change – moving from treating women's issues as side issues or peripheral to the business of the UN, to making women and girls the missing answer to creating a peaceful and just world."

Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, UN Under-Secretary-General and Executive Director, UN Women

offer a critical window of opportunity to address gender inequalities and rebuild states that are responsive, inclusive and accountable to all members of society, including women and girls. Despite this, only 28 per cent of OECD-DAC members' aid to peace and security in fragile states and economies had a gender equality focus in 2012-13, and only 2 per cent targeted gender equality as a principal objective.[23] Within the peace and security category, the top receiving areas of gender equality focused aid were civilian peacebuilding, conflict prevention and resolution, followed by security system management reform. However, only 4 per cent and 1 per cent (respectively) targeted gender as a principal objective.[24]

Only 28 per cent of OECD-DAC members' aid to peace and security in fragile states and economies had a gender equality focus in 2012-13, and only 2 per cent targeted gender equality as a principal objective.

Percentage and total aid to peace and security targeting gender equality as a principal or significant objective, by sub-category, 2012-2013[25]

KEY PEACE AND SECURITY ISSUES	% OF AID TARGETING GENDER EQUALITY		USD MILLION, AVERAGE 2012-13	
	significant	*principal*	*significant*	*principal*
Security system management and reform	26%	1%	90.6	5.2
Civilian peace-building, conflict prevention and resolution	41%	4%	359.3	32.3
Reintegration and Small Arms and Light Weapons control	14%	0%	6.2	0
Removal of land mines and explosive remnants of war	19%	0%	16.2	0

To date, no international norms exist for tracking global peace and security spending and its gender focus. Agreeing on such global norms and targets would greatly enhance the quality of international efforts to prevent and reduce crises.[26]

Non-DAC countries

The overall context of donor spending has shifted in the past decade and a half, with emerging donors playing an increasingly important role in aid delivery to

conflict countries.[27] The United Arab Emirates, Turkey and the People's Republic of China are estimated to be among the largest non-DAC providers in absolute terms. Moreover, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates are among the most generous non-DAC providers to fragile situations in terms of percentage of their gross national income (GNI).[28] Four out of the top 10 recipients of gross bilateral ODA provided by the United Arab Emirates in 2012-13 are currently considered fragile states, and together received USD 239 million.[29] In the case of Turkey, 5 out of its top 10 recipients are fragile states and received USD 1,645 million.[30] Data was, however, not available on whether or not this funding promoted gender equality. It is important that all aid providers, including non-DAC providers, record the gender focus of all aid contributions.

INCREASING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AID

More inclusive, innovative interventions driven by developing countries' priorities are necessary to speed up transition to stability and inclusive development in fragile contexts. Furthermore, as the number of emergencies, protracted conflict and countries who move in and out of conflict increases, there is a need to bridge the gap between humanitarian and development aid, with increased investment in resilience, conflict resolution and peacebuilding that more firmly targets long-term development outcomes.

One model for more effective aid support is the New Deal for Peace and Engagement in Fragile States.[31] Established at the High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness held in Busan in December 2011, the New Deal is a country-led approach to aid designed to provide support in transitions from instability to development, and to serve as a platform for strengthened relations between donors and affected countries. It aims to identify each country's peacebuilding and state-building priorities, and then build a country-led context-specific plan. To implement this, donors are expected to partner and contribute to a financing compact.

Gender equality and the participation of women are critical to the realization of the New Deal. Its emphasis on country leadership, local ownership and multi-stakeholder collaboration, and the opportunity it offers to drive forward a more inclusive agenda, make it imperative that women are included and their voices are heard. While implementation of this initiative has not had as much support as initially expected, civil society has managed to mobilize and integrate gender in some cases, such as Afghanistan and South Sudan.[32]

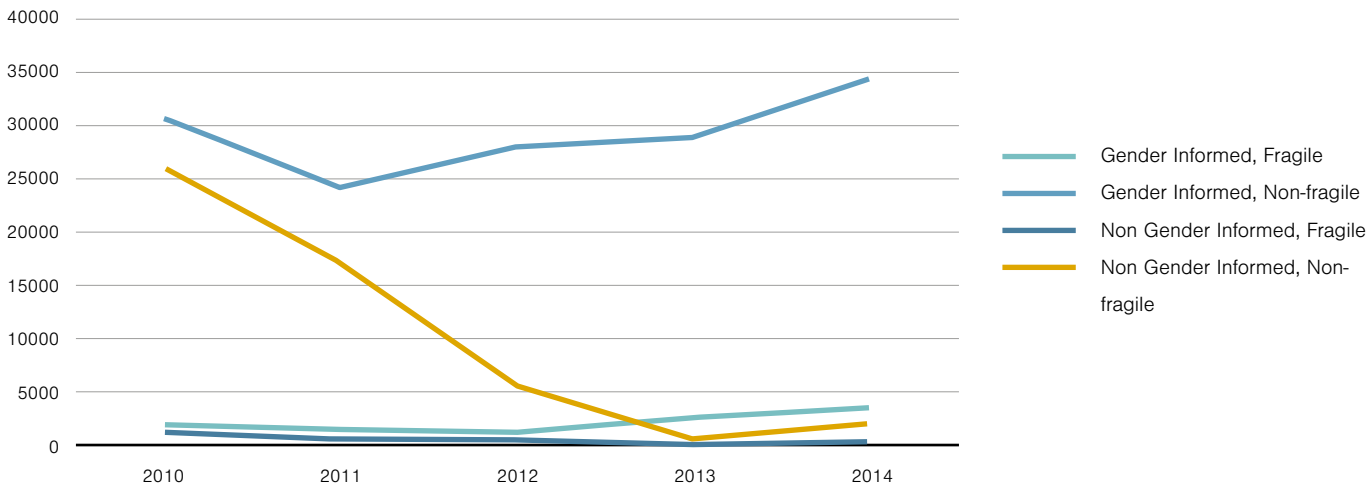
The role of development banks

Evidence shows that 20 fragile and conflict-affected states met at least one of the 18 MDG targets ahead of 2015.[33] Financial assistance has played an important role in these achievements. Besides bilateral official development assistance, multilateral donors such as development banks are key enablers of development. For instance, the International Development Association (IDA)—the World Bank's fund for the poorest countries—has provided over USD 28.5 billion to fragile and conflict-affected states since 2000 and committed to raise the share of IDA financing to these states by 50 per cent.[34] The proportion of the World Bank's allocations that are 'gender informed' has grown substantially since fiscal year 2010.[35] The Bank's strategic targets of "60 per cent of all IDA lending operations, and 55 per cent of all Bank lending operations being gender-informed" were met in 2014.[36]

In the case of fragile states, the gender focus of the Bank's allocations has increased substantially. In 2010, 57 per cent of allocations were gender informed, and the figure rose to 97 per cent in 2014.[37] This shift is comparable to that of allocations to non-fragile states, which increased from 54 to 94 per cent over the same period. However, total allocations to fragile states are still much lower than those to non-fragile countries. In fiscal year 2014, for instance, USD 3.38 million was allocated to gender informed interventions in fragile states, compared to USD 34.15 million in non-fragile states.

The largest gender informed allocation to a single post-conflict or fragile country in fiscal year 2014 was received by Iraq (USD 355 million), followed by Myanmar (USD 281.5 million) and Mali (USD 280 million).

The World Bank's gender and non-gender informed allocations (Total USD million) to fragile and non-fragile states (Financial years 2010 - 2014)[38]



Under its Policy on Gender and Development, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) committed to support a larger number of projects that address gender equality. Efforts focus on both mainstreaming gender in all ABD-financed projects and programmes, and increasing the number of loans that directly address gender disparities.[39] An analysis of project, loans and grants records approved by the ADB in 2014 for interventions in fragile states in Asia and the Pacific shows that the majority of the rated allocations, 54 per cent, (USD 2.49 million) were tagged as interventions with effective gender mainstreaming.[40] However, only 14 per cent of rated funds (USD 638,000) were allocated to projects focused specifically on promoting gender equality, while almost 30 per cent (USD 1.32 million) had no gender elements.

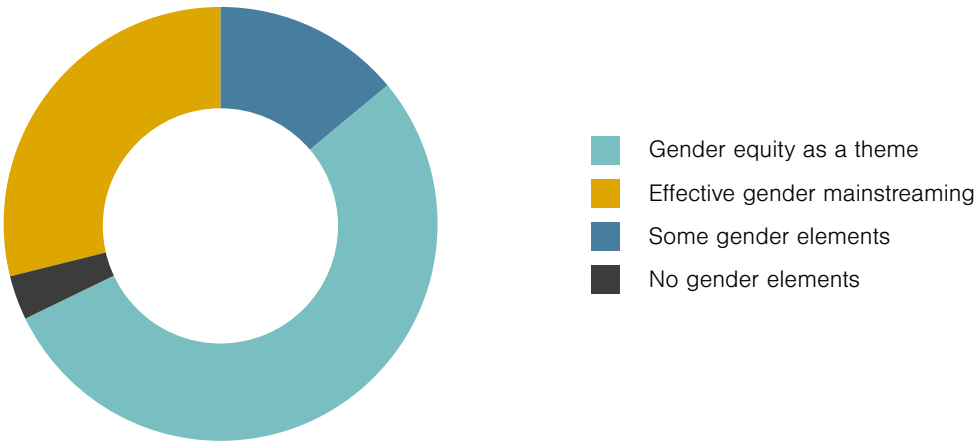
While the largest USD amount approved for allocation by the ADB in 2014 to a single fragile state in Asia and the Pacific was USD 1.56 million to Sri Lanka, countries receiving the largest gender-focused allocations were Bangladesh and Nepal.

Other development banks are not yet applying gender markers consistently and therefore it is not possible to adequately assess the gender focus of their interventions. The African Development Bank (AfDB), for instance, is planning to introduce a gender marking system in the course of 2015 to tag operations on the basis of their potential impact on gender equality.[41] Three markings are envisaged: "potentially high, medium and low gender impact," depending on whether or not gender equality is a distinct development outcome of each operation.[42]

Donor conferences: Translating assessment of needs into financial commitments

Donor conferences are critical for focusing global attention on a country's post-conflict priorities. However, despite the repeated acknowledgement of women's central importance to reconstruction, women civil society leaders and organizations have often been marginalized by the donor assistance pledging process.[43] In his 2010 report on women's participation in peacebuilding, the Secretary-General called on UN entities, regional organizations, international financial institutions and Member States involved in organizing donor conferences to provide meaningful opportunities

Rated allocations to project, loans and grants in fragile Asia-Pacific states approved by the ADB in 2014, by gender focus[44]



for women's representatives to participate in such crucial events, including access to all conference documentation, space on the agenda to present issues of concern and assistance in convening preparatory meetings and developing policy papers.[45]

A sample review of 22 major donor or engagement conferences that have taken place since 2010, covering 11 conflict or post-conflict situations, show mixed results in living up to this call.[46] For example, with regard to conferences addressing priorities for peacebuilding in Afghanistan, women civil society representatives were formally invited to convey their priorities at some, while at others they were left out of formal proceedings even though they were prepared and present at the location of the conference.[47] While data availability is uneven, initial findings of this sample review suggest a strong correlation between conferences that have clear channels for participation for women's civil society representatives, the backing of gender expertise, and outcomes of donor pledges targeting gender equality interventions. This demonstrates the important role that women's organizations and the use of gender analysis in preparatory planning can play in fundraising for such interventions and for women's needs in particular.

RESOURCE TRACKING OF THE UN SYSTEM'S IMPLEMENTATION OF WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY COMMITMENTS

Reporting on the UN System-Wide Action Plan on Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN-SWAP) shows that UN entities have made limited progress in resource tracking and allocation for gender-focused interventions. Only 15 (24 per cent) out of 62 entities reporting data in 2015 currently have systems to track resources for gender equality and women's empowerment.[48] Among those, departments of the UN Secretariat, making up about 40 per cent

Only 15 (24 per cent) out of 62 entities reporting data in 2015 currently have systems to track resources for gender equality and women's empowerment

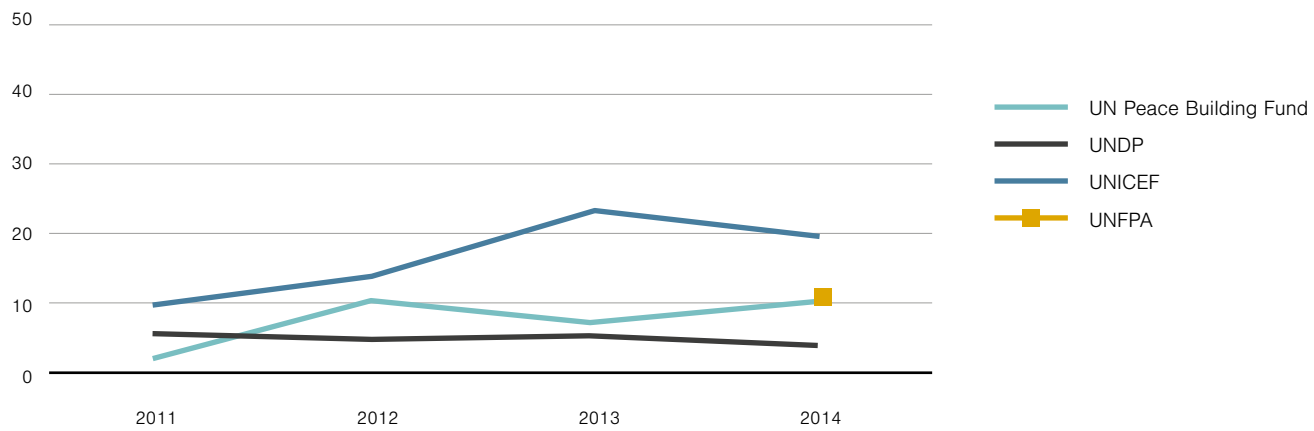
of all UN entities, lag behind significantly, with very few entities tracking their resources spent on gender. As such, it has remained the weakest performing indicator of the UN-SWAP for three consecutive years of reporting. Efforts are underway to support the establishment and roll-out of gender marker systems across more UN entities, although much more intense action is necessary if the UN system expects to achieve most UN-SWAP targets by the 2017 deadline set by the UN Chief Executives Board.

Gender markers

Notably, a growing number of entities working in conflict-affected and crisis settings are using gender markers. At present, conflict and post-conflict specific gender-marked data is annually reported by five different UN entities. UNDP, the UN Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) and UNICEF have reported data since the adoption of the UN indicators and monitoring frameworks on women, peace and security in 2010.[49] Data from the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC)[50] has been available since 2012 and UNFPA initiated marking and reporting in 2014. Differences in methodology, however, limit full comparability across UN entities, and over time.[51]

Although available figures on the proportion of allocations focusing on gender show a generally upward trend since 2011, it is clear that much stronger efforts are needed. In particular, the goal of allocating a minimum of 15 per cent of UN-managed funds in support of peacebuilding to projects whose principal objective is to address women's specific needs and advance gender equality—as set out in the UN Secretary-General's Seven-Point Action Plan on Gender Responsive Peacebuilding[52]—remains largely unmet. For instance, in interventions by the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF), this proportion has fluctuated significantly from the 2011 figure of 2.1 per cent, to more positive results recorded in 2012 and 2014—the years the Fund was running its Gender Promotion Initiative (GPI) and emphasizing the funding of projects targeting women's empowerment and gender equality. In 2014, the figure was 9.3 per cent or a total of USD 8.22 million.[53] While special measures such as the GPI are important, there is also a risk that they isolate or pigeon-hole gender programmes and funds, making them the subject of separate, stand-alone actions, rather than dedicated

Percentage of funds allocated by UN entities to interventions having gender equality as a principal objective (Percentage of total USD screened)[54]



programmes that are effectively mainstreamed into the full range of programming undertaken by all entities in post-conflict contexts.

The UN's 15 per cent financing target for peacebuilding interventions, although far from being reached by all entities responsible, has been instrumental in driving more determined action, and more systematic monitoring of progress. As recognized by the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture, a major additional push is now needed not only to meet, but preferably surpass the Secretary-General's financing targets related to gender equality and the implementation of the WPS agenda.[55] The report highlights the 15 per cent gender marker as one of the core measures which will help the UN to redefine and reorient its work toward the UN Charter's vision of saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war."[56] Also necessary will be much stronger leadership for gender-responsive planning and budgeting; monitoring and evaluation; and an investment in technical expertise.

Challenges in methodology and reporting systems

> *"To ensure women and girls, boys and men have equal access to and benefit from humanitarian assistance—we must 'follow the money.' We need to know how we spend money and who benefits."*
>
> **Valerie Amos**, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator

Much larger sums are allocated to interventions that target gender equality as a 'significant objective.' This means that such interventions advance gender equality and women's empowerment, although this is not the intervention's principal objective. It also means that gender equality considerations are considered mainstreamed across the interventions.

The current gender marking systems in use are not sophisticated enough to identify the proportion of funds within those marked as 'significant,' that actually further gender equality. Some interventions might thus have a much larger gender impact than others, with funds concentrated on certain types of sectors. There are currently no tools available to monitor actual spending, and staff capacity to track and analyze this type of data is limited in most entities. Moreover, while some UN entities such as UNFPA screen the totality of their allocations to fragile countries for gender focus utilizing markers, others—especially emergency response and humanitarian interventions—encounter challenges in gender marking, which results in an unreliable picture of whether commitments to gender equality are being met.

For instance, Syria, South Sudan and the Philippines received the greatest proportion of humanitarian assistance targeting gender principally in 2014, and it still only amounted to one per cent of total humanitarian aid to each of these countries.

Since 2012, the proportion of unmarked humanitarian aid channeled through UN entities has remained at around 60 per cent and, where markers were used, a significant proportion of aid was coded as "unspecified" (23 per cent in 2014).[57] It is therefore not only challenging to identify which humanitarian and emergency areas received more attention, but the data also indicates that the gender focus was, in general, extremely low. For instance, Syria, South Sudan and the Philippines received the greatest proportion of humanitarian assistance targeting gender principally in 2014, and it still only amounted to one per cent of total humanitarian aid to each of these countries.[58]

Other UN entities working in conflict and post-conflict

settings, such as the UN Secretariat's Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Political Affairs, do not use gender markers as their operations are not project-based, and slightly more sophisticated marker systems would be required to capture the gender focus of their interventions. Available data indicates that the total peacekeeping funding for the fiscal year 2014/15 amounted to USD 8.47 billion,[59] while the annual budget for special political missions was approximately USD 590 million.[60] These large volumes remain unmarked for gender-focus and therefore unaccounted for in gender-focused aid monitoring systems. The establishment of adequate methodology and reporting systems to track the gender focus of non-project based allocations, including in field missions, is key to hold all UN entities accountable for gender commitments.

FUNDING ALLOCATED TO CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS WORKING IN CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT SETTINGS

This Study has detailed the body of evidence on the relationship between women's participation and the effectiveness of peace and security efforts. In the immediate aftermath of conflict, there is a brief moment of opportunity to strengthen women's rights and leadership, and through this, accelerate post-conflict recovery and stability. Yet, this is precisely the period when countries experience funding shortfalls, with women's organizations and the critical work they do the most adversely affected. The dearth of funds is aggravated by the fact that when funds are made available, they are often released late in the day, after their immediate need and when other ODA flows are re-established. Bridging this gap, in resources and time, would unleash a powerful tool for furthering women's leadership and as a result, the gains to peace and security the evidence tells us will follow.

The crucial contribution of women's organizations—including those working at the grassroots level—to conflict resolution and peacebuilding has been explicitly recognized in Security Council resolution 2122 (2013), which calls on Member States to develop dedicated funding mechanisms and increase their contributions to women's organizations at the local level. Some initiatives are now underway. For example, the United States has begun providing small grants as a mechanism to channel support and resources directly to women-led civil society organizations at critical times in their countries' recovery as a core crisis response.[61]

However, much stronger efforts are needed in this area. OECD-DAC data shows that in 2012-13, only USD 130 million of aid went to women's equality organizations and institutions—a tiny amount of the USD 31.8 billion of total aid to fragile states and economies over the same period, and representing just one per cent of gender equality focused aid to fragile states and economies.[62]

A 2011 cross-regional survey supported by the Association of Women's Rights in Development (AWID) of over 1,000 women's organizations and close to 50 women's funds revealed that the median annual income of these organizations doubled between 2005 and 2010.[63] However the average budget of these organizations was only USD 20,000 and only 7 per cent of respondents reported 2010 budgets over USD 500,000.[64] The majority reported challenges to mobilizing resources and having to cut activities or staff due to funding limitations. Furthermore, women's organizations rely primarily on project support rather than on long-term flexible funding. In fact, 48 per cent of respondents reported never having received core funding, and 52 per cent never having received multi-year funding.[65] The implications of this are that many of these

Furthermore, women's organizations rely primarily on project support rather than on long-term flexible funding. In fact, 48 per cent of respondents reported never having received core funding, and 52 per cent never having received multi-year funding.

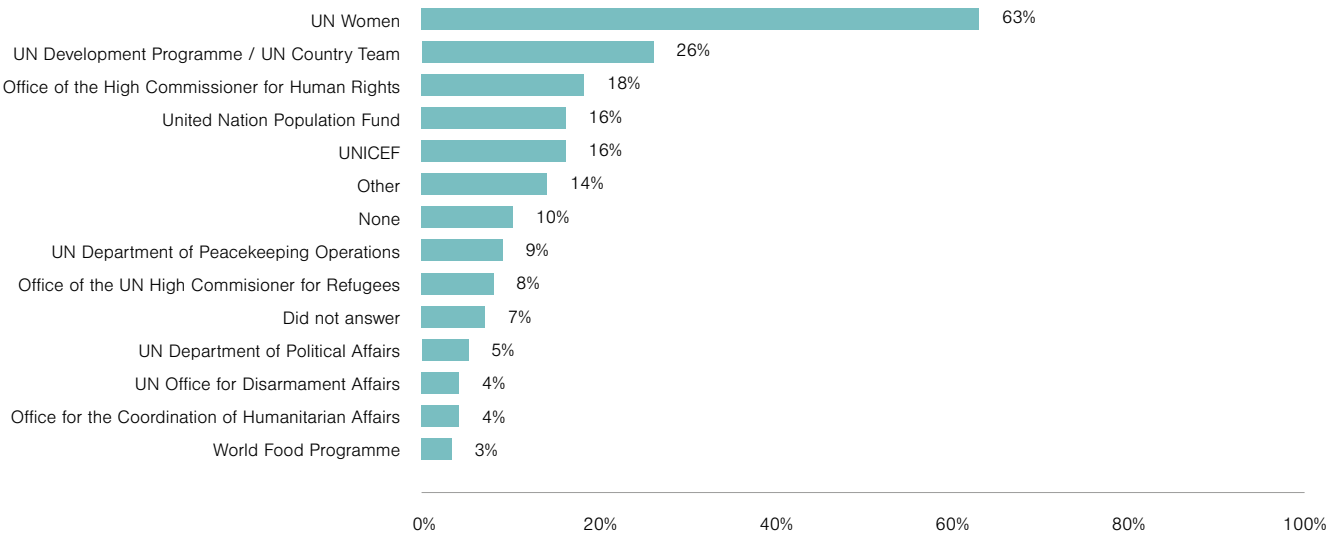
small organizations spend a disproportionate amount of their time on donor-related activities—such as writing funding proposals in tight timeframes for small amounts of money, and donor reporting—which takes valuable time away from their actual programming.

Similar findings emerged from the global civil society survey undertaken as a contribution to this Global Study and the 2015 High-Level Review of the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000).[66] Lack of resources ranked highest among the barriers encountered by civil society organizations (39 per cent), followed by lack of trust and cooperation with governments, and gaps between international policies and local level realities (each 29 per cent). Most organizations reported receiving the largest amount of funding for work on advocacy, followed by technical capacity building (43 per cent). In contrast, only 11 per cent of organizations indicated that the majority of their funding supports core-functioning/institutional capacity building. Other funding-related challenges identified by respondents included ineffective funding allocations; donors' focus on numerical targets and 'quantity rather than quality;' money given to large organizations rather than grassroots ones; uncoordinated and erratic funding; shifting donor interests interfering with long-term planning; conditions set by donors on funding; and problems associated with civil society organizations becoming donor-driven rather than community-driven, which at times fuels competition between organizations.

> *"We have small annual budget and most of the actions and our work on WPS is voluntary. We need core support also, and that is the situation with many women organizations in Serbia. Funding in most cases is for [a] limited time, 6 months or year, so [we] can't plan actions on [a] long-term basis."*
>
> Respondent to the civil society survey for the Global Study, working in Serbia

In terms of sources of support from the UN system, the survey revealed that almost two thirds (63 per cent) of civil society organizations receive support from UN Women for their work on women, peace and security, showing the importance of the entity's role in providing direct resources and technical support despite its limited resources.[67] Approximately one in four organizations received support from UNDP (26 per cent), followed by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (18 per cent), UNFPA (16 per cent) and UNICEF (16 per cent). Ten per cent had not received support from any UN entity for their women, peace and security work.

Proportion of respondents who selected each of the following categories in response to survey question: "Which of the UN agencies have been most supportive of your work on WPS initiatives?" (Multiple choices possible)[68]



Barriers to accessing resources

In addition to limited funding, new challenges in accessing resources have emerged as a result of evolving global trends and threats. In early 2015 the Women Peacemakers Program (WPP), together with Human Security Collective (HSC) contacted partners in ten countries to gain insight into the multiple ways the counter-terrorism agenda is affecting their work for peace and women's rights.[69] Responses show that post 9/11 counter-terrorism measures have impacted civil society's operational and political space in several ways. Several respondents reported that their governments are trying to control, limit, or stop critical civil society work through the development of new NGO legislation, as recommended by the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) in its Anti-Money Laundering/Countering Financing of Terrorism standard.[70] This new legislation, in some cases, puts restrictions on receiving funding support. For example, a 2013 study by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and the Norwegian Refugee Council showed that counter-terrorism measures adopted or expanded by donor States over the past decade have had negative impacts including halts and decreases in funding; blockage or suspension of programmes; and limitations on financial transactions.[71] However, it is too infrequently acknowledged that such anti-terrorism financing rules have a particular—and in many cases—additional adverse impact on women and women's organizations. As noted by one respondent from the Middle East and North Africa region:

> *"Sometimes we are facing difficulties during the money transfer process, it takes a long time for us to receive the funds, and some correspondent banks reject the amount. Recently a new system has been introduced: there is a limit on the amount we can withdraw on a weekly basis from the bank. This means we cannot pay all our organizational expenses on time, such as staff salary, rent, activity expenses... Everyone is calling us for their money, and we have to promise them that we will pay them next week... Sometimes we are taking loans from other people just to cover our expenses. The banks should have a special system for dealing with NGOs, especially when they also provide humanitarian services."*[72]

Other challenges to access funding have to do with donors increasingly preferring to channel funds via large organizations capable of producing grant proposals according to their demanding guidelines, as well as able to absorb rigorous reporting and auditing requirements.[73]

Multilateral sources of funding

Special Funds such as the UN Trust Fund to End Violence against Women, the UN Fund for Gender Equality,[74] and the UN Fund for Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict,[75] have been important multilateral sources of support for work on gender equality, women's rights and empowerment. While these funds are supporting a growing number of projects in conflict and post-conflict settings, a sizable gap exists between available funds and demand, funding to address the gap for women's organizations in particular before ODA flows resume, and funding which specifically addresses the challenges associated with the specific application to the women, peace and security agenda as a whole, in particular women's leadership and participation elements, and a focus on civil society.

In response, the Global Acceleration Instrument on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Action has been established—a new multi-stakeholder initiative by Member States, UN entities and civil society that holds a promise for dedicated and scaled-up financing for the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda. Beyond financing, the instrument will act as a collective platform for coordination, knowledge and experience exchange.

FOCUS ON

Global Acceleration Instrument on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Action

To address the stark financing gaps long recognized as a major obstacle to the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda as well as women's engagement in humanitarian action, a Women, Peace and Security Financing Discussion Group (FDG) was established in June 2014. Composed of representatives from donors, conflict-affected Member States, UN entities and civil society, this unique multi-stakeholder body met over the course of a year to consider strategies for dedicated and scaled-up financing support.

After exploring a number of options and mapping existing financing instruments, the FDG agreed to support the establishment of a Global Acceleration Instrument (GAI) on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Action, a pooled funding mechanism that aims to re-energize action and stimulate a significant shift in the financing for women's participation, leadership and empowerment in crisis response, and peace and security settings.[76] The new fund will be a flexible and rapid financing mechanism that supports quality interventions that respond to shifting contexts and the sudden onset of both crises and emergencies. It will also strengthen the capacity of civil society to seize key peacebuilding opportunities. The fund aims to bridge the funding gaps that occur between the signing of a peace agreement and the resumption of ODA flows—a critical period when a country is rebuilding for the future, but lacking the necessary financial resources to do it. Investing in women's organizations and civil society in this crucial period has been shown to support inclusivity and nation-building and increase the peace dividends across a broader constituency of society.

The GAI will feature a multi-stakeholder governance structure that allows Member States, civil society and the UN to participate in decision-making on an equal footing, to demonstrate transparency and effectiveness of collective and consultative strategic planning and resource utilization.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

Member States, the UN and civil society should:

- ✓ Set specific numerical targets such as the UN target of allocating 15 per cent of peacebuilding funds to projects whose principal objective is to address women's specific needs and advance gender equality.
- ✓ Establish systems across all financing actors to promote transparency and accountability, by tracking whether financial allocations further gender equality in a fully comparable manner, including in peace, security and emergency contexts. To achieve this, build the capacity of all actors to monitor and evaluate the impact of funding.
- ✓ Increase predictable, accessible and flexible funding for women's civil society organizations working on peace and security at all levels, including through dedicated financing instruments such as the new Global Acceleration Instrument on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Action.
- ✓ Support women's participation in donor conferences to ensure interventions appropriately target the needs of women on the ground.
- ✓ Build the capacity of national governments in fragile and conflict-affected settings to undertake gender-responsive budgeting and ensure coherence of national planning with gender equality objectives.
- ✓ Undertake participatory gender and conflict risk analysis (including vulnerability analysis) to inform the design, costing and implementation of all interventions in conflict-affected contexts.

Donor States and groups should:

- ✓ Adopt the UN's 15 per cent gender-funding target for peacebuilding interventions within their own aid flows to conflict-affected contexts, with this percentage being the first, not final, target.

Civil society should:

- ✓ Improve coordination of donors' aid activities to ensure a more even distribution of gender equality-focused aid across all fragile states and economies.
- ✓ Significantly increase allocations to dedicated financial mechanisms that promote gender equality, women's human rights and empowerment, such as the UN Fund for Gender Equality, the UN Trust Fund to End Violence Against Women, the UN Fund for Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict (UN Action) and the new Global Acceleration Instrument on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Engagement.
- ✓ Revise the structure of budgeting from being 'project' based to be aimed at long-term capacity building, not only of State entities but also of non-State entities.

The UN should:

✓ Accelerate efforts to attain and then surpass the Secretary-General's 15 per cent 'gender marker' for financing of peacebuilding approaches that promote gender equality. Its achievement should be written into the Secretary-General's performance compacts with senior UN leaders on the ground, in mission and non-mission settings, and backed up with an enhanced system for monitoring and tracking achievement.[77]

✓ Allocate US 100 million or a symbolic 1 per cent of the value (whichever is higher) of the total budget for peace operations to the Peace Building Fund;[78] and further ensure that, of this contribution, a minimum of 15 per cent is allocated to peacebuilding approaches that promote gender equality.

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17. Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Kenya, Nepal, Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan. See, Ibid.
18. "World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security and Development" (World Bank, 2011), 25, 194.
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20. However, education still remains one of the least financed sectors when it comes to humanitarian aid appeals. In 2013, only 2 per cent of funds from humanitarian appeals went to education and only 40 per cent of education-related funding requests were met, compared with 86 per cent for the food sector and 57 per cent for the health sector. See, "Education for All 2000-2015: Achievements and Challenges" (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 2015), 275.
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22. "Financing UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Aid in Support of Gender Equality and Women's Rights in Fragile Contexts," 7.
23. "Financing UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Aid in Support of Gender Equality and Women's Rights in Fragile Contexts." According to the DAC definition, the category "conflict prevention and resolution, peace and security" includes: security system management and reform; civilian peace-building, conflict prevention and resolution; participation in international peacekeeping operations; reintegration and small arms and light weapons control; removal of land mines and explosive remnants of war; and child soldiers (prevention and demobilization).Sucharita S.K. Varanasi, "Using Technology to End Impunity for Mass Atrocities, Including Rape," International Justice Monitor, May 26, 2015, http://www.ijmonitor.org/2015/05/using-technology-to-end-impunity-for-mass-atrocities-including-rape/.

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25. Data for OECD-DAC aggregates provided the DAC Network on Gender Equality (GENDERNET).
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27. See, “States of Fragility 2015: Meeting Post-2015 Ambitions.” A number of non-DAC providers have increased development co-operation and investment in fragile situations.
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40. Data in this paragraph sourced from: http://adb.org/projects/search/48419,21303?keyword=. For accountability purposes, ADB follows a 4-tier gender categorization system to assess the gender focus of interventions. The four categories, as defined by ADB, are: I) “gender equity as a theme”, II) “effective gender mainstreaming”, III) “some gender elements” and IV) “no gender elements.”
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49. Data is reported annually in the report of the Secretary-General on women and peace and security.
50. The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) is the primary mechanism for inter-agency coordination of humanitarian assistance.
51. UNDP’s proportion of allocations targeting gender equality as a principal objective in conflict and post-conflict countries has largely remained constant since 2011, standing at 4.2 per cent of funds in 2014. In the case of UNICEF, the proportion of interventions reached 19 per cent in 2014, a substantial increase from 11 per cent in 2011, although their marking methodology is substantially different and comparisons with other actors are discouraged. UNFPA’s first gender marker analysis indicates that 11.6 per cent of their interventions have gender equality as a principal objective. In absolute terms, UNDP is the entity that reports having funded the largest volume of interventions targeting gender equality in conflict and post-conflict settings as a principal objective, a total

of USD 71.7 million. Of this amount, USD 13.6 million were allocated towards improving women's livelihoods and jobs, including interventions to promote women's access to credit and assets, and facilitating vocational training, mentoring and networking activities. Other areas receiving significant attention included access to justice, redress and citizen security (USD 7.2 million) and legal assistance to women victims of sexual violence, including related awareness building activities (USD 5.6 million). In comparison, UN Women's field level programme expenses in the areas of peace, security and humanitarian action totalled just USD 17.75 million in 2014, of which the largest amounts were received by the African and Asia Pacific regions with USD 6.88 million and USD 5.18 million respectively. "Report of the Secretary-General: Women and Peace and Security," UN Doc. S/2015/716 (United Nations Security Council, September 17, 2015), para. 133.

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67. This includes other forms of support beyond funding. Data in this paragraph sourced from: "Global Report: Civil Society Organization (CSO) Survey for the Global Study on Women, Peace and Security: CSO Perspectives on UNSCR 1325 Implementation 15 Years after Adoption."
68. Ibid.
69. Isabelle Gueskens et al., "Counterterrorism Measures and Their Effects on the Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda," Submission to the Global Study (Women Peacemakers Program, March 12, 2015).
70. The Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF) is an intergovernmental body that was established during the 1989 G7 Summit. Its objectives are to set standards and promote effective implementation of legal, regulatory and operational measures for combating money laundering, terrorist financing and other related threats to the integrity of the international financial system. The FATF currently consists of thirty-four member jurisdictions and two regional organizations (the EU and the Gulf Co-operation Council). Its Secretariat is housed at the headquarters of the OECD in Paris.
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Violence in Conflict with the Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) serving as the Administrative Agent.

76. Cordaid and the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders have conducted research and advocated for dedicated funding for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the supporting resolutions on WPS since 2010. Together, they have worked with UN Women on the establishment of the WPS Financing Discussion Group and the GAI.

77. "Report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture (2015)," para. 182.

78. Ibid., para. 171.

14

GENERAL GUIDELINES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

These general guidelines and recommendations are meant to guide policy direction and be used for advocacy by Member States, international organizations and civil society. Detailed technical recommendations are included at the end of each chapter with particular relevance to the specific themes covered.

1. NO TO MILITARIZATION: YES TO PREVENTION

The emphatic conclusions of women in consultation for the Global Study from all over the world were that there must be an end to the present cycle of militarization, with its unprecedented levels of military spending, and that armed intervention by the international community and Member States must only be the last resort. Instead, the focus of all stakeholders should be on the prevention of conflict through the short-term and long-term measures outlined in Chapter 8: *Prevention of Conflict*. Strategic planning with regard to prevention should be a priority at the international, regional and national level, and adequate resources should be channelled so that these strategies are realized in the field.

2. WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY MUST BE RESPECTED AS A HUMAN RIGHTS MANDATE

When civil society moved the Security Council to take action on women, peace and security in 2000, it was understood that the concerns expressed would always be interpreted within the framework of international human rights. Therefore, the agenda of 1325 should not be 'securitized' and women should never be used as instruments in any military strategy. Their agency must be respected and their autonomy and concerns should be the priority. Women peacebuilders in the field should be empowered to choose their priorities and determine their own strategies.

3. MEDIATORS OF PEACE PROCESSES AND LEADERSHIP OF UN FIELD MISSIONS MUST BE PROACTIVE WITH REGARD TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION: THE PRESENCE OF WOMEN MAKES PEACE SUSTAINABLE

Research confirms that women's participation has a direct and positive impact on negotiations and the sustainability of peace processes. International mediators and leadership at the field level must make every effort to ensure the participation of women in every process and sector, as outlined in Chapter 3: *Women's Participation*. What is 'political' in any given context must be interpreted in an inclusive manner involving extensive consultations with women's groups participating in 'track 2' activities as well as civil society as a whole.

4. PERPETRATORS MUST BE PUNISHED AND JUSTICE MUST BE TRANSFORMATIVE

The struggle against impunity for crimes against women must continue with a greater emphasis on national prosecutions. And yet, these incidents do not take place in a vacuum and a strategy of transformative justice that recognizes the importance of reparations, truth seeking, memorialization and reconciliation must also be present to allow communities to heal after a period of intense warfare.

5. LOCALIZATION OF PEACEBUILDING PROGRAMMES MUST INVOLVE THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN AT EVERY LEVEL AND BE SUPPLEMENTED BY A COMPREHENSIVE SECURITY PLAN TO PROTECT WOMEN AND GIRLS IN THE AFTERMATH OF CONFLICT

Peacebuilding after conflict must respect the specificities of the local context, and 'localization' should be a major policy directive of international actors going to the field. To be truly sustainable, any strategy for peacebuilding must be inclusive and women must participate in the design, formulation and implementation of relevant programmes. At the same time, without a proper rule of law system in place in post-conflict situations, violence against women intensifies while both drug and human trafficking become major concerns. A security

plan, assisted by the international community, must be implemented in the immediate aftermath of conflict to protect women and girls.

6. FUNDING WOMEN PEACEBUILDERS AND RESPECTING THEIR AGENCY IS ONE IMPORTANT WAY OF COUNTERING EXTREMISM

The rise in specific forms of violent extremism remains a cause of concern for everyone who believes in human rights, women's rights, and democracy. The need to counter this extremism cannot be underscored enough. However, military responses alone will not succeed and may force women into difficult or ambivalent positions. Since there is a correlation between women's rights and a lack of extremism in any given society, women should mobilize nationally, regionally and internationally, but the leadership and agency must rest with the affected women themselves. Significantly more funding and resources should be given to these women peacebuilders, with their better understanding of local realities and expectations, so that they can fight for their rights and their communities. Only networks of women peacebuilders and mediators at the local, national, regional and international level will help stem the tide of violence.

7. ALL KEY ACTORS MUST PLAY THEIR ROLE

a. Member States:

All Member States should be encouraged to prepare national plans on women, peace and security. The new architecture at UN Women proposed in this Study should create a mechanism for monitoring and reporting on national action plans.

b. Regional organizations:

All regional organizations should have strategic planning on women, peace and security and, where possible—as has been done in Africa and Europe—regional envoys should be appointed who will advocate for and promote strategies on women, peace and security.

c. Media:

Media organizations, both public and private, should be encouraged to advocate for and give visibility to issues relating to women, peace and security. In addition, they should respect a code of ethics that proscribes hate speech and the stereotyping of women and their communities.

d. Civil society:

Civil society was the prime mover behind the original women, peace and security agenda and remains the main driver of this issue at the national, regional and international level. It is important that these organizations receive adequate funding and support. Their voices must be heard by the international community through setting up advisory boards both at headquarters and in the field to ensure that the WPS agenda retains its dynamism and impact.

e. Youth:

Young people must be more involved in women, peace and security issues at the national, regional and global level. They are our future, and we must listen to their voices and involve them in stopping war and healing communities.

8. TOWARD A WELL-INFORMED SECURITY COUNCIL THAT APPLIES A GENDER LENS TO ALL ISSUES THAT COME BEFORE IT

The Security Council, in a historic moment, adopted resolution 1325 on women, peace and security and, thereafter, agreed further resolutions on this issue. Chapter 11: *The Security Council* in this Study outlines in detail some specific recommendations with

regard to the way forward, in particular the creation of an 'informal expert group' of the Council that would be briefed on a regular basis by the Secretariat and other stakeholders. This will ensure the sustained attention of the Council on the women, peace and security agenda.

9. ACROSS THE BOARD, 15 PER CENT OF ALL FUNDING FOR PEACE AND SECURITY TO BE EARMARKED FOR PROGRAMMES IMPACTING WOMEN

The financing of the WPS agenda remains a concern, and detailed facts are presented in Chapter 13 on the shortfall in financing. All practitioners in the field were in agreement: Member States, regional organizations and the UN should commit to earmarking a minimum of 15 per cent of all funding relating to peace and security, for programmes whose principal objective is to address women's specific needs and advance gender equality, including in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding in post-conflict societies.

10. TOWARD A STRONG GENDER ARCHITECTURE AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Throughout the Study there are recommendations for the United Nations system with regard to women, peace and security. Key recommendations are the following:

a. In the field:

i. Where relevant and appropriate, and following the re-appraisal described in 10(b)(ii) below, UN Women offices should be set up in countries affected by conflict, and fund and support local level women's groups and women peacebuilders.

ii. The mandates of Resident Coordinators and/or Special Representatives of the Secretary-General (SRSG) should be rewritten to make women, peace and security a strong priority in their work.

iii. There should be a senior gender advisor at a D1 level in the office of every SRSG, with hybrid technical gender experts in thematic units.

iv. UN Women, DPKO and DPA should jointly provide technical, political and policy expertise to the gender staffing of peacekeeping and special political missions.

b. At headquarters:

i. There should be discussion with all stakeholders with regard to the feasibility of setting up an International Tribunal for Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by UN peacekeepers and UN staff in the field.

ii. The gender advisor posts and capacity in DPA and DPKO should be strengthened.

iii. An Assistant Secretary-General, with adequate resources, should be appointed at UN Women to deal with crises, conflict and emergencies, after a full re-appraisal of UN Women's work in headquarters and the field on women, peace and security. This re-appraisal should be independent and include consultation with civil society at headquarters and in the field. The mandate of the Assistant Secretary-General should include:

1. Driving implementation of recommendations and field-level programmes described in this Study.

2. Advocating for women's rights in emergency situations.

3. Setting up an institutional structure within UN Women to deal with emergency situations.

4. Attending, when the Executive Director of UN Women is unavailable, all headquarter meetings in New York and Geneva on peace, security and humanitarian situations.

A CALL TO ACTION

In all previous generations, when the world was at war, where there was increased militarization and terrible violence, women have come forward as peacemakers and peacebuilders. Today is no exception. It still happens at the local level, whether in Syria or the DRC. The international world, by embracing 'celebrity culture' has forgotten these women, and allows them to remain invisible. It is important to turn the spotlight again onto these women peacebuilders, to support and fund their efforts. Networks must be created at the local, regional and international level, so that their voices and activities can reach a climax and stem the current tide of recurrent militarization and mindless violence.

ANNEX I.
FULL LIST OF TECHNICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AND A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE POLITICAL

The UN should:

- ✓ Include a specific responsibility drafted into the Terms of Reference of every mediator and envoy, every SRSG and Deputy SRSG, to advance women's engagement in national decision-making processes, and specifically all aspects of conflict resolution, power-sharing, national dialogue and reconciliation.

- ✓ Ensure that UN-appointed mediators and special envoys report on their consultations and outreach to women's groups in line with Security Council resolution 2122 (2013).

Member States, the UN, and the international community should:

- ✓ Ensure that all actors, mediators, Groups of Friends, and parties to the conflict guarantee that women's participation in talks is equal and meaningful, and barriers to their participation, whether these exist in law or in practice, are completely eliminated.

- ✓ Desist from any use of observer status as a substitute for real and effective participation. Women should not be on the sidelines observing, but an integral part of negotiations and decision-making on the future of their country.

- ✓ Invest in developing tools that examine the gendered impacts of various outcomes of peace talks, whether they be federalism, constitution making, transitional justice, power sharing, or cease fire provisions.

- ✓ Commit to mediate between women's organizations and dominant national political leaders to encourage national political actors, including leaders of belligerent parties, to include women in their delegations and to address women's concerns in their negotiations. Member states in contact groups supporting specific peace processes could offer the negotiating parties various incentives to do this—training, logistical support, or adding delegate seats for example.

- ✓ Commit to include agenda items on women's participation in meetings with Groups of Friends and other facilitators of national dialogue, including organizing meetings between representatives of national women's organizations and the Member States making up Groups of Friends.

- ✓ For each process, develop and fund a strategy of long-term support to build the capacity of women's networks to engage in political dialogue, strengthen the gender awareness of mediators, facilitators and conflict parties, address practical issues that may limit women's engagement—from granular details such as procedures for circulation of agenda and materials to bigger issues like the use of local languages, and protect women activists from potential backlash.

- ✓ Advocate for and support inclusive and transparent selection criteria for women at negotiations or beyond, including, for example, by ensuring women's participation in the leadership committees of peace talks, national dialogues, and consultative forums; and creating formal mechanisms to transfer women's demands to the negotiation table.

✓ Support women's engagement and participation not just in peace talks, but in preventive diplomacy and the monitoring and implementation of agreements. This should be extended to both the preparatory and implementation phases of peace processes and political transitions, rather than limited to a given round of negotiations or national dialogue.

Member States should:

✓ Increase the number of women in their foreign service and national security establishments, and take steps to ensure that women diplomats are engaged in leadership roles in conflict resolution.

Mediators and Special Envoys should:

✓ Assume a specific responsibility to advise all parties to dialogue/peace talks/constitutional reform about the value of temporary special measures to increase the numbers of women on negotiating parties. At the same time, the mediator/envoy's office must advise national women's organizations of the range of temporary special measures available and their effectiveness in other contexts.

✓ Commit to meet with representatives of a cross-section of women's organizations within the first 30 days of any deployment, and to follow this with periodic (at least four times a year), scheduled, and minuted meetings. These meetings should be used not only to hear women's perspectives on conflict resolution, but also to provide women's groups with information about opportunities to engage in upcoming dialogue, donor conferences, and informal and formal peace processes.

✓ Commit to raise, as a matter of course and routine, specific gender issues for inclusion in ceasefires and peace talks, such as the prevention of sexual violence, justice for gender crimes, temporary special measures for women's political engagement, specific gender quotas in the leadership of post-conflict commissions to implement the peace accord, and gender-specific provisions in administrative and economic recovery arrangements (including women's land access and property rights). For example, military power sharing should focus not just on merging armies and command structures, but also putting in place rights protections, civilian and democratic accountability, and ensuring women's representation throughout. Territorial power-sharing should include protection for women's rights and participation at the sub-national level, with attention paid to the relationship between women's rights and local customary and traditional laws.

✓ Commit to include a gender advisor on the mediation team as well as to include women who are experts in political analysis and other areas covered by the team.

✓ Recognize that women's participation does not mean that they are solely responsible for women's issues, but that they are allowed to participate and be decision-makers on the full range of issues involved in the peace process.

✓ Commit to ensure that technical experts on a mediators' team are trained on the gender-related aspects of their technical area, and that these technical experts themselves have the relevant technical knowledge on the impact of women's participation and the skills to support effective inclusion.

PROTECTING AND PROMOTING THE RIGHTS AND LEADERSHIP OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN HUMANITARIAN SETTINGS

Member States should:

✓ Remove discriminatory laws and regulations that impede full equality in accessing basic rights and services during and after conflict—including the rights to life, health, education, property and livelihood—and remove discriminatory laws and regulations that impede full equality in accessing basic rights and services, including the right to nationality.

Member States and the UN should:

✓ Ensure that preparations for and outcomes of the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit have gender equality and women's human rights as a focus area as well as integrated throughout the other themes.

Donors, including Member States and private foundations, should:

✓ Expressly mandate that all programmes adopt and apply the Gender Marker and relevant IASC guidance on gender and gender-based violence interventions in humanitarian settings throughout the entire project cycle and require it in all funding applications.

✓ Increase current levels of targeted funding for women's and girls' programming to a minimum of 15 per cent. Current levels of approximately 1 per cent funding for local women's organizations, including women's human rights defenders, should be increased until they reach at least 5 per cent in the next three years, before setting progressively more ambitious targets in the following years. Funding for core operations, advocacy and capacity building should match funding for projects.[123]

✓ Fund the establishment of an independent monitoring mechanism run by women's civil society groups and women's human rights defenders to track the compliance of humanitarian assistance with normative frameworks and standards and international human rights law as well as performance on gender equality—from the collection of sex-disaggregated data and gender-sensitive analysis to the systematic application of the Gender Marker and the engagement of local women.

✓ Invest in translating all relevant tools on sexual and reproductive health and prevention and response to sexual and gender-based violence into local languages to ensure local engagement and sustainability. Translations and long-term capacity building should be prioritized over the repetitive production of new tools, strategies, guidelines and advocacy campaigns from capitals in donor countries.

The UN and NGOs should:

✓ Commit to create a humanitarian workforce that is 50 per cent women and 100 per cent trained in gender equality programming and the protection of women's human rights.[124]

The UN should:

✓ Ensure that UN Women is a member of all relevant high-level inter-agency forums on peace and security and humanitarian response, including the IASC and the Senior Advisory Group on peace and security, to ensure a gender perspective is mainstreamed throughout the UN's response in conflict and emergencies.

All relevant actors, including Member States, the UN, donors, and civil society, should:

✓ Ensure that all global humanitarian and local health-care workers are trained in basic life-saving sexual and reproductive health care, in accordance with international human rights standards, as well as emergency response for survivors of domestic and sexual violence, including emergency contraception and abortion/post-abortion services. Increased investment must be made in local health systems' ability to provide quality sexual and reproductive health and care for survivors and to put in place referral pathways to specialist care in all fragile settings.

✓ Ensure that women affected by humanitarian crises, including refugees, internally displaced and stateless women, are supported to participate meaningfully and equally in community decision-making, in leadership roles and in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of humanitarian interventions. Obstacles to their participation should be addressed within programme design.

TOWARD AN ERA OF TRANSFORMATIVE JUSTICE

Member States, the UN and civil society should:

✓ Adopt a transformative justice approach to programming for women's access to justice, including by developing interventions that support legal orders to challenge the underlying socio-cultural norms and contexts of inequality that perpetuate discrimination against women, and enable conflict-related violations to occur.

✓ Ensure that accountability mechanisms mandated to prevent and respond to extremist violence have the necessary gender expertise to do so, in light of the escalating rate of deliberate attacks on women's rights, including SGBV, by extremist groups.

PROSECUTIONS
Member States and the UN should:

✓ Invest in strengthening national justice systems to investigate and prosecute international crimes, including SGBV, in accordance with the principle of complementarity. This includes by:

- Supporting legal frameworks that incorporate definitions and elements of SGBV crimes, procedures for victim and witness support and provisions for reparations, in line with international standards, including the Rome Statute.

- Working together and providing expertise to ensure States have the technical capacity to investigate and prosecute conflict-related SGBV.

Civil society should:

✓ Advocate for State ratification and domestic implementation of the Rome Statute; and adoption of national legislation in line with international standards on women's rights, including specific legislation on SGBV crimes.

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE
Member States and the UN should:

✓ Invest in the design and implementation of gender-sensitive transitional justice measures that recognize and respond to women's experiences of conflict, and their justice and accountability needs.

✓ Prioritize the design and implementation of gender-sensitive reparations programmes with transformative impact, including through implementing the Guidance Note of the Secretary General on Reparations for Conflict-Related Sexual Violence.

✓ Institute specific measures to ensure the active participation of women and civil society organizations in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of transitional justice mechanisms, so as to guarantee that women's experience of the conflict is included, their particular needs and priorities are met and all violations suffered are addressed.

Members States and the UN should:

✓ Invest in gender-responsive capacity building of the justice sector by:

- Providing gender-sensitive training for all justice sector actors—especially those involved in justice-related service delivery including traditional leaders, health professionals and police.

- Supporting increasing the participation of women at all levels in justice service delivery, across both formal and informal systems, through measures that can include quotas and support to women's legal education, including scholarships.

Members States, the UN and civil society should:

✓ Collaborate on the design and implementation of legal empowerment initiatives that build women's

confidence and access to legal systems, and enable women to be active participants in navigating them.

✓ Support grassroots women to lead and engage with traditional justice mechanisms.

Member States should:

✓ Ensure constitutional equality guarantees apply to all laws and justice systems, in line with international law.

KEEPING THE PEACE IN AN INCREASINGLY MILITARIZED WORLD

Member States should:

✓ Set specific targets for the improved recruitment, retention and promotion of women in their armed forces and the leadership of security institutions.

✓ Ensure that every soldier they deploy is thoroughly vetted, trained and held accountable for their actions, including when they abuse or exploit women and girls.

✓ Commit to doctrines and planning that takes into account the impact on women and girls of every military deployment and operation, and that considers the use of unarmed military protection as a preferable or complementary protection method, where appropriate.

The UN, in collaboration with Member States, should:

✓ Encourage Member States to deploy more female military officers to UN peacekeeping missions by adopting financial incentives, such as a gender-balance premium.

✓ Ensure gender-responsive budgeting and financial tracking of investments on gender equality in missions by requesting peacekeeping budget experts and planning officers, along with gender-responsive budget experts, to review mission budgets and make a recommendation on methodology and capacity needed.[100]

✓ Ensure that all UN peacekeepers are provided scenario-based training on issues related to gender equality—from gender mainstreaming in peace operations to preventing and responding to conflict-related sexual violence—by calling on Member States to invest in the capacity of national peacekeeping training centers for the largest troop contributing countries, so that they become permanent features in their pre-deployment training curriculum.

✓ Address impunity and lack of assistance for victims of sexual exploitation and abuse by fully implementing the recommendations of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations[101] and the Secretary-General's recent annual report on sexual exploitation and abuse.[102] In addition:

- Countries that repeatedly fail to live up to their written assurances to investigate and prosecute their soldiers should not be allowed to contribute troops to peacekeeping missions.

- If the United Nations has obtained *prima facie* evidence of misconduct, the home country of the alleged perpetrator should be under the obligation to prosecute, and if they don't, they should be obligated to provide a detailed explanation of their findings.

- The United Nations should empower an independent commission of inquiry to conduct a broad-based investigation on sexual exploitation and abuse and the handling of allegations by both member states and the UN itself, including the failure to systematically apply many of the powers that it already has to hold individuals accountable for their actions.

- Consider engaging with States in support of establishing an international tribunal with jurisdiction to try UN staff and all categories of peacekeepers that have allegedly committed serious crimes, including sexual abuse.

- Make concrete proposals on the ground about how to fund Victims Assistance Mechanisms and render them operational, including from pooled funds in each country or from the operating budget of the entities that employ the accused.

✓ Take steps to improve regulation and oversight of all private contractors hired by the United Nations with regards to sexual exploitation and abuse. The UN should revise and fully implement guidelines to regulate these companies, including through permanent or temporary debarment of companies from further contracts and keeping a centralized register of companies whose staff have repeatedly been linked to allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse.[103]

✓ Promote women's empowerment and non-violent means of protection, and take into account the whole range of women's protection issues and the interventions to address them—including women's leadership and women's empowerment—in mission planning, implementation and reporting, as well as in policy discussions on the protection of civilians in the context of peace operations.

✓ Scale up their support to unarmed civilian protection (UCP) in conflict-affected countries, including working alongside peace operations.

BUILDING INCLUSIVE AND PEACEFUL SOCIETIES IN THE AFTERMATH OF CONFLICT

Member States and the UN should:

✓ Ensure that all local level peacebuilding efforts are preceded by mapping exercises to ascertain what programmes are relevant for communities affected by war, and which will most effectively empower women. There should not be a one-size-fits-all policy.

WOMEN'S ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT FOR PEACEBUILDING

Member States should:

✓ Consult with local women leaders, including women's human rights defenders, on concessions agreements negotiated as part of post-conflict reconstruction efforts, and ensure a minimum level of 30 per cent women's representation in all decision-making bodies with regards to the country's natural resources.

The UN should:

✓ Design programmes for economic recovery that target women's empowerment, challenge rather than entrench gender stereotypes and are forward looking on the transformative role women can play in an economy for the future.

✓ Design programmes with meaningful participation and end-benefit in mind for rural women, widows and female heads of households.

✓ Develop and use gender-sensitive tools that would map and analyze local contexts and markets to implement livelihood activities that are locally relevant, conflict sensitive, and that empower women instead of further pushing them into poverty.

✓ Develop guidance on post-conflict macroeconomic policies that take into account gender dimensions, and prioritize public expenditure to reconstruct vital services for women.

✓ Design economic recovery programmes and macroeconomic policies in a gender-responsive manner and evaluate their impact on women's economic security and human rights.

Member States and the UN should:

✓ Make effective and meaningful participation of women in decision-making and planning a condition of any UN-supported economic recovery programme.

✓ Design, implement and monitor economic recovery programmes and macroeconomic policies in a gender-responsive manner, and evaluate them for their impact on women's economic security.

WOMEN IN POST-CONFLICT GOVERNANCE

Post-conflict Member States should:

✓ Adopt legislative and policy measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country, and to ensure that women have equal opportunities to participate in the new, post-conflict structures of governance. This includes the adoption of temporary special measures to accelerate achievement of gender equality in all decision-making posts.

✓ Establish quotas for women of a minimum of 40 per cent of service delivery employment opportunities at local level.

✓ Provide women and girls with identity documents as a matter of priority during and after conflict, in order to register to vote, access land and avail themselves of social services and benefits, including education and health services.

✓ Adopt service delivery measures that specifically target women and take into account the often-disproportionate burden that women face in caregiving responsibilities, including child grants for households; education incentives for girls; free and accessible healthcare of good quality, including sexual and reproductive health, for pregnant mothers and young children; and other measures designed to alleviate the burden of unpaid work and family care.

The UN should:

✓ Continue to ensure that technical assistance to post-conflict elections includes advice on temporary special measures. Elections basket funds should allocate a minimum of 15 per cent of their funding to women's participation. Elections bodies should be supported to develop capacity in gender-sensitive data collection and the management of sex-disaggregated data.

✓ Provide technical assistance to public administration reform, to assist governments to implement schemes to achieve gender parity in civil service.

✓ Facilitate grassroots women's organizations and women human rights defenders' access to participate in the planning and delivery of basic services in crisis contexts, taking into consideration the implications for women's security and their often disproportionate burdens of care.

Member States and the UN should:

✓ Provide leadership capacity-building opportunities to national and local women leaders.

SSR AND DDR

Member States should:

✓ Incorporate a gender-sensitive approach in SSR and DDR, ensuring that not only are these responsive to women's particular experience of conflict, but that women fully participate, and their rights and perspectives are adequately addressed.

✓ Develop and implement strategies to increase participation and leadership of women within armed forces, police services, defense institutions, the penal system and the judiciary.

✓ Ensure that security sector reform fosters family-friendly and non-discriminatory work environments free of all forms of harassment and violence within the security sector, in order to increase the participation, retention and promotion of female personnel.

✓ Vet candidates for new or re-forming armed and police services for crimes of sexual violence and other violations of international human rights and

humanitarian law, giving particular attention to confidentiality and protection of victims of sexual violence.

The UN should:

✓ Include gender analysis and full consideration of women's human rights in SSR/DDR planning and implementation, so that entry requirements do not inhibit women's access, and that reintegration opportunities do not further entrench harmful gender stereotypes and gender-based discrimination, or violate women's human rights.

✓ (Department of Peacekeeping Operations) Should ensure gender-responsive DDR/SSR are integrated in mission planning with dedicated funding, gender expertise, and regular reporting on gender-responsive DDR and SSR in mission reports and briefings to the Security Council.

✓ Ensure female uniformed personnel in all UN peace missions participate in the implementation of DDR/SSR programmes, as they can play a key role in confidence-building, especially in screening activities and providing security in demobilization sites.

The UN and Member States should:

✓ Facilitate the participation of women leaders and organizations in all stages of DDR/SSR

✓ Engagement should be with the entire spectrum of actors involved in SSR, including customary and religious leaders, private military and security companies, security sector oversight actors and the penal system. They should also engage men and boys to strengthen gender equality within DDR and SSR processes, and prevent and respond to human rights violations, including sexual abuse.

The UN and other service providers should:

✓ Ensure reintegration processes respond to trauma and improve the availability and quality of psycho-social support services.

Member States, parties to conflict and mediation teams should:

✓ Ensure the presence of gender and DDR/SSR expertise in the negotiation of formal peace agreements, to make certain that women participate in DDR and SSR programmes.

PREVENTING CONFLICT: PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO OPERATIONAL AND STRUCTURAL CHALLENGES

ADDRESSING INEQUALITY, ARMS PROLIFERATION, ORGANIZED CRIME AND MILITARIZATION

Member States should:

✓ As a part of States Parties' obligations to implement the Arms Trade Treaty's provision on gender-based violence (Art. 7(4)), require arms producing corporations to monitor and report on the use of their arms in violence against women.

✓ Meet all Sustainable Development Goals—including goal 5 on gender equality, goal 10 on reducing inequalities within and among countries, and goal 16 on peaceful inclusive societies—ensuring that women and girls benefit equitably from achievement, and prioritizing their consultation and participation in the implementation, monitoring and accountability of programmes relating to the sustainable development agenda.

✓ Adopt gender-responsive budgeting practices, including through consultation with civil society, as a strategy to address, highlight and mitigate militarized state budgets and their destabilizing impact on international peace and security and women's rights.

Member States, the UN and civil society should:

- ✓ Provide financial, technical and political support to encourage educational and leadership training for men, women, boys and girls, which reinforces and supports nonviolent, non-militarized expressions of masculinity.

- ✓ Devise educational strategies that lead to a culture of nonviolent resolution of conflict in the home and in public spaces.

Civil Society should:

- ✓ Produce benchmark tools, with a gender perspective, for monitoring the initiatives taken by arms producing corporations on responsibility for the use of arms.

EARLY WARNING

Member States, the UN, regional and international organizations should:

- ✓ Include women's participation, gender-responsive indicators and sexual and gender-based violence related indicators (including conflict-related sexual violence) in all early-warning processes, conflict prevention and early-response efforts, with links to official channels for response at the local, national, regional and international level.

- ✓ Support further collection of data and awareness-raising on causalities between gender inequalities, levels of violence against women and the potential for violent conflict.

TECHNOLOGY
The UN, Member States and civil society should:

- ✓ Work with the private sector to develop and use new technologies which increase women's physical security and strengthen conflict prevention.

- ✓ Support the collection of data on the gender digital divide, and the factors inhibiting and promoting women's and girls' access to ICTs, particularly in conflict-affected and fragile settings.

ELECTORAL VIOLENCE PREVENTION, DISPUTE RESOLUTION AND MEDIATION
The UN should:

- ✓ Fully implement the recommendations of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations pertaining to mediation, ensuring consultation with civil society and women and girls in conflict-affected areas.

- ✓ Develop new strategies to include the women, peace and security agenda more systematically in its wider preventive diplomacy work, including in early warning mechanisms, insider mediation and building infrastructure for peace.

Member States, the UN and Civil Society should:

- ✓ Collaborate, including through financial, technical and political support, to strengthen the capacity of women's civil society to organize and play a greater role in national and community-led election monitoring and electoral violence prevention, dispute resolution and mediation initiatives.

CLIMATE CHANGE AND NATURAL RESOURCE SCARCITY
The UN, Member States and civil society should:

- ✓ Work in partnership with affected women and girls when designing, implementing and monitoring climate-change and natural resource-related strategies, in order to harness their local knowledge and community-level networks for information-sharing.

Member States should:

- ✓ Work with civil society to develop or revise national action plans for the implementation of resolution 1325 to, as relevant, address the role of climate-related

resource scarcity and natural disaster response in exacerbating conflict, and provide inclusive solutions to climate and resource-related insecurity.

✓ Develop gender-sensitive natural resource management policies.

COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM WHILE RESPECTING THE RIGHTS AND AUTONOMY OF WOMEN AND THEIR COMMUNITIES

Member States, the UN and regional organizations should:

✓ Detach programming on women's rights from counter-terrorism and extremism, and all military planning and military processes. Any effort at empowering them should be through civilian assistance to the women themselves or to development and human rights agencies.

✓ Protect women's and girls' rights at all times and ensure that efforts to counter violent extremism strategies do not stereotype, instrumentalize or securitize women and girls.

✓ Work with local women and institutions to engage women at all levels, and allow local women autonomy and leadership in determining their priorities and strategies in countering extremism.

Member States, the UN, regional organizations and civil society should:

✓ Build the capacity of women and girls, including mothers, female community and religious leaders, and women's civil society groups to engage in efforts to counter violent extremism in a manner tailored to local contexts. This can include the provision of specialized training, facilitating, training of women religious leaders to work as mentors in their communities, increasing women's access to secular and religious education to amplify their voices against extremist narratives and supporting mother's schools. All this capacity building should again be through civilian agencies and with women peacebuilders deciding the priorities and the content of their programmes.

✓ Invest in research and data collection on women's roles in terrorism including identifying the drivers that lead to their radicalization and involvement with terrorist groups, and the impacts of counter-terrorism strategies on their lives. This should include the impact of counter-terrorism laws and regulations on the operation of women's civil society organizations, and their access to resources to undertake activities relating to countering violent extremism.

✓ Ensure gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation of all counter-terrorism and countering violent extremism interventions. This should specifically address the impact on women and girls, including through use of gender-related indicators and collection of sex-disaggregated data.

Member States and the UN should:

✓ Develop gender-sensitive disengagement, rehabilitation and reintegration programmes that address the specific needs of women and girls. Draw upon the lessons learned from disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) initiatives under the women, peace and security agenda.

The UN should:

✓ Ensure accountability mechanisms and processes mandated to prevent and respond to extremist violence have the necessary gender expertise to fulfill their mandates.

KEY ACTORS: MEMBER STATES

All relevant actors—Member States, civil society, donors, and multilateral agencies—should:

✓ Document best practices, and promote and adopt global standards for the design, monitoring and implementation of high-impact NAPs, and other women, peace and security domestication tools, building on lessons learned across the areas of: a) leadership and coordination, b) inclusion and collaboration with civil society, c) costing and financing, d) monitoring and evaluation, and e) flexibility and adaptability of plans.

✓ Strengthen national and global reporting mechanisms for monitoring progress in the development and implementation of NAPs, to enhance transparency and facilitate exchange of learning, and scale up good practice.

Member States should:

✓ Support and invest in participatory processes, social accountability tools and localization initiatives to link global, national and local efforts and ensure the voices of the most affected and marginalized populations inform and shape relevant responses and monitoring of progress.

✓ Provide capacity building and support the development, financing, implementation and monitoring of NAPs in conflict-affected countries that lack the resources to initiate and sustain a NAP development and implementation process, through partnerships, bilateral and multilateral cooperation, including through North-South, South-South and triangular cooperation, and with civil society.

The UN should:

✓ Facilitate the establishment, by the UN Standing Committee on Women, Peace and Security, of a comprehensive and accessible database of NAPs to share good practices, lessons learned, and ensure transparency and accountability.

✓ Ensure the proposed new Assistant Secretary-General for Crisis and Conflict role at UN Women includes a specific focus on monitoring and reporting on NAPs.

KEY ACTORS: REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Member States should:

✓ Ensure adequate funding and political will to effectively implement regional policies and action plans on women, peace and security, as well as other interrelated policies, sector-specific action plans and strategies.

✓ Support and fund the attendance and meaningful participation of civil society organizations in regional decision-making processes

Regional organizations should:

✓ Appoint high-level women, peace and security representatives to drive implementation at the regional level, building on the experience of the AU and NATO.

✓ Establish channels for women leaders and civil society organizations to systematically contribute to the conflict-prevention and peacebuilding work of regional organizations, including by establishing regional advisory bodies of women peace leaders.

✓ Build regional capacity for monitoring and reporting on progress in the implementation of the WPS agenda.

✓ Increase engagement and interaction with international and regional human rights mechanisms to ensure full consideration of women's human rights, a central component of the WPS agenda.

✓ Establish a network of women's human rights and gender advisors and focal points to further mainstream gender perspectives across all workstreams.

Regional organizations and the UN should:

✓ Collaborate to establish avenues for cross-learning and information exchange on gender-sensitive priorities and concerns pertaining to the implementation of the WPS agenda, including by integrating these issues in joint dialogues and intergovernmental meetings on cooperation between the UN and regional organizations in the areas of peacemaking, preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping and peacebuilding—such as the regularly scheduled meetings between the UN Security Council and AU and EU.

KEY ACTORS: THE UNITED NATIONS

To more effectively drive implementation of the WPS agenda beyond 2015, including follow-up to findings of this report and gender-specific recommendations of the related high-level reviews and processes, the UN should take action in a range of areas, including:

Monitoring and accountability frameworks

Harmonize, strengthen and refine existing monitoring and accountability frameworks (specifically strategic frameworks and indicators) on women, peace and security and humanitarian action by:

✓ Building on monitoring experience to date and taking into account new developments in gender statistics, information management systems and emerging priorities.

✓ Eliminating duplication and focusing on issues of utmost relevance to achieving commitments.

✓ Ensuring measurability of indicators, feasibility of data collection, and attaching to each indicator jointly agreed methodological guidelines that are in line with international statistical standards.

✓ Designing and setting up clear reporting mechanisms and enforcing periodic reporting requirements from key actors.

✓ Integrating system-wide women, peace and security commitments into policies, strategies, planning documents and monitoring and evaluation tools of all UN entities working in conflict and post-conflict settings.

✓ Strengthening financial and technical capacity of UN entities—including in field missions and country teams—to regularly collect, analyze and report women, peace and security statistics in coordination with national statistical systems where relevant, and to use women, peace and security statistics to inform reports, statements, programme planning, budgeting and implementation.

✓ Sharing gender-specific information in code cables, periodic updates, data reporting mechanisms and early warning systems amongst all key actors, including UN field missions and country teams in a timely manner.

Gender-balance

Accelerate action to reach the Organization's staffing gender parity goal at all levels, by:

✓ Removing obstacles to the recruitment, promotion and retention of women staff in all categories and levels, and—with the support of Member States—investing in the implementation of recommendations put forward in previous reviews and in reports of the Secretary-General on the improvement in the status of the representation of women in the UN system.

- ✓ Integrating gender-balance targets as an indicator of individual performance in all compacts with senior management. The gender-balance targets in the HRM scorecard should be reviewed every quarter at the senior level by mission and country teams.

- ✓ Investing in making mission life and spaces more friendly and safe for women (e.g., special family or leave arrangements for women, adequate and appropriate mission facilities for women, from accommodation quarters and sanitary facilities to welfare and recreational spaces and activities, special medical and gynecological care), and making contract benefits better known to potential women candidates, as well as improving outreach and communications activities regarding life and work in peacekeeping missions.

- ✓ Facilitating women's representation among national staff contracts in missions through better childcare policies and facilities, and revising experience requirements in countries where women have limited education opportunities or access to the workforce.

- ✓ Actively mentor and groom women in P2-P4 posts to promote career advancement and prepare them for management positions.

- ✓ Introducing greater flexibility in some requirements until parity is reached: for example, allowing for current P5s to be directly eligible for D2 positions if they are eligible for D1 positions, and for D1s to be eligible to apply for ASG positions; reconsidering the non-reversion policy, by which staff at the D2 level are asked to relinquish their right to return to their parent UN organization when assuming head and deputy head of mission positions for a limited duration.

- ✓ Auditing missions who have remained stagnant or regressed, instituting a system of sanctions and rewards for performing and under-performing missions, and holding leaders accountable for progress or lack of progress with regards to gender targets.

- ✓ Since many of the women that leave the organization may have partners but no children, providing full consideration to adding a third category of duty stations that are conducive for couples without children, or staff with healthy adult dependents.

- ✓ Ensuring all review processes integrate a gender perspective, and appoint more women to High-Level Reviews and panels.

Leadership

Make senior leadership accountable for implementing women, peace and security commitments, including recommendations put forward in this Study, through:

- ✓ Inclusion of concrete performance measures in senior managers' Compacts between the Secretary-General and his/her Special Envoys, Representatives, Advisors and other Senior Managers, and revision of senior managers' Terms of Reference to reflect women, peace and security as a key priority. This should include Resident Coordinators in conflict-affected countries.

- ✓ Full compliance with the UN-SWAP commitments demonstrated by marked progress across all indicators by the 2017 deadline.

- ✓ Routine inclusion of gender, conflict and crisis analysis in thematic and country-specific briefings and reports to the Security Council and other key UN bodies.

Gender architecture

- ✓ Ensure the presence of gender expertise in missions at the senior decision-making level and all relevant substantive units, by placing senior gender advisors in all peace operations missions, from the outset and for the whole duration of missions, situated directly in the office of the SRSG, supported by hybrid gender expertise in each of the technical units of the mission (e.g., rule of law, human rights, DDR, SSR, elections).

- ✓ (Member States should) invest in DPKO and DPA gender units at HQ, to increase the resources, seniority and number of staff, ensuring a minimum number of posts are included in the regular budget and giving due consideration to the placement of these units in the Office of the USG.

- ✓ (Member States should) invest in strengthened UN Women country offices in conflict-affected contexts to further inter alia support to women's organizations, women's leaders, and strengthen the UN's implementation of women, peace and security commitments.

- ✓ Strengthen the UN's gender architecture to promote women's full participation in efforts to advance peace and security by expanding the support base for gender work within the missions, and maximize the impact of existing resources, by establishing a formal cooperation arrangement between DPKO, DPA and UN Women so that existing missions have access to UN Women's technical, political and policy expertise. Through this arrangement, UN Women would bring its existing resources, capacities, expertise, and staffing as the lead on women, peace and security to support the relevant components of peace operations missions.

- ✓ Pilot in two future missions: UN Women's more effective integration into missions—including in the strengthening of rosters, joint selection of staff, training, support through communities of practice, surge capacity and rapid deployments and technical support. The final say on recruitment would rest with the SRSG as well as accountability—there would be a single line of reporting to the SRSG with access to UN Women for information sharing, and gender staff would be backed technically and have a link to the entity responsible for gender equality.[63] The model should be carefully monitored and assessed on challenges and successes after 2 years.

- ✓ (The Secretariat should) explore the possibility of joint rosters with UN Women for rapid and targeted deployment of technical gender expertise, and open new avenues for using existing rosters managed by agencies, funds and programmes.

- ✓ Establish the position of Assistant Secretary-General, with a dedicated budget, at UN Women, with responsibility for work in the area of conflict, crises and emergencies, under the guidance of UN Women's Executive Director. This ASG would drive the implementation of the recommendations of this Study, help scale up the programming good practice described, and strengthen UN Women's field presence in conflict and emergency settings, with the support of Member States and partners.

KEY ACTORS: THE MEDIA

Media outlets should:

- ✓ Commit to accurately portray women and men in all their diverse roles in conflict and post-conflict settings, including as agents of conflict prevention, peacemaking and peacebuilding.

- ✓ Increase women's representation and voice in newsrooms, in decision-making and leadership roles.

- ✓ Monitor media content, including information which may harm or stigmatize victims of sexual violence in conflict, and take into account special protection measures when covering stories on women and children.

- ✓ Create a code of ethics drafted by media personnel for media personnel as guidance with regard to sensitive issues.

Member States should:

- ✓ Protect, when threatened, the reputations and lives of women and men human rights defenders and journalists by strengthening legal frameworks, providing security and addressing impunity of perpetrators.

- ✓ Develop and enforce laws and mechanisms to prevent, investigate and punish harassment, threats and hate speech published on internet and mobile platforms.

- ✓ Appoint more women in state-owned media structures, and allocate funding to increase women's participation and leadership of media initiatives, including community radio, in fragile, conflict and post-conflict contexts.

All actors should:

- ✓ Support initiatives to increase training on gender-sensitive reporting and how to use, produce and disseminate media materials, taking into consideration that some women have limited access to assets and ICT, and restrictions on mobility.

KEY ACTORS: CIVIL SOCIETY

The UN, regional organizations and their Member States should:

- ✓ Institutionalize the participation and consultation of civil society and conflict-affected women, including from the grassroots, in local, national and global decision-making processes, including the development, implementation and monitoring of national action plans.

- ✓ Ensure meaningful consultation and direct participation of women in peace processes, and ensure funding and security for their attendance at negotiations.

- ✓ Establish, finance and support knowledge-sharing mechanisms to ensure timely and transparent sharing of information between civil society and government, with special efforts made to reach and engage local communities.

- ✓ Create and maintain, in law and in practice, a safe and enabling environment ensuring access to justice, accountability, and end of impunity for human rights violations against civil society advocates and women human rights defenders, so they are able to operate free from hindrance and insecurity, and exercise fully their rights to freedom of opinion and expression, association and peaceful assembly.

Women's civil society organizations and movements should:

- ✓ Build strategic alliances across civil society networks to strengthen constituencies and impact on emerging global, regional and national issues regarding human rights, sustainable development, and peace and security.

- ✓ Develop joint advocacy strategies.

- ✓ Broaden engagement with the multi-lateral system, in particular the Universal Periodic Review and treaty body mechanisms, to draw attention to implementation of the WPS agenda and the human rights elements that underpin it.

KEY ACTORS: DATA AND STATISTICS

International entities working on women, peace and security should:

- ✓ Review and revise existing women, peace and security monitoring frameworks to eliminate overlap and enhance the measurability and relevance of indicators.

- ✓ Establish, under the auspices of the UN Standing Committee on Women, Peace and Security, a

partnership comprising international, regional and national data producers for the creation of an on-line gender, conflict and crisis database to bring together and disseminate available data.

✓ Utilize the gender, conflict and crisis database to inform programming and to facilitate sharing of knowledge and good practice.

✓ Further disseminate data through the use of an on-line repository.

✓ Focus women, peace and security monitoring efforts towards measuring outcomes and impact on the ground by:

- Providing technical and financial support to national statistical systems and civil society organizations working in coordination with these systems for the production of women, peace and security statistics;
- Enhancing collaboration with existing statistical coordination mechanisms at the international level, including those within the auspices of the UN Statistical Commission and in preparation for SDG monitoring; and
- Engaging statistical experts within relevant organizations.

National governments should:

✓ Prioritize the production of national women, peace and security statistics, including by allocating sufficient financial, technical and human resources, integrating them into existing statistical efforts and ensuring their use for policy formulation.

✓ Ensure relevant national statistics are systematically disaggregated by sex and other key variables and timely reported to the international statistical system.

✓ Include gender statistics in work programmes of existing statistical coordination mechanisms working on issues related to governance, peace and security.

THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council should:

✓ Establish an informal expert group to maximize information, monitoring and support capacity from the UN system as a whole. Initially the group should be focused on 3-4 countries. This would allow for a comprehensive and targeted approach to monitoring consistent implementation by the Council of resolution 2122, including ensuring that women, peace and security information is part of all briefings and reports to the Council and that questions are asked consistently of senior leaders on these issues.

✓ Increase the channels for flow of information from the Human Rights Council and related bodies, including from mandate holders with conflict-relevant mandates, Commissions of Inquiry and other fact finding bodies, to provide important sources of information for Council deliberations and outcomes. More consistent approaches, including regular Arria-formula meetings between the Security Council and the Human Rights Council-established Commissions of Inquiry on countries of concern should be established.

✓ Invite regular civil society briefings, including women's organizations in particular, not only on thematic but on country-specific deliberations.

✓ Ensure greater and more effective capacity for gender analysis in conflict-affected countries (see Chapter 10: *Key Actors - United Nations*).

✓ Increase the reporting of dedicated high-level leadership within the UN system on women, peace

and security from specific country contexts (see Chapter 10: *Key Actors - United Nations)*.

✓ Ensure that senior mission leadership consistently includes women, peace and security analysis in all reports and regular briefings, in line with resolution 2122.

✓ Consistently incorporate a gender perspective in terms of reference for visiting missions, and give it priority at the outset of the visit.

✓ Expand ownership of the women, peace and security agenda within the Council beyond one 'penholder' or lead, to include a co-lead role with an elected member.

✓ Ensure that Council members who are also members of the General Assembly's Fifth Committee facilitate approval of resources required to implement gender components of Council mandates.

✓ Periodically request SRSGs to present on an ad hoc basis country reports on implementation of the women, peace and security mandate. This could provide opportunities for collective review, focus and action at the country level while providing the Council with more in depth and substantive information on specific context.

✓ Strengthen its work in the sanctions committees by:

- Using existing sanction regimes more effectively to enforce thematic priorities—in line with the high-level sanctions review—including women, peace and security, and consider adopting thematic sanctions regimes in addition to country-specific sanctions to address global threats such as sexual violence in conflict, human trafficking, and gross violations of women's rights.

- Expanding the designation criteria in other relevant sanctions regimes where sexual and gender-based crimes and specific attacks against women are persistently perpetrated.

- Calling for information-sharing between the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, UN Women as appropriate, and all relevant sanctions committees and associated expert groups.

- Formally requiring expert groups assisting sanctions committees to include gender experts as part of the composition of such expert groups, and in line with the recommendations of the High Level Review on Sanctions, requesting the General Assembly to make additional resources available to provide the requisite technical, language and substantive skills needed to strengthen capacity of sanctions bodies and their expert groups.

- Including respect for the rights of women as delisting criteria in sanctions regimes that target political spoilers that may eventually need to be part of a political solution.

- Ensuring that specific information about the gendered effects of sanctions is systematically included in all reporting on the implementation of relevant sanctions regimes.

LINKAGES BETWEEN HUMAN RIGHTS MECHANISMS AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

Member States should:

✓ Ratify, remove reservations to, and fully implement CEDAW, and report on the implementation of obligations relating to women, peace and security in regular reporting to the CEDAW Committee and other treaty bodies.

- ✓ Report on the implementation of obligations relating to women, peace and security in the UPR; participate in the review of other States undergoing review by asking about their implementation of these obligations; and establish national mechanisms of reporting and follow-up of recommendations emanating from the UPR and other human rights mechanisms.

- ✓ Encourage civil society to submit independent parallel reports, and provide financial support to enable their participation in the UPR process and other human rights treaty body reviews.

- ✓ Provide multilateral and bilateral assistance, and ensure the political support and independence of regional and national human rights mechanisms to address violations of women's rights in conflict-affected contexts, and fully implement the judgments and recommendations of these institutions.

Civil Society should:

- ✓ Submit parallel reports to treaty bodies and the UPR highlighting State obligations relating to women, peace and security.

- ✓ Work with women and girls affected by conflict who wish to submit complaints of individual rights violations to treaty bodies and regional, sub-regional and national human rights mechanisms.

The CEDAW Committee (and, where relevant, other human rights treaty bodies) should:

- ✓ Question countries under review on the implementation of their obligations under the Convention relating to women, peace and security.

- ✓ Encourage and support civil society to submit country-specific information for State party reporting, including State obligations relating to women, peace and security.

- ✓ Consider expanding the extraordinary reporting function, and holding special sessions to specifically examine conflict countries and their implementation of General Recommendation 30.

Human Rights Council Special Procedures, commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions should:

- ✓ Include conflict and gender analysis in their work in conflict-affected countries, including in the mandates of commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions.

FINANCING THE WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA

Member States, the UN and civil society should:

- ✓ Set specific numerical targets such as the UN target of allocating 15 per cent of peacebuilding funds to projects whose principal objective is to address women's specific needs and advance gender equality.

- ✓ Establish systems across all financing actors to promote transparency and accountability, by tracking whether financial allocations further gender equality in a fully comparable manner, including in peace, security and emergency contexts. To achieve this, build the capacity of all actors to monitor and evaluate the impact of funding.

- ✓ Increase predictable, accessible and flexible funding for women's civil society organizations working on peace and security at all levels, including through dedicated financing instruments such as the new Global Acceleration Instrument on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Action.

- ✓ Support women's participation in donor conferences to ensure interventions appropriately target the needs of women on the ground.

- ✓ Build the capacity of national governments in fragile and conflict-affected settings to undertake gender-responsive budgeting and ensure coherence of national planning with gender equality objectives.

- ✓ Undertake participatory gender and conflict risk analysis (including vulnerability analysis) to inform the design, costing and implementation of all interventions in conflict-affected contexts.

Donor States and groups should:

- ✓ Adopt the UN's 15 per cent gender-funding target for peacebuilding interventions within their own aid flows to conflict-affected contexts, with this percentage being the first, not final, target.

Civil society should:

- ✓ Improve coordination of donors' aid activities to ensure a more even distribution of gender equality-focused aid across all fragile states and economies.

- ✓ Significantly increase allocations to dedicated financial mechanisms that promote gender equality, women's human rights and empowerment, such as the UN Fund for Gender Equality, the UN Trust Fund to End Violence Against Women, the UN Fund for Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict (UN Action) and the new Global Acceleration Instrument on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Engagement.

- ✓ Revise the structure of budgeting from being 'project' based to be aimed at long-term capacity building, not only of State entities but also of non-State entities.

The UN should:

- ✓ Accelerate efforts to attain and then surpass the Secretary-General's 15 per cent 'gender marker' for financing of peacebuilding approaches that promote gender equality. Its achievement should be written into the Secretary-General's performance compacts with senior UN leaders on the ground, in mission and non-mission settings, and backed up with an enhanced system for monitoring and tracking achievement.[77]

- ✓ Allocate US 100 million or a symbolic 1 per cent of the value (whichever is higher) of the total budget for peace operations to the Peace Building Fund;[78] and further ensure that, of this contribution, a minimum of 15 per cent is allocated to peacebuilding approaches that promote gender equality.

REFERENCES

1. The Call to Action to End Violence Against Women and Girls in Emergencies, and the written commitments from member states that emanate from it, offer an interesting model to promote the adoption of these commitments. "A Call to Action on Gender and Humanitarian Reform: From the Call to Action on Violence Against Women and Girls in Emergencies to the World Humanitarian Summit," Policy Brief (CARE International, September 2014).
2. Training could be piloted through the new humanitarian leadership academy and based on the IASC Gender Equality in Humanitarian Action training, which is currently voluntary and nearly completely taken up by NGO rather than UN staff.
3. Even if only some categories of spending are eligible for gender-responsive budgeting and financial tracking, experts on peacekeeping and gender-responsive budgeting should be able to make that determination, and to advise on what methodology to use or whether to focus on either budget design, tracking spending, or (preferably) both.
4. "Uniting Our Strengths for Peace - Politics, Partnership and People," UN Doc. A/70/95–S/2015/446 (High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, June 16, 2015), 76–77."Report of the Secretary-General: Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Abuse," UN Doc. A/69/779 (United Nations General Assembly, February 13, 2013).
5. Drawn from the 2014 report the UN Working Group on the use of mercenaries, "A/69/338," para. 80, 82–83. Although the recommendations of the Working Group pertain only to security contractors for the UN, here, they should be understood to apply to all types of UN contractors.
6. UN Women would continue to sit in the UN Country Team to ensure stronger horizontal linkages across mission and country team on gender equality, and prepare the foundation for eventual drawdown and handover to the country team and, more importantly, local actors. This pilot should be closely monitored to assess the successes and challenges that result.
7. "The Challenge of Sustaining Peace," UN Doc. A/69/968–S/2015/490 (Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture, June 29, 2015), para. 182.
8. Ibid., para. 171.