

STUDY

Requested by the FEMM Committee



Women's role in peace processes



Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs
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Women's role in peace processes

Abstract

This study, commissioned by the European Parliament's Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs at the request of the FEMM Committee, aims to provide insight on the meaningful inclusion of women - where women have decision-making authority - in peace and transition processes. Inclusive peace frameworks not only better reflect the diversity of society, they increase the durability and the quality of peace. Yet, awarding decision-making authority to those waging the war and not to those waging the peace remains a reoccurring theme in most armed conflict situations.

The study presents available data on fragility and armed conflict and takes stock of the global arms trade. It examines progress on the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and subsequent resolutions. It assesses global commitments, European Union application of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, National Action Plans and global peace and security indicators. The study explores women's participation across the peacemaking landscape, including peace and transition processes. Moreover, an evaluation of the factors that enhance and constrain women's meaningful participation in peacemaking is put forward. The study highlights the impact of war on women and children and draws attention to the engagement of women across the peacemaking landscape in two case studies, Rwanda and Syria. Lastly, the study provides recommendations to achieve sustainable peace and transform global power dynamics that currently favour traditional security perspectives.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| CEDAW | Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women |
| CRC | Convention on the Rights of the Child |
| CRSV | Conflict Related Sexual Violence |
| CSDN | Civil Society Dialogue Network |
| CSO | Civil Society Organization |
| CSW | Commission on the Status of Women |
| CVE | Countering Violent Extremism |
| DDR | Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration |
| DFID | Department for International Development |
| DPKO | Department of Peacekeeping Operations |
| DRC | Democratic Republic of Congo |
| EEAS | European External Action Service |
| EPLO | European Peacebuilding Liaison Office |
| EU | European Union |
| GAI | Global Acceleration Instrument on women, peace and security and humanitarian engagement |
| GBV | Gender-Based Violence |
| GII | Gender Inequality Index |
| HIV | Human Immunodeficiency Virus |
| ICC | International Criminal Court |
| IcSP | Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace |
| ICTR | International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda |
| IDP | Internally Displaced Person |
| LGBTI | Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex |
| MARA | Monitoring, Analysis and Reporting Arrangements |
| NAP | Nation Action Plan |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| NGO | Nongovernmental Organization |
| NHRI | National Human Rights Institution |
| NIWC | Northern Ireland Women's Coalition |
| OHCHR | United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights |
| PKO | Peacekeeping Operation |
| PPP | Purchasing Power Party |
| PRISM | Prevention of Conflict, Rule of Law/Security Sector Reform, Integrated Approach, Stabilization and Mediation |
| PSC | Political and Security Committee |
| PVE | Prevent Violent Extremism |
| PYD | Democratic Union Party |
| RAP | Regional Action Plan |
| RPF | Rwandan Patriotic Front |
| SDF | Syrian Democratic Forces |
| SDG | Sustainable Development Goal |
| SGBV | Sexual and Gender-Based Violence |
| SRSR/SVC | United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict |
| SVC | Sexual Violence in Conflict |

| | |
|----------------|---|
| SSR | Security Sector Reform |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| UNAMIR | United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda |
| UNFICYP | UN Peacekeeping Mission in Cyprus |
| UNPOL | United Nations Police |
| UNSC | United Nations Security Council |
| UNSCR | United Nations Security Council Resolution |
| WPS | Women, Peace and Security |
| YPG | People's Protection Units |

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Aim

The aim of this study is to provide insight on the meaningful inclusion of women - where women have decision-making authority - in peace and transition processes. The first chapter examines progress on the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and subsequent resolutions. An assessment of global commitments, European Union application of the Women, Peace and Security agenda (WPS), National Action Plans (NAPs) and global peace and security indicators are presented. The second chapter explores women's participation across the peacemaking landscape, including peace and transition processes. Moreover, an evaluation of the factors that enhance and constrain women's meaningful participation in peacemaking is put forward. The third chapter highlights the impact of war on women and children and draws attention to the engagement of women across the peacemaking and peacebuilding landscape in two case studies, Rwanda and Syria. Lastly, the study suggests avenues to achieve sustainable peace and transform global power dynamics that currently favour traditional security perspectives.

Methodology

A key component in the preparation for this study was a literature review of available publications on women, peace, and security including the engagement of women in peace and transition processes. An analysis of national and international reports, guidelines, and academic papers on the WPS agenda was also undertaken. More than thirty-five consultations were conducted with representatives from civil society organizations, practitioners, academics, diplomats and civil servants in Brussels. The participation in an EEAS-led consultative session with members of the community of practice on WPS, the EU Days of Dialogue with Syrian peacebuilders and activists including a dinner, co-sponsored by UN Women, the Belgian government and the European Union and a meeting on adopting a gender lens in conflict analysis organized by the International Crisis Group, all informed the content of this report. Finally, this study leans on the author's experience working in the peace and conflict management field for more than fifteen years.

Findings and Recommendations

The following findings and recommendations offer concrete suggestions with the hope decision makers, EU Institutions, and EU Member States will make changes that enhance sustainable peace efforts including women's meaningful participation in peace and transition processes.

Global security has deteriorated significantly in the past decade. Multiple layers of complexity in particular, violence and war, are exacerbating human insecurity. Wars have become more complex, protracted and are increasingly linked to global challenges, such as climate change and transnational-organized crime. While the number of state-based armed conflicts declined in recent years, the number of non-state conflicts increased. Overall, global peacefulness deteriorated, the number of people forced to flee their homes due to violence, human rights violations and war increased, and military expenditures remained constant or expanded. Taking these global developments into consideration, all EU Member States, including allies such as the United States should cease arms sales to countries that violate human rights and uphold and respect international arms-control agreements. EU Member States should conduct assessments of defence, conflict prevention and peacebuilding expenditures to better understand whether non-violent actions are prioritized.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform for Action continue to serve as critical frameworks in which to achieve gender equality,

development and peace. UN Women, the Office of the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Team of Experts on Rule of Law and Sexual Violence in Conflict, and the inter-agency network known as UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict inform gender equality policy including the legal parameters necessary to transition from an environment of impunity to one of accountability. Although the above entities are mandated to advance gender equality and the empowerment of women in line with the Sustainable Development Goals, the insufficient allocation of funding and limited human resources capacity continues to limit their influence within the UN apparatus and overall impact globally.

The WPS agenda, embedded in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and eight subsequent resolutions – 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242 and 2467 – is a notable blueprint to transform global power dynamics that currently favour traditional security perspectives. In particular, the WPS agenda, reaffirms the importance of women's participation and full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction, as well as stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security.

As of December 2018, 79 countries or territories have adopted a NAP to help guide the translation of their international commitments to the WPS agenda into national policies. Of those 79 countries, 25 countries in Europe have adopted a NAP, 18 of which are EU Member States (See Annex I). The process of formulating a NAP is an important accountability loop for social change and has varied from inclusive and consultative processes with human-rights defenders, peacebuilders, and other context specific practitioners to elected and politically appointed officials exclusively writing a framework on their own. Most NAPs insufficiently analyse and consider the impact the field of security such as armament, weapons proliferation, and military spending have on women and children in fragile and conflict-affected environments. France, the United Kingdom, and the United States have all adopted NAPs; however, they also lead the arms trade and are active members of the global military industrial complex. This double standard of committing to the implementation of the WPS agenda while maintaining traditional security perspectives hinders prospects for sustainable peace. On the contrary, Sweden, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Norway have all embraced feminist foreign policy platforms.

Since the passing of UNSCR 1325 and subsequent resolutions, the EU has made significant progress in the application of the WPS agenda in both its internal and external action. The latest Strategic Approach builds upon and replaces the 2008 Comprehensive Approach to the EU implementation of the UNSCRs 1325 and 1820 on WPS. The Council Conclusions on WPS, from 10 December 2018, calls for the establishment of a concise, specific, measurable, and achievable action plan for the effective implementation and advancement of the EU Strategic Approach to WPS, which is aligned with the EU Gender Action Plan II (2016-2020).

Most global indicators are structured around the main pillars of UNSCR 1325 (prevention, participation, protection, and relief and recovery) and aim to increase the effective and organized monitoring and reporting on the implementation of the WPS agenda. For instance, UNSCR 1889 called for the conception of the Women, Peace and Security index and is comprised of 26 quantitative and qualitative indicators. While traditional measures of security include conflict indicators and assessments, they consistently fail to acknowledge systematic bias and discrimination against women and girls. Whereas, gender indices incorporate indicators of inclusion; however, they might not stress the importance of justice and security. Robust monitoring and reporting, which underline the structural dynamics that impact gender equality and women's agency, will better inform the deliverables necessary for durable peace and justice. The EU should increase its financial and technical assistance to organizations in the collection of data on the role of women in peace and transition processes.

While every fragile and conflict-affected situation poses its own unique challenges, the emphasis on awarding decision-making authority to those waging the war and not to those waging the peace, hinders communities from working towards durable peace solutions and collective justice and reconciliation. Holistic, innovative, and inclusive peace and transition efforts, that connect the informal with the formal, address the sources of fragility at their core, construct cultures of peace and deepen the resilience of communities increase the durability and the quality of peace. The EU should strengthen mechanisms to regularly consult with local civil society organizations that focus on issues related to the rights of women and children. The EU should ensure civil society is not securitized while addressing legitimate security issues in fragile and conflict-affected environments. This relates to development assistance that is awarded to organizations that incorporate Countering Violent Extremism and Preventing Violent Extremism elements in their programming. All external action partners should be required to adopt conflict sensitive and 'Do-No-Harm' principles in all stages of the project cycle.

The meaningful inclusion of women - where women have decision-making authority - across the peacemaking landscape is a critical avenue to reverse the socially-permissive environment within which violence is prioritized over non-violent actions. While each conflict poses its own unique causes, actors and dynamics, the following models for increasing women's meaningful participation can be adapted to different settings: direct involvement at the negotiation table; observer status; consultations; inclusive commission; problem-solving workshops; public-decision making; and mass action. The EU should encourage multi-lateral institutions and other states that are engaged in peace and transition processes to adopt gender sensitive lens and design quota systems for peacemaking processes that reflect the socioeconomic and political diversity of women.

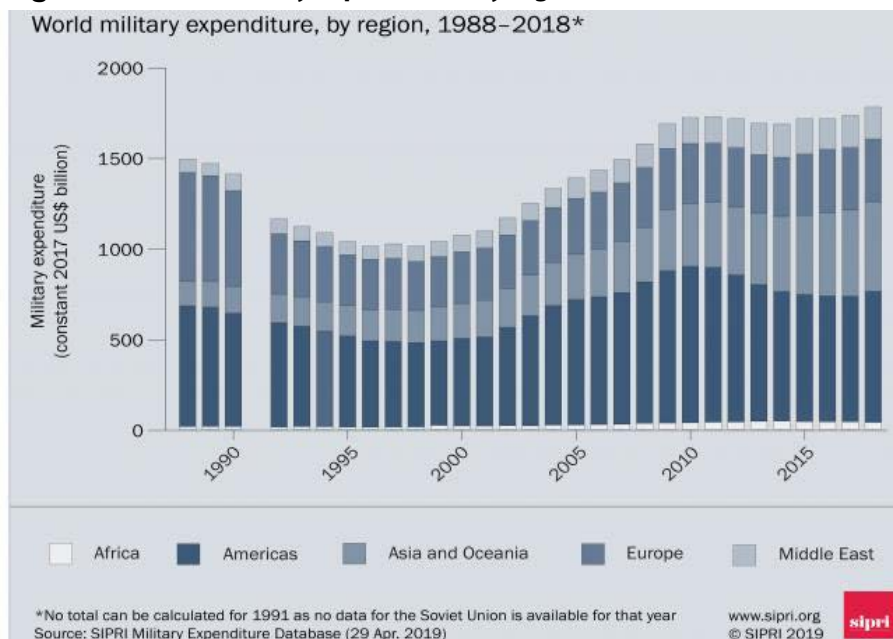
Peace and transition processes present unique opportunities for reforms that transform institutions, structures, and relationships in societies affected by armed conflict or crisis. The inclusion of gender provisions in peace agreements and newly established constitutions is critical to the emergence of equitable and more inclusive societies in the post-conflict phase. Women are acutely aware of issues beyond military action, including health restrictions, economic and legal barriers, and gender and political biases. The EU should build effective channels of communication with existing networks of female mediators, negotiators, and civil society leaders engaged in peace and transition processes with the understanding that these networks alone cannot transform the power dynamics that reinforce narrow peace processes and elite capture.

The broader and more inclusive peace and transition processes are the more likely peace agreements will endure. Increasing the capacity development of women to negotiate, inform and influence these processes is critical. The EU might consider establishing a training program for female-elected officials, civil-society leaders, human-rights defenders, mediators, and negotiators that reinforces the value of inclusive peace processes. The program should be held for a minimum of two weeks in one of the EU Member States. In addition, the EU should increase financial and technical assistance to organizations that provide training in capacity development of women peacebuilders.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Global security has deteriorated significantly in the past decade. According to Uppsala Conflict Data Program, the number of state-based armed conflicts declined from 53 in 2016 to 49 in 2017.¹ Whereas, non-state conflicts increased from 62 in 2016 to 82 in 2017. Since 2008, global peacefulness has deteriorated by 2.38 % in large part due to the rise of terrorist activity and internal conflicts.² The economic impact of violence on the global economy amounts to \$14.76 trillion in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms or 12.4 % of the world's economic activity in terms of gross world product. In 2018, total world military expenditure increased to more than \$1.8 trillion, representing a 2.6 % increase from 2017.³ The same year, global military spending represented 2.1 % of global gross domestic product or \$239 per person. The United States, China, Saudi Arabia, India, and France together accounted for 60 % of global military spending. Total military expenditure by all 29 NATO members totalled \$963 billion, in 2018, accounting for 54 % of world spending. Out of the 10 countries with the highest military spending as a proportion of GDP in the world, 6 are located in the Middle East: Saudi Arabia (8.8 % of GDP), Oman (8.2 %), Kuwait (5.1 %), Lebanon (5.0 %), Jordan (4.7 %), and Israel (4.3 %). Based on cohesion, economic, political and social indicators, the Middle East was the most fragile region from 2006-2018.⁴

Figure 1: World military expenditure, by region, 1988-2018



Source: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database

As illustrated by Figure 1, the volume of international transfers of major arms from 2014 to 2018 was 7.8 % higher than 2009-2013 and 23 % higher than 2004-2008. Together, the United States, Russia, France, Germany, and China represented the top arms exporters from 2013-2017 (See Figure 2).

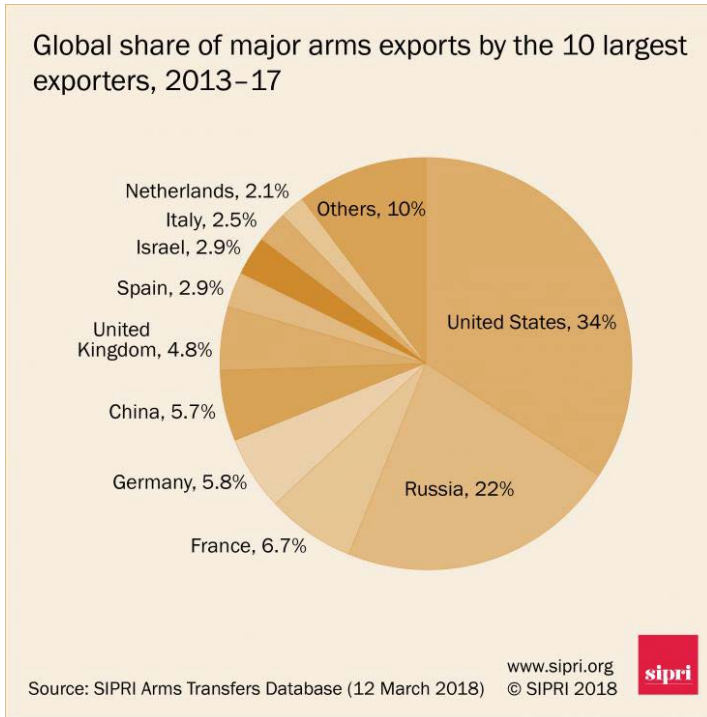
¹ Uppsala Conflict Data Program, available at: <https://ucdp.uu.se/-/exploratory>

² Institute for Economics & Peace, 'Global Peace Index 2018: Measuring Peace in a Complex World', (2018), p. 3, available at: <http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/06/Global-Peace-Index-2018-2.pdf>

³ Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 'World Military Expenditure Grows to \$1.8 trillion in 2018', updated on 29 April 2019, available at: <https://www.sipri.org/media/press-release/2019/world-military-expenditure-grows-18-trillion-2018>

⁴ The Fund for Peace, 'Fragile States Index', available at: <https://fragilestatesindex.org/data/>

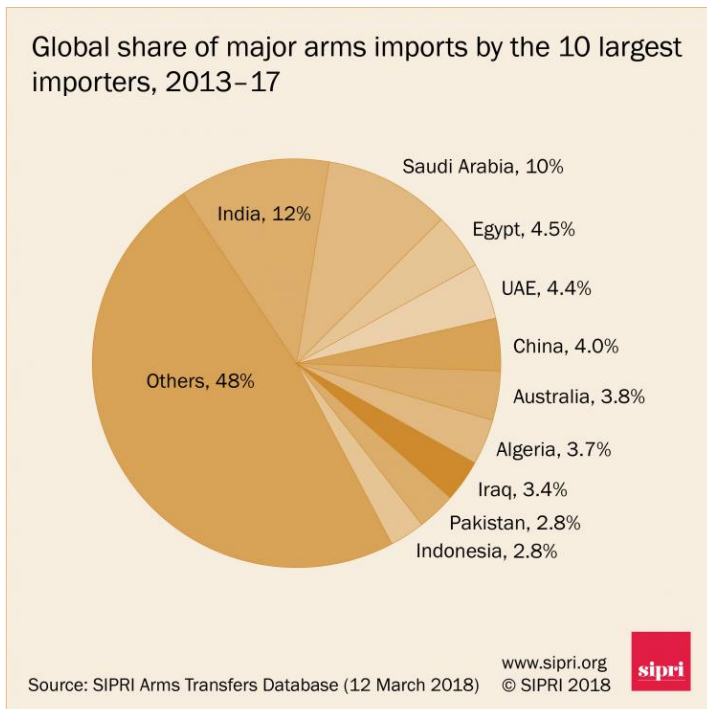
Figure 2: Global share of major arms exports by the 10 largest exporters, 2003-2017



Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database

Whereas, India, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, United Arab Emirates, and China constituted the top five arms importers from 2013-2017 (See Figure 3).

Figure 3: Global share of major arms imports by the 10 largest importers, 2013-2017



Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database

Civilians overwhelmingly constitute the majority of casualties in war with women and children making up the bulk of those affected.⁵ In 2017, more than 68.5 million people were forcibly displaced as a result of persecution, conflict, violence, or human rights violations. Of that 68.5 million, 25.4 million were refugees, 40.0 million were internally displaced persons and 3.1 million were asylum-seekers.⁶ Children below 18 years of age constituted 52 % or about half of the refugee population, an increase from 41 % in 2009.

Developing nations host 85 % of the world's refugees under UNHCR's mandate putting significant strain on economic resources of the host governments. Altogether, more than 68 % of all refugees worldwide came from five countries: Syrian Arab Republic (6.3 million), Afghanistan (2.6 million), South Sudan (2.4 million), Myanmar (1.2 million), and Somalia (986,400).⁷

⁵ Uppsala Conflict Data Program, available at: <https://ucdp.uu.se/-/exploratory>

⁶ UNHCR Figures at a Glance, available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>

⁷ UNHCR Figures at a Glance, available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>

1. THE UNSCR 1325 AGENDA IN PEACEBUILDING AND ARMED CONFLICT

Chapter one presents an overview of the landmark UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security from 2000 until 2019. In addition to global commitments to protect women and children in fragile and conflict-affected situations, mainstreaming gender-sensitive policies within the UN system, and the linkages between UN and EU approaches are examined. Lastly, the design of national action plans and conception of global indicators is surveyed.

1.1. Global commitments

Historically, efforts to recognize the status of women and children in fragile and conflict-affected situations came to fruition when the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) convened in 1969. During its 22nd session, in 1969, the CSW decided to request the UN Secretary-General to submit a report on the status of women in conflict environments during its 23rd session in 1970. After a great deal of debate and lobbying on the topic, in 1974, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict.⁸ In 1979, the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was adopted by the General Assembly. Countries that have ratified or acceded to CEDAW are legally bound to implement provisions of the convention.⁹

The effect of conflict on women and their role in peacebuilding efforts continued to garner attention in global debates, including in the four UN World Conferences on Women held in 1975, 1980, 1985, and 1995. The Fourth-World Conference on Women in particular, held in Beijing in 1995, featured the issue by committing a whole chapter of the outcome document – the Beijing Platform for Action – to women and armed conflict.¹⁰ Following intense political debates at the Fourth-World Conference on Women in Beijing and robust lobbying, networking, and training at a parallel civil society-led event, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action emerged as the most progressive framework for advancing women's rights in September 1995.

With comprehensive commitments under 12 critical areas of concern, the Platform for Action envisioned gender equality in all dimensions of life including:

- Women and the environment;
- Women in power and decision-making;
- The girl child;
- Women and the economy;
- Women and poverty;
- Violence against women;
- Human rights of women;
- Education and training of women;
- Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women;
- Women and health;
- Women and the media;
- Women and armed conflict.

The CEDAW Committee is the body of independent experts that monitors the implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. CEDAW applies a follow-

⁸ UN General Assembly, 'Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict', Resolution 3318 (XXIX), (1974), available at: <http://www.un-documents.net/a29r3318.htm>.

⁹ UN, 'Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women,' available at: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/#_blank.

¹⁰ Fourth World Conference on Women, 'Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action', available at: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/beijingdeclaration.html#_blank.

up procedure whereby States who have been party to the convention are requested to provide information on steps taken to implement specific recommendations within a period of 1-2 years. Specific recommendations such as the WPS agenda are chosen because their lack of implementation is perceived as a barrier to the realization of CEDAW. The percentage of countries reporting on the WPS agenda in their CEDAW reports increased from 19 % in 2010 to 50 % in 2018.¹¹

In July 2010, the UN General Assembly established UN Women, the entity tasked with the mandate to advance gender equality and the empowerment of women in line with the Sustainable Development Goals. As of 2017, UN Women maintained a country presence in 82 countries, including 28 conflict and post-conflict countries and an active engagement on gender, peace, security, and humanitarian issues in 65 countries.¹²

UN Women works with UN Member States in the formulation of policies for women's equal participation in all aspects of life through four strategic priorities:

- Women lead, participate in, and benefit equally from governance structures;
- Women have income security, decent work, and economic autonomy;
- All women and girls live a life free of all forms of violence;
- Women and girls contribute to and have greater influence in building sustainable peace and resilience, and benefit equally from the prevention of natural disasters and conflicts and humanitarian action¹³.

Although UN Women's mandate is comprehensive and is based on a normative structure, the insufficient allocation of funding and limited human resources capacity continues to limit its influence within the UN apparatus and overall impact globally.

In 2015, UN Member States committed themselves to realizing 17 sustainable development goals to prevent human suffering and promote more inclusive societies. Building on previous development agendas, including the Millennium Development Goals, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is 'integrated and indivisible in nature. [It] not only aims to end poverty and hunger, ensure healthy lives and quality education, and protect the environment—but also to reduce inequalities and promote peaceful, just, and inclusive societies.'¹⁴ While gender considerations are critical to take into account across the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) agenda, the correlation between gender equality and sustainable peace is particularly identified in SDG goal number five and number sixteen. SDG goal number five focuses on achieving gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls. This goal states the importance of challenging the social norms, attitudes, and legal framework that foster gender inequality. SDG number sixteen works to promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development and provide access to justice for all; furthermore, it aims to build effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at all levels.¹⁵

¹¹ Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, 'Fulfilling the Promise of Women's Rights Instruments: Strengthening the synergies between CEDAW and Resolution 1325 for more Effective Implementation', (2018) available at:

http://gnwp.org/wp-content/uploads/PolicyBriefGNWP-2018_13Sept_2018.pdf

¹² UN Security Council (2018). [Report of the Secretary-General on women peace and security](#) (S/2018/900), para. 23. Also see UN Women (<http://www.unwomen.org/en/where-we-are>).

¹³ UN Women, 'About UN Women', available at: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/about-us/about-un-women>.

¹⁴ United Nations, 'Sustainable Development Goals', available at: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs>.

¹⁵ UN Women, 'SDG 5: Achieve Gender Equality and Empower All Women and Girls', available at: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/women-and-the-sdgs/sdg-5-gender-equality> ; UN Women, 'SDG 16: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels', available at: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/women-and-the-sdgs/sdg-16-peace-justice-strong-institutions>; OECD-DAC, Network on Gender Equality, accessed at <http://www.oecd.org/dac/gender-development/> on 12 March 2019; OECD, 'Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Situations: A Review of Donor Support', (2017) accessed at https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/gender-equality-and-women-s-empowerment-in-fragile-and-conflict-affected-situations_b75a1229-en on 20 March 2019.

If drastic measures are not swiftly adopted to achieve the SDGs, it is projected that more than half of the people living in poverty, most of which are women and children, will be located in countries affected by high levels of fragility and violence by 2030.¹⁶ Indeed, women account for approximately 70 % of the 1.3 billion people living in poverty worldwide, often live in underdeveloped areas and are particularly susceptible to instability due to war, climate change, and economic insecurity.¹⁷

The Security Council's decisions increasingly include provisions on women, peace and security, and gender equality. In 2017, 70.5 % of resolutions, 88.8 % of presidential statements, and 75.7 % of country-specific or regional situations contained provisions on women, peace, and security. In 2016, the percentages of provisions were 49.4 %, 57.9 %, and 51 % respectively.¹

The Office of the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Team of Experts on Rule of Law and Sexual Violence in Conflict, the inter-agency network known as UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict, and UN Women inform gender equality policy and implementation of mechanisms that enhance women's participation in conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts in fragile and conflict-affected environments.

The 2018 report of the Secretary-General on conflict-related sexual violence identified 19 countries with verifiable information on incidents. Out of the 47 parties that were listed, 40 were non-state actors and 7 were designated terrorist groups.¹⁸ The Report also acknowledged the deployment of women's protection advisors to human rights components of missions to support reporting and strengthen the competency of missions on conflict-related sexual violence.

In 2017, the Human Rights Council sent a total of 497 communications, of which 36 related to women's human rights and violations, referring to 21 conflict and post-conflict countries.¹⁹ In 2018, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) indicated that out of 39 countries and territories, 23 had National Human Rights Institutions (NHRIs) accredited with A-status (fully compliant) and B-status (partially compliant) with the Paris Principles on the promotion and protection of human rights.²⁰ The Paris Principles are a set of international standards which frame and guide the work of NHRIs. Only 5 had designated an ombudsperson and 14 of those bodies had created specific committees, departments, or units focused on issues relating to women's rights and gender equality.²¹

For the first time, in 2018, the UN achieved gender parity among the UN Secretary-General's Senior Management Group at headquarters and among UN Resident Coordinators. The same year, in 2018, women comprised 41 % of heads and deputy heads of peace operations led by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Political Affairs.²² However, as of April 2018, women comprised only 40 out of 193 or 22.5 % permanent representatives at the ambassador level to the UN in New York and only 3 (Poland, the UK and the US) out of 15 Security Council seats were filled by women Ambassadors.²³

¹⁶ United Nations, 'Ending Poverty', available at: <http://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/poverty/>

¹⁷ United Nations and World Bank, 'Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict', (2018), available at: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/28337>.

¹⁸ UN Security Council, 'Report of the Secretary-General on conflict-related sexual violence', (S/2018/250), (2018).

¹⁹ UN Security Council, 'Report of the Secretary-General on women peace and security', (S/2018/900), (2018), para. 85, available at: <https://undocs.org/en/S/2018/900>. Data comes from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (<https://www.ohchr.org>).

²⁰ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 'The Paris Principles', available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/StatusOfNationalInstitutions.aspx>.

²¹ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Countries/NHRI/Pages/NHRIMain.aspx>.

²² UN Security Council, 'Report of the Secretary-General on women peace and security', (S/2018/900), (2018), para. 9, available at: <https://undocs.org/en/S/2018/900>. Data provided by the UN Department of Field Support.

²³ UN Security Council, 'Report of the Secretary-General on women peace and security', (S/2018/900), (2018), available at: <https://undocs.org/en/S/2018/900>

1.2. Women, Peace and Security Agenda

UNSCR 1325 reinforces prior international and regional legal commitments and conventions relevant to Women, Peace and Security and establishes a series of new principles. The determination of several individuals serving on the United Nations Security Council at the time, in particular the permanent representatives of Council Members from Bangladesh, Canada, Jamaica, Mali, and Namibia and numerous civil society organizations, ensured unanimous support for the Resolution. During the Security Council session, held on October 31, 2000, and led by a Namibia Presidency, members acknowledged the changing nature of warfare, in which civilians, especially women and children, are increasingly targeted and bear the brunt of violence, even after cessation of fighting and peace accords have been signed. The Resolution emphasizes the importance of women's equal and full participation as active agents in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, humanitarian response, and in post-conflict reconstruction.²⁴

UNSCR 1325 reinforces prior international and regional legal commitments and conventions important to women, peace, and security.²⁵

Each of the UNSCR 1325 mandates fall into one of the following pillars:

Participation: UNSCR 1325 recognizes the role women have in transforming societies, calls for increased participation of women at all levels of decision-making, including in national, regional, and international institutions; in mechanisms for the prevention and resolution of conflict; in peace negotiations, peacebuilding; in peace operations, as soldiers, police, and civilians; as Special Representatives of the UN Secretary-General; in humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction. UNSCR 1325 advises all actors engaged in United Nations peace and security matters including Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR) and Security Sector Reform (SSR) to increase the participation of women and adopt gender perspectives.

Protection: UNSCR 1325 calls for the protection of women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), including in emergency and humanitarian situations, such as in refugee camps. The Security Council adopted UNSCR 1325 a year after it had ratified a series of thematic resolutions on the protection of civilians especially women and children affected by armed conflict. A disastrous decade of peacekeeping efforts in Rwanda, Somalia, and the former Yugoslavia prompted an internal review within the UN system about the institution's ability to protect civilians and prevent systematic targeting of women and children through sexual and gender-based violence by warring parties. In certain instances, members of its own peacekeeping operations (PKOs) were reported to have sexually assaulted women and children.²⁶ In 2018, the UN adopted new policy to guide the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and Department of Field Support to operationalize gender equality and WPS mandates.²⁷ Compliance with this policy is mandatory for all civilian, police, and military personnel engaged in peacekeeping operations.

Prevention: UNSCR 1325 calls for improving intervention strategies in the prevention of violence against women and children, including by prosecuting those responsible for violations of international law;

²⁴ UN Security Council, 'Resolution 1325', (2000), available at: [https://undocs.org/S/RES/1325\(2000\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/1325(2000)).

²⁵ The 1949 Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocols (1977) acknowledge the illegality of attacking civilians including rape and other forms of sexual violence in times of armed conflict; the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergencies and Armed Conflict (1974), the Vienna Declaration (1993) identifies the protection requirements of women and children as a fundamental component of international human rights obligations; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979); the Beijing Platform of Action (1995), and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (2002).

²⁶ Westendorf, J. K. and Searle, L., 'Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Peace Operations: Trends, Policy Responses and Future Directions', *International Affairs* 93/2, pgs. 365–387, (2017), available at:

https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/ia/INTA93_2_07_Westendorf%20and%20Searle.pdf

²⁷ UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, 'Gender Responsive United Nations Peacekeeping Operations', (2018), available at:

https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/english_gender_responsive_united_nations_peacekeeping_operations_policy_1.pdf

strengthening women's rights under national law; supporting local women's peace initiatives and conflict resolution processes and developing gendered approaches to reducing fragility. According to the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security, the UN Security Council can better employ 'sanctions – specifically the designation criteria and the subsequent listing of sanctioned individuals – to prevent and curb sexual violence in armed conflict and address the impunity of perpetrators.'²⁸ A review, undertaken by the Georgetown Institute, of eight sanctions regimes revealed 'the current approach is characterized by inconsistency across sanctions regimes, delayed focus on sexual violence, and weak implementation of sanctions.'²⁹

Relief and recovery: UNSCR 1325 calls for relief and recovery efforts to appropriately address international crises through a gendered lens. Gender mainstreaming of relief and recovery efforts might consider the management of shelters and camps; water, sanitation and hygiene, and food distribution; allocation of non-food items; education provision; delivery of health care and psychosocial well-being of beneficiaries, humanitarian staff and volunteers.

Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, eight other resolutions have been adopted comprising the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.

UNSCR 1820 (2008) recognizes and condemns the use of all violence, including sexual violence as a tactic of war.³⁰ This Resolution calls for the training of soldiers on preventing and responding to sexual violence, as well as the deployment of more women to peace operations, and enforcement of zero-tolerance policies for peacekeepers with regards to sexual exploitation or abuse. It also expressed the Security Council's willingness to impose sanctions against perpetrators of sexual violence in armed conflict. The jurisprudence on sexual crimes that emerged out of the international criminal tribunals for Rwanda and former Yugoslavia recognized sexual violence as a war crime, a crime against humanity, and a possible act of genocide. A combination of this jurisprudence coupled with reports of mass sexual violence perpetrated against women of the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, influenced the context and political climate in which 1820 was adopted.

UNSCR 1888 (2009) strengthens the implementation of Resolution 1820 by addressing conflict-related sexual violence, deployment of military and gender experts to fragile and conflict-affected areas, and improved monitoring and reporting on conflict trends and perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence.³¹ It establishes new measures to address sexual violence in conflict-affected situations, such as the appointment of a Special Representative and a Team of Experts on the use of sexual violence in conflict. The current Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SRSG/SVC), Pramila Patten, was appointed on 12 April 2017.

UNSCR 1889 (2009) addresses barriers to women's participation in peace and transition processes and calls for the development of global indicators to track the implementation of UNSCR 1325. It also demands better international and national responses to the specific needs of women in conflict and post-conflict environments.³²

²⁸ Huve, S., 'The Use of UN Sanctions to Address Conflict-Related Sexual Violence', *Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security*, (2018), available at

: <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/resource/the-use-of-un-sanctions-to-address-conflict-related-sexual-violence/>

²⁹ Huve, S., 'The Use of UN Sanctions to Address Conflict-Related Sexual Violence', *Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security*, (2018), available at :

<https://giwps.georgetown.edu/resource/the-use-of-un-sanctions-to-address-conflict-related-sexual-violence/>

³⁰ UN Security Council, 'Resolution 1820', (2008), available at: [https://undocs.org/en/S/RES/1820\(2008\)](https://undocs.org/en/S/RES/1820(2008)).

³¹ UN Security Council, 'Resolution 1888', (2009), available at: [https://undocs.org/S/RES/1888\(2009\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/1888(2009)).

³² UN Security Council, 'Resolution 1889', (2009), available at: [https://undocs.org/S/RES/1889\(2009\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/1889(2009)).

UNSCR 1960 (2010) calls for an end to sexual violence in armed conflict, particularly against women and girls. The resolution also presents measures aimed at ending impunity for perpetrators of sexual violence, including through sanctions and reporting measures.³³

UNSCR 2106 (2013) provides operational guidance on addressing sexual violence and calls for the further deployment of Women Protection Advisers to conflict-affected environments.³⁴

UNSCR 2122 (2013) calls on all parties to peace talks to facilitate equal and full participation of women in decision-making. The resolution also aims to multiply women's participation in peacekeeping operations by designating resources for women in conflict zones and acknowledges the critical contributions of women's civil society organizations to sustainable peace.

UNSCR 2242 (2015) reaffirms commitment to UNSCR 1325. The Resolution highlights the role of women in countering violent extremism and addresses the different impact of terrorism on the rights of women and girls.³⁵

UNSCR 2467 (2019) increases the cost and consequence of committing conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV), permits the Security Council to use sanctions against perpetrators of CRSV, affirms a survivor-centred approach in all UN actions, calls for the provision of reparations and livelihood support to all survivors, affirms that empowering women is necessary to counter the root cause of CRSV, and reinforces the call for accountability by strengthening efforts for monitoring and documentation including gathering sex-disaggregated data. The Resolution calls for greater support for children born as a result of rape in conflict, as well as their mothers, who often face a lifetime of stigma. Driven by a German Presidency, the Resolution was passed with 13 votes in favour, none against, and China and the Russian Federation abstaining from the vote.³⁶

The Resolution also recognizes the specific targeting of men and boys in conflict and post-conflict settings urging appropriate responses for male survivors including services for all survivors regardless of gender. This year's Security Council Open Debate on sexual violence in conflict marked a 10 % increase in the number of briefers who acknowledged the issue of male victimization since 2017, with 36 out of 89 speeches mentioning men and boys being affected by CRSV.³⁷ Only 8 briefers referenced the vulnerability of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex (LGBTI) community to sexual violence on account of their sexual orientation and gender identity.

Despite an earlier draft which called for the provision of sexual and reproductive healthcare for survivors of sexual violence, the final Resolution, excluded the reference.³⁸ The final version of the Resolution also excluded calls for a working group to review progress on ending sexual violence.

In a statement published in March 2019, 10 organizations, including UN Women, CARE, and the Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy argued 'given the further hardening of antidemocratic and decidedly misogynistic stances in the UN Security Council, we believe there is a danger of a weak resolution text

³³ UN Security Council, 'Resolution 1960', (2010), available at: <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/1960>.

³⁴ UN Security Council, 'Resolution 2106', (2013), available at: [https://undocs.org/en/S/RES/2106\(2013\)](https://undocs.org/en/S/RES/2106(2013)).

³⁵ UN Security Council, 'Resolution 2242', (2015), available at: [https://undocs.org/S/RES/2242\(2015\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/2242(2015)).

³⁶ UN Security Council, 'Resolution 2467', (2019), available at: [https://undocs.org/S/RES/2467\(2019\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/2467(2019)); *United Nations Press*, 'Security Council Adopts Resolution Calling Upon Belligerents Worldwide to Adopt Concrete Commitments on Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict', updated on 23 April 2019, available at: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2019/sc13790.doc.htm>.

³⁷ All Survivors Project, 'Security Council Open Debate on Sexual Violence in Conflict and SCR 2467', (2019), available at : http://allsurvivorsproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/ASP_Analysis_SVIC_Res2467.pdf

³⁸ Gramer, R. & Lynch, C., 'How a U.N. Bid to Prevent Sexual Violence Turned Into a Spat Over Abortion', *Foreign Policy*, updated on 23 April 2019, available at:

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/04/23/united-nations-bid-end-sexual-violence-rape-support-survivors-spat-trump-administration-sexual-reproductive-health-dispute-abortion-internal-state-department-cable/>

ultimately being negotiated and adopted.³⁹ The statement indicated that a few powerful members of the Security Council were undermining the achievements that have been made thus far to the WPS agenda.

An array of stakeholders—from human rights defenders to peacebuilders to leaders of civil society organizations and Member States themselves—are indispensable to oversight of the implementation of the WPS agenda and investment in conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts. In 2000, UN Women published a study on the implementation of UNSCR 1325.⁴⁰ The report indicated that although significant progress had been made on the WPS agenda, the Security Council 'still remained largely inconsistent in its oversight of how its decisions on women and peace and security had been translated into action'.⁴¹ The creation of the Security Council Informal Expert Group on Women, Peace and Security, was called for in 2015, and enacted in 2016 'with a view to improving the flow of information and analysis to the Council with respect women and peace and security in country-specific situations and to sharpening the focus and specificity of Council deliberations, oversight and actions on women's participation and leadership, one of the central tenets that support conflict prevention and underpin long-term stability'.⁴²

In particular, the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security serves as a critical bridge between civil society and the UN apparatus. Through Monthly Action Points for the Security Council and other testimonies, the Working Group emphasizes the 'direct link between conflict prevention and gender equality, and calls for the establishment of gender sensitive institutions, legislation and policies, as well as mechanisms to enable women's meaningful participation with all political, electoral, security, and justice sectors'.⁴³ Member organizations include Amnesty International, CARE International Consortium on Gender Security and Human Rights, Cordaid, Global Justice Centre, Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, Human Rights Watch, International Alert, MADRE, Nobel Women's Initiative, OutRight International, Oxfam, Plan International, Refugees International, Saferworld, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Women's Refugee Commission.

The Women, Peace and Security Focal Points Network assists its Member States and regional organizations to improve and strengthen the implementation of the women, peace, and security agenda.⁴⁴ Comprised of over 80 countries and regional organizations, the Network serves as a forum to share best practices and discuss strategies to overcome inequalities and address structural injustices in fragile and conflict-affected environments.

1.3. EU application of the WPS agenda

Since the passing of UNSCR 1325 and subsequent resolutions, the EU has made significant progress in the application of the women, peace, and security agenda in both its internal and external action. In 2008, the Council presented the 'Comprehensive approach to the EU implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security'.⁴⁵ The document

³⁹ Ford, L., 'UN Waters Down Rape Resolution to Appease US's Hardline Abortion Stance', *The Guardian*, updated on 23 April 2019, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/apr/23/un-resolution-passes-trump-us-veto-threat-abortion-language-removed>; Heinlein, A. and Kappert, I., 'Statement: German government treading on dangerous ground in the UN Security Council', updated on 7 March 2019, available at

https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57cd7cd9d482e9784e4ccc34/t/5cd0624ce79c7011d17929ea/1557160531034/statement+1325_EN.pdf?fbclid=IwAR0MwgcVrlgvyl4QnMSgNbR9DlsUZL1YhLsVuctxlBOvNay2MNz2OVCuRs

⁴⁰ UN Women, 'Preventing Conflict Transforming Justice Security the Peace', (2000), available at: <http://wps.unwomen.org>

⁴¹ UN, Security Council, 'Guidelines for the Informal Expert Group on Women and Peace and Security', p. 2, (2016), available at: <https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/N1646588.pdf>

⁴² Ibid, p. 2.

⁴³ NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, available at: <http://www.womenpeaceandsecurity.org/our-work/>

⁴⁴ UN, General Assembly Security Council, 'Letter dated 1 March 2018 from the Permanent Representatives of Germany, Namibia and Spain to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General', (2018), available at: <https://undocs.org/en/S/2018/178>

⁴⁵ Council of the European Union, 'Comprehensive approach to the EU implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security', (2008), available at:

frames the essential principles of integration of the WPS agenda in EU and Member States' engagement in fragile, conflict and post-conflict environments.

In 2009, the EU Informal Task Force on UNSCR 1325 was established to enhance the inter-institutional coordination and advancement of a coherent approach to gender-related issues. The Task Force is composed of staff working on both gender equality and security issues in the EEAS, the Council Secretariat and Commission services and representatives of EU Member States. The Task Force also periodically consults with civil society organizations and multilateral institutions such as the UN and NATO.⁴⁶

The EU Plan of Action on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development (2010-2015), adopted by the Commission in 2010, followed by a 'Joint Staff Working Document - Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: Transforming the Lives of Girls and Women through EU External Relations 2016-2020', adopted by the European Commission and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, in 2015, as well as the EU Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy (2015-2019), include specific objectives and actions contributing to the implementation of the EU's strategy on the WPS agenda.⁴⁷

The European Peacebuilding Liaison Office's Working Group on Gender, Peace and Security monitors the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and other related commitments on the women, peace and security agenda in the EU and EU Member States. European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) staff regularly participate in meetings convened by the EU Informal Task Force on UNSCR 1325. In 2016, EPLO collected country case-study contributions from civil society organizations, context specific analysts, and academics engaged to develop an EU-wide overview of NAPs in the EU. In 2013, EPLO published a revised report on policies and practices on the WPS agenda in Europe.⁴⁸ On the 10th anniversary of UNSCR 1325, EPLO, published a CSO position paper on a Europe-wide implementation of the Resolution.⁴⁹ More than 80 civil society organizations and regional networks aligned themselves with the 10 recommendations to ensure the implementation of WPS commitments set forth in the paper.

Established in 2010, the Civil Society Dialogue Network (CSDN), functions as the principal platform for dialogue between civil society and EU policymakers on issues related to peace and conflict. The CSDN is co-financed by the European Union Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP) and the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office, and overseen by EPLO in cooperation with the European Commission and the EEAS.⁵⁰

In 2010, the Council adopted indicators to monitor the implementation of the Comprehensive Approach, which were revised in 2015-2016. In September 2016, the Council formally adopted a new set of indicators 'that were achievable, directly measurable (data available), specific and relevant;

<http://register.consilium.europa.eu/doc/srv?!=EN&f=ST%2015671%202008%20REV%201>.

⁴⁶ EEAS Informal Task Force on Women, Peace and Security, 'Exchange of information and best practices', updated on 18 August 2014, available at: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/features/features-working-women/working-with-women/article21_en.html

⁴⁷ European Commission, 'EU Plan of Action on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development (2010-2015)', (2010), available at:

<https://europa.eu/capacity4dev/public-gender/document/operational-framework-enhance-implementation-existing-eu-policy-frameworks-and-ensure-accou>; European Commission, 'Joint Staff Working Document - Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: Transforming the Lives of Girls and Women through EU External Relations 2016-2020', (2015), available at:

<https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/joint-staff-working-document-gender-equality-and-womens-empowerment-transforming-lives-girls-and-en>; European Commission, 'Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy (2015-2019)', (2015), available at: https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/eu-policy/action-plan-human-rights-and-democracy-2015-2019_en.

⁴⁸ European Peacebuilding Liaison Office, 'UNSCR 1325 in Europe: 20 Case Studies of Implementation', (2013), available at: http://eplo.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/EPLO_UNSCR_1325_in_Europe_20_Case_Studies_of_Implementation.pdf

⁴⁹ European Peacebuilding Liaison Office, '10 Points on 10 Years UNSCR 1325 in Europe', (2010), available at: http://eplo.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/EPLO_CS0_Position_Paper_10_Points_on_10_Years_UNSCR_1325_in_Europe.pdf

⁵⁰ European Commission, 'The Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace', available at; https://ec.europa.eu/fpi/what-we-do/instrument-contributing-stability-and-peace-preventing-conflict-around-world_en.

which concentrated on the measurement of the implementation process and steps taken; and aiming at a relatively restricted number of indicators that could be used both by the EU institutions and the EU Member States, where relevant.⁵¹

Three major reports have assessed the EU's application of the WPS agenda.

- First implementation report (May 2011)⁵²;
- Second implementation report (January 2014)⁵³;
- Third implementation report (November 2017)⁵⁴.

In December 2018, the Council of the European Union adopted conclusions on WPS including a new policy, known as the EU Strategic Approach to WPS. The latest Strategic Approach builds upon and replaces the 2008 Comprehensive Approach to the EU implementation of the UNSCRs 1325 and 1820 on women, peace, and security. The Principal Adviser on Gender and on UNSCR 1325 on WPS led the drafting of the Strategic Approach through a consultative process with input from members of the EPLD Working Group on Gender, Peace and Security and the Civil Society Dialogue Network. The Strategic Approach emphasizes the importance of conflict prevention and that all EU external action should be grounded in robust gender and conflict analysis that recognize and address gendered root causes of violence. In particular, the Strategic Approach underlines 'women's leadership, rights, and agency in all areas of policy and programming related to peace and security, acknowledging the roles that women, men, girls, and boys from diverse and variable backgrounds play in furthering peace and gender equality and in preventing and resolving violent conflict, as well as the prevention of all forms of violence including sexual and gender-based violence.'⁵⁵

According to Laura Davis, Senior Associate leading EPLD's work on Gender, Peace and Security: 'Overall, the policy is strong, but the main challenge will be in implementation and in particular ensuring that the commitments the Council has made to ensuring gender and conflict analysis informs all EU external action, for example, is followed through. The Strategy needs to be complemented as soon as possible with an action plan that assigns responsibility for tasks to the various EU actors involved, and that these are held accountable for progress. At the same time, the Council needs to ensure that in the upcoming Multiannual Financial Framework there is adequate, ring-fenced financing for conflict prevention and inclusive CSOs building peace and working towards gender equality worldwide.'⁵⁶

The Council Conclusions on Women, Peace and Security, from 10 December 2018, call for the establishment of a concise, specific, measurable, and achievable action plan for the effective implementation and advancement of the EU Strategic Approach to WPS, which is aligned with the EU Gender Action Plan II (2016-2020). In early 2019, the EEAS held a consultative session with members of the community of practice on WPS to inform the action plan. The EEAS is conducting an internal

⁵¹ Council of the European Union, 'Revised Indicators for the Comprehensive approach to the EU implementation of the UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security', 10805/16 + COR 1 (2016), available at:

<http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-12525-2016-INIT/en/pdf>.

⁵² Council of the European Union, 'Report on the EU-indicators for the Comprehensive Approach to the EU implementation of the UN Security Council UNSCRs 1325 & 1820 on Women, Peace and Security', (2011), available at:

<https://register.consilium.europa.eu/doc/srv?l=EN&f=ST%209990%202011%20INIT>

⁵³ Council of the European Union, 'Second Report on the EU-indicators for the Comprehensive Approach to the EU Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 & 1820 on Women, Peace and Security', (2014), available at:

<http://register.consilium.europa.eu/doc/srv?l=EN&t=PDF&qc=true&sc=false&f=ST%206219%202014%20INIT>

⁵⁴ Council of the European Union, 'Third Report on the EU Indicators for the Comprehensive Approach to the EU Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security', (2017), available at:

<http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-14692-2017-INIT/en/pdf> on

⁵⁵ Council of the European Union, 'Women, Peace and Security Council Conclusions', (2018), p. 8 available at:

<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/37412/st15086-en18.pdf>

⁵⁶ Davis, L. 'Time to Engage, Empower, Protect and Support Women and Girls in Peacebuilding', European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (2018), available at:

<https://eploblog.wordpress.com/2018/12/19/time-to-engage-empower-protect-and-support-women-and-girls-in-peacebuilding/>

coordination of the Action Plan, after which an Inter-Service Consultation will be conducted before the European Council reviews it.

An EEAS Principal Advisor on Gender and on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security is tasked with leading coordination of the EU with other international, regional, and national actors on policy and action associated with gender and UNSCR 1325. Internal coordination on issues related to gender and UNSCR 1325 also fall under the mandate of the Principal Advisor. In addition, a Senior Gender Expert to EEAS Principal Advisor on Gender and on UNSCR 1325/WPS supports, facilitates and monitors the integration of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 across the EU internal and external action.

On 12 March 2019, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on building EU capacity on conflict prevention and mediation with a strong emphasis on women, peace and security.⁵⁷ The Resolution sets out a comprehensive framework on enhancing the EU's institutional capacities for conflict prevention and mediation including Member States' capability to 'identify priority geographical areas for conflict prevention and mediation actions, and facilitate bilateral cooperation between European countries.' The Resolution also highlights key points regarding conflict prevention and mediation for the European External Action Service, the European Commission, and the European Parliament to consider.⁵⁸

1.4. National Actions Plans

As of December 2018, 79 countries or territories have adopted a National Action Plan (NAP) to help guide the translation of their international commitments to the WPS Agenda into national policies. Of those 79 countries, 25 countries in Europe have adopted a NAP, 18 of which are EU Member States (See Annex I). In April 2019, Namibia announced that it finalized its new NAP. Also in April 2019, 9 other countries committed to developing their first-ever NAPs in advance of October 2020. South Africa and Thailand, have integrated the WPS framework in national policies although they are not specifically referred to as a NAP.

In 2018 alone, Regional Action Plans (RAPs) were adopted by the African Union, International Conference on the Great Lakes Region, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, European Union, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, League of Arab States, South African Development Community, East African Community, Economic Community of West African States, Pacific Islands Forum, and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development though not all of their member states have adopted NAPs themselves.

The process of formulating a NAP and RAP is an important accountability loop for social change and has varied from inclusive and consultative processes with human-rights defenders, peacebuilders, and other context specific practitioners to the elected and politically appointed officials exclusively writing a framework on their own. In countries that have not adopted a NAP, civil-society organizations such as the Women in Foreign Policy initiative in Turkey, have taken the lead in formulating a NAP in the hope that the government will take the content into consideration.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ European Parliament resolution of 12 March 2019 on building EU capacity on conflict prevention and mediation', P8_TA-PROV 0158 (2019), available at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2019-0158_EN.html

⁵⁸ EEAS News, 'A Security and Defence Union in the Making: Recent Developments and What's Coming Up', updated on 20 October 2017, available at: https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/34278/security-and-defence-union-making-recent-developments-and-whats-coming_en

⁵⁹ Yinanc, B., 'Turkey Needs a National Policy on Women, Peace and Security', *Hurriyet Daily News*, updated on 25 March 2019, available at: http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-needs-a-national-policy-on-women-in-peace-and-security-142149? fbclid =lwAR0Y_eVxM9M0L_SexL8MxZ_h0JMzGCZHdEhWkpAIW7DphfrY4QjlokPCLWk

Other women's initiatives, such as the Gender Balance Group of the 9th Cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government, have referenced UNSCR 1325 in efforts to encourage wider participation of women in politics.

Most NAPs insufficiently analyse and consider the impact the field of security (e.g. disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control, and military spending) have on women and children in fragile and conflict-affected environments.⁶⁰ France, the United Kingdom, and the United States have all adopted NAPs; however, they also lead the arms trade and are active members of the global military industrial complex. This double standard of committing to the implementation of the WPS agenda while maintaining traditional security perspectives hinders prospects for sustainable peace.

Only a handful of NAPs acknowledge the connection between disarmament, military spending, and gender. The German and Japanese NAPs indicate arms proliferation is a threat to women's security and recommend the integration of a gender perspective in planning and the implementation of disarmament and arms control activities.⁶¹

Funding is another significant barrier to implementation of the WPS agenda. Out of the total number of NAPs, only 34 or 43 % had included a budget for implementation in the NAP upon adoption. UN Under-Secretary-General and Executive Director of UN Women, Phumzile Mlambo-NGCuka, has argued, '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.'⁶² A little more than half of all NAPs incorporated robust monitoring frameworks with progress indicators.⁶³

Increasingly a number of UN Member States are going beyond the adoption of NAPs for the WPS agenda and are including gender equality and women's participation in society as a central feature in their foreign policy platforms. Sweden, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Norway have all adopted feminist-oriented approaches especially in the field of development cooperation.

1.5. Global indicators

Most global indicators are structured around the main pillars of UNSCR 1325 (prevention, participation, protection, and relief and recovery) and aim to increase the effective and organized monitoring and reporting on the implementation of the WPS agenda. UNSCR 1889 (2009) called for the conception of the Women, Peace and Security index and is comprised of 26 quantitative and qualitative indicators.⁶⁴

As mentioned in the previous section on EU application of the WPS agenda, in 2010, the Council adopted indicators to monitor the implementation of the Comprehensive Approach, which were revised in 2015-2016. In September 2016, the Council formally adopted a new set of indicators 'that

⁶⁰ Women's International League of Peace and Freedom, 'National Action Plan: France', accessed at <http://www.peacewomen.org/nap-france> on 18 March 2019; Women's International League of Peace and Freedom, 'National Action Plan: United Kingdom', accessed at <http://www.peacewomen.org/nap-uk> on 18 March 2019; The U.S. White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 'Executive Order – Instituting a National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security', (2011) accessed at <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/12/19/executive-order-instituting-national-action-plan-women-peace-and-security> on 18 March 2019.

⁶¹ Federal Foreign Office of Germany, 'Action Plan of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security for the period 2017-2020', accessed at <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/286988/2462039ccaa1326a195da2e962048596/170111-aktionsplan-1325-data.pdf> on 18 March 2019; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 'National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security', accessed at <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000101798.pdf> on 18 March 2019.

⁶² Coomaraswamy, R., 'Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325', UN Women, p. 375, (2015), available at: <http://wps.unwomen.org>

⁶³ UN Security Council, 'Report of the Secretary-General on Women, Peace and Security', (2018), available at: <https://undocs.org/en/S/2018/900>

⁶⁴ UN Security Council, 'Women, Peace and Security: Report of the Secretary-General', S/2010/498, available at: <https://undocs.org/en/S/2010/498>

were achievable, directly measurable (data available), specific and relevant; which concentrated on the measurement of the implementation process and steps taken; and aiming at a relatively restricted number of indicators that could be used both by the EU institutions and the EU Member States, where relevant.⁶⁵

In partnership with the Peace Research Institute of Oslo, Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security launched the Women, Peace, and Security Index in 2017. The Index incorporates 3 basic dimensions of well-being – inclusion (economic, social, and political); justice (formal laws and informal discrimination); and security (at the family, community, and societal levels) – and captures and quantifies these areas through 11 indicators. A primary goal of the Index, which ranks 153 countries, is to advance progress on both the WPS agenda and the SDGs.

The UN Monitoring, Analysis and Reporting Arrangements (MARA) on sexual violence in conflict settings complement the global indicators on the WPS agenda. The UK is expected to introduce the Murad Code on sexual violence, named after the Yazidi Nobel peace prize laureate, Nadia Murad in 2019. The code will define the standards of behaviour and support the gathering of evidence on sexual violence for courts in conflict-affected environments.⁶⁶

While traditional measures of security include conflict indicators and assessments, they consistently fail to acknowledge systematic bias and discrimination against women and girls. Gender indices incorporate indicators of inclusion; however, these indexes might not stress the importance of justice and security. Robust monitoring and reporting, which underline the structural dynamics that impact gender equality and women's agency, will better inform the deliverables necessary for durable peace and justice.

⁶⁵ Council of the European Union, 'Revised Indicators for the Comprehensive approach to the EU implementation of the UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security', 10805/16 + COR 1 (2016), available at: <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-12525-2016-INIT/en/pdf>

⁶⁶ *UK Government News*, 'Lord Ahmad Announces Funding Boost for Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict', updated on 23 November 2018, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/lord-ahmad-announces-funding-boost-for-preventing-sexual-violence-in-conflict>; UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 'Preventing sexual Violence Initiative', available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/preventing-sexual-violence-initiative>

2. WOMEN'S INCLUSION IN PEACE AND TRANSITION PROCESSES

The second chapter explores women's participation across the peacemaking landscape, including peace and transition processes. Moreover, an evaluation of the factors that enhance and constrain women's meaningful participation in peacemaking is put forward.

2.1. Women's meaningful participation across the peacemaking landscape

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the WPS agenda, embedded in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and subsequent resolutions is a notable blueprint to transform global power dynamics that currently favour traditional security perspectives. UNSCR 1325 'reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction, and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security'.⁶⁷ The meaningful inclusion of women - where women have decision-making authority - across the peacemaking landscape is critical to reverse the socially-permissive environment within which violence is prioritized over non-violent actions. Although progress on certain aspects of the WPS agenda has been made, women continue to be denied strategic roles and systematically shut out from important decisions that intimately affect them.

Peace negotiations, which favour warring parties, have the potential to deliver a ceasefire and a decrease in violence. A safe and secure environment is important for internally displaced persons and refugees to return to their homes and for communities to resume socioeconomic activity. However, an absence of fighting does not necessarily translate into communities emerging more resilient in a post-conflict environment. While every fragile and conflict-affected situation poses its own unique challenges, the emphasis on awarding decision-making authority to those waging the war and not to those waging the peace, hinders communities from working towards durable peace solutions and collective justice and reconciliation. Exclusive peace processes are more likely to deny women strategic roles and systematically shut them out from important decision-making processes that intimately affect them and their communities.

The meaningful inclusion of women in peace and negotiation processes - where women have decision-making authority - not only better reflects the diversity of society, inclusive peace frameworks increase the durability and the quality of peace. A recent study led by Krause and Bränfors, which investigated 82 peace agreements in 42 armed conflicts between 1989 and 2011, indicated that peace agreements with female signatories were associated with lasting peace. The study also indicated that peace agreements signed by female delegates demonstrated higher implementation rates for agreement provisions.⁶⁸ A former study from the Geneva Graduate Institute's Broadening Participation Process, which analysed the roles of women's groups and other groups in 40 peace and transition processes, suggested that when women's groups were able to effectively influence the process, a peace agreement was almost always reached and the agreement was more likely implemented.⁶⁹ An agreement is 20 % more likely to last at least 2 years and 35 % more likely to last at least 15 years if women participate in its creation.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, 'Landmark resolution on Women, Peace and Security', accessed at <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/> on 03 May 2019.

⁶⁸ Krause, J., Krause, W. & Bränfors, P., 'Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace, International Interactions', 44/6, (2018), pgs. 985-1016.

⁶⁹ Paffenholz, T., 'Can Inclusive Peace Processes Work? New evidence from a multi-year research project', CCDP Policy Brief, (2015); and Paffenholz, T., 'Beyond the Normative: Can Women's Inclusion Really Make for Better Peace Processes?', CCDP Policy Brief, (2015), both accessed at <http://graduateinstitute.ch/home/research/centresandprogrammes/ccdp/ccdp-research/clusters-and-projects-1/participatory-peace-processes-an-broadening-participation-in-trac.html> on 05 April 2019.

⁷⁰ Statistical analysis by Laurel Stone, as featured in O'Reilly, M., O'Suilleabhain, A. and Paffenholz, T., 'Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes', New York: International Peace Institute (2015), pgs. 12-13, accessed at <https://www.inclusivepeace.org/sites/default/files/IPI-Reimagining-Peacemaking.pdf> on 30 April 2019.

Despite the growing number of studies that underline the importance and value of inclusive peace processes, women remain significantly underrepresented in high-level peacemaking. Between 1990 and 2017, women constituted only 2 % of mediators, 5 % of witnesses and signatories, and 8 % of negotiators in all major peace processes.⁷¹

Why are so few women included in high-level peacemaking? First, O'Reilly et. al argue, 'women's participation relates to a broader dilemma about the ends and means of peacemaking: 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.'⁷² Second, traditional security narratives in the international system remain largely focused on state security rather than human security, undervaluing non-military and non-state centric perspectives on peace and security matters. Third, while multilateral organizations like the UN and its Member States have committed to the implementation of the WPS agenda, the absence of political will and appropriate allocation of funding to influence and disrupt the traditional structures that secure warring parties a place at the negotiations table is hindering women's meaningful participation across the peacemaking landscape. For instance, as talks between the U.S. and the Taliban move forward, warring parties remain reluctant to include Afghan women as members of the negotiation team. At the same time, some western governments who promote the WPS agenda have acquiesced to the dominant conflict actors despite the strong link between the meaningful inclusion of Afghan women in the peace process and the future stability, prosperity and peace of Afghanistan.⁷³

2.2. Broader peace and transition processes

An investment in holistic frameworks that connect the formal and informal peace processes, that broaden participation beyond warring parties and that address the underlining grievances that often trigger violence, such as lack of political rights, high inequality, or ethnic and religious divisions, will increase the prospect for more inclusive and equitable societies to materialize.⁷⁴ Broader peace processes that connect informal peacebuilding efforts with formal mechanisms potentially create more opportunities for women from diverse socioeconomic and political backgrounds to influence the progression and outcome of the negotiation process.

In 2018, UN Women published a report based on a meeting that brought together more than 50 experts and practitioners to discuss women's meaningful participation in negotiating peace and the implementation of peace agreements.⁷⁵ Their deliberations and recommendations were informed by experiences and practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Colombia, Georgia, Kenya, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, the Philippines, South Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Uganda, Yemen, and Kosovo. The report included a series of action items for relevant stakeholders and recommendations that reflect on almost 20 years of implementation on the WPS agenda. One of the key requests called for a diminution in the hierarchy between different peace and negotiation tracks and amplify the value of non-military contributions. In many instances where women were excluded from official peace

⁷¹ Council on Foreign Relations, 'Women's participation in peace processes', updated July 31, 2018, accessed at https://www.cfr.org/interactive/womens-participation-in-peace-processes_OII 19 March 2019; Friedmann, S., 'Using Data to Link the Status of Women to Peace and Security', *News Deeply*, updated on 20 July 2018, accessed at <https://www.newsdeeply.com/peacebuilding/articles/2018/07/20/using-data-to-link-the-status-of-women-to-peace-and-security> on 24 March 2019.

⁷² O'Reilly, M., O'Suilleabhain, A. and Paffenholz, T., 'Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes', New York: *International Peace Institute* (2015), p. 1., accessed at <https://www.inclusivepeace.org/sites/default/files/IPI-Reimagining-Peacemaking.pdf> on 30 April 2019.

⁷³ Ahmadi, B., 'Afghanistan Talks: No Women, No Peace', U.S. Institute for Peace, accessed at <https://www.usip.org/publications/2019/03/afghanistan-talks-no-women-no-peace> on 10 May 2019.

⁷⁴ Collier, P. and Hoeffler, A., 'Greed and Grievance in Civil War', *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56/4, (2004); Saunders, H. H., 'Pre-negotiation and Circum-negotiation: Arenas of the Multilevel Peace Process', *Turbulent Peace*. Washington, DC.: *U.S. Institute of Peace*, (2001) p. 483.

⁷⁵ UN Women, 'Women's Meaningful Participation in Negotiating Peace and the Implementation of Peace Agreements: Report of the Expert Group Meeting convened by UN Women', (2018), accessed at <http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2018/10/egm-report-womens-meaningful-participation-in-negotiating-peace> on 02 May 2019.

processes, women's organizations successfully linked grassroots peacebuilding efforts to national political processes.

2.2.1. Models for meaningful participation

While each conflict poses its own unique causes, actors and dynamics, the following models for increasing women's meaningful participation can be adapted to different settings:

- Direct involvement at the negotiation table;
- Observer status;
- Consultations;
- Inclusive commission;
- Problem-solving workshops;
- Public-decision making;
- Mass action.

Women signatories and participants of peace processes include a diverse range of political actors from members of armed groups and government representatives to delegates from civil society organizations.

Some of the following examples of women's leadership across the peacemaking landscape are mentioned in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's online repository of case studies.⁷⁶ In Liberia, women were involved in the Negotiations for the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and its implementation, from 2003 to 2011, through mass action as observers, participated in unofficial consultations through direct representation in the transitional government and served on inclusive commissions. In Guatemala, women participated in official consultations to end Guatemala's protracted civil war in parallel to the UN-mediated peace negotiation, from 1994 to 1996. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, women participated in negotiations and high-level problem-solving workshops from 2001 to 2003. Women mediators led alternative dispute processes in the rural conflict-affected areas in Yemen and Ukraine. Women's organizations directed nationwide peace campaigns like the 'Peace Walk' in Turkey and 'We are not giving birth to men for war' in Colombia.

Finding it difficult to dismantle the patriarchal frameworks that favoured warring parties, women eager to influence the peace process ran for elected office in order to gain a seat at the negotiations table in Northern Ireland. Members of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC) were awarded two seats, filled by McWilliams and Sagar. Through their participation in the official negotiations progress, the NIWC introduced amendments to the Good Friday Agreement on inclusion of women in public life, special programs for young people affected by the war, recognition of the connection between reconciliation and mixed housing and integrated education systems, and the promotion of a culture of tolerance between communities.⁷⁷

In addition to participating in the official peace process, women in formal positions might also have the ability to include the perspectives of women who are engaged in the informal arena. How to create and sustain the link between the formal and informal is critical as it could change the peacemaking landscape and the kinds of provisions that are included in the final peace agreement. For example, in Guatemala, Luz Mendez, the only female member of the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca delegation and a signatory to quite a number of agreements of the peace process, worked closely with women civil society groups that did not have direct access to the formal negotiations. This link led to strong commitments to gender equality in the peace accords and fortified networks between organizations committed to women's rights.

⁷⁶ <https://www.peacewomen.org>

⁷⁷ Fearon, K., 'Women's Work: The Story of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition', (1999), available at: <https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/issues/women/fearon99.htm> on 22 April 2019.

The broader and more inclusive peace and transition processes are the more likely peace agreements will endure. Increasing the capacity development of women to negotiate, inform and influence these processes is critical. According to the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security, 'formally training mediators on inclusive processes and empowering local women's civil society groups,' is vital to women's leadership across the peacemaking landscape.⁷⁸ Initiatives such as the Women in Conflict 1325 Fellowship and the Women PeaceMakers Programs, provide essential training in mediation, conflict resolution, reconciliation, and negotiation to women peacebuilders. Furthermore, the alumni networks of the above and other similar initiatives serve as important platforms for on-going exchanges between graduates and members of their respective organizations.

In January 2011, the Institute for Inclusive Security brought together 21 specialists to develop recommendations for advancing women's meaningful inclusion in peace and transition processes. The group 'considered ways to increase the prevalence of female mediators, enhance communication and cooperation with women and civil society during negotiations, and to augment women's priorities and needs.'⁷⁹ Recommendations for promoting inclusive frameworks included introducing quotas, offering technical support to mediators, strengthening international contact groups/groups of friends and credit and acknowledge women as members of mediation teams.

The expansion of mediation networks has enhanced the visibility of women mediators. However, so long as an emphasis on traditional security perspectives dominates the resolution of armed conflicts these networks will continue to struggle to directly influence the meaningful inclusion of women in peace and transition processes.

The following are a few models of women's mediation networks:

- Standby Team of Senior Mediation Advisers in the Mediation Support Unit within the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs;
- Nordic Women Mediators;
- Mediterranean Women Mediators Network;
- FemWise-Africa;
- Commonwealth Women's Network;
- Grassroots women's mediation initiatives.

In March 2019, EPLO, in partnership with the EEAS and European Commission, convened a Civil Society Dialogue Network Policy Meeting to 'gather analysis and recommendations on how to strengthen EU mediation by working more effectively with women mediators. It brought together 15 women mediators involved in different forms of mediation, from grassroots to Track 1/1.5 processes, civil society experts and EU officials.'⁸⁰

2.2.2. Gender provisions in peace agreements

Peace and transition processes present unique opportunities for reforms that transform institutions, structures, and relationships in societies affected by armed conflict or crisis. The inclusion of gender provisions in peace agreements and newly established constitutions is critical to the emergence of equitable and more inclusive societies in the post-conflict phase. Furthermore, 'agreements signed by women show a significantly higher number of peace agreement provisions aimed at political reform,

⁷⁸ Dayal, A., 'Connecting Informal and Formal Peace Talks: From Movements To Mediators', *Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security* (2018), available at: <http://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Connecting-Informal-and-Formal-Peace-Talks.pdf>

⁷⁹ The Institute for Inclusive Security, 'Recommendations for Elevating the Role of Women in Mediation', available at: http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/NGO/pp_womeninmediationrecommendations_iis_2011.pdf

⁸⁰ Civil Society Dialogue Network Policy Meeting Summary Report, 'EU Support to Women Mediators: Moving beyond Stereotypes', (2019).

and higher implementation rates for provisions.⁸¹ Women are acutely aware of issues beyond military action, including health restrictions, economic and legal barriers, and gender and political biases. Yet, only 3 out of 11 or 27 % of peace agreements signed in 2017 contained gender-sensitive provisions.⁸²

Reconciliation and transitional justice in light of widespread violence, government oppression, and human rights violations can pose one of the most difficult aspects to address during peace processes. While the state has a responsibility to protect civilians and prevent violence from being committed against them, it might not have the capacity or political will to do so. The establishment of robust legal frameworks that criminalize violence against women and children coupled with the appropriate training of investigators, police, medical professionals, and community health workers are critical to transition from an environment of impunity to one of protection and accountability.

Local NGOs such as Masimanyane Women's Rights International (South Africa), Coalition on Violence Against Women (Kenya), Project Alert (Nigeria), Women's Collective Association for Local Development (El Salvador), Civil Association to Protect (Guatemala), Women's Rights Centre (Honduras), Sneha (India) all focus on protecting women's rights by advocating for protective policies and implementing programs to curb violence against women and girls in fragile and conflict-affected environments.

2.2.3. Strategies for strengthening women's meaningful participation

Individuals and organizations committed to strengthening peace and transition processes through the advancement of women's meaningful participation in both informal and formal mechanisms can leverage four key strategies:

- Build coalitions based on normative and strategic arguments.
- Establish a credible and inclusive selection process.
- Create the conditions to amplify women's voices.
- Keep power politics-and the public-in mind.

Women peacebuilders have long argued that the following points are essential to an enabling environment that strengthens women's meaningful participation across the peacemaking and peacebuilding landscape:

- Safe and affordable modes of transportation to and from meetings;
- Flexible meeting schedule;
- Childcare facilities;
- Support from families, employers and communities.

Even if all of the above points are addressed women peacebuilders may still be excluded from informal backroom negotiations where peace agreement provisions might be discussed and agreed upon. It is critical women are aware of the power dynamics at play in order to devise innovative strategies to overcome them. On a very basic and practice level, women from across the political landscape are reinforcing each other's perspectives in front of their male counterparts. This positive communication loop emphasizes a sense of solidarity among women and amplifies their voices at the same time.

⁸¹ Krause, J., Krause, W. and Branfors, P., 'Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace', *Journal of International Interactions*, (2018), available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386>

⁸² UN Security Council, 'Report of the Secretary-General on women peace and security', (2018), para. 42, available at: <https://undocs.org/en/S/2018/900>; UN Security Council, 'Resolution 1325', (2000), available at: [https://undocs.org/S/RES/1325\(2000\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/1325(2000)),

2.3. Factors that enhance and constrain women's meaningful participation across the peacemaking landscape

Over the long term, the underlying power dynamics that reinforce unjust structures, that subjugate women, and nurture cultures of violence must be dislodged in order for the emergence of more equitable, inclusive, and peaceful societies.⁸³ The World Economic Forum argues that by reducing the gender gap between men and women in the realms of education, health, economics, politics, and survival, society will more likely prosper.⁸⁴ The larger the gap, among all previously mentioned spheres, the more likelihood that inequalities will remain embedded in society.

The Women, Business and the Law report compiled by the World Bank, reveals how gender inequalities are reinforced through legal frameworks and identifies obstacles to women's economic participation. Severe restrictions on decision making and freedom of movement are cited as barriers to expanding participation of women in society. Civil registration and vital statistics systems such as the issuing of identity cards, by governments, facilitates women's access to the legal apparatus and to exercising their rights. However, due to cultural biases and discrimination, the men in the family often acquire identity cards ahead of female family members. Without an identity card, women are unable to access medical care and the banking system, attend school, work in the formal labour market, own property and land, and vote in elections.⁸⁵

Enhancing women's livelihoods security is paramount to increasing the inclusion of women across the conflict prevention and peacebuilding landscape.⁸⁶ Participation in the labour market is an important avenue in which women gain financial independence, contribute to inclusive economic growth, and enhance gender equality. As entrepreneurs, women provide new goods and services to their communities. Women-owned businesses generate vital employment opportunities and broaden supply chain networks. And as investors, they inject essential financing necessary for start-ups and established enterprises. Furthermore, inclusive private sector development complements revenue generation and growth, while maintaining stability in society. Effective gender equality legislation is critical for aspiring entrepreneurs, business owners, investors, and employees to fully participate in the economy. Women require legal standing to formalize an enterprise, open up a bank account, apply for finance and insurance, and purchase and own goods and capital. The registration of major events, such as births, marriage, divorce, and death ensure that women have entitlement and access to their rightful assets.

Women's participation in national, regional, and international decision-making structures for preventing and resolving conflict remains considerably low. The cultivation of a participatory environment, one which facilitates active engagement of all members of society, including women, youth, children, elderly, and disabled strengthens ownership and accountability of the political process.

As of June 2018, global proportion of parliamentary seats occupied by women stood at 23.8 %. Conflict-affected countries represented lower figures than that of the global proportion of women in elected

⁸³ Knowledge Is Power (KIP) was a two-year U.S. government-funded multidisciplinary project aimed at supporting the production and dissemination of information related to gender and sexuality in Lebanon, available at: <http://thekippproject.info>; Arab Foundation for Freedoms and Equality, accessed at <http://afemena.org>

⁸⁴ World Economic Forum, 'The Global Gender Gap Report', (2017) available at: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2017.pdf on 19 March 2019; World Economic Forum, 'Global Gender Gap Index', (2016) available at: http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/rankings/#_blank

⁸⁵ The World Bank, 'Women, Business and the Law', (2019), available at: <http://wbl.worldbank.org>; Zamzama, 'Afghan women Denied Identity Cards', *Institute for War and Peace Reporting*, updated on 27 March 2017, available at: <https://iwpr.net/global-voices/afghan-women-denied-identity-cards>

⁸⁶ There is a growing body of academic research on the peace-private sector nexus. UN, Global Compact, Principles for Responsible Management Education, Working Group on Business for Peace, available at: <http://unprmeb4p.org>, accessed on 23 March 2019.

office at around 16 %. In conflict-affected countries with legislative quotas, women occupied 19.8 % of parliament seats compared with 12.1 % in countries without quotas.⁸⁷

Participatory governance structures that reflect citizens' needs regardless of their socioeconomic background or political affiliation will potentially disrupt elite capture. Elections as part of a broader peace process can connect women's voices from grassroots organizations, including women who are working on the ground with policy makers and vice versa. Elections can be sensitive markers in the peace process, as they often determine which political parties will participate in formal negotiations. Elections can also trigger violence and bolster authoritarian tendencies and trends. Women should be encouraged to run for elected office and serve in decision-making positions. However, participation in a government whose officials previously or continue to exercise repressive campaigns might not be an option for some women especially those that participated in protest movements, served in prison, or joined militias. It is also important to recognize that oftentimes, women who engage in the political space receive a higher amount of gender-based threats and attacks than their male counterparts discouraging some women from participating in politics all together.

A major challenge for implementing the WPS agenda is the lack of consistency. Nations that call for meaningful participation of women in decision-making roles and tacitly support conflict prevention and gender mainstreaming in their internal and external actions should find it difficult to reconcile their participation in military interventions and the export of armaments to dictatorships, reactionary, and brutal regimes, like the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, more than 1 trillion USD was designated to war and defence-related expenditures in 2015. A small percentage of that amount could have significantly reduced global hunger and poverty, as well as provided access to healthcare and education to children and youth all around the world, laying the groundwork for sustainable peace to emerge. This is a failure to recognize the gendered impact of dysfunctional weapons proliferation that magnifies inequality in armed societies experiencing violence, repression, state and elite capture, and possible economic stagnation.

⁸⁷ Inter-Parliamentary Union, 'Women in National Parliaments Situation', (2018) updated on 1 June 2018, available at: <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/world010618.htm> on 02 April 2019. The percentage in conflict and post-conflict countries was calculated by UN Women using data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

3. LESSONS LEARNED

3.1. Case study: Rwanda

Belgian colonial rule coupled with the powerful influence of the Catholic Church significantly restricted prospects for democratic institutions to emerge in Rwanda—even after the country gained independence in 1962. Successive repressive regimes, military coups, the materialization of a number of armed groups, and an all out civil war between 1990 and 1994 further ingrained inequalities and magnified deep-rooted grievances. Following the signing of the Arusha Accords, in 1992, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), was established by UNSCR 872 to assist in the implementation of the peace agreement in 1993. Despite attempts to end the war through negotiations, distrust was so entrenched that hardliners derailed the Arusha process.

The culture of violence that compounded over decades of armed conflict eventually exploded when ethnic Hutus massacred members of the Tutsi community in 1994. Within a period of 100 days, between 800,000 and 1 million people, more than 10 % of Rwanda's population were killed resulting in a genocide. The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), an armed opposition group which had fought the previous Rwandan government and had participated in the Arusha process, called on its members to intervene to stop the massacres of Tutsis. The inability of the peacekeeping troops serving under UNAMIR to prevent the genocide was an enormous failure on behalf of the international peace and security community.

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was established by the UN by Resolution 955 on November 8, 1994 in accordance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter.⁸⁸ As an international court of law, the ICTR had a mandate to collect evidence, as well as locate, apprehend, and prosecute those responsible for the genocide and other mass atrocities that occurred in the country from January 1, 1994 to December 31, 1994.⁸⁹ It was the first time since the Nuremberg and Tokyo Tribunals that an international court convicted a former head of government, convicting him for rape as a tool of genocide and a crime against humanity, and the first time to convict members of the media for inciting genocide. The ICTR found that a deliberate strategy of sexual violence of Tutsi women by the Hutu leadership was exercised. An estimated 250,000 to 500,000 rapes occurred, including the wilful infection of the HIV/AIDS virus with the intent to eliminate the Tutsi population.⁹⁰

Despite the landmark rulings on GBV and the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war, the ICTR's ability to prosecute a large number of perpetrators was limited. Female witnesses were afraid of the social stigma associated with rape, of having their identities uncovered, and some reported of being harassed and threatened. The ICTR was officially closed on 31 December 2015. Alongside the ICTR and the formal domestic justice system, Rwandan women instituted their own community-based justice system known as the Gacaca courts. Drawing on a tradition for mediating disputes, the Gacaca courts proved a promising mechanism to not only deliver justice, but reconciliation and grassroots empowerment.⁹¹

The genocide in Rwanda drastically impacted gender roles. A significant number of male Tutsis were massacred, and many of the perpetrators, both men and women, either fled the country or were arrested. The alteration of the demographic landscape was significant with the population tilting to more than 70 % women. An estimated 2.5 million Rwandans or less than half of the population were

⁸⁸ Charter of the United Nations, 'Chapter VII: Action With Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression, available at: <https://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-vii/>

⁸⁹ International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, available at: <http://unictr.irmct.org>

⁹⁰ Women's International League of Peace and Freedom, 'International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda', available at: <https://www.peacewomen.org/content/ictr-international-criminal-tribunal-rwanda>; International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, 'The Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu', ICTR-96-4-T, Trial Chamber 1 (1998) available at: <http://unictr.irmct.org/en/cases/ictr-96-4>

⁹¹ Zhang, Y., 'Post-Genocide Justice: The Gacaca Courts', *Development Policy Review* 36/5 (2017).

displaced.⁹² It was apparent that swift measures were necessary for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Rwanda. The transitional government prioritized education for girls and the inclusion of women in the professional space, including the security services.

It was within the context of the genocide that the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion, in collaboration with a variety of stakeholders from the public, private, civil society and UN Agencies, developed a NAP for the period 2009-2012. The NAP is strategically linked to existing efforts to mainstream gender policies and promote women's role in political and security decision-making arenas. The NAP identifies a specific timeline for implementation and includes detailed budget requirements for the implementation of the WPS agenda. While Rwanda's NAP references UNSCR 1325 and calls on states to control the flow of weapons and support disarmament, displacement, reconstruction, and reintegration efforts, the Rwandan NAP does not specifically refer to disarmament in any of its activities.⁹³

The advancement of women's political inclusion has materialized as Rwanda's most notable achievement with regards to gender equality. The Rwandan Constitution of 2003 emphasized national unity and introduced a mandatory women's quota of 30 % in all decision-making organs.⁹⁴ Although the directive for women's gender equality came from the top of the political structure, women lobbied the government through female-only village councils and as representatives on the commission to draft the new constitution. In the 2003 election, 48 % of parliamentary seats were won by women, and in the next election, held in 2014, that number rose to 64 %.⁹⁵ Almost half of judges and presidential cabinet members in Rwanda are female. The inclusion of women in the professional space has not only translated into more women in elected office, but in wider participation in civil society, the private sector, and the public sector. Legislation is now in place to enable women to own and inherit property, as well as to pass citizenship on to their children. Government initiatives foster the participation of female entrepreneurs and businesswomen in the private sector through tailored funding mechanisms and training programs in capacity building. Rwanda has adopted progressive health, education, and environmental policies which have facilitated an increase in literacy, advances in combatting communicable diseases, and protection of vast swaths of forest. Rwanda scores as one of the first among forty-eight African countries in making progress toward achieving the UN's Sustainable Development Goals.

According to the Global Gender Gap Report, conducted by the World Economic Forum, Rwanda scores in the top five countries with the smallest gap between men and women. Despite the great achievements in the political participation of women and the narrowing of the gender equality gap, critics argue there is little room for dissent and express concern over encroaching authoritarianism by the state.⁹⁶ Political parties have either been dismantled or are forced to accept the policies imposed by the RPF, press freedom is virtually non-existent and civil society is closely monitored by the government. The absence of an organic women's movement that transformed society over a longer time period may have had grave consequences on power dynamics between men and women. In her doctoral thesis entitled, 'Hidden Inequalities: Rwandan Female Politicians' Experiences of Balancing Family and Political Responsibilities,' Justine Uvuza sheds light on entrenched traditional systems which can still be found across the country. Uvuza pointed out that many female politicians found

⁹² Connor, P. and Krogstad, J. M., 'About six-in-ten Syrians are now displaced from their homes', *Pew Research Center* (2016), available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/06/13/about-six-in-ten-syrians-are-now-displaced-from-their-homes/> on 24 March 2019.

⁹³ Women's International League of Peace and Freedom, 'National Action Plan: Rwanda', available at: <http://peacewomen.org/nap-rwanda>

⁹⁴ 'Rwanda's Constitution of 2003 with Amendments through 2010', available at: https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Rwanda_2010.pdf

⁹⁵ Inter-Parliamentary Union, 'Women in National Parliaments', Data as of June 1, 2016, available at: <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

⁹⁶ International Crisis Group, 'End of Transition in Rwanda: A Necessary Political Liberalisation', Report No. 53 (2002), available at: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/rwanda/end-transition-rwanda-necessary-political-liberalisation>

themselves acquiescing to their partners' demands in fear of abuse.⁹⁷ It would be remiss to assume that the advancement of women in the political space automatically translates into a more liberal democratic story in post-conflict Rwanda. There is still much work to be done to ensure women are able to actively participate across the socioeconomic and political spheres and are awarded necessary legal protections.

⁹⁷ Uvuza, J., 'Hidden Inequalities: Rwandan Female Politicians' Experiences of Balancing Family and Political Responsibilities', Newcastle University, (2014) available at <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.635012>

3.2. Case study: Syria

The Bashar al-Assad regime brutally cracked down on the 2011 anti-government protest movement and employed heinous tactics to stay in power, such as the indiscriminate targeting of civilians, forced disappearances, and widespread use of torture. The UN and the EU urged the Assad regime to respect and listen to the demands of the Syrian people. In particular, the EU issued several statements condemning the brutal government crackdown on the public protests, 'urging the authorities to exercise the utmost restraint across the country and to meet the legitimate demands and aspirations of the people with dialogue and urgent political and socio-economic reforms.'⁹⁸ As the severity of the government repression of civilians intensified, many assumed the Syrian regime would collapse in light of a united opposition. The United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 2254 and the subsequent Geneva Communique, advocating for a political solution to the war based on a de-escalation of violence, unimpeded humanitarian access, formulation of a new constitution, and free and fair elections.⁹⁹

Although civil society was initially known to have been informed that they would be allocated seats within the working groups attached to the negotiations, they were never awarded decision-making authority. The meaningful inclusion of women in decision-making roles within the UN-led Geneva process has never fully materialized into something substantial. Instead, an advisory board of twelve women serves as a third-party observer of the peace process. The leaders of the consultative committee have effectively engaged across political lines to find consensus on a range of controversial issues. They have negotiated the safe passage of aid delivery, release of detainees and have advocated for balanced reconstruction efforts in light of the Syrian government's restrictive policies on former opposition held territories.

Women are also highly engaged in civil society both inside Syria and neighbouring frontline states namely Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. Despite the possibility of being arrested by the regime or kidnapped by one of the armed opposition groups for ransom, women have led efforts to negotiate local ceasefires, patrolled their neighbourhoods, distributed essential food and medicine, documented human rights violations by all warring parties and have participated in nonviolent protests. Women involved in these activities have been targeted and killed both inside Syria and in neighbouring frontline countries. Orouba Barakat, a Syrian activist, and her daughter, Halla, a journalist, were found murdered in their apartment in Istanbul in 2017.¹⁰⁰

Competing gender narratives among armed groups including the Syrian military have emerged at varying points in the conflict. Women have served as soldiers in the Kurdish-led military groups, the SDF and the PYD, as informants and gatekeepers of ISIS's morality police and the Syrian regime itself has even had an all-female unit.¹⁰¹ The planning and implementation of any disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) strategy will require all stakeholders involved in the process to adopt a gender-sensitive lens to fully understand women's role in combat.

Civilians have overwhelmingly faced the brunt of the war and humanitarian crisis. Ongoing sieges, starvation tactics, forced disappearances, conscription, torture, and exploitation forced more than 6.6

⁹⁸ European Union, 'Statement by High Representative Catherine Ashton on the situation in Syria', Brussels, 26 March 2011, A 126/11 available at: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/120326.pdf

⁹⁹ UN Security Council, 'Resolution 2254', (2015), available at: <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/2254> on 18 March 2019; UN 'Action Group for Syria: Final Communique' 30 June 2012, a, M., 'As Arab States Normalize With Syria, Will This Push Them to Finance its Reconstruction?', *Carnegie Middle East Center* (2019), accessed at <https://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/78190> on 23 March 2019; Ukman J. and Sly, L., 'Obama: Syrian President Assad must step down', *The Washington Post*, updated on 18 August 2011, accessed at <http://wapo.st/1IXszal> on 22 March 2019.

¹⁰⁰ *The Guardian*, 'Syrian Opposition Activist and her journalist daughter murdered in Turkey', updated 22 September 2017, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/22/syrian-opposition-activist-and-her-journalist-daughter-murdered-in-turkey>

¹⁰¹ Bryson, R., 'Female Fighters Show ISIS's Changing Nature', *Tony Blair Institute for Global Change* (2018), available at: <https://institute.global/insight/co-existence/female-fighters-show-isis-changing-nature>

million Syrians to flee to other areas in the country and another 5.6 million to neighbouring frontline states.¹⁰² Since the beginning of the uprisings, more than half a million people have been killed or are known to have gone missing.¹⁰³ The war has fuelled food insecurity, disrupted education facilities and healthcare services, devastated electrical grid systems and vital waste and water management systems.

The effects of the war have had particularly detrimental consequences for women and children. Many women have become the head of the household virtually overnight because their male partners were either killed, forcibly disappeared, or took up arms in the war. Low levels of education, the destruction of social networks, and the effects of forced displacement have amplified their vulnerability to exploitation, including sexual and GBV.¹⁰⁴ Many families have had to adopt negative coping mechanisms by sending their school age children to work, agree to early age marriage, and survival sex. The deep-rooted trauma that many IDPs and refugees face from experiencing the war should not go overlooked. Tailored interventions that provide mental health and psycho-social support for women and children is critical to mend the social fabric that has been destroyed by the conflict.¹⁰⁵

The prospect for a nation-wide cessation of fighting and a negotiated political settlement have continued to be undermined by a myriad of diverging interests and actions by the regime, local opposition groups, regional, and global actors all vying for power and influence in Syria.¹⁰⁶ Now, after eight years of fighting, the government of Bashar al-Assad has almost completely won the war against the armed opposition. Russia and Iran are well positioned to remain engaged in Syria especially as the U.S. moves forward with its withdrawal of ground forces from north-eastern Syria. Although a number of Syrians have started to return home as pockets of stability emerge, for the time being, a large scale safe and voluntary return of IDPs and refugees is not viable.¹⁰⁷ The Syrian government is in no hurry to accept the millions of Syrians who were forced to flee the fighting during the civil war, or to consider the departure of President Bashar al-Assad or any political concessions desired by Syrians, the EU, or the international community.¹⁰⁸ A broader peace process which reflects the meaningful inclusion of women across the peacemaking landscape and that incorporates voices from civil society and grassroots organizations is paramount to the future stability, prosperity and peace of the country.

¹⁰² Connor, P. and Krogstad, J. M., 'About six-in-ten Syrians are now displaced from their homes', *Pew Research Center* (2016), available at: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/06/13/about-six-in-ten-syrians-are-now-displaced-from-their-homes/> on International Displacement Monitoring Centre, 'Syria: Country Information', available at: <http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/syria> on 25 March 2019; Connor, P., 'Most displaced Syrians are in the Middle East, and about a million are in Europe', *Pew Research Center* (2018), available at: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/01/29/where-displaced-syrians-have-resettled/>

¹⁰³ McDowall, A., 'Syrian Observatory Says War Has Killed More Than Half a Million', *Reuters*, updated 15 March 2018, available: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-war-factbox/factbox-more-than-half-a-million-dead-as-syrias-war-enters-eighth-year-idUSKCN1GR2VT>

¹⁰⁴ UN Development Programme, Human Development Reports, 'Gender Inequality Index', available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/GII> on 22 March 2019. Syria ranked 136 on the Human Development Index in 2017.

¹⁰⁵ The World Bank, 'The Toll of War: The Economic and Social Consequences of the Conflict in Syria', (2017), available at: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/syria/publication/the-toll-of-war-the-economic-and-social-consequences-of-the-conflict-in-syria> on 24 March 2019; Asghar, Z., Bode, K., and Alfred, C., '9 Experts to Watch on Mental Health and Refugees', *Refugees Deeply*, updated on 20 December 2017, available at: <https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/articles/2017/12/20/9-experts-to-watch-on-mental-health-and-refugees> on 23 March 2019.

¹⁰⁶ Hubbard, B. and Patel, J. K., 'Why Is the Syrian Civil War Still Raging?', *The New York Times*, updated on 8 February 2018, available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/02/08/world/middleeast/war-in-syria-maps.html> World Vision, 'Syrian refugee crisis: Facts, FAQs, and how to help', available at: <https://www.worldvision.org/refugees-news-stories/syrian-refugee-crisis-facts>

¹⁰⁷ International Crisis Group, 'Lessons from the Syrian State's Return to the South', Report No. 196 (2019), p. 4, available at: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/196-lessons-syrian-states-return-south>

¹⁰⁸ Said, S. and Yazigi, J., 'The Reconstruction of Syria: Socially Just Re-integration and Peace Building or Regime Re-consolidation?', (2018), available at: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/14939.pdf>

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations offer concrete suggestions to decision makers, EU Institutions and EU Member States. The hope is the above parties will make changes that enhance sustainable peace efforts including women's meaningful participation in peace and transition processes.

Arms sales and human rights

- Require all EU Member States including allies such as the United States of America to cease arms sales to countries that violate human rights.
- Appeal to all EU Member States, including allies such as the United States to uphold and respect international arms-control agreements.
- Conduct an assessment of EU Member State's defence spending with conflict prevention and peacebuilding expenditures to better understand whether non-violent actions are prioritized.

Civil society

- Strengthen mechanisms to regularly consult with local civil society organizations that focus on issues related to the rights of women and children.
- Ensure civil society is not securitized while addressing legitimate security issues in fragile and conflict-affected environments. This relates to development assistance which is awarded to organizations that incorporate CVE and PVE elements in their programming.
- Require all external action partners to adopt conflict sensitive principles in the planning, implementation and monitoring and evaluation of activities.

Participation of women in peace and transition processes

- Encourage multi-lateral institutions and other states that are engaged in peace and transition processes to adopt gender sensitive lens and design quota systems that reflect the socioeconomic and political diversity of women.
- Build effective channels of communication with existing networks of female mediators, negotiators and civil society leaders engaged in peace and transition processes.
- Establish an EU-led training program for female elected officials, civil society leaders and human rights defenders that reinforces the value of inclusive peace processes. The program should be held for a minimum of two weeks in one of the EU Member States.
- Increase financial assistance to organizations that provide training in capacity development of women peacebuilders. Implementing partners should incorporate conflict-sensitive principles in all stages of the project cycle.
- Provide financial and technical support to organizations in the collection of data on the role of women in peace and transition processes.

ANNEX: NATIONAL ACTION PLANS IN THE EU*

| EU MEMBER COUNTRY | NAP IMPLEMENTATION CYCLE | START OF THE LATEST NAP | END OF THE LAEST NAP |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Austria | 2 | 2012 | 2015 |
| Belgium | 3 | 2017 | 2021 |
| Croatia | 1 | 2011 | 2015 |
| Czech Republic | 1 | 2017 | 2020 |
| Denmark | 3 | 2014 | 2019 |
| Estonia | 2 | 2015 | 2019 |
| Finland | 3 | 2018 | 2019 |
| France | 3 | 2015 | 2018 |
| Germany | 2 | 2017 | 2020 |
| Ireland | 2 | 2015 | 2018 |
| Italy | 3 | 2016 | 2019 |
| Lithuania | 1 | 2011 | - |
| The Netherlands | 3 | 2016 | 2019 |
| Portugal | 1 | 2014 | 2018 |
| Slovenia | 1 | 2010 | 2015 |
| Spain | 3 | 2017 | 2023 |
| Sweden | 3 | 2016 | 2020 |
| United Kingdom | 4 | 2018 | 2022 |

Source: European Peacebuilding Liaison Office¹⁰⁹

*Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Romania and Slovakia do not have a National Action Plan.

¹⁰⁹ European Peacebuilding Liaison Office, 'UNSCR 1325 in the EU Member States', accessed at <http://eplo.org/activities/policy-work/gender-peace-security-2/implementation-of-unscr-1325-in-europe/>

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This study, commissioned by the European Parliament's Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs at the request of the FEMM Committee, aims to provide insight on the meaningful inclusion of women - where women have decision-making authority - in peace and transition processes. Inclusive peace frameworks not only better reflect the diversity of society, they increase the durability and the quality of peace. Yet, awarding decision-making authority to those waging the war and not to those waging the peace remains a reoccurring theme in most armed conflict situations.

The study presents available data on fragility and armed conflict and takes stock of the global arms trade. It examines progress on the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and subsequent resolutions. It assesses global commitments, European Union application of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, National Action Plans and global peace and security indicators. The study explores women's participation across the peacemaking landscape, including peace and transition processes. Moreover, an evaluation of the factors that enhance and constrain women's meaningful participation in peacemaking is put forward. The study highlights the impact of war on women and children and draws attention to the engagement of women across the peacemaking landscape in two case studies, Rwanda and Syria. Lastly, the study provides recommendations to achieve sustainable peace and transform global power dynamics that currently favour traditional security perspectives.

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