

Turning Promises into Progress:

Gender equality and rights for women and girls - lessons learnt and actions needed

This is an extract from the report *Turning Promises into Progress*. To access the full report please visit www.gadnetwork.org or www.gaps-uk.org

Introduction

2015 represents an important moment for gender equality and women's and girls' rights. It is twenty years since the landmark Beijing Conference on Women and fifteen years since the ground-breaking United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security was adopted. In light of these key milestones and as the post-2015 development framework is agreed and implemented, three UK Networks – the Gender and Development Network (GADN), Gender Action for Peace and Security (GAPS), and the Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights Network UK - have come together to assess progress and make recommendations for turning the promises made into progress.

Over the last two decades there have been many new commitments and increasing political rhetoric on gender equality and the realisation of rights for women and girls, but limited real progress in achieving either. In our report, [*Turning Promises into Progress*](#), we conclude that this is, in part, because the underlying causes of gender equality have not been addressed and there was insufficient political will to make the changes needed on the ground.

Every woman and girl experiences discrimination differently, and resources should be particularly focused on those facing multiple discriminations such as on the basis of their income, sexuality, ethnic group or disability. But there are also shared realities, universal themes and common lessons. Most striking is the need to tackling the underlying barriers that perpetuate gender equality and prevent transformative change. Unequal power relations between genders are a fundamental way in which societies are organised; yet failure to recognise these social relationships has led women and girls to be labelled as a 'vulnerable group' to be protected. In this way, the status quo remains unchanged and discriminatory social norms and unjust social and economic structures continue to hinder progress.

Part two of the report looks at progress and challenges across eight areas relevant to gender equality: women, peace and security; violence against women and girls; sexual and reproductive health and rights; political participation and influence; education; women's economic equality; unpaid care and social norms. While spotlighting specific issues, it is also important to underline the interconnectedness of gender inequality and recognise the underlying causes that impact across issue areas and span political, social, economic, cultural and environmental spheres. The recommendations

throughout the report are therefore inter-linked and mutually reinforcing. While the actions are intended to be relevant for all women and girls, specific attention must be given those who are the most marginalised, and who face multiple discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, sexuality, age, disability and marital status. Recommendations made are aimed at the broader international community with relevance primarily to official international institutions and governments but also to civil society organisations (CSOs) and the private sector. This document is an extract from the report – the issue section on ‘Women, Peace and Security’. For the full report please visit www.gadnetwork.org/turning-promises-into-progress or www.gaps-uk.org.uk.

Part two: Section 1

1. Women, Peace and Security (WPS)

“Peace starts from the closest place to us - our home, then it takes us further - to our community, then our society, country and world. Men are included in peacebuilding at all of these levels, women are not. Peace, conflict and violence has an impact on us all - women and men - but only men are recognised and included. Only men are asked how conflict affects them and how peace can be built. But we women have the experience and education to tell the world that too. It is our right to be included in peacebuilding so that our homes, communities, societies and countries are free from violence.”

Hasina Safi, Director, Afghan Women’s Network¹

1.1 The Issues

Historically, conflict and peace have been seen as a male-dominated arena with men fighting the battles as well as negotiating and signing the peace deals. Women have typically been viewed as victims in conflict or as having a role to ‘serve’ combatants, such as the estimated 200,000 ‘comfort women’ who were forced into sexual slavery for Japanese soldiers during World War II.² The voices and experiences of women and girls in conflict, peace and security have largely been silenced in both historical records and political discourse. Yet women and girls experience conflict, post-conflict contexts and peacebuilding in ways unique to their gender. Women play varied roles including as combatants, survivors, witnesses, peacekeepers, service providers and change makers. The inclusion of women and girls, and recognition of their experiences, is essential to sustainable peace and ending the cycle of violence.

The policy framework on **Women, Peace and Security** extends from the international to the local level, from intergovernmental bodies such as the United Nations to local women’s movements. In response to persistent advocacy from civil society the UN Security Council has so far, adopted seven resolutions on WPS. The seven resolutions should be taken together under a single umbrella, as they comprise the WPS international policy framework. They guide work to

promote and protect the rights of women in conflict and post-conflict situations. As binding Security Council resolutions, they should be implemented by all member states and relevant actors, including UN system entities and parties to conflict.³

Women and girls face a range of experiences in conflict-affected contexts, from political marginalisation to economic hardships, and security issues such as human rights abuses and violence. Women also make up the majority of adult displaced populations. For example, one in four households of Syrian refugee families in Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq and Jordan are headed by women⁴ and, in Mali, more than 50 percent of displaced families are headed by women.⁵ The destruction of support services and infrastructure during conflict has a significant impact on women, particularly displaced women, intensifying the burden of caring responsibilities, limiting freedom of movement and increasing insecurity and the risk of Violence against Women and Girls (VAWG).

VAWG, including rape, forced impregnation, forced abortion, sexual trafficking, the spread of sexually transmitted infections such as HIV and AIDS, and an increase in Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), is one of the defining characteristics of modern warfare. Conservative estimates suggest that 20,000 to 50,000 women were raped during the 1992–1995 war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and approximately 250,000 to 500,000 women and girls were raped in the 1994 Rwandan genocide.⁶ International peace operations have also been shown, at times, to contribute to local women's insecurity, with increases in sexual violence and exploitation, as well as their security.⁷ Unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted infections, stigmatisation and physical and mental trauma ensure that the consequences of sexual violence continue long after conflict.

Despite the specific impact of conflict on women and international commitments in this area, peace negotiations largely remain the domain of men, and peace agreements repeatedly fail to reflect the priorities of women and girls.⁸ Women continue to be under-represented in post-conflict decision making, governance and security and justice mechanisms, and post-conflict recovery processes often fail to take into account the different needs of women, girls, men and boys.⁹ Local and international efforts to reform the security sector including the police, judiciary and military, frequently do not consult with women and girls or respond to their needs. Female combatants and women and girls who live in communities combatants return to after conflict, are also largely forgotten within disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) processes and in the design, implementation and monitoring of humanitarian response and recovery programmes.

What does the BPfA Say?

- Increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision making levels and protect women living in situations of armed and other conflict or under foreign occupation.

- Reduce excessive military expenditures and control the availability of armaments.
- Promote non-violent forms of conflict resolution and reduce the incidence of human rights abuse in conflict situations.
- Promote women’s contribution to fostering a culture of peace.
- Provide protection, assistance and training to refugee women, other displaced women in need of international protection and internally displaced women.¹⁰

1.2 What’s happened in the last 20 years?

Increasing international and national commitments

Issues relating to WPS have received greater attention since the BPfA and have been pushed continuously by women and civil society. Women in conflict-affected countries were instrumental in the adoption of UN Security Council resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on WPS and have mobilised on a global scale to demand inclusion in peace and security-related decision making, often in the face of profound threats to their safety.¹¹

This continued activism and subsequent increased global attention have resulted in seven Security Council Resolutions (see box below) as well as an increase in the number of countries which have developed National Action Plans (NAPs) on WPS. The UK has now published its third NAP (2014 – 2017) and globally, as of November 2014, there are 46 NAPs.¹² Furthermore, all Security Council resolutions should now include details on WPS and the Secretary General makes annual WPS reports to the Security Council. The commitments for states and multilateral institutions outlined in these resolutions and NAPs have been useful, and evidence a growing consensus on WPS and its importance. For example, the last two Security Council resolutions, 2106 and 2122 (2013), were adopted unanimously by an otherwise divided Security Council. UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) General Recommendation no. 30 adopted in 2013 includes many elements of the WPS resolutions which states must commit to and report against under CEDAW.¹³ Some pillars of WPS, particularly in relation to the prevention of, and protection from VAWG have received widespread international attention in recent years such as the Call to Action on Protection from Gender-based Violence (GBV) in Emergencies and the Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict which was hosted by the then UK Foreign Secretary in 2014 in London.

The pillars of Security Council Resolution 1325 on WPS¹⁴

- **Prevention:** Prevention of conflict and all forms of violence against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations

- **Participation:** Women participate equally with men and gender equality is promoted in peace and security decision making processes at local, national, regional and international levels
- **Protection:** Women's and girls' rights are protected and promoted in conflict-affected situations
- **Relief and Recovery:** Women's and girls' specific relief needs are met and women's capacities to act as agents in relief and recovery are reinforced in conflict and post-conflict situations

Growing evidence base

More research and evidence is being generated, including for DFID's new 'What Works' for VAWG programming.¹⁵ UNHCR and donors' increased focus on prevention and protection, particularly at Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) facilities, has seen the development of tools and best practice in this area. In recent years, there has also been more discussion of the importance of WPS in terms of national security,¹⁶ which, despite its limitations (see *challenges and ways forward* below) has been a useful tool to establish that women's rights must be integrated into work on peace and stability, including defence policies.

International Frameworks on WPS

There have been seven UN Security Council resolutions relating to WPS, starting with UNSCR 1325 in 2000 which framed women's rights in conflict as a security issue. A number of additional resolutions have been adopted: 1820 (2008), and 1888 (2009) and 1960 (2010) focus on preventing and responding to sexual violence as a tactic of war, while 1889 (2009) calls for global indicators to monitor implementation of UNSCR 1325 and for greater attention to the gender dimensions of post-conflict planning and financing. The most recent Security Council resolutions, 2106 and 2122, focussing on sexual violence and participation respectively, were adopted in 2013. In 2013, the CEDAW Committee also issued General Recommendation no. 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations. In 2013, the G8 made a Declaration on Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict and the Declaration of Commitment to End Sexual Violence in Conflict was launched during the 68th session of the UN General Assembly in 2013 and endorsed by 155 countries.

In addition, there has been a range of regional developments, such as the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa and an increase in NAPs on WPS. The Secretary General's Seven Point Plan (2010) on women's participation in peacebuilding provides practical steps for the implementation of the UNSCRs.¹⁷

Slow and uneven implementation of commitments into action

Whilst progress has been made, particularly in international policy, there has been limited implementation of commitments. This includes a lack of action to address the root causes of gender inequality and limited progress on women and, where appropriate, girls' participation, including within peace and security institutions and negotiations in the UK, EU and NATO. Implementation has been slow and uneven, particularly in relation to women's participation in preventing, resolving and recovering from conflict. A review of 33 peace negotiations found that only four percent of participants - 11 out of 280 - were women.¹⁸ Of nine peace agreements in 2011, only those in Somalia and Yemen included particular provisions for women.¹⁹ In conflict-affected countries, women's share of seats in parliament is four points below the global average of 22 percent and women occupy only 13 percent of ministerial positions.²⁰ 97 percent of military peacekeepers and 90 percent of police personnel are men.²¹ Female voters are four times as likely as men to be targeted for intimidation in elections in fragile and transitional states.²² Out of approximately 300 peace agreements between 1989 and 2008, only 18 made mention of sexual gender-based violence (GBV), and even fewer set out concrete steps to ensure that perpetrators are held accountable, or offered redress to the survivors.²³ In programming, the response often does not match the reality for women and girls on the ground. For example, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, despite reports of the extent of VAWG, 54 percent of projects do not integrate gender analysis into their planning or implementation.²⁴ Furthermore, the important commitments to demilitarisation and disarmament contained in the BPfA have been almost dropped from the WPS agenda by most governments. As a result, despite increased commitments, action and change on the ground has been limited and women are still marginalised.

Women as agents of change not victims

Where there has been action in response to UNSCR 1325 this has primarily focussed on women and girls as passive victims of violence to be protected rather than as active agents in the peacebuilding process. For example, UNSCR 1960²⁵ focuses on women as victims of sexual violence and fails to acknowledge the importance of women's participation in all levels of decision making to reduce sexual violence during conflict and build peace.²⁶ Despite the comprehensive nature of the UNSCRs, BPfA and related frameworks, states are far more willing to make policy commitments to combat sexual violence than they are to take action on women's participation in peace negotiations and emerging governments and economies, consult with women and girls, or to challenge entrenched gender inequalities. International institutions have also made poor progress in modelling the inclusion of female peace-builders. There has never been a female Secretary General of the United Nations, and only one chief mediator appointed to UN-sponsored peace talks has been a woman.²⁷

1.3 Challenges and ways forward

In recent years, there has been a move to demonstrate the importance of WPS in terms of national security on the basis that inclusive, more equal societies lead to more stable secure countries, which in turn is important for global security. Whilst this

argument has been helpful to engage actors who think of WPS as a ‘soft’ security issue outside the realms of ‘hard’ security, it has meant that WPS is framed in terms of international security and stability rather than as an issue of fundamental rights to participate and to live free from violence. There are a number of areas which present key challenges for WPS and which require action to tackle the underlying structures which are crucial to building and enhancing women’s and where appropriate girls’ participation in building sustainable and inclusive peace.

Prioritising women’s meaningful participation

The participation of women and, where appropriate, adolescent girls, in conflict prevention, humanitarian response to conflict, peace negotiations and post-conflict recovery processes is a fundamental human right. The meaningful participation of women also helps ensure that their particular experiences of conflict are considered and that their experiences, priorities and skills contribute to sustainable peace.²⁸ Women’s and girls’ experiences of conflict and the aftermath of conflict frequently differ from those of men and boys and their requirements for peace need to be identified, prioritised and funded.

The importance of participation across the pillars of UNSCR 1325 is key to governments achieving their WPS commitments, including women’s role in the prevention of conflict and violence, participation in conflict resolution and in the design and implementation of relief and recovery activities. This includes women’s political, social and economic participation at community, local, national and international levels and extensive consultation to identify women’s and girls’ needs.²⁹ There is a danger that the focus on addressing sexual violence in conflict (SVC) has side-lined other pillars of UNSCR 1325 (see box on the Security Council Resolution 1325).

In the past five years, there has been an increased acknowledgement of the importance of women’s economic empowerment during and after conflict. However, this work is often aimed at income generation rather than empowerment, and is also based on assumptions that economic empowerment will lead to effective participation more broadly (see Part two: Section 6 on WEE). Similarly, the focus on political empowerment has been on getting women into high level political power after conflict, without empowering them when they get there and assuming that high level political power will lead to women’s empowerment nationally. There is also a tendency to treat women and girls as a homogenous group, without accounting for age, social class, caste, urban/rural location, ethnicity, disability and marginalised groups including widows and sexual and gender minorities.

Women’s meaningful participation must be prioritised in the design, development and delivery of donor funding and commitments. It is essential that women are able to fully participate in social, economic and political life at all levels and that their participation is supported. Whilst women’s political participation requires a multilevel, comprehensive approach which addresses

women's decision making power at all levels, a 30 percent target as a minimum (as mandated by the United Nations Economic and Social Council) would help to enable women to reach the critical mass required to impact decision making (see Part two: Section 4 on Political Participation).

Addressing the root causes of VAWG

Sexual violence in conflict is part of a wider continuum of VAWG, which women and girls experience outside of conflict. Women and girls also experience different forms and consequences of violence that are specific to their gender such as forced pregnancies, intimate partner violence or forced sterilisation. To prevent VAWG, the root causes and social norms attached to those must be addressed (see Part two: Section 2 on VAWG and Part two: Section 8 on Social Norms). The Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict Initiative (PSVI), a UK-driven programme, which led to a global Summit in 2014, was broadly welcomed by NGOs and governments. However, it has a specific focus on sexual violence committed by combatants and only addresses impunity. Such approaches are often instead of a comprehensive approach that addresses the root causes and the importance of women's participation in conflict prevention. A focus on combatant-perpetrated sexual violence also overlooks the rise of civilian-perpetrated and intimate partner violence, and other forms of VAWG during and after conflict. For example, in the Syrian conflict, women are reporting an increased incidence of intimate partner violence as well as early and forced marriage and sexual harassment.³⁰

Tackling VAWG in conflict requires broad prevention approaches which address all forms of VAWG. The Call to Action on Protection from GBV in Emergencies, launched by the UK government and currently chaired by the US government, looks at preventing all forms of VAWG in emergencies, including, but not limited to, sexual violence in conflict.

Increased attention to issues such as sexual violence has also correlated with a framing of women and girls as victims in conflict. This approach overlooks women's and girls' agency and empowerment³¹ and has resulted in responses which focus on protection rather than prevention of VAWG with the prioritisation of security and justice sector reforms (see Part two: Section 2 on VAWG). Furthermore, despite the 'prevention' pillar of UNSCR 1325 including prevention of conflict, prevention is often interpreted as referring only to prevention of VAWG, whilst disregarding the prevention of conflict itself.

WPS policies and programmes need to comprehensively address the root causes of VAWG, meet commitments on women's exclusion from economic, social and political participation and empowerment and wider gender inequality during and after conflict.

Developing a holistic approach to WPS

The four pillars of WPS, although intended to be seen as mutually reinforcing and overlapping, are often treated in isolation from each other. For example, there is a tendency to focus on 'prevention' in silo from 'protection' or 'participation' efforts, if they exist. There has also been a lack of cross-government coordination. It is important that Foreign, Development, Defence, Home Affairs, Gender and other related ministries coordinate and all take an active role in implementing WPS commitments and do so across the WPS pillars. There is also a shortage of dedicated funding to WPS and mechanisms for tracking funding allocations, which would be key to supporting efforts to comprehensively address WPS.³² Integration of WPS commitments into military and defence policy and practice has been limited. NATO have produced a strong Action Plan on UNSCR 1325, but despite UK and NATO commitments, at the UK-hosted NATO Summit in 2014 women from conflict-affected countries were excluded and UNSCR 1325 was not included on the agenda.³³

Governments must take a coordinated approach to WPS, addressing all of the WPS pillars, and should commit financial resources to achieve WPS commitments. These financial resources should be tracked using internationally recognised reporting mechanisms such as the OECD Gender Marker. This would support governments to assess how much of their conflict and peacebuilding funding is being spent on WPS.

Supporting women's rights organisations

Women's rights organisations and movements play an important role in conflict-affected states in supporting women affected by conflict, promoting women's role in peacebuilding, securing access to justice and preventing conflict.³⁴ They also play a crucial accountability role, monitoring their government's action and holding governments to account on their commitments to women.³⁵ Research carried out by Womankind Worldwide and ActionAid in five fragile and conflict-affected countries also shows that women's rights organisations at the grassroots level play a vital role in mitigating conflict and building peace.³⁶

Women human rights defenders and women's rights organisations working for peace often face a range of threats to their safety. At the personal and community levels, women who speak out and work across the lines of conflict may face pressure, ostracisation or may be targeted by state and non-state actors.³⁷ Importantly, UNSCR 2106 and the new UK NAP on UNSCR 1325 commit to increasing support to women's rights organisations and networks.

The role of local women's rights organisations should be acknowledged throughout conflict policy as key in peacebuilding and impact monitoring. This should include donor funding in line with UNSCR 2106 commitments. Donor

funding should integrate security and protection measures for women human rights defenders.

1.4 Recommendations

International institutions/governments should:

1. Fully implement defence, diplomatic and development commitments in the BPfA and WPS-related UNSCRs with action and funding on the ground.
2. Take targeted, comprehensive action on women's, and where appropriate adolescent girls', participation in decision making across political, social, humanitarian and economic spheres from the community through to the international level.
3. Work with, systematically consult, and provide funding to women's rights organisations to support their role at the forefront of service provision and promotion of WPS.
4. Provide dedicated funding to WPS and track this funding allocation using internationally recognised reporting mechanisms such as the OECD Gender Marker.
5. Address the root causes of and social norms attached to VAWG, women's and girls' exclusion from economic, social and political participation and wider gender inequality, both during and after conflict.
6. Reprioritise conflict prevention as part of the 'prevention' pillar, including through demilitarisation, disarmament and fostering cultures of peace as set out in the Beijing Platform for Action.

¹ Personal communication (15.1.15) to Hannah Bond, GAPS

² Amnesty International New Zealand (undated) *Stop Violence Against Women: "Comfort Women"*, available at: <http://www.amnesty.org.nz/files/Comfort-Women-factsheet.pdf>

³ Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) (2015) *About Women, Peace and Security*, available at: <http://peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325>

⁴ UNHCR (2014) *Woman Alone: The fight for survival by Syria's refugee women*, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/53be84aa4.pdf> p. 8

⁵ Norwegian Refugee Council (2014) *Global Overview 2014: People internally displaced by conflict and violence*. Oslo: Norwegian Refugee Council, available at <http://www.internal-displacement.org/assets/publications/2014/201405-global-overview-2014-en.pdf> p. 30

⁶ UN Women (2014b) *Facts and Figures: Peace and Security*, available at: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures> (accessed on 28 December 2014)

⁷ Haynes, D.F. (2010) 'Lessons from Bosnia's Arizona Market: Harm to women in a neoliberalized postconflict reconstruction process', *The University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 158(6): 1779-1829; Higate, P., and Henry, M. (2004) 'Engendering (in) security in peace support operations', *Security Dialogue* 35(4): 481-498.

⁸ Gardner, J. and El-Bushra, J. (2013) 'Expert analysis - from the forefront of peace and reconciliation: testimonies from women building peace' *Accord Insight: An International Review of Peace Initiatives: Women Building Peace*, available at: <http://www.c-r.org/accord-article/expert-analysis> pp. 9- 16

⁹ See, for example, Anderlini, S.N. (2010). *What the women say: participation and UNSCR 1325. A Case Study Assessment by the International Civil Society Action Network and the MIT Centre for International*

Studies, Cambridge, MA: MIT Center for International Studies, available at:

http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/Gender/What_the_Women_Say.pdf

¹⁰ United Nations (1995) *Beijing Platform for Action*, *op. cit.*, Strategic objectives E.1 to E.5.

¹¹ Anderlini, S.N. (2010) *What the Women Say: Participation and the UNSCR 1325, A Case Study Assessment by the International Civil Society Action Network and the MIT Centre for International Studies*, *op. cit.* p.5

¹² A full list of National Action Plans is available at <http://www.peacewomen.org/naps/list-of-naps>

¹³ CEDAW General Recommendation no. 30 on United Nations (2013) *Women in Conflict Prevention, Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations*, available at:

<http://www.ohchr.org/documents/hrbodies/cedaw/gcomments/cedaw.c.cg.30.pdf>

¹⁴ United Nations (2011) *UN Strategic Results Framework on Women, Peace and Security: 2011-2020*. New York: United Nations available at:

http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ianwge/taskforces/wps/Strategic_Framework_2011-2020.pdf p. 1

¹⁵ DFID (2014) *Funding for what works to prevent violence against women and girls*. London: Department for International Development, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/funding-for-what-works-to-prevent-violence-against-women-and-girls>

¹⁶ See definition of stability in DFID, Foreign Commonwealth Office and Ministry of Defence (2011) *Building Stability Overseas Strategy*, available at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/67475/Building-stability-overseas-strategy.pdf

¹⁷ United Nations (2010) Report of the Secretary General, *Women's Participation in Peacebuilding*, A/65/354-S/2010/466, 7 September 2010, available at: http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/WPS_S_2010_466.pdf

¹⁸ UN Women (2012a) *Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections Between Presence and Influence*, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ UN Women (2014b) *Facts and Figures: Peace and Security*, available at: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures> (accessed on 28 December 2014)

²⁰ Inter-Parliamentary Union (2014b) Parline database query - *Parliaments at a glance: Women parliamentarians* available at: <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/WomenInParliament.asp?REGION=All&typesearch=1&LANG=ENG> ; United Nations (2014c) *Report of the Secretary-General on women, peace and security*, S/2014/693. New York: United Nations, available at:

http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2014/693 p. 13

²¹ UN Women calculations based on individual country figures provided by DPKO, DPA, and DFS in March 2014. Cited in United Nations (2014c) *Report of the Secretary-General on women, peace and security*, S/2014/693., New York: United Nations, available at:

http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2014/693, p. 18

²² Bardall, G. (2011) *Breaking the Cycle of Gender Violence*. Washington D.C.: International Foundation for Electoral Systems, available at: http://www.ifes.org/Content/Publications/White-Papers/2011/~/_media/Files/Publications/White%20PaperReport/2011/Gender_and_Electoral_Violence_2011.pdf p. 16

²³ UN Women (2012a) *Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections Between Presence and Influence*, New York: UN Women, available at:

http://www.unwomen.org/~_media/headquarters/media/publications/en/03awomenpeaceneg.pdf

²⁴ Development Initiatives (2014) *Funding gender in emergencies: What are the trends?* Bristol: Development Initiatives, available at: <http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/report/funding-gender-emergencies-trends>

²⁵ United Nations (2010) *Security Council Resolution 1960 adopted by the Security Council on 16 December 2010*, available at: <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/WPS%20SRES%201960.pdf>

²⁶ The Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (2011) *Open Letter to Members of the Security Council re: Resolution 1960*, available at: http://www.peacewomen.org/portal_initiative_initiative.php?id=843

²⁷ Dornig, S. and Goede, N. (2010) *Ten years of women, peace and security; Gaps and challenges in implementing Resolution 1325*, Duisberg: Universität Duisburg-Essen, Institute for Development and Peace Policy Brief 7/2010, available at http://inef.uni-due.de/cms/files/policybrief07_en.pdf, accessed 16 August

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²⁸ Chowdhury, A.K. (2010) *The Washington DC Celebration of the 10th anniversary of UNSCR 1325*, Washington D.C: Women at War Conference 4 November 2010, available at: <http://www.peacexpeace.org/2010/11/women-at-the-center-of-peace-un-security-council-resolution-1325/>

²⁹ Klugman, J. et al. (2014) *Voice and Agency: Empowering Women and Girls for Shared Prosperity*, Washington, DC: World Bank Group, available at: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/19036>.

³⁰ Lehmann, H. et al. (2014) *Are we Listening? Acting on our Commitments to Women and Girls Affected by the Syrian Conflict*. New York: International Rescue Committee (IRC) available at: <http://www.rescue-uk.org/sites/default/files/Women%20of%20syria%20-%20For%20web%20version2.pdf>; Harvey, C., Garwood, R. and El-Masri, R. (2013) *Shifting Sands: Changing gender roles among refugees in Lebanon*. Oxford: Oxfam International, available at: <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/shifting-sands-changing-gender-roles-among-refugees-in-lebanon-300408>

³¹ Klugman, J. et al. (2014) *Voice and Agency: Empowering Women and Girls for Shared Prosperity*, *op. cit.*

³² Cordaid and The Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP) (2014.) *Financing for the Implementation of National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325: Critical for Advancing Women's Human Rights, Peace and Security*. The Hague, Netherlands and New York, USA, available at:

https://www.cordaid.org/media/medialibrary/2014/10/FinancingUNSCR1325_2014_27oct.pdf

³³ NATO/EAPC (2014) *Action Plan For The Implementation Of The NATO/EAPC Policy On Women, Peace And Security*, available at: http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2014_06/20140626_140626-wps-action-plan.pdf

³⁴ Klugman, J. et al. (2014) *Voice and Agency: Empowering Women and Girls for Shared Prosperity*, *op. cit.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ ActionAid, Institute of Development Studies, and Womankind Worldwide (2012) *From the ground up: Women's roles in peacebuilding in Afghanistan, Liberia, Nepal, Pakistan and Sierra Leone*, p.3. London: ActionAid, Institute of Development Studies, and Womankind Worldwide, available at:

<http://www.womankind.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/09/From-The-Ground-Up-FINAL.pdf>

³⁷ Anderlini, S.N. (2010) *What the Women Say: Participation and the UNSCR 1325, A Case Study Assessment by the International Civil Society Action Network and the MIT Centre for International Studies*, *op. cit.*

This is a section of the report *Turning Promises to Progress Report*, the full version is available at: www.gadnetwork.org and www.gaps-uk.org

This report has been produced through a collaborative effort between GADN, GAPS and the UK SRHR network. A wide number of groups and organisations contributed, and the report does not necessarily reflect the full views of any one member organisation or network. The networks are very grateful to all who contributed.

March 2015

Gender and Development Network (GADN)

GADN brings together over 100 expert NGOs, consultants, academics and individuals committed to working on gender, development and women's rights issues.

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Gender Action for Peace and Security UK (GAPS)

GAPS is the UK's only Women, Peace and Security civil society network. We are an expert membership organisation with 17 members who encompass a range of development, human rights, women's rights, humanitarian and peacebuilding NGOs.

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The UK Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) Network

The UK SRHR Network brings together over fifty NGOs and academic institutions and individuals from across the UK international development sector, in order to promote the centrality of SRHR in development policies and programmes.

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