Clockwise from left: teaching women literacy and political rights in Yemen; a policewoman in Afghanistan; a villager addressing an Oxfam public health meeting in South Sudan; a Syrian refugee in Lebanon; discussing local peace issues in South Sudan. Credits on back page.

WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY: KEEPING THE PROMISE

How to revitalize the agenda 15 years after UNSCR 1325

In 2000, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 to uphold women's rights in conflict and their roles in peace and security. Despite signs of progress, the impact on women's lives and roles worldwide has been sporadic. Fifteen years on, the UN and Member States should use a formal review of the Women, Peace and Security agenda as a crucial opportunity to address key gaps. New commitments should focus on women's participation, preventing conflict and gender-based violence, monitoring and implementation, and financing.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Conflicts threaten devastating consequences for everyone – but women and girls face particular impacts. In general, women and girls have access to fewer resources to protect and sustain themselves, are more often the deliberate target of gender-based violence and are more often excluded from political processes essential for peace and security.

The number of conflicts – especially intra-state conflicts – has recently been on the rise worldwide (although still below the peak that occurred in the mid-1990s), contributing to record numbers of forcibly displaced people in 2014.[1] Many of these conflicts are marked by violent extremism and acts of gender-based violence and abuse. This poses huge challenges both for communities and governments directly affected and for world leaders charged with maintaining international peace and security. The need for inclusive peace and recovery processes backed by popular support has never been greater. Yet, although women have led and supported peace and recovery efforts in communities across the world, they remain largely excluded from negotiations and decision making.

Recognizing these challenges, the international community has taken some important steps. In 2000, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. UNSCR 1325 called for women to participate in peace efforts, greater protection from violations of their human rights, improved access to justice and measures to address discrimination.

Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, there have been many new commitments, growing policy recognition and increasing political rhetoric in relation to the Women, Peace and Security agenda. Six additional UN Security Council resolutions have helped develop the policy framework and promote positive norms. Denmark became the first country to develop its National Action Plan (NAP) to implement UNSCR 1325 in 2005, while Côte d'Ivoire led the way in sub-Saharan Africa in 2007. The African Union Commission launched its five-year Gender, Peace and Security Programme in June 2014 to promote women's participation and protection across the continent. By July 2015, 49 states[2] had published one or more NAPs.

There have been some visible achievements in countries recovering from conflict. Twenty years after the 1994 genocide, Rwanda has the highest ratio of female parliamentarians in the world: 64 percent.[3] In 2006, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected Liberia's first female president in the wake of that country's civil war. In Afghanistan's 2014 presidential and provincial elections, a record 300 women stood as candidates for provincial councils. There are 69 female MPs in Afghanistan (27.7 percent of a total of 249) compared with none in 2001.

However, the impact on women's lives and their formal role in peace and security worldwide has been sporadic. Globally, the political will required to enable women's meaningful participation in peace processes and security institutions, to holistically address the underlying causes of conflict, violence

'Resolution 1325 holds a promise to women across the globe that their rights will be protected and that barriers to their equal participation and full involvement in the maintenance and promotion of sustainable peace will be removed. We must uphold this promise.'

Kofi Annan, UN Secretary-General, October 2004

and gender inequality, to promote implementation through transparent reporting and civil society engagement, and to mobilize necessary financial resources is frequently absent.

High Level Review: addressing the obstacles

As the world prepares to mark the 15th anniversary of the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in October 2015, the Security Council is conducting a High Level Review. This welcome review aims to assess progress at the global, regional and national levels in implementing UNSCR 1325, renew key commitments and address obstacles that have been identified. To prepare for this, the Secretary-General commissioned a Global Study to identify good practice, gaps and challenges, and priorities for action.

The effort that Spain, which holds the presidency of the UN Security Council in October, has been putting into its preparations for the High Level Review is welcome, as is its aspiration that any new UN Security Council resolution be genuinely measurable. Spain has also been playing a positive role by promoting the integration of the Women, Peace and Security agenda into various UN Security Council activities.

Actions by Spain and the UK (which leads on the Women, Peace and Security agenda at the UN Security Council) to mobilize wider political support for necessary new commitments are also welcome and should be complemented by engaging civil society and women's rights organizations to inform discussions and preparations for the High Level Review.

It is essential that all UN Member States and agencies use the High Level Review, the findings of the Global Study and recommendations by relevant civil society organizations (especially women's rights groups) not only to recommit to the principles and ambition of the Women, Peace and Security agenda – they should also adopt new, specific measures to address the gaps and challenges identified, set new targets and translate useful policy and political recognition into more effective practice.

For example, women's meaningful participation in peace talks supported by the international community remains a rarity. An Oxfam study of 23 known Afghanistan peace talks between 2005 and 2014 found that during negotiations between the international community and the Taliban, not a single Afghan woman had been involved.[4] Such cases send a terrible message to all other actors that women do not matter, reinforcing gender inequality and the marginalization of women. At local levels, women's participation in peacebuilding and conflict prevention activities, as well as the monitoring of peace accords, is often hindered by physical risks and limited access to basic services and livelihoods.

The UN and some Member States have made progress in supporting women's roles and integrating gender expertise and analysis – but more needs to be done. The UN itself should build on existing targets for women's leadership and ensure that, by 2020, 40 percent of senior roles across its peace, security and development institutions, including envoys and heads of agencies, are held by women.[5]

Important steps have been taken to reduce the impacts of conflict. These include the landmark Arms Trade Treaty, which obliges state parties to consider the risks to women and girls arising from arms transfers. But the prevention of conflict itself – including by tackling the complex root causes of conflict such as structural social and economic inequalities – has not received adequate attention. A holistic approach informed by a comprehensive gender analysis is needed that, for example, enables women to engage in local peacebuilding efforts by addressing not just their technical capacity and advocacy skills but also their basic needs.

Turning rhetoric into reality

There have been significant efforts to raise awareness and mobilize efforts in relation to gender-based violence in conflict. Serious obstacles remain, however, including the lack of female personnel in the security sector and the frequent failure to hold perpetrators of gender-based violence accountable. More robust action is needed to ensure that the positive rhetoric around efforts to tackle gender-based violence is matched by reality.

Challenges and gaps on the issue of reporting and implementation remain. At the UN Security Council, systematic mechanisms to promote effective analysis, monitoring and implementation in relation to Women, Peace and Security were absent at the outset. This may account for the inconsistent integration of UNSCR 1325 commitments in Security Council discussions, documents and decisions over the years. For example, not one of the 11 Security Council resolutions on Israel–Palestine since 2000 has mentioned gender or UNSCR 1325 commitments.

Such gaps not only maintain the exclusion of women from peace talks but miss opportunities to revive peace processes on conflicts that have defied all attempts to resolve them. Recent efforts to address such issues at the UN Security Council are welcome. But setting up a dedicated working group – comprising experts from Member States, UN agencies and civil society – to review and inform UN Security Council plans, actions and resourcing, would improve consistency and accelerate progress. The 2015 Peace Building Architecture Review and the High Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations also provide opportunities to promote gender equality across all peace and security activities in mutually reinforcing ways.

Across the world, Member States can enhance implementation by ensuring their action plans are supported by formal processes to engage women's rights groups and civil society experts, as well as through regular public reporting of progress and mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation. States looking for a model of civil society engagement should consider the Netherlands NAP, whose production involved a wide range of actors including research institutes, international NGOs, women's peace movements and diaspora groups.[6]

Another crucial weakness in the Women, Peace and Security agenda has been the lack of funding to implement it. Without an adequate, dedicated budget, a national or regional action plan (RAP) resembles a car without fuel: it may be well designed, but it remains incapable of moving forward. A few countries, such as Spain, started well but then cut their NAP funding to inadequate levels.

***Missing from the table**

From 1992 to 2011, less than 4 percent of signatories to peace agreements and less than 10 percent of negotiators at peace talks were women.

UN Women Sourcebook on Women, Peace and Security, 2012

Overseas aid to support gender equality in fragile states has been rising – but only six percent of such assistance targets gender equality as a principal aim. In the peace and security sector, the proportion of aid focused on gender equality is even less – two percent.[7] This is well below the amount needed to fulfil Women, Peace and Security commitments. Donors should increase aid furthering gender equality in fragile states based on recommendations in the Global Study, and in their peace and security spending match existing UN targets for peacebuilding expenditure devoted to gender equality.[8]

Such support should including reliable core funding and accessible, sizeable grants to women's rights organizations, which conduct crucial work but often struggle for resources.[9] In fragile states, organizations and institutions working on women's rights and empowerment receive just one percent of all aid targeting gender equality. Mechanisms designed to deliver accessible funding to such organizations, such as the Global Acceleration Instrument on Women, Peace and Security, as well as numerous independent Women's Funds, provide opportunities for this.

This paper outlines Oxfam's analysis of the main gaps and challenges in the Women, Peace and Security agenda and recommendations for increasing its impact. Section one focuses on women's participation in peace processes and security institutions. Section two outlines gaps and solutions in relation to conflict prevention and gender-based violence. Section three addresses the theme of reporting, monitoring and implementation, highlighting the role of civil society organizations. Section four examines the question of financial resources.

This paper draws on consultations with other organizations and experts in the field as well as on Oxfam's experience as a humanitarian and development organization working in more than 90 countries with a substantial track record of programmes supporting women's rights and empowerment. The paper makes particular use of evidence and analysis from programmes in Afghanistan, Iraq, Myanmar, Somalia, South Sudan and Yemen.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The UN and Member States should implement the following in accordance with their roles and responsibilities.

Participation

1. **Ensure women's roles and demands are effectively integrated into all international, regional and national peace and security processes and institutions.** Governments mediating or supporting peace, security and development discussions, including 'Friends' groups, should insist on the meaningful participation of women as a condition of their involvement. Women representing communities should be enabled to participate meaningfully at all levels through advocacy training, adequate technical and financial support and well-resourced UN gender and women's rights expertise.

2. **Strengthen UN female participation and leadership** by ensuring women achieve a minimum 40 percent share of senior positions across the UN's peace, security and development architecture by 2020, including special representatives, envoys and heads of agencies, as well as senior roles in conflict and post-conflict-related missions as per existing UN targets on women in senior positions.

Conflict prevention and gender-based violence

3. **Increase comprehensive efforts to prevent conflict**, supported by systematic gender analysis and the promotion of gender equality, that place a greater focus on root causes of conflict such as social and economic inequalities, inequitable access to basic services and resources, climate change impacts, poor governance and accountability, and militarism. There should also be more holistic support for women's roles and participation in efforts to prevent and resolve conflicts and tackle political extremism.

4. **Pursue greater, more holistic efforts to prevent gender-based violence** with more attention and resources to address underlying causes of gender-based violence and gender inequality, more effective implementation of article 7(4) of the Arms Trade Treaty on risks to women, increased support for the recruitment, retention and capacity of women in security services, and tackling impunity by consistently and visibly holding to account all perpetrators of gender-based violence – including UN and other international security personnel.

Monitoring and implementation

5. **Improve reporting, monitoring and implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda at the UN Security Council** by establishing a dedicated expert working group drawn from Member States, UN agencies and civil society to review and inform Security Council plans, actions and resourcing; institutionalizing civil society briefings as per UNSCR 2122 during open debates and formal meetings; supporting Member States to establish formal consultative mechanisms with civil society (including women's rights organizations) to assist the context analysis for, and the design, monitoring and evaluation of, national plans and actions. Additionally, consistently integrate Women, Peace and Security commitments into all UN Security Council activities.

6. **Improve reporting, monitoring and implementation in Member States** by ensuring NAPs and regional action plans are supported by establishing formal mechanisms to engage women's rights groups and civil society experts in relevant planning and review processes. There should be regular, transparent reporting of progress through parliamentary statements, public briefings and publications, as well as mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation of results with clear indicators and timeframes.

Financing

7. **Ensure all Member States commit to developing adequately resourced NAPs** with dedicated resources and budgets, as recommended by UNSCR 2122, by the end of 2016.

8. **Substantially increase donor funding in support of Women, Peace and Security and related gender equality aims**, based on the Global Study recommendation that 15 percent of aid to crisis contexts is allocated to address women's needs and gender equality, and ensuring that by 2020 at least 15 percent of peace and security spending principally targets gender equality (in line with UN peacebuilding targets). As part of this, donors should commit to multi-year, core funding and sizeable grants for women's organizations. This should include funds channelled via the Global Acceleration Instrument on Women, Peace and Security as well as Women's Funds.

1 PARTICIPATION

Meaningful participation is the foundation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. Supported effectively and applied broadly, it enables women to contribute to local conflict resolution and peacebuilding activities, to help build more responsive and accessible security and judicial services, to increase the relevance, sustainability and impact of humanitarian and development interventions, and to increase the effectiveness, legitimacy, and popular acceptance of national and international peace processes.

However, women remain systematically marginalized in efforts at all levels to prevent, resolve and recover from conflict, and their participation in peace and security processes and institutions remains extremely limited. There has been important progress in women's participation in UN-supported peace talks (see side bar). But overall, women represented less than four percent of participants in peace negotiations from 1992 to 2011 (see Figure 1).[10] As a cross-cutting issue upon which progress in other areas depends, progress in participation arguably represents the Women, Peace and Security agenda's most critical weakness.

Figure 1: Women as participants in peace negotiations 1992–2011

Women (4%)　Men (96%)
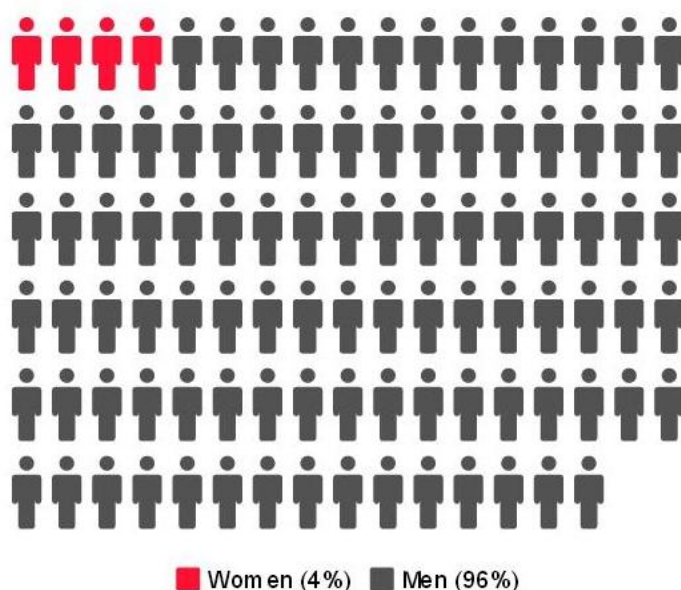
Source: UN Women (2012)

At national and local levels, women's participation is limited or rendered less meaningful by various factors including poverty, social and economic discrimination and inequality, lack of technical capacity, lack of access to education, threats and acts of violence, political marginalization or manipulation, and tokenism. For example, in the current South Sudan peace process, the women appointed to delegations of opposing factions are seen as representing only their respective leaders rather than the interests of conflict-affected communities. In Somalia, women highlight the risk of sexual violence as a key constraint to their participation in peacebuilding activities.[11]

UN-supported peace talks: signs of progress

In 2013, the UN led or co-led 11 formal mediation processes. As in 2012, all UN mediation support teams included women, an increase from 86% in 2011. In 8 of the 11 processes, at least one negotiating delegate was a woman, compared with 6 of 9 processes in 2012. Gender expertise was provided to 88% of the negotiation processes, compared with 85% in 2012 and 36% in 2011.

Report of the Secretary-General on women and peace and security, September 2014

At national and international levels, the lack of meaningful participation – such as in the 23 known internationally-supported Afghanistan peace talks between 2005 and 2014[12] – is doubly damaging because although governments and negotiating parties are usually capable of ensuring that effective women representatives are meaningfully involved, their failure to do so makes them appear unwilling or uninterested. This remains the case even when exclusively male efforts to resolve various conflicts have failed for years or even decades.

Additionally, the restricted participation or complete exclusion of women and the lack of gender analysis means the complex drivers of conflict (see next section) remain at best only partially addressed. This undermines the sustainability of peace agreements and helps entrench the factors underlying both conflict and gender inequality.

All peacemaking initiatives and processes should integrate women in appropriate roles, including as members of consulted communities (including refugees), advisers, participants and decision makers; from initial assessment and design to subsequent implementation and monitoring. This should include greater capacity building efforts to ensure that women's participation is credible and productive. By doing so, parties can help ensure that peace processes and agreements enjoy the support of the majority of affected populations, increasing the likelihood that the results will be sustainable. Regional and international groups of governments mediating or supporting peace, security and development discussions should insist on the meaningful participation of women as a condition of their support.

Building capacity, reducing constraints

Women's rights organizations have an important role to play, for example, in helping to build the capacity of women participants and raising awareness through campaigning. Experts on gender and women's rights from UN agencies also have a crucial supportive role – but their teams need adequate staff and budgets to provide such support.

Such roles are crucial partly because of the need to tackle structural constraints placed on women that keep them from participating in decision making. A women's activist in Somalia, for example, told Oxfam: 'Women need education. Women need to have financial literacy and gain experience and skills training at the grassroots level. The international community needs to support civil society groups, otherwise they will disappear.'[13]

Elsewhere, Daw Nyo Nyo Thin, a parliamentarian representing the Yangon region in Myanmar, regularly contributes to activities aimed at increasing women's participation in politics and leadership roles. A prominent advocate of local governance reform, Daw Nyo Nyo Thin is an active supporter of Oxfam's Women's Political Leadership Project, which aims to bring women's voices from the margins to the centre of political decision making in Myanmar. Such projects are 'a must', she says, crucially enabling women to become aware of their rights and capacities, and enhancing opportunities for their empowerment.

> **Case study 1: Enabling women to lead – Samira's story in Yemen**
>
> In the village of Al-Mahrq in Al-Hodeidah Governorate in Yemen in early 2014, Oxfam was struggling to persuade male members of the community to allow women to participate in the local water committee.
>
> That was the case, at least, until Samira stepped forward. Despite initial criticism from men and whispers from women, the 40-year-old Samira's determination and charisma won over her community and she was selected as a member of the water committee. Samira then encouraged other women to take part in drilling activities as part of Oxfam's cash for work project – tasks that had previously been reserved for men. Samira herself supervised drilling operations and the laying of water pipes and also followed up with the contractor to expand the pipe network.
>
> Like the other women in the village, Samira was not formally educated, but she showed strong leadership qualities and has expressed her desire to become a member of the local council. 'No one can marginalize women after today', Samira said. 'Women shall live and die proud'.
>
> Samira's story illustrates how providing women with opportunities to take part in decision making can realize their potential to act as agents of change – boosting development outcomes and benefits to communities.

In the security sector, women's full participation in institutions such as the military and police helps to enhance the responsiveness of the state (and thus its popular legitimacy) in the eyes of its people, contributing to the safety of women and girls and increasing their access to justice and basic services. This is crucial in crisis contexts where communities suffer from particularly high rates of gender-based violence (see next section).

For example, a UN-backed survey in Afghanistan published in 2012 found growing public acceptance of female police, arguing that this contributed to improvements in public perceptions of the Afghan National Police as a whole. Policewomen were more trusted to resolve a crime fairly than their male counterparts, the survey found.[15] Despite such findings and some positive efforts to recruit more Afghan policewomen, by the end of 2014 barely two percent of the Afghan National Police were women. This is due to numerous challenges in recruitment and retention, including a lack of specific resources for policewomen and discrimination in the workplace.

Similarly, women's involvement in peacekeeping operations can enable such missions to be more sensitive to the particular vulnerabilities, as well as the agency, of women and girls. Removing barriers to effective communication between peacekeepers and conflict-affected communities from the outset of such missions is crucial in understanding security and protection needs and reducing risks more effectively. This aim is often undermined by the low number of female personnel (including in senior roles) in peacekeeping operations – including military and police units – which are overwhelmingly staffed and led by men.

The UN has set targets for women to hold at least 30 percent of senior positions in UN entities operating in conflict and post-conflict situations by 2014, and 40 percent by 2020.[16] The UN should fulfil and build on these positive commitments and apply them to senior positions across the UN's peace, security and development architecture, including special envoys and heads of agencies.

Women's leadership in UN missions: still a long way to go

In December 2013, women headed 5 (19%) of the 27 field missions (in Côte d'Ivoire, Cyprus, Haiti, Liberia and South Sudan – all peacekeeping missions), compared with 4 (15%) in 2012 and 6 (21%) in 2011.

Only one of the 7 offices (14%) of the Department of Political Affairs was headed by a woman.

In the special political missions, women's share of senior positions (P-5 to D-2 ranks) stood at 24% in 2013, compared with 25% in 2012 and 18% in 2011.[14]

Report of the Secretary-General on women and peace and security, September 2014

2 PREVENTING CONFLICT AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Conflict prevention is a central pillar of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, which seeks to protect women from harm but also to enhance their contribution to creating and maintaining peace and stability. Such contribution can take many forms – the social, political, economic and other root causes of conflict and violence are so diverse that they require a multiplicity of counter measures ranging from enhancing the rule of law and regulating the flow of firearms to addressing underlying gender inequality.

Since 2000, however, conflict prevention as part of the Women, Peace and Security agenda has not received as much attention as post-conflict issues such as rebuilding state security services. This lack of attention was recognized by UNSCR 2122 (2013), which sought to promote women's roles in all stages of conflict prevention, resolution and recovery. This helped close a gap in interpretation that previously focused entirely on the prevention of gender-based violence in conflict, rather than the prevention of conflict itself.

The two issues are related, of course, since conflict can create conditions – such as a diminished rule of law and the proliferation of arms – that may increase gender-based violence, while incidents of such violence can trigger or exacerbate conflict (especially if perpetrators of gender-based violence act with impunity). But they are not the same, and increased efforts are needed to tackle the growing number of conflicts in general.

Failing to prevent conflict not only undermines aid investments but erodes hard-won gains for women. For example, Oxfam projects in Yemen since 2012 have helped achieve important results for women. These included women's engagement in the political transition process, the inclusion of comprehensive protection of women's rights and the criminalization of gender-based violence in the draft constitution, and women's participation in the National Dialogue Conference (2012–2013). As a result, the issue of women's rights had been gaining prominence in discussions around governance and political participation.

However, these gains now risk being lost owing to the escalation of conflict between pro-government and opposition Houthi forces in Yemen in 2015. Reasons for this range from security restraints on female mobility to negative male attitudes towards women's roles and capabilities, which conflicts often exacerbate.[17] Thus, at the national level, hardly any women have been invited to take part in peace discussions led by either of the warring parties, while at the international level women have had no significant representation or voice in peace talks that have taken place in Oman or Geneva. Discussions in such forums on women's participation in the political sphere and protection of their rights have virtually ceased. Such marginalization of women is common worldwide – but women do and should play a pivotal role in conflict management, conflict resolution and the building of sustainable peace.

Addressing root causes

To address such challenges, donors and governments should pursue a more comprehensive approach that addresses the root causes and drivers of conflict and political extremism, not just their impact on women, men, girls and boys. These drivers of conflict include social and economic inequalities, inequitable access to basic services and resources, climate change-driven impacts on natural resources, unresponsive and unaccountable governance, and militarism.

Solutions are hence likely to include ensuring equal and adequate access to basic services, upholding space for civil society, ending discriminatory laws and practices, strengthening the rule of law, equitable economic development, discouraging militarization and excessive military spending, and more effectively preventing the supply of weapons likely to be used to commit atrocities (as required by the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT)).

Integral to this more holistic approach to conflict prevention is a comprehensive gender power analysis that informs strategies designed to engage women in key political or decision making processes.[18] For example, in countries such as Somalia and Mali, Oxfam's analysis shows that women often struggle to engage in conflict prevention activities because they are too poor and preoccupied with meeting their family's basic needs. Oxfam projects in those countries have helped local women to earn more money (e.g. by strengthening their vocational skills). This helps them meet their basic needs and reduce their working hours, providing more time and space to engage in local conflict management processes, which in turn has contributed to improved social stability.

Building the organizational and technical capacity of local women's groups including their ability to negotiate, conduct advocacy and hold duty bearers to account is also essential. Oxfam's efforts to do so in Myanmar and Somalia, for example, have provided women activists with the skills and confidence to speak out against a range of actors including government authorities, armed groups and tribal militias.

Recent years have seen some important achievements and opportunities to reduce or prevent both conflicts and gender-based violence. For example, the landmark Arms Trade Treaty came into force in December 2014 and has been ratified by more than 71 states. Parties to the treaty are obliged to assess whether weapons supplied risk being used to commit serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, including serious acts of gender-based violence.

Since light weapons contribute to the vast majority of civilian casualties, the robust application of the ATT in general and its provisions related to women in particular would make a huge difference to the protection of women and girls worldwide. All states should therefore ratify the ATT, enforce it strictly and accelerate the establishment of a positive norm in international law and custom.

However, several governments – including Canada, France, Russia and the UK – have approved sales of weapons or ammunition over the past year to

Syria (in the case of Russia) or Saudi Arabia (from the other three states), despite credible concerns that such material has risked contributing to unacceptable civilian harm in recent or current conflicts.[19] Of these arms-selling countries, France and the UK have ratified the ATT; Russia and Canada have neither signed nor ratified the ATT.

Gender-based violence: progress and gaps

Efforts have increased to address the still-prevalent gender-based violence in conflicts which UNSCR 1820 (2008) emphasized. An important development was the establishment by UNSCR 1888 (2009) of the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SRSG-SVC) in 2009. The Special Representative serves as the UN's spokesperson and political advocate on conflict-related sexual violence, speaking out against perpetrators, lobbying conflict parties to prevent atrocities and advocating for a stronger response by UN and Member States both to end impunity and assist survivors.

Among UN Member States, the UK showed its commitment by launching its Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative in 2012, and followed this in 2013 with the Call to Action on Protecting Girls and Women in Emergencies to mobilize donors, UN agencies, NGOs and other stakeholders on protecting women and girls in humanitarian emergencies. The Call to Action culminated in a high-level event co-hosted by the UK and Sweden in November 2013.

That event produced a ground-breaking communiqué, in which donors and humanitarian agencies committed to preventing violence against women and girls from the start of humanitarian emergencies. The UK also hosted the Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict in June 2014, in which 1,700 delegates and 123 country delegations, including 79 ministers, took part.

The US government launched its Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender-Based Violence Globally in 2012, followed by its Safe from the Start initiative in 2013, aiming to prevent and respond to gender-based violence in humanitarian emergencies worldwide. The US assumed leadership of the Call to Action in January 2014.

Translating such promising efforts into impacts on the ground is always important – but never more so than at a time of conflicts that are increasingly marked by political extremism and a widening scope of gender-based violence that encompasses tactics such as forced marriage and assassinations of women's rights defenders. From Nigeria to Syria and Iraq, armed groups such as Boko Haram and Islamic State (also known as ISIS or ISIL) have seized hundreds of women and girls in the past year alone, many of whom have been subjected to forced marriage, sexual slavery and other abuses.

The scourge of sexual and gender-based violence

Approximately 40 percent of convictions of individuals at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia involve sexual violence charges.

Reports from the Democratic Republic of the Congo suggest that between 18 and 40 percent of women and girls, and between 4 and 24% of men and boys, have been the victims of conflict-related sexual violence.

UN Women – Facts and Figures: Peace and Security

Rhetoric versus reality

The positive rhetoric is not yet matched by reality, however. For example, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) notes that the level of estimated aid in support of ending violence against women remains low.[20] Adequate investment in this area, including building the capacity of organizations to scale up their activities, is needed as part of a holistic strategy (see section four on financing). Additionally, improved data collection and mechanisms to monitor aid for tackling violence against women are essential in order to strengthen monitoring of donors' efforts to implement the Sustainable Development Goal on women's empowerment and equality.

In conflict-affected countries where gender-based violence is rife, efforts to support the recruitment, retention and capacity of women in security forces have contributed to more holistic approaches to combating gender-based violence and tackling impunity. One example is Afghanistan, where the Afghan government and the European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL) have collaborated for several years. Following consultations with local civil society groups (including the Research Institute for Women, Peace and Security, an Oxfam partner organization), Afghanistan's interior ministry developed a progressive gender strategy in 2014 which was later integrated into the country's UNSCR 1325 NAP, initiating reforms that aimed to strengthen the recruitment, training and retention of policewomen. Afghanistan also appointed its first female district police chief in November 2014. Specific funding and other kinds of support for women's role in the security sector are essential for accelerating progress in this area.

Such actions demonstrate positive political will in some quarters and have increased public awareness and engagement in relation to the Women, Peace and Security agenda. But in order to achieve significant results in the lives of women and girls worldwide, and benefit society as a whole, further efforts are needed to tackle a multiplicity of obstacles – including the culture of impunity for rape and other gender-based violence prevalent in situations of armed conflict or lawlessness.

For example, the UN released a report in June 2015 examining gender-based abuse and exploitation by UN peacekeepers especially in Haiti, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sudan and South Sudan.[21] The report found that peacekeepers commonly paid for sex with cash, dresses, jewellery, perfume and mobile phones. The report followed recently leaked allegations of sexual abuse of children by peacekeepers from France, Chad and Equatorial Guinea between December 2013 and June 2014 in the Central African Republic.

The creation in June 2015 of an External Independent Review Panel to examine the UN's handling of allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse was a welcome, if long overdue, step in the right direction. All perpetrators of gender-based violence – including UN personnel, international peacekeeping forces and foreign contractors – should face swift and transparent justice.

Case study 2: How empowering women can save lives: policing in Afghanistan[22]

The story of Captain Raheema, a 47-year-old police officer in Mazar-e-Sharif, northern Afghanistan, is a clear example of how female police can make the difference between life and death for Afghan women and girls.

In May 2012, Captain Raheema was contacted by a hospital in Mazar-e-Sharif when Nessima, a 16-year-old girl who was seven months pregnant, was brought in after being violently beaten by her 25-year-old husband. Nessima had her tongue almost completely severed and was beaten so badly that her unborn child died.

The police in her home village initially refused to investigate, insisting that Nessima had to report to the local police station in person. This is a legal requirement in Afghanistan, which can result in discrimination against victims who are not able, or willing, to report a crime locally.

Raheema asked her commander to contact the local police station to persuade them to investigate. The police there initially claimed the husband had rejected the charges of homicide and aggravated assault and refused to hold him without evidence.

Raheema refused to give up. She obtained the hospital medical report and helped Nessima and her father to return to their community together with the report and her child's body. Even then, local officials intended to release the husband until Raheema, with the permission of her station commander, went to the media. Media pressure led the police to charge the husband, who was later sentenced to three years in jail.

3 MONITORING AND IMPLEMENTATION

Although seven UN Security Council resolutions have been adopted since 2000 and nearly 50 countries have sought to implement the Women, Peace and Security agenda, the practical impact worldwide has been disappointingly limited and sporadic.

One reason for this is that UNSCR 1325 offered no mechanisms at the outset to monitor progress, mobilize public engagement and sustain the political will necessary to drive the Women, Peace and Security agenda. At the UN Security Council, for example, regular mechanisms to promote effective information sharing, as well as analysis, resources for implementation and progress reporting have been lacking, especially at the outset.

This may partly explain why the integration of Women, Peace and Security commitments in UN Security Council resolutions, reports, missions and briefings has been so inconsistent in the past. For example, since 2000, not one of the 11 UN Security Council resolutions on the Israel–Palestine conflict, nor any of the resolutions dealing with conflict or security issues in Lebanon, makes any reference to gender or UNSCR 1325 commitments.

In recent years, additional UN Security Council resolutions strengthening the policy framework, tools such as UN Secretary-General reports and the setting of UN targets for women's participation and leadership in field missions have strengthened the integration of Women, Peace and Security commitments into UN Security Council activities. In the past three years, approximately half of all UN Security Council resolutions related to conflict-affected countries expressed support for the role of women. The UN Security Council should build on such improvements, including by establishing a Women, Peace and Security working group, comprising experts from Member States, UN agencies and civil society organizations (CSOs), to facilitate information sharing and reporting, to review plans, actions and resourcing, and to recommend revisions.

Additionally, the UN and Member States should make continuous efforts to raise awareness and sensitivity to the agenda, as well as ensure that greater, more influential gender expertise and women's leadership are built into high-level representation, operational and policy-making bodies, field missions and programmes. Other relevant reviews such as the 2015 Review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture and the High Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations should be used to strengthen synergies and promote gender equality across all peace and security activities.[23]

For governments around the world, more effective national and regional implementation of Women, Peace and Security commitments requires the development of holistic NAPs and RAPs that are supported by specific measures to improve design, delivery, monitoring and implementation. Such measures include:

- formal mechanisms to engage women's rights groups and experts from civil society, including diaspora communities and local communities affected by conflict in monitoring, review and evaluation processes;

- regular transparent and accessible reporting of progress;

- monitoring mechanisms with clear indicators and timeframes;

- specific funding for delivering action plans.

Transparent and cooperative engagement by both national governments and overseas donors with local and international civil society and women's rights organizations – the 'double twinning' model[24] – not only promotes political accountability but also encourages local ownership of plans and results.

Countries can demonstrate their commitment to ideals of solidarity, transparency and political accountability before and after the UNSCR 1325 High Level Review by organizing parliamentary and other debates that highlight support for the agenda and stating cross-party agreements to provide updates and engage regularly with civil society in the future.

Case study 3: Civil society's role in achieving practical action in Iraq

Iraq produced the Middle East and North Africa region's first National Action Plan for UNSCR 1325, which was costed and budgeted, in February 2014. However, in November 2014 CSOs discovered that the plan had been changed without any public consultation. Some pillars of the plan as well as the budget had been removed.

Faced with the spread of extremist armed groups such as Islamic State and the increased targeting of women and girls, including women's activists, Iraqi CSOs felt compelled to act quickly. The 1325 Alliance for the Kurdistan Region of Iraq is a network of women's rights organizations and CSOs that is coordinated by veteran activist Suzan Aref, the director of Women Empowerment Organization, which is a partner of Oxfam's regional gender justice programme. As a result of its coordinated advocacy, the 1325 Alliance persuaded the Iraqi authorities to adopt a one-year emergency plan in May 2015. This emergency plan emphasizes the importance of ministries and provinces allocating a budget to ensure the implementation of the Iraqi NAP at the local level. It also recognizes CSOs as key partners in its implementation.

The emergency plan includes the three core elements of prevention, protection and participation, and focuses on meeting the distinct needs of women and girls affected by the conflict between pro-government forces and Islamic State, such as legal, social, psychological and health services.

The State Ministry of Women's Affairs, the High Council of Women's Affairs, CSOs and UN agencies attended a national conference on 3–-4 August 2015. This resulted in new commitments to implement the emergency plan and called for enhanced protection for women and girls, and refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), as well as donor support.

4   FINANCING

In many countries and regions, governments have often acted as if the development of an NAP had fulfilled their responsibility to implement the Women, Peace and Security agenda. Some NAPs contain pledges to back implementation with financial and human resources, but very few actually commit to dedicated budgets. In this respect, the Netherlands' Action Plan for 2012–15, which specifies both human and financial resources, is an exemplary model. In contrast, Spain launched its NAP in 2007 with effective resources, but cut these drastically after 2011.

The issue of resources for Women, Peace and Security priorities was recognized as one of the 'significant deficits in implementation' by UNSCR 2122 (2013). In his 2014 report to the Security Council on Women, Peace and Security, the Secretary-General called on Member States to ensure that national and regional action plans were well-financed and that dedicated budget lines were included in all peace, security and peacebuilding initiatives.

Putting such recommendations into practice must be one of the key outcomes of the High Level Review. This would demonstrate political commitment to, and promote the viability of NAPs by enabling effective, independent monitoring of budgets and hence political accountability.

Worldwide, an average of 31 percent of aid from the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) group of donors addressed gender equality at least as a significant objective in 2012–2013.[25] Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) from several donors, including Australia, Belgium, Canada, Finland, Ireland, Germany, New Zealand, Sweden and the UK, exceeded 45 percent in this respect.[26] The figure for aid in fragile and conflict-affected contexts is higher: at least 34 percent (2011). ODA to promote gender equality broadly has grown at a faster rate than aid overall, especially in fragile and conflict-affected states.[27]

Figure 2: Funding pledged by DAC donors for peace and security programming in fragile states, 2012 and 2013

$1.9bn
TOTAL DAC PLEDGES

$559m
FOR GENDER EQUALITY AS PART OF THE PROGRAMME

$40m
FOR GENDER EQUALITY AS THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE

Source: DAC Network on Gender Equality (2015)

Despite this positive trend, however, only a small proportion of such aid addresses women's specific needs as its main or principal goal. Only five percent of ODA generally targets gender equality as a principal aim, rising to six percent in fragile states. Most of this spending by donors is in social sectors such as education and health.[28]

In relation to Women, Peace and Security specifically, financial commitments have increased. Nonetheless, the proportion of aid supporting gender equality in the peace and security sector is smaller – 28 percent – than in all sectors overall and the amounts of aid have been low, at around $500m on average per year since 2002. Moreover, only two percent of aid for peace and security in fragile states targeted gender equality as a principal objective in 2012–13: less than $40m (see Figure 2). This is well below the amount required to meet UNSCR 1325 commitments.[29]

The gender equality focus of aid to 'hard' security issues is notably low, reports the DAC Network on Gender Equality,[30] which notes that 'integration of gender equality in security sector reform leads to better outcomes by enhancing local ownership, improving public confidence, and helping to ensure that justice and security services are responsive to the needs of all citizens'. However, such outcomes are unlikely with current levels of investment.

At least 15 percent of peace and security ODA spending – the equivalent of $285m in 2015 – should target gender equality as a principal objective by 2020. This would echo the UN's minimum target of 15 percent of UN-managed peacebuilding spending to support such goals.[31] It would also help to meet a key recommendation of the Global Study, which calls on donors to earmark 15 percent of ODA channelled to crisis and conflict contexts to support 'women's needs and further gender equality' (compared with the current six percent). Donors should consider this recommendation seriously, and ensure that any related increase in such aid targets activities related to Women, Peace and Security aims.

Resources for frontline organizations

Another crucial gap lies in financial support for local women's organizations, which are often at the frontline of efforts to tackle gender-based violence, as well as to prevent and resolve conflicts.[32] Properly supported, such organizations can play an effective role in providing essential context analysis, projecting women's voices and concerns, monitoring activities, advocating for essential reforms and contributing to popular awareness and support for official strategies and plans.[33]

Yet, in fragile states, local organizations and institutions working on women's rights and empowerment receive just one percent of all aid targeting gender equality. This prevents such organizations from working on more ambitious scales. Effective funding for women's rights groups requires multi-year, core funding, accessible and flexible resources, and sizeable grants alongside support for financial management.

Donors should commit to long-term and dedicated support for women's organizations in crisis contexts, in line with UNSCR 2122 and recommendations by the DAC Network on Gender Equality.[34] The latter recommends intermediary funding mechanisms such as Women's Funds, which have particular expertise in channelling funds to smaller women's rights organizations.

One promising initiative to address the lack of funding has been the establishment of a Women, Peace and Security Financing Discussion Group (FDG) in June 2014.[35] A positive model of multi-stakeholder engagement, the FDG usefully brings together representatives from donors, conflict-affected Member States, UN institutions and civil society to explore funding solutions for the Women, Peace and Security agenda.

The FDG has established the Global Acceleration Instrument on Women, Peace and Security (GAI-WPS), a multi-stakeholder financing mechanism that envisages flexible, rapid support for governments and relevant organizations responding to fast-changing contexts and sudden-onset emergencies. Importantly, it aims to provide civil society organizations with access to flexible and predictable funding, including support for capacity building. To achieve such aims, the GAI-WPS seeks $100m for 2015–2020. Such mechanisms provide positive, inclusive models for designing and mobilizing funding and should be supported.

Case study 4: How local organizations transform lives in Somalia

Habiba is a Somali woman whose family fled from their home because of fighting in Hudur District, Bakool Region in 2013. She and her husband and children were destitute and in debt when they arrived in Baidoa camp, where her brother and sister were sheltering.

'There were days we only had one meal and my children were at home because we could not afford to pay school fees', she recalls. Habiba's family relied on her sister's meagre wages as a school teacher to survive.

'My sister heard about the skills training for poor and IDP women being offered in her school by All Women Concern (AWC) and Somali Peace Line (SPL). For the first two months, we studied how to read and write in the Somali language as well as some basic mathematics'.

Additionally, Habiba was trained to produce tie-dye clothing, and after completing the course, received a start-up kit of cloth, chemicals and basic tools. She started her own business, dyeing and selling clothes.

'The business picked up within no time and it became like a factory, producing clothes. Within two months, I expanded the business by using $18 from my savings to set up a small butcher's shop in the IDP camp we lived in. I can sell one goat a day and have added to my stock foodstuffs such as sugar and rice, charcoal and cosmetics. My family now lives in our own house and my husband and I aren't dependent on my sister anymore. Four of my children are in school and we can afford to pay their fees.'

The High Level Review should result in donor and government funding for Women, Peace and Security that includes greater, multi-year, substantial and sustained financial support for relevant civil society and women's rights organizations. Additionally, Member States should ensure core funding within the UN for gender and Women, Peace and Security experts both in their missions and UN headquarters.

To help mobilize funding, Member States should adhere to commitments outlined by the Beijing Platform for Action. Agreed by 189 Member States at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, this calls on governments to reduce excessive military expenditures, trade in arms and investment for arms production and acquisition – and redirect this expenditure to social development, especially for women.

Governments can achieve this while still meeting their legitimate needs for defence spending and weapons manufacture – while taking into account that investments in social development can make a significant contribution to long-term peace and stability.

5 CONCLUSION

UNSCR 2122 stated that UN Member States were 'deeply concerned' about persistent implementation deficits in the Women, Peace and Security agenda, including in 'protection from human rights abuses and violations; opportunities for women to exercise leadership; resources provided to address their needs and which will help them exercise their rights; and the capacities and commitment of all actors involved in the implementation of resolution 1325' and subsequent resolutions to advance women's participation and protection.

It is time to move from deep concern to effective action. Any new measures on Women, Peace and Security, including any new Security Council resolution, must commit the UN and Member States to implement clear, measurable actions that convert promising policy into effective practice. Backed by a level of human and financial resources that demonstrate serious political will, these actions should focus on strengthening women's participation, increasing measures to prevent conflict and combat gender-based violence, and improving reporting, monitoring and implementation. The promises made to women over the past 15 years must be kept.

'Despite advances in implementing the global women, peace and security agenda, the broader context of insecurity, protracted crises, poverty and growing inequalities, as well as emerging threats such as the rise of violent extremism, has served to limit and even derail progress.'

Summary Report of the UN Secretary-General on the 20-year review of the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, March 2015

RECOMMENDATIONS

The UN and Member States should implement the following in accordance with their roles and responsibilities.

Participation

1. **Ensure women's roles and demands are effectively integrated into all international, regional and national peace and security processes and institutions.** Governments mediating or supporting peace, security and development discussions, including 'Friends' groups, should insist on the meaningful participation of women as a condition of their involvement. Women representing communities should be enabled to participate meaningfully at all levels through advocacy training, adequate technical and financial support, and well-resourced UN gender and women's rights expertise.

2. **Strengthen UN female participation and leadership** by ensuring women achieve a minimum 40 percent share of senior positions across the UN's peace, security and development architecture by 2020, including special representatives, envoys and heads of agencies, as well as senior roles in conflict and post-conflict-related missions as per existing UN targets on women in senior positions.

Conflict prevention and gender-based violence

3. **Increase comprehensive efforts to prevent conflict**, supported by systematic gender analysis and the promotion of gender equality, that place a greater focus on root causes of conflict such as social and economic inequalities, inequitable access to basic services and resources, climate change impacts, poor governance and accountability, and militarism. There should also be more holistic support for women's roles and participation in

efforts to prevent and resolve conflicts and tackle political extremism.

4. **Pursue greater, more holistic efforts to prevent gender-based violence** with more attention and resources to address underlying causes of gender-based violence and gender inequality, more effective implementation of article 7(4) of the Arms Trade Treaty on risks to women, increased support for the recruitment, retention and capacity of women in security services, and tackling impunity by consistently and visibly holding to account all perpetrators of gender-based violence – including UN and other international security personnel.

Monitoring and implementation

5. **Improve reporting, monitoring and implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda at the UN Security Council** by establishing a dedicated expert working group drawn from Member States, UN agencies and civil society to review and inform Security Council plans, actions and resourcing; institutionalizing civil society briefings as per UNSCR 2122 during open debates and formal meetings; supporting Member States to establish formal consultative mechanisms with civil society (including women's rights organizations) to assist the context analysis for, and the design, monitoring and evaluation of, national plans and actions. Additionally, consistently integrate Women, Peace and Security commitments in all UN Security Council activities.

6. **Improve reporting, monitoring and implementation in Member States** by ensuring NAPs and regional action plans are supported by establishing formal mechanisms to engage women's rights groups and civil society experts in relevant planning and review processes. There should be regular, transparent reporting of progress through parliamentary statements, public briefings and publications, as well as mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation of results with clear indicators and timeframes.

Financing

7. **Ensure all Member States commit to developing adequately resourced NAPs** with dedicated resources and budgets, as recommended by UNSCR 2122, by the end of 2016.

8. **Substantially increase donor funding in support of Women, Peace and Security and related gender equality aims**, based on the Global Study recommendation that 15 percent of aid to crisis contexts is allocated to address women's needs and gender equality, and ensuring that by 2020 at least 15 percent of peace and security spending principally targets gender equality (in line with UN peacebuilding targets). As part of this, donors should commit to multi-year, core funding and sizeable grants for women's organizations. This should include funds channelled via the Global Acceleration Instrument on Women, Peace and Security as well as Women's Funds.

NOTES

1. The number of armed conflicts, especially intra-state conflicts, has increased in the current decade compared with the preceding two decades: Global Conflict Report, Center for Systemic Peace, 2014. The number of conflicts and conflict deaths remains lower than the post-Second World War peak witnessed in the mid-1990s, after which the number of conflicts declined till the mid-2000s. Global Conflict Trends, Center for Systemic Peace, 2014 (see http://www.systemicpeace.org/conflicttrends.html) The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported 60 million forcibly displaced people in 2014: the highest number it has ever recorded.

2. This includes the State of Palestine, whose UNSCR 1325 NAP was approved by cabinet ministers in May 2015. Development of the UNSCR 1325 NAP was assisted by a coalition of local civil society organizations supported by Oxfam.

3. In 1994, approximately one-fifth of Rwanda's MPs were women.

4. See Oxfam report 'Behind Closed Doors', November 2014, http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/behind-closed-doors-the-risk-of-denying-women-a-voice-in-determining-afghanista-335875.

5. The targets for women in senior positions were first set in the Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security in September 2011. This called for women to comprise at least 30 percent of senior positions (grade P-5 and above) in UN entities operating in conflict and post-conflict situations by 2014, and 40 percent by 2020.

6. The current Dutch NAP (2012–15) has been signed by three Dutch government ministries, four research institutions and over 30 civil society organizations, including Oxfam's Dutch affiliate, Oxfam Novib.

7. Briefing by OECD DAC Network on Gender Equality (Gendernet), March 2015: Financing UN Security Council Resolution 1325.

8. The Global Study finalized in July 2015 recommends that 15 percent of overseas development assistance (ODA) is earmarked to furthering gender equality in crisis and conflict contexts. Additionally, the UN has a minimum target of 15 percent of UN-managed peacebuilding spending for addressing women's needs and gender equality, as recommended in the seven-point action plan in the Report of the Secretary-General on Women's Participation in Peacebuilding, 2010.

9. See A. Arutyunova and C. Clark (2013) Watering the leaves, starving the roots: The Status of Financing for Women's Rights Organizing and Gender Equality. AWID, available at: http://www.awid.org/publications/watering-leaves-starving-roots#sthash.XEyRBKlZ.dpuf

10. UN Women Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections Between Presence and Influence (2012).

11. See Oxfam research report 'Somali Solutions', July 2015, http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/somali-solutions-creating-conditions-for-a-gender-just-peace-561272 . Based on consultations with local communities and activists, it finds that although participation is crucial to gender-just peace-building, it cannot be fully realized without combating violence in all its forms (physical and psychological).

12. See Oxfam report 'Behind Closed Doors', November 2014, http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/behind-closed-doors-the-risk-of-denying-women-a-voice-in-determining-afghanista-335875 . There have been a few recent signs of progress, including an informal meeting between representatives of the opposition Taliban armed group and an Afghan women's delegation, comprising female lawmakers and women's rights activists, hosted by Norway in June 2015.

13. Ibid.

14. Report of the Secretary-General on women and peace and security, September 2014.

15. Police Perception Survey, funded by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) under the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan (LOTFA) project.

16. The target for women to hold at least 30 percent of senior positions in UN entities operating in conflict and post-conflict situations by 2014 was missed.

17. See 'Gender considerations in the Humanitarian Response in Yemen', at www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/operations/yemen/gender-considerations-humanitarian-response-yemen

18. This section focuses on the role of women in preventing conflict and building peace, while recognizing that a comprehensive gender analysis would also examine the role of men and gender minorities. The role of gender in driving conflict – such as the relationship between masculinity and militarization – should also be addressed.

19. For example, despite widespread criticism of attacks on civilians by pro-government forces in Syria – including by the UN Secretary-General (see http://bit.ly/1KYCA7W) – President Bashar Al-Assad stated in an interview in March 2015 that Russia had supplied weapons to his government under contracts signed before and after the conflict in Syria began in 2011 (see http://reut.rs/1IWLeBp). The military intervention by a regional coalition led by Saudi Arabia in the current Yemen conflict has been linked to numerous incidents of civilian deaths, including an airstrike in Mocha in July 2015 killing scores of civilians which Human Rights Watch

described as an apparent war crime. Nonetheless, France and the UK continue to supply Saudi Arabia and other members of the coalition with weaponry. Canadian Commercial Corporation, a state-backed enterprise, has brokered a deal to supply $15bn worth of Canadian-made armoured vehicles to Saudi Arabia over the next decade, in what is by far the largest military export contract in Canada's history, despite serious concerns about Saudi Arabia's human rights record and its military interventions. For more information, see http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/arms-sale-to-saudi-arabia-lowers-the-bar-on-export-controls/article24638473

20 Briefing by OECD DAC Network on Gender Equality, March 2015: From commitment to action: Financing gender equality and women's rights in the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals.

21 The report, titled Evaluation of the Enforcement and Remedial Assistance Efforts for Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by the United Nations and Related Personnel in Peacekeeping Operations , can be found on the Office for Internal Oversight Services website here: https://oios.un.org/page?slug=evaluation-report

22 Taken from Women and the Afghan Police, Oxfam briefing paper, September 2013 , http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/women-and-the-afghan-police-why-a-law-enforcement-agency-that-respects-and-prot-300653

23 Following the first five-year review of the UN's peacebuilding architecture, UNSCR 1947 (2010) called for a further comprehensive review in 2015. This is being led by an advisory expert group appointed by the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General also appointed the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations in October 2014 to review the state of UN peace operations. Among other recommendations, the panel has called for a stronger push on conflict prevention and the integration of gender expertise in all UN mission components.

24 Whereas a standard twinning arrangement might see a partnership between an overseas donor and a recipient government, or between an international NGO and a local CSO, a double twinning arrangement sees simultaneous parallel partnerships that result in local authorities and civil society groups benefiting from support from respective international counterparts.

25 An activity can target gender equality as a 'principal objective' or 'significant objective'. The OECD defines 'principal' here to mean that gender equality is an explicit objective of the activity and fundamental in its design. 'Significant' means gender equality is an important but secondary objective of the activity.

26 Data from DAC briefing on Aid in Support of Gender Equality, March 2015. The figures cited in this Oxfam briefing do not include the US, which did not report against the gender equality policy marker from 2010 to 2012, and which has implemented a new data collection methodology for the gender equality marker. At the time of the OECD briefing, full data for the US was not available.

27 Briefing by DAC Network on Gender Equality (Gendernet), March 2015: Financing UN Security Council Resolution 1325.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 The DAC Network on Gender Equality is a unique international forum where experts from development cooperation agencies meet to define and advocate for common approaches to gender equality and women's rights. It derives from the OECD Development Assistance Committee of 29 member states.

31 As recommended in the seven-point action plan in the Report of the Secretary-General on Women's Participation in Peacebuilding, 2010.

32 For examples of the contributions made by local women and women's organizations, see From the Ground Up by Action Aid, Institute of Development Studies and Womankind, 2012) available at http://www.womankind.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/09/From-The-Ground-Up-FINAL.pdf

33 For more analysis on the need to strengthen local capacity as part of a wider strategy to enhance the effectiveness of the humanitarian system, see 'Turning the Humanitarian System on its Head', Oxfam briefing paper, July 2015, http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/turning-the-humanitarian-system-on-its-head-saving-lives-and-livelihoods-by-str-559151

34 Briefing by DAC Network on Gender Equality (Gendernet), March 2015: Financing UN Security Council Resolution 1325.

35 The current membership of the Women, Peace and Security Financing Discussion Group comprises the Minister of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs and Director for Gender, Sierra Leone; the Minister of Gender and General Director of Women's Promotion and Gender Equality, Burundi; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland; the Permanent Missions to UN of the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Canada, Germany, Japan and Australia; Cordaid; Global Network of Women Peacebuilders; Resolution to Act – Inclusive Security; Woman Kind Worldwide; Gender Action for Peace and Security (GAPS UK); Saathi; WE Act 1325; Fontain Isoko; PeaceWomen; Afghan Women's Network; Kvinna till Kvinna; Cadre Permanent de Concertation de la Femme Congolaise (CAFCO); Corporación de Investigación y Acción Social y Económica (CIASE); Women, Peace and Security Network – Canada; Japanese civil society coordinating group on the NAP; PBSO; UNDP; and UN Women.

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