

The Other Side of the Mirror

Perceptions of Germany's
commitment to women,
peace and security



Gender Associations

GAIC - Gender Associations International Consulting GmbH (Gender Associations) supports institutions and individuals to develop their capacities and competencies to promote and ensure gender equality and the human rights of diverse and vulnerable populations in fragile, crisis, conflict and post-conflict situations, including in peacebuilding and peacekeeping initiatives, but also during times of peace. This support is provided through praxis-oriented research, policy analysis and capacity-building and training with an international network of thematic and regional experts.

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Executive summary

Despite the growing number of resolutions that form the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) remains the most cited and the ultimate reference when it comes to WPS. At its core is the notion that gender inequality contributes to increased and diverse vulnerabilities and security threats. In fact, already existing inequalities can be exacerbated by armed conflict and crisis and be the root cause of the conflict itself.

Germany's commitment and efforts towards implementation of the WPS agenda have significantly increased in recent years, particularly since their election as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 2018. Most recent initiatives by the German Federal Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt- AA) have included the chairing of the Women, Peace and Security Focal Points Network in 2018, the launch and support of the African Women Leaders Network and the Latin American-German Women's Network UNIDAS, the political push for UNSCR 2467 in April 2019, and a more inclusive and transparent development process of its new National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 in 2020, in addition to the many events and speeches promoting WPS issues.

These efforts have been visible and recognised internationally and within Germany, as well as in other countries affected by Germany's foreign policy and development initiatives. However, the German Federal Foreign Office would like to strengthen the country's commitments to implement the WPS agenda by better understanding outside perspectives of its performance and role as a leader thus far. This study was therefore conducted to gather the perceptions of close to 100 key stakeholders and WPS experts on the topic of Germany's commitments to WPS.

Interviewees include representatives from international and regional organisations, governments, civil society and academia, internationally and in Germany. The study also includes four country case studies: Afghanistan, Colombia, Mali and Ukraine. The study's literature review and data collection revealed how effectively Germany has invested in WPS issues and where there remain gaps in terms of financial and political support. At the same time, Germany is not yet seen as one of the key stakeholders leading advocacy or implementation of the WPS agenda. Germany, in fact, is often perceived as hesitant or even absent when it comes to leadership and championing Resolution 1325 in many of the international, but also national events, initiatives and political statements. It is apparent that Germany still lacks the consistency and political coherence of other actors that have been working on these issues for decades.

Nevertheless, many stakeholders welcome Germany's appearance on the WPS stage and invite the country to take a more active role in advocating and coordinating WPS efforts, especially in times of the global push-back against women's rights, climate change and the current public health pandemic. In order to do so, more political coherence, a strong and clear commitment to gender equality, increased gender relevant capacities at all staff levels, a systematic approach to gender mainstreaming in all foreign policy institutions and departments, gender-sensitive conflict and context analysis, as well as earmarked and specific long term WPS funding is needed. The development of its third National Action Plan on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 can provide a great opportunity to institutionalise the WPS agenda even further into foreign policy decision-making and processes within and beyond the German Federal Foreign Office.

Abbreviations

AA	Auswärtiges Amt
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
ESCWA	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for West Asia
EU	European Union
Gender Associations	GAIC - Gender Associations International Consulting GmbH
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GIZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
GNWP	Global Network of Women Peacebuilders
ICAN	International Civil Society Action Network
Ifa	Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
LGBTIQ*	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and those of other diverse SOGIE
LSE	London School of Economics
MINUSMA	The United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
NAP	National Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NGOWG	NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PVE	Prevention of Violent Extremism
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SEA	Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
SMM	OSCE Special Monitoring Mission
SOGIE	Sexual Orientation, Gender Identities and Expressions
UK	United Kingdom
UNIDIR	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
UNO	United Nations Organization
UN ODA	UN Office for Disarmament Affairs
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
USA	United States of America
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WPS	Women, Peace and Security
WPS-FPN	Women, Peace and Security-Focal Point Network

1. Introduction

The year 2020 was meant to be a year of celebrations of key anniversaries, such as the 20th anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on women, peace and security, 25 years of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the 150th anniversary of the German Federal Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt- AA). Notable progress towards achieving gender equality and women's human rights has been made in recent decades, but key challenges and concerns remain, as none of the provisions of these international frameworks has been fully realized. Therefore, this year is not only a year of celebration, but also an opportunity to reflect on the status of the implementation of these commitments to better understand what is working and what needs improvement. In this context, the AA commissioned GAIC- Gender Associations International Consulting GmbH (Gender Associations) to conduct a perceptions study to capture the perspectives of key stakeholders on Germany's implementation and commitment to UNSCR 1325, with a view to informing its leadership on women, peace and security (WPS) issues.

The current global health pandemic has not only hindered the celebrations of these key milestones for WPS and for the German Federal Foreign Office, but has revealed deep and structural fragilities of many health systems, formal and informal social security networks and political systems. Diverse security risks linked to social inequalities have become even more visible and prevalent than before. It is clear that not only do health risks differ depending on one's gender,¹ race² and age,³ but these factors may also dictate one's vulnerabilities to other socio-economic consequences and the likelihood of experiencing peace and security. In most countries, for example, it is women who tend to have less secure and lucrative jobs, who are responsible for more care responsibilities for children, sick or elderly family members, and who depend on public transportation. Outside of the domestic sphere, it is mostly women who work as (usually underpaid) nurses, cleaners and care workers who have been working on the frontlines and carry most of the burden of this pandemic.⁴

As in any crisis, economic, political and social insecurity leads to an increase in conflict and violent tensions. This is particularly the case during lock-downs and national curfews, when cases of intimate partner violence and sexual and gender-

1 Willem Roper. *More Men Dying of COVID-19 Than Women*. Statista. 3rd April 2020: <https://www.statista.com/chart/21345/coronavirus-deaths-by-gender/>

2 Barr, Caelainn. Booth, Robert. *Black people four times more likely to die from Covid-19, ONS finds*. The Guardian. Website Article. 7th May 2020: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/may/07/black-people-four-times-more-likely-to-die-from-covid-19-ons-finds>

3 Milstone, Aaron. *Coronavirus in Babies and Kids*. John Hopkins Medicine website article: <https://www.hopkinsmedicine.org/health/conditions-and-diseases/coronavirus/coronavirus-in-babies-and-children>

4 Anderlini, Sanam. *Women, peace and security in the time of corona*. London School of Economics. 25th March 2020: <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/wps/2020/03/25/women-peace-and-security-in-the-time-of-corona/>

based violence (SGBV) have increased, mostly against women and children.⁵ Protection from SGBV and access to relevant services, equal participation among men and women in decision-making on issues of peace and security, and the recognition of women's roles in the humanitarian dimension are therefore as relevant as ever during this current global crisis.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) adopted in 2000 is the first in a series of subsequent resolutions that form the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda.⁶ This framework provides guidance for Member States on how to put gender-responsive peace and security norms into practice. In spite of the two full decades that have passed since the adoption of the ground-breaking UNSCR 1325, the resolution's provisions and goals have still yet to be met.

Countries around the world have increased their efforts to develop national strategies to implement UNSCR 1325, particularly in the past decade. As of May 2020, there were 84 national action plans to implement the WPS Agenda.⁷ Germany developed its first national action plan to implement UNSCR 1325 and its sister resolutions in 2012. This commitment was renewed in 2017 with the adoption of the country's second national action plan,⁸ and implementing governmental agencies are currently developing a third national action plan.

In addition, Germany's most recent commitment to the WPS Agenda has been reflected in the narrative and priorities of its most recent foreign policy decisions.⁹ During its time as a non-permanent member in the United Nations Security Council (2018-2020), as well as through its leading role within the European Union (EU) especially during its presidency, Germany has promoted WPS issues as one of its core focus areas.

In this context, the Foreign Office would like to strengthen Germany's commitments to implement the WPS agenda by better understanding outside perspectives of its performance and role as a leader thus far. The study begins with an outline of the methodology and the international and national context of WPS issues, trends and developments. The next section provides a summary of the perceptions of key stakeholders working on WPS issues from the international community, governments and regional organisations, as well as national and local civil society organisations and academia, inside and outside of Germany. The study features four country case studies: Afghanistan, Colombia, Mali and Ukraine.

5 European Parliament. *COVID-19: Stopping the rise in domestic violence during lockdown*. 7th April 2020: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20200406IPR76610/covid-19-stopping-the-rise-in-domestic-violence-during-lockdown>

6 The Women, Peace and Security Agenda consists of various United Nations Security Council Resolutions, including, but not limited to UNSCR 1325 (2000), UNSCR 1820 (2009), UNSCR 1888 (2009), UNSCR 1889 (2010), UNSCR 1960 (2011), UNSCR 2106 (2013), UNSCR 2122 (2013), UNSCR 2242 (2015) UNSCR 2467 (2019) and 2493 (2019).

7 See WILPF-Peacewomen Website: <https://www.peacewomen.org/member-states> (last visited 14 May 2020)

8 Die Bundesregierung. *Aktionsplan der Bundesregierung zur Umsetzung von Resolution 1325 zu Frauen, Frieden, Sicherheit des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen für den Zeitraum 2017 bis 2020*. Interministerielle Arbeitsgruppe zur Umsetzung von Resolution 1325 des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen unter Federführung des Auswärtigen Amtes (Referat OR06). Berlin: 2017: <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/216940/dce24ab4dfc29f70fa088ed5363fc479/aktionsplan1325-2017-2020-data.pdf>

9 See website page by the German Federal Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt): <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/ausussenpolitik/themen/menschenrechte/05-frauen/women-conflict-prevention/291532>

2. Methodology and purpose of this study

The overall objective of this study is to capture perceptions of the past and current commitments by the German Government towards gender equality, especially in the context of peace and security, including the implementation and promotion of the WPS Agenda. This includes a review of the following dimensions:

1. Germany's role and leadership in international and regional political debates and organisations (for example, as a non-permanent member in the UN Security Council, through the EU presidency, as a member of NATO, OSCE, and a supporter of the African Union and the Organisation of the American States, among others).
2. Germany's implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda through:
 - a. Germany's National Action Plan (NAP) on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325
 - b. Bi- and multi-lateral relationships at the governmental level as well as other initiatives
 - c. Mainstreaming gender in its contributions to peace support operations
 - d. Financial contributions, specifically through project and programme support through implementing partners, such as national and local non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

In order to undertake this study, Gender Associations conducted a series of interviews, surveys and consultations with different stakeholders, which were supplemented by a desk and literature review. Considering that the WPS Agenda is strongly linked to Germany's Foreign, Development and Defense policies, this study focuses primarily (though not exclusively) on WPS experts, researchers, practitioners and advocates outside Germany's borders.

In summary, this study incorporates the following:

- A desk review of articles, comments, opinion pieces and documents capturing German initiatives on women, peace and security;
- 25 in-depth interviews with selected stakeholders from international, regional, bilateral and civil society organisations working on WPS issues related to the key questions of the study;
- An online survey circulated to German civil society actors working on WPS issues in and outside the country;
- Four country case studies with between 12-24 interviews and questionnaires capturing quantitative and qualitative data with local actors working on women, peace and security in Afghanistan, Colombia, Mali and Ukraine.

The project team was comprised of international and national experts on women, peace and security with decades of experience and extensive networks internationally and nationally. In-person interviews were conducted in each of the four countries in addition to online surveys conducted in Colombia and Mali. The selection criteria of these case study countries were based on Germany's presence in the countries and/or involvement in diverse WPS initiatives such as: contributions to peacekeeping missions through the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) or the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine (SMM); support on WPS-related projects through international or national civil society organisations, such as in Colombia; or involvement in peace negotiations, such as in Afghanistan. The respective case study countries were also selected due to their regional, cultural and socio-political diversity, which can help to provide a more comprehensive overview about what involvement and commitment to the WPS Agenda could look like in diverse contexts.

Originally, Iraq was included as one of five case studies. However, the data collection and subsequent analysis of perceptions of Germany's engagement in WPS issues in Iraq was canceled due to the political instability caused by the Iran-United States attack in Iraq in early January 2020.¹⁰ Due to the uncertain security situation in Iraq following the killing of Iranian general Qasem Soleimani, and in consultation with the AA, Gender Associations refrained from collecting data during that period of time and subsequently only conducted four country case studies.

In order to include input from German civil society organizations (CSOs) working on WPS issues, an online survey was circulated through the list serve of the "Bündnis 1325".

Through the above-mentioned data collection efforts, this study includes input from the following actors:

1. Specific WPS Specialists and Gender Focal Points in **international and regional organisations**, including from different United Nations agencies, NATO, the European Union, the OSCE, the African Union and the OAS;
2. Bilateral actors including governmental officials;
3. **Civil society organisations**, including academia, advocating and implementing initiatives and projects on WPS issues inside and outside Germany;
4. **Four country case studies** capturing voices from:
 - a. International and bilateral actors on the ground
 - b. Project partners from German development agencies and political foundations (GIZ, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Heinrich Böll Stiftung (HBS), Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), and others)
 - c. Beneficiaries of German funding, including CSOs and community representatives in the respective countries.

¹⁰ See UN news: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2020/01/1054961>

Interviews were conducted over the phone, virtually and in-person. They covered perspectives on the latest trends and developments in the WPS field, the roles of prominent actors, gaps and opportunities for Germany as a WPS actor and the landscape for WPS issues more broadly. Interviews and questionnaires were guided by the following questions:

a) Interview questions for WPS focal points in international organisations:

- How would you describe Germany's involvement in women, peace and security matters?
- There are several countries that are well-known for their commitments and investment in the WPS Agenda. Within the international landscape, where would you see Germany's engagement in:
 - i. International fora
 - ii. At an operational level 'on the ground'?
- Are there any specific issues Germany has taken leadership on that relate to women, peace and security issues?
- Have you observed any inconsistencies or gaps in Germany's engagement with women, peace and security issues?
- How can Germany improve its leadership on women, peace and security?
- What are thematic areas that Germany should primarily focus on in the future?

b) Questions for country specific actors:

- How would you rate Germany's involvement in women, peace and security?
- Can you name initiatives that Germany is supporting that address women, peace and security issues?
 - o If yes, what pillar of the WPS agenda is addressed through the initiative?
 - Participation
 - Protection
 - Prevention
 - Recovery and relief
- How have German representatives (for example, from embassies, consulates, missions that Germany has contributed to, development agencies, foundations, or others) participated in activities or events in your country?
- Are there negative impacts and effects of Germany's foreign policy and politics relating to women, peace and security issues?
- How can Germany improve its commitment on women, peace and security issues?
- What thematic areas should Germany focus on primarily in the future?

Although interviewers invited interviewees to reveal their identities and provide this study with direct quotes, interviewers also offered the option for interviewees to remain anonymous, especially in contexts of armed conflict, and/or other diplomatic or political concerns, in order to allow for critical feedback and observations. We nevertheless made an effort to attribute statements and observations to the respective institutions and organisations more generally.

3. Background on Women, Peace and Security

a. The gender dimension of peace and security

Gender identities and relations depend highly on socio-cultural identities and how societies organise human interactions. How societies define and value what is male, what is female and what is outside of this binary definition is strongly linked to access and control of power, resources and decision-making. Because of the close links between gender identities and power, as well as the control of and access to resources, gender plays a central, but often invisible role in security and conflict.

Gender roles within societies are dynamic and constantly changing, particularly in situations of crisis and conflict. During conflict, actors and stakeholders must constantly adapt to new circumstances and challenges. In order to do so, conflict, peace and security must be analysed with an intersectional gender lens, considering not only different sexual orientations and gender identities and expressions (SOGIE), but also different age groups, socio-cultural, ethnic, religious, cultural and economic backgrounds. Studies and numerous testimonies from around the world provide evidence on the strong gendered components of violence and armed conflict, but also of peacebuilding and reconstruction.

Despite increasing efforts to implement the provisions of the WPS resolutions, the overall WPS agenda and its goals that were agreed on two decades ago are far from being achieved. Women still remain largely absent or heavily under-represented in most peace negotiations, for example, as well as other decision-making processes related to security policymaking. Even with calls for women's participation by international and national governments, development partners, including UN missions, the EU, UN, OSCE and civil society organisations, women continue to be excluded from dialogues and negotiations for peace.¹¹

At the time of writing, on-going armed conflicts, for example, the multiple conflicts in the Middle East, Colombia, Mali, Myanmar and Ukraine, have made little progress towards a peaceful resolution. Social and political unrest and social tensions in Burundi, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chile, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Pakistan, Sudan and Venezuela, for example, also have a high potential to enter or relapse into armed conflict. Urban violence, gang violence and organised crime continue to be massive problems in Brazil, Mexico and Central and Latin America, in general, but also in South Africa, amongst other countries. In all

¹¹ See for example UN Women. *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace. A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325*. Chapter 3- *Women's Participation and a Better Understanding of the Political*. New York: 2015 http://wps.unwomen.org/pdf/en/GlobalStudy_EN_Web.pdf

of these examples, conflict dynamics and the impacts are closely linked to gender. Violence is mostly perpetuated by men performing different types of militarised masculinities,¹² while civilians bear the brunt of the impacts of the violence. These impacts and vulnerabilities, however, differ based on gender identity, as well as age, class, ethnicity, disability, and other factors.

Considering that people of different backgrounds and circumstances experience different vulnerabilities and fears, but also privileges, roles and expectations, it becomes evident that sustainable peace can only be achieved by paying sufficient attention to such diverse experiences and lives. Furthermore, evidence shows that only by including women, in particular, in peace processes and decision-making, can sustainable peace be achieved. This finding is complemented by recent statistical analysis based on a dataset of 181 peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2011. When controlling for other variables, peace processes that included women as witnesses, signatories, mediators, and/or negotiators demonstrated a 20 per cent increase in the probability of a peace agreement lasting at least two years. This percentage increases over time, with a 35 per cent increase in the probability of a peace agreement lasting 15 years.¹³

Women have been working on peacebuilding and conflict resolution across ethical and social divides in most situations of conflict and crisis, but often behind the scenes. Their contributions to public and domestic care work, local conflict resolution and community development initiatives are often unrecognized, but are the drivers of reconstruction, healing and recovery from armed conflict. *“With their collaborative responses to preventing conflict, making peace, and rebuilding societies, women consistently address this cause of conflict and instability, helping to ensure that peace will last.”*¹⁴ Only by taking these women peacebuilders seriously and consequently including them as agents of change in official negotiations, delegations and political decision-making processes can societies fully recover. A relapse of conflict is much more likely to occur, and human development is much less likely to occur, when women’s perspectives, suggestions and potential are excluded.

Now, with the current public health crisis, the economic and socio-political situations in most countries have become even more tense and precarious for those already vulnerable. The sense of loss of control and insecurity has increased for all. Gender roles and expectations have in many cases become more pronounced due to the lockdowns. In most cases, it is women who take on the additional care work in the domestic sphere in absence of social and public services. Overall, societies run the risk of reversing advances towards gender equality, but also of increased potential of social tensions, civil unrest and even armed violence between civilians and the State. The active inclusion of women in finding solutions is therefore critical. As this public health pandemic unveils

12 Enloe, Cynthia. *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*, University of California Press. Berkeley: 1993. See also: Myrntinen, Henri. *Engaging with men and masculinities in fragile and conflict-affected states*. Policy Paper. OECD. 2019

13 UN Women. 2015. *Progress of the World's Women. (UN Women: New York)*; pp. 41-42; Citing Paffenholz et al., “Making Women Count: Assessing Women’s Inclusion and Influence on the Quality and Sustainability of Peace Negotiations and Implementation.” And O’Reilly, Ó Súilleabháin, and Paffenholz, “Reimagining Peacemaking: Women’s Roles in Peace Processes.”

14 O’Reilly, Marie. *Why Women? Inclusive Security and Peaceful Societies*. Inclusive Security. 2015. P.11.

dysfunctional aspects within our public health systems, the opportunity to review existing governmental structures and spending could allow for more long-term reflections and changes. Budget reviews and reform efforts in the health and care sector, as well as governmental and social structures could allow for entry points towards more just and equal societies if gender and diversity issues are taken sufficiently into consideration.

In the last few decades, a relatively comprehensive, normative framework has been developed to promote gender equality, human security¹⁵ and sustainable peace, as well as to address the gendered root causes of insecurities and conflict. Considering the above trends and the prospects of an insecure future, the WPS agenda has therefore become even more relevant today than it was before.

b. The normative framework on Women, Peace and Security

The normative provisions of the WPS Agenda can be found in human rights law, humanitarian law and international criminal law. Nevertheless, the United Nations Security Council Resolutions on WPS provide the most prominent and specific advocacy tools on these issues. At the same time, it is important to review and consider other elements of the normative framework that help to bolster the WPS Resolutions.

One of the most prominent human rights documents that directly refers to aspects of women, peace and security is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The Convention itself does not solemnly focus on sexual violence specifically, but also highlights the links between war and conflict and gender-based violence. More specifically, Article 6 of the Convention states that “*Wars, armed conflicts and the occupation of territories often lead to increased prostitution, trafficking in women and sexual assault of women, which require specific protective and punitive measures.*”¹⁶ General recommendation no. 30 of the CEDAW Committee specifically focuses on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations,¹⁷ and requires that this and all other CEDAW provisions be reported to the CEDAW Committee for its review and recommendations.

The international women’s movement unified during the United Nations Decade of Women (1975-1985) to lobby successfully for concrete actions and measures to address systematic sexual violence during armed conflict. However, it is instruments like CEDAW that manifest the crucial recognition and specification of women’s rights as human rights within an international contract between States. In the 1980s and 1990s, the international women’s movement united at different occasions for World Conferences on Women, one of which resulted in a policy platform called the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995). The Platform for Action includes 12 thematic areas of concern, including a critical area on

15 Commission on Human Security. *Human Security Now*. New York: 2003

16 Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, “Violence Against Women,” General Recommendation no. 19 (eleventh session, 1992), U.N. Document CEDAW/C/1992/L.1/Add.15,(CEDAW) para. 16

17 Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, “General recommendation No. 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations” General Recommendation No. 30. U.N. Document CEDAW/C/GC/30. New York: 2013.

“Women and Armed Conflict”. Through the Platform, women identified different forms of violence against women in armed conflict, including “murder, torture, systematic rape, forced pregnancy and forced abortion, in particular under policies of ethnic cleansing.”¹⁸ The Platform calls upon policy actors to become active to prevent and respond to conflict-related violence against women by calling for “action to investigate and punish members of the police, security and armed forces and others who perpetrate acts of violence against women, violations of international humanitarian law and violations of the human rights of women in situations of armed conflict.”¹⁹

Another policy directive has been the Millennium Development Goals, and more recently the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs),²⁰ with SDG 5 focusing on gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls, and SDG 16 promoting just, peaceful and inclusive societies.

Humanitarian law that applies in times of armed conflict has century-old provisions on the prohibition of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), but yet fails to recognise women’s roles in peacebuilding and as agents of change in working towards peace. International criminal law uses humanitarian law as a legal base. Jurisprudence, such as the court cases of the special tribunals in The Hague, developed the definition and prohibition of conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) in the late nineties. For example, in 1998 the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) defined sexual violence as a possible war crime.²¹ The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) went a step further and established rape as a possible act of genocide.²² Today, the International Criminal Court (ICC) Statute recognises rape and other forms of sexual violence as being grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions, and consequently prosecutes individuals for having committed sexual violence as a possible war crime or crime against humanity including genocide.²³

The WPS Agenda more specifically includes a number of UN Security Council Resolutions starting with the landmark resolution 1325. As outlined in the table below, the language and provisions in subsequent resolutions have become more specific and increasingly demanded accountability over the past two decades. The resolutions have also contributed to the establishment of concrete monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, such as specific international indicators to measure progress on women, peace and security and the nomination of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict. Furthermore, several of the below resolutions recognise the important role women play in mediation, violence prevention, conflict resolution, recovery and reconstruction.

18 Beijing Platform Critical Area E: Women and Armed Conflict, para. 11.

19 Beijing Platform Platform E, para. 143 (c).

20 See United Nations SDG Knowledge Platform: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org>

21 “Celebici Case”, para. 476

22 AKAYESU, Case No. ICTR-96-4-T (2 September 1998) Judgement, at para. 416

23 Article 8 (2) (a) of the Rome Statute.

Resolutions of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

Year	UNSCR	Content
2000	UNSCR 1325	Embraces women's participation in peace negotiations, protection from gender-based violence, and the prevention of armed conflict.
2008	UNSCR 1820	Defines conflict-related sexual violence as a possible strategy in armed conflict and calls for more adequate responses to SGBV in peacekeeping, justice, and peace negotiations.
2009	UNSCR 1888	Builds on UNSCR 1820 and calls for leadership, building judicial response expertise, and reporting instruments to address conflict-related SGBV.
	UNSCR 1889	Highlights women's exclusion from early recovery and peacebuilding processes and the lack of adequate planning for women's needs.
	UNSCR 1960	Calls for an accountability system for addressing sexual violence in armed conflict.
2013	UNSCR 2106	Emphasises the importance of accountability for perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict and the importance of women's political and economic empowerment.
	UNSCR 2122	Highlights gaps in the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda as highlighted in the Secretary-General's report.
2015	UNSCR 2242	Highlights the necessity for more resources dedicated to advancing the WPS Agenda, more women in leadership positions and more cooperation. The Resolution furthermore mentions the gender aspects of the prevention and response to violent extremism (PVE).
2019	UNSCR 2467	Strengthens justice and accountability and calls for a survivor-centered approach when preventing and responding to SGBV. For example, it advocates for the inclusion of SGBV in UN Security Council sanction mechanisms. It also highlights the perpetration of SGBV against men and boys.
	UNSCR 2493	Requests further information on the progress and setbacks in the implementation of the WPS agenda.

In terms of advancing international political standards and legal frameworks, 2019 brought both progress and setbacks to the global Women, Peace and Security Agenda. During its non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), Germany has been a key player in pushing the WPS Agenda and these resolutions forward, including sponsoring UNSCR 2467. The UNSC consequently adopted two resolutions on this topic in 2019, UNSCR 2467 (2019) and UNSCR 2493

(2019), with the latter sponsored by South Africa. Resolution 2467 calls for more comprehensive prevention measures of sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations, including a survivor-centered approach, the provision of reparations for victims, and a more swift prosecution and punishment of perpetrators through existing sanctions mechanisms. The resolution also recognizes sexual violence against men and boys in conflict and post-conflict settings more prominently than in previous resolutions. Resolution 2493, on the other hand, emphasises the importance of the participation of women in peacebuilding efforts, the promotion of all of the rights of women, more effective protection of human and women's rights defenders, and calls for the implementation of the previous UN Security Council Resolutions on women, peace and security.

c. Trends and developments

The political process leading to the adoption of the two UN resolutions in 2019 was much more complicated and acrimonious than in previous years. Significant resistance and push-back, especially with respect to provisions on reproductive and sexual rights, came from several permanent members of the UNSC, including the United States of America (USA). This resistance can be seen as part of a broader, global backlash against women's rights and gender equality, which results in challenges to advance and implement already agreed upon language and policy guidelines. There are currently a number of countries who have traditionally opposed this agenda, including some that were supportive in the past. While the United Nations Secretary-General (UN SG) himself has called for "push back on the pushback" on these gender issues, the reality is that strategic and operational hurdles that were not previously an issue, now need to be navigated and addressed. Furthermore, human and women's rights activists have been increasingly under attack in recent years and have often been verbally and sometimes physically threatened by conservative and populist discourse in various countries. Threats have been made on social media, particularly against politically active women. In some cases, such as Colombia, Afro-Colombian human rights and environmental activists in particular are under attack.²⁴

The support and protection of women human rights defenders is particularly important in times of resistance and push back against women's rights, especially in the context of climate action, for example. One observation by interviewees was that there is an increased need to include local women's organizations in international fora and platforms, including the UN Security Council.

At the same time as there is increased pushback, there is also an increase in international support for more active measures to implement the goals of the WPS Agenda. There has not only been an increase in the number, but also in the diversity of actors who are involved in promoting and implementing the many provisions that now fall under the WPS Agenda. Women's organisations, but also many governments, international and even private sector actors have recognised the importance of including a gender perspective in peace and security aspects of their work. Some have taken very forward-looking stands, such as Sweden and Canada, but also Mexico has declared its foreign policy to be grounded in feminism, for example.²⁵

24 UN News. "Colombia: 'Staggering number' of human rights defenders killed in 2019". 14 January 2020: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2020/01/1055272>

25 See website by the Government of Sweden: <https://www.government.se/government-policy/feminist-foreign-policy/>

The ongoing momentum of the global #MeToo movement,²⁶ as well as issues such as climate change and the current health pandemic, have opened debates around new and old topics about gender-responsive peace, environmental deterioration, sustainable and human development and security. The recognition of young voices by new social media outlets, as well as local women's voices, has also increased and opened new spaces for political participation and change.

In the context of these trends and developments, most of those interviewed for this study agreed that we need to remember the very origins and core of the WPS agenda, internationally and nationally, namely the need to listen to women's voices, to stop the violence and discrimination against them and to build and rebuild sustainable peace for all members of society. While most interviewees welcomed contributions to increase a gender perspective in UN peacekeeping, such as through the Elsie Initiative, for example, many also highlighted the potential risk of solely focusing on increasing the numbers of female military personnel. While a gender balance within the security sector is indeed important and contributes to more transparent, effective and accountable security provision, the WPS agenda and its implementation at the international and national level must focus on peaceful conflict resolution, transitions and change in decision-making, towards safe, fair, sustainable and healthy living conditions for us all.

4. Germany's commitment to WPS

a. National action plans

Despite the existence of a relatively comprehensive normative WPS framework and the increased commitments to its implementation by many different actors, there are no mandatory reporting mechanisms in place for Member States. Unlike in the case of CEDAW, there is no treaty body for the WPS resolutions that monitors and comments on their implementation. Therefore, linking the WPS agenda to other legal documents such as CEDAW, and especially the CEDAW Committee's General recommendation number 30, is particularly important. Even though there may not be the same obligation to report on national implementation efforts, implementation by Member States has been closely monitored by the international community, as well as academia²⁷ and civil society organisations.

One of the most efficient and transparent ways of implementing and promoting the WPS agenda at the national level is the formation of national action plans (NAPs). To date, 84 countries have adopted such plans on UNSCR 1325 and its sister resolutions.²⁸ In the last decade, in particular, NAPs have received increased visibility and popularity. Now, "*NAPs have become a vehicle for governments to deliver their global promises and as such offer civil society, often women's organisations, a means to hold them accountable.*"²⁹

26 See for example: <https://metoomvmt.org/>

27 See for example the analytical overview by the London School of Economics: <https://www.wpsnaps.org/>

28 See for example: <https://www.peacewomen.org/member-states> (last visited on May 21st 2020)

29 Lee-Koo, Katrina & Trojanowska, Barbara K. "Does the United Nations' Women, Peace and Security agenda speak with, for or to women in the Asia Pacific? The development of National Action Plans in the Asia Pacific", *Critical Studies on Security*, 5:3, 2017. 287-301. p. 290.

Most national action plans consist of a narrative which outlines the given country's commitment to WPS, as well as an implementation monitoring and evaluation table that lists activities, outputs, responsible departments, indicators and sometimes even budgets. Various governmental departments and ministries provide information about their individual implementation efforts and discuss coordination in taskforces or working groups. The involvement of civil society in this process varies significantly country by country. It ranges from quite exclusionary NAP processes on the one hand, to processes that invite civil society to be co-signatories or even members of the inter-departmental working group, such as in Switzerland.³⁰

In most countries from the Global North, it is the Foreign and Development ministries that take the lead in coordinating this process, as the NAP inherently is often seen as an instrument of a country's foreign policy. Nevertheless, *"In terms of WPS agenda – the challenge at the national level is that clearly this is NOT yet a DNA of a national foreign policy – still very much rhetoric, still something that lives at UN level...even with the NAPs, it does not translate into changes in foreign policy decision-making. We've reached a point of 'a fad' – everyone wants to be in this "WPS club", but no one is really doing the commitment to actually honour their membership"*, a representative of an international NGO interviewed for this study concluded.

Germany developed its first NAP in 2012 and renewed its commitment in 2017.³¹ The implementing parties include different ministries and governmental agencies under the leadership of the Foreign Office (AA).³² Progress with respect to the implementation of the first NAP was reported through an implementation report that was published in 2017.³³ There was no formal evaluation of the NAP prior to its renewal that same year.

Despite the absence of a formal evaluation, there are efforts to increase the review of the implementation of the activities in Germany's current NAP. Bi-annual consultation meetings between the inter-ministerial working group and selected members of civil society, think tanks and even political party foundations³⁴

30 Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft. Women, Peace and Security- Switzerland's Fourth National Action Plan to Implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2018 – 2022). Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. Bern: 2018

31 Bundesregierung. *Aktionsplan der Bundesregierung zur Umsetzung von Resolution 1325 zu Frauen, Frieden, Sicherheit des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen für den Zeitraum 2017 bis 2020*. Berlin: 2017. <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/216940/dce24ab4dfc29f70fa088ed5363fc479/aktions-plan1325-2017-2020-data.pdf>

32 The members of the inter-ministerial working group include: The German Federal Foreign Office; the Ministry for Family, Women, the Elderly, and Youth; Ministry of Internal Affairs; Ministry of Defence; Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection; Ministry of Development Cooperation (Auswärtiges Amt, Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend, Bundesministerium des Innern, Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz, Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung)

33 Bundesregierung. *Umsetzungsbericht zum Aktionsplan der Bundesregierung zur Umsetzung von Resolution 1325 des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen für den Zeitraum 2013 bis 2016*. Berlin: 2017 <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/216942/dc6f52546ab229153e6c048388dc98d6/aktions-plan1325-umsetzungsbericht-2013-2016-data.pdf>

34 Special note should be taken from the Feminist Centre of the Green Party Foundation, the Gunda Werner Institut of the HBS, which has been a key player in terms of taking the WPS agenda forward in Germany for decades, especially prior to the adaption of the NAP: <https://www.gwi-boell.de/en/home>

(especially the association on women, peace and security, the “*Bündnis 1325*”³⁵) have allowed for ongoing exchange and feedback. In addition to the consultation meetings, expert exchanges were organized by the Department for Gender Equality and Human Rights of the German Federal Foreign Office (AA) to address specific topics. These topics were selected in consultation with civil society and have increasingly allowed for interactive workshop methodologies, such as working groups and feedback panel discussions. Furthermore, based on a parliamentary request by the Green Party in 2018, implementing agencies reported on their progress to the German Parliament.³⁶

German academia is not as visible in international debates on WPS as research institutions in other countries; for example, the Women, Peace and Security Centre at the London School of Economics (LSE) in the United Kingdom (UK),³⁷ the Joan B. Kroc Institute in San Diego, USA,³⁸ or the Monash Centre for Gender, Peace and Security in Melbourne, Australia.³⁹ However, there is a vivid academic landscape in Germany that addresses women, peace and security issues. German institutions contribute to significant data collection and knowledge production in this area. These include institutions such as the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, the German Institute for Global and Area Studies in Hamburg (*Leibniz-Institut für Globale und Regionale Studien (GiGA)*), the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the Philipp University of Marburg, as well as universities in Berlin, Erfurt, Würzburg and Jena, among others.

Academic experts, as well as civil society organisations working on WPS, have been regularly consulted by the German government and in other security policy development processes. When the national strategies on security sector reform (SSR), transitional justice and the rule of law were adopted in 2019,⁴⁰ consultations were held with academia, practitioners and experts through face-to-face events and workshops, as well as through an online blog managed by the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPI).⁴¹ Special attention was paid to the inclusion of a gender perspective in these processes, especially through consultations initiated and guided by the Council on Civilian Crisis Prevention and Peacebuilding (*Beirat Zivile Krisenprävention und Friedensförderung*) of the German Parliament. In addition, political party foundations like the Friedrich Ebert Foundation actively include a gender perspective in their conceptual frameworks, as well as their international projects and programmes when it comes to SSR. The foundation of the Green Party, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, even has a feminist research and advocacy

35 A network of German-based non-governmental organisations. See description on Website of the NGO *Terre des Femmes*: <https://www.frauenrechte.de/online/presse/aktuelle-nachrichten/aktuelles-zu-frauenrechten-allgemein/archiv-fr-allgemein/622-erklarung-des-buendnis-1325-zur-nationalen-nicht-umsetzung-von-resolution-1325>

36 Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Kleine Anfrage der Abgeordneten Dr. Franziska Brantner, Ulla Schauws, Agnieszka Brugger, weiterer Abgeordneter und der Fraktion BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN; Drucksache 19/1062. Berlin: April 2018 <http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/19/017/1901750.pdf>

37 Website: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/women-peace-security>

38 Website: <https://www.sandiego.edu/peace/institutes/jpj/global-programs/women-peace-security/>

39 Website: <https://www.monash.edu/arts/gender-peace-security/home>

40 In German: Ressortgemeinsame Strategie zur Unterstützung der Sicherheitssektorreform (SSR), Ressortgemeinsame Strategie zur Unterstützung von “Vergangenheitsarbeit und Versöhnung (Transitional Justice)”, Ressortgemeinsame Strategie zur Rechtsstaatsförderung

41 See summaries of the debate on peacelab blog: <https://peacelab.blog/2019/09/neue-strategie-der-bundesregierung> see ore specifically also Brethfeld, Julie. Popovic, Nicola. Eine für alle – Mehr Geschlechtergerechtigkeit in der SSR. Peacelab Blog. 09. Juli 2018: <https://peacelab.blog/2018/07/eine-fuer-alle-mehr-geschlechtergerechtigkeit-in-der-ssr>

centre (*Gunda-Werner Institut*), which intensively lobbied for implementation of the WPS Agenda both inside and outside Germany's state borders and remains a critical actor among CSOs to observe WPS implementation.

b. Input at the international level

The appearance of Germany as an actor and advocate for WPS issues on the international stage has been well noted. Since Germany has held a non-permanent seat in the UN Security Council (UNSC) in 2019 and 2020, the country has declared women, peace and security to be one of its key priority areas. In this regard, Foreign Minister Heiko Maas underlined legal justice, the participation of women in peace processes and the need for more female peacekeepers as particularly important.⁴² With respect to the inclusion of a consistent gender perspective in its work at the UN Security Council, Germany has held several consultations with different civil society groups, including the WPS NGO Working Group, and also with bilateral partners, such as Sweden. Known for its feminist foreign policy,⁴³ Sweden had previously set an example by consistently putting women on the UNSC's agenda, and advocated for an inclusion of a gender perspective into all resolutions and mandates of the Council. In preparation for its time at the UNSC, Germany invited representatives of the Swedish government for an exchange on WPS issues. For example, the Swedish Ambassador to Germany at the time, Johan Frisell, was invited to the sub-committee of the German Parliament to speak about Sweden's approach to WPS as a non-permanent member of the UNSC prior to Germany's membership.⁴⁴ Furthermore, Germany is also a member of the Informal Expert Group on Women, Peace and Security and of the Women, Peace and Security Focal Points Network.

In support of local women's organisations, women leaders and women human rights defenders, Germany also initiated and financed the establishment of the African Women Leaders Network⁴⁵ and the Latin American-German Women's Network UNIDAS.⁴⁶ Those networks aim to strengthen women's voices internationally towards gender equality.

Following that path and the speech of Heiko Maas in front of the Security Council, Germany took the initiative to sponsor a new resolution on preventing and responding to sexual violence in armed conflict, UNSCR 2467.⁴⁷ As mentioned above, there was significant push-back from several permanent members of the UNSC and even the threat to veto if language on sexual and reproductive rights

42 Auswärtiges Amt. Speech by Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs Heiko Maas at the United Nations Security Council - "Pledge of Commitment on Women, Peace and Security". 23.4.2019 <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/newsroom/news/maas-speech-security-council-pledge-of-commitment-on-women-peace-and-security/2212520>

43 See website of the Swedish government: <https://www.government.se/government-policy/feminist-foreign-policy/>

44 Deutscher Bundestag. Deutschlands Rolle als Mitglied im UN-Sicherheitsrat 2019/2020. Zusammenfassung der Debatte. Berlin: 2018. <https://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/textarchiv/2018/kw39-pa-zivile-krisenpraevention-569374>

45 UN Women. Women Working Together for the Africa We Want: African Women Leaders Network convene for a second forum. April 2018: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2018/4/announcement-african-women-leaders-network-second-forum>

46 See UNIDAS website: <https://www.unidas.world/>

47 Auswärtiges Amt. Resolution 2467: ending sexual violence in conflicts. 24.4.2019 <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/internationale-organisationen/vereintenationen/resolution-2467/2213178>

was not removed.⁴⁸ When Germany agreed to a weaker text of the resolution than it had originally suggested, civil society organisations expressed their disappointment and concern that the Women, Peace and Security Agenda would be compromised by not enforcing pre-set red lines.⁴⁹

Germany's current foreign policy has a strong focus on multilateralism,⁵⁰ and while Germany's role in the UNSC remains crucial, the country also assumes leadership in other international and regional organisations. Germany's general support to international organisations include the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the European Union (EU), and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). This support includes general financial and political contributions, but also specific project and programme support and contributions to peacekeeping missions.

c. Contributions in other countries

Germany contributes to international peacekeeping and stabilisation missions under UN mandates and through multilateral missions. This includes military as well as civilian personnel. In preparation for these missions, German training institutions, such as the military academy in Hamburg (Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr) and the civilian Centre for International Peace Operations (ZiF), hold specific trainings, including on gender issues. For example, ZiF trains selected candidates on topics such as the prevention and response to conflict-related sexual violence, gendered security issues, gender aspects in conflict analysis, and adequate prevention and response to sexual exploitation and abuse. Furthermore, it co-organises specific women, peace and security courses with the German Police College in Baden-Württemberg in preparation for peace and security missions.⁵¹ Germany's contribution to gender-sensitive peacekeeping has been amplified by its contribution to the Elsie Initiative Fund for Uniformed Women In Peace Operations, led by UN Women and the Department of Peace Operations in 2019.⁵²

In addition, Germany is supporting individual projects on WPS in different countries through funding mechanisms at the different Ministries, such as the Department of Gender and Human Rights at the German Federal Foreign Office, and also through development agencies, including the GIZ and ifa (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen). These include projects in Afghanistan, the

48 Popovic, Nicola. Resolution zu sexueller Gewalt in Konflikten: Deutschlands Initiative stößt auf Widerstand . DGVN. 10.05.2019. <https://dgvn.de/meldung/resolution-zu-sexueller-gewalt-in-konflikten-deutschlands-initiative-stoesst-auf-widerstand/>

49 See Web-article by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). *What We Think about the New Women, Peace and Security Resolution*. April 2019: <https://www.wilpf.org/what-we-think-about-the-new-women-peace-and-security-resolution/>

50 See for example, The opening speech of Foreign Minister Heiko Maas at the celebration of International Human Rights Day, December 2019: <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/newsroom/news/maas-advocating-human-rights/2287352> which was followed by a panel and workshop on „how to push-back the push-back against women's rights“.

51 See course announcement "Women, Peace & Security reloaded - Gender-Sensitive Approaches in Peace Missions": <https://www.zif-berlin.org/en/training/zif-training-courses/specialization-courses/women-peace-security-reloaded-gender-sensitive-approaches-in-peace-missions.html>

52 See donor contributions for the Elsie Initiative Fund for Uniformed Women In Peace Operations: <http://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/fund/EIF00>

Democratic Republic of the Congo, Syria, and Ukraine, for example.⁵³

While Germany has supported WPS issues at different levels, responses by international, regional, bilateral and civil society actors interviewed for this study indicated that there are significant and many different ways Germany could improve visibility of these efforts, and take concrete steps towards leading on WPS issues (see the Findings and recommendations section of this report).

5. Perceptions about Germany's implementation, advocacy and presence on WPS

a. International voices

When the interviewees were introduced to the study's objectives to reflect on Germany's commitment to the WPS Agenda as one of its current foreign policy priorities, all interviewees across the board reacted with great appreciation. More specifically, all interviewees highly appreciated the opportunity to provide feedback and input and recognised this exercise as a good practice. They stated that this initiative alone is a positive indicator of Germany's political will with respect to women, peace and security.

Broadly speaking, Germany is seen as a reliable ally and a country that is clearly committed to high standards of international cooperation and respect for human rights and gender equality at all levels and across sectors. Especially given the perilous state of international relations at this time, this is a noteworthy and important perception.

Nevertheless, there is also a clear sentiment among the international actors interviewed for the study and in the four country case studies that WPS is not an area where Germany is in the lead, and in many spaces, is not even one of the key actors. About 75 percent of the 20 key actors from international institutions shaping the WPS agenda stated that they have not had any direct or significant interactions with German authorities in any meaningful way. Other actors and governments, for example Canada, Norway, Sweden and the UK, were listed as the driving forces of the WPS Agenda at the international level, as well as in case study countries.

In that regard, it must be noted that despite the initiatives and support of the WPS Agenda mentioned in the previous chapter, Germany's active engagement in WPS is relatively new. Germany's first NAP was adopted in 2012, more than a decade after the adoption of UNSCR 1325. Prior to that, Germany had been quite resistant to adopting a NAP, despite the advocacy of national civil society organisations. Other countries in the region including Austria, Denmark, Sweden and the UK were already in their second or third implementation rounds when Germany finally agreed to develop a NAP. Yet even since then, Germany's commitment to WPS has been perceived as relatively modest and even passive at times.

53 Popovic, Nicola. ifa Input. 1325 Snapshots from the Field. Examples of Good Practices and Lessons Learned within Projects on Women, Peace and Security. Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen. 2018: <http://www.konfliktbearbeitung.net/dokumente/ifa-input-1325-snapshots-from-the-field-examples-of-good-practices-and-lessons-learned>

While Germany has always inherently and more generally supported gender equality, human rights and sustainable peace, the country has never been as outspoken on WPS issues as it has been in the past two years. Since 2018, WPS issues have been included in speeches and at events in New York, Brussels and Geneva, spearheaded by leading government officials including Foreign Minister Heiko Maas, State Minister Michelle Müntefering from the German Foreign Office and former Minister of Defence Dr. Ursula von der Leyen.⁵⁴

Considering these statements from high-ranking government officials, it is important that such expressions of commitment trigger actions at all levels and sectors within the German Federal Foreign Office, as well as in its embassies and consulates. For the sake of political coherence, such political narrative needs to consistently translate into action and political leadership at all levels and departments. This includes implementation of the NAP and WPS commitments at the national level in different countries through Germany's Foreign Office representations, including embassies and consulates and development cooperation sector.

In international missions and various parts of UN programming in other countries, there was a sense among interviewees that Germany is not as directly present in gender working groups, donor coordination meetings or other mechanisms and institutions that implement WPS. Even when Germany did engage in these spaces, most observers again perceived that German representatives do not appear to take a leading or even an active role.

Clear messaging and positioning for WPS issues is key in times of push-back and resistance against women's rights and gender equality. Most recently, Germany has been more outspoken on women's rights and even initiated meetings and events that sent a clear message to those resistant to change towards gender equality. The celebration of International Human Rights Day organised by the German Foreign Office in December 2019 for example featured an interactive workshop on how to respond to international backlash and push-back against women's rights with high-ranking political presence. International participants very much welcomed the initiative and the political statements from the event.

Similarly, interviewees welcomed Germany's contributions as the chair of the WPS Focal Points Network (WPS-FPN) and the international meeting of the network in Berlin in 2018. Its active role was much appreciated, especially as the activities from the network transitioned from its initial inception phase to a phase of much more tangible implementation efforts than before.

Overall, the study interviewees encourage Germany to be even more outspoken and proactive when it comes to women, peace and security, especially considering how gendered security concerns have increased during the current COVID-19 pandemic.⁵⁵

54 Informal comments to the media by Ms. Ursula von der Leyen, Federal Minister of Defence of Germany and President of the Security Council of the month of April 2019, on United Nations peacekeeping operations: Women in Peacekeeping: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1E3qpyLkIM>

55 Anderlini, Sanam. *Women peace and security in the time of corona*. Blog Post. London School of Economics. 25th March 2020. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/wps/2020/03/25/women-peace-and-security-in-the-time-of-corona/>

Interviewees further recognised Germany's strength to be able to coordinate meetings and increase collaboration at the programmatic level. *"In the past, there was really a lack of focus, attention and coordination and much was done in parallel. Germany has really helped a lot in that regard to coordinate better and mainstream the agenda at this level,"* noted one interviewee from the headquarters of a UN agency.

However, not all of Germany's collaboration efforts and attempts to push the WPS Agenda forward received positive feedback. Rather, some efforts were viewed very critically, to the point of even damaging. The controversial debates around UNSCR 2467 within and outside the UNSC left a feeling of frustration and disappointment, especially among several civil society organisations. While many international stakeholders agreed with the positive aspects of this new resolution, others believed that a withdrawal from the resolution altogether would have been more useful to advancing the WPS Agenda than compromising the resolution's proposed content. While almost all interviewees agreed that there were great attempts initially to include civil society in consultations prior to its adoption, many CSOs did not feel heard. For example, German CSOs had expressed their concerns with respect to this resolution prior to the negotiations in the UNSC, but felt ignored when the aforementioned issues, namely keeping the wording around "access to reproductive health services after cases of sexual violence" in the resolution's text, were not pushed forward.⁵⁶ In consultation meetings that followed the adoption of the resolution, civil society actors suggested that the German Government increase its financial contributions to global reproductive health, particularly in conflict-affected areas.

At the regional level, interviewees mentioned Germany's important role as a political actor, but also as a key donor in (post-) conflict settings. Its contributions to the African Women Leaders Network (AWLN), for example, have received quite a lot of positive feedback: *"There would be no AWLN, as this is its only donor and it has turned into a bit of a chief platform for women's leadership across the continent, which has made a big imprint in terms of focus on active participation and contributions,"* stated an interviewee from the headquarters of a UN agency.

In the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, Germany also provides significant funds for initiatives supporting women's political participation in peace processes and in (post-) conflict settings through UN agencies, such as UN Women, which is welcomed. In addition, Germany provides significant support to humanitarian funds and initiatives. However, what is often lacking is the inclusion of a comprehensive gender analysis within such humanitarian funding schemes, according to a representative from an international organisation working in the region. Interviewees have the impression that many of the humanitarian and peacekeeping personnel still perceive women's organisations and gender issues as an add-on and side issue in conflict and crisis settings. German actors on the ground, for example, in Yemen specifically, were perceived by interviewees as not always recognising gender issues as an integral part of armed conflict and

56 Böhme, Jeannette. Heinlein, Anica. Kappert, Ines. „Stellungnahme: Bundesregierung begibt sich im VN-Sicherheitsrat auf gefährliches Terrain- Geplante neue Resolution droht Agenda «Frauen, Frieden und Sicherheit» zu schwächen“. Canaan Projekt, CARE Deutschland-Luxemburg e.V., Centre for feminist Foreign Policy, Deutscher Frauenrat, Frauennetzwerk für den Frieden, Gunda-Werner-Institut in der Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, medica mondiale e.V., Owen, UN Women National Komitee. March 2019 https://www.medicamondiale.org/fileadmin/redaktion/5_Service/Mediathek/Dokumente/Deutsch/Positionspapere_offene-Briefe/statement-1325_DE.pdf

crisis, and therefore were seen as not including women, women's grassroots organisations or gender issues in the process towards conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

A representative from a regional organization in the Global North confirmed the notion of women still being side-lined when it comes to decision-making on peace and security concerns at all levels. The interviewee said that gender inequalities and biases are not being considered sufficiently. Germany's contribution to such research has been noted and welcomed by international actors. However, capturing underlying biases against people with less socio-political privileges has to be part of a critical self-reflection process of the donor community in order to genuinely move towards gender equality and positive peace for all.

b. Perceptions inside Germany

For the purpose of this study, an online questionnaire was circulated to the most active civil society actors in Germany through the Bündnis 1325. Consequently, the majority of the 12 respondents to the survey are actors who are actively involved in projects on WPS issues either in or outside Germany, and who are also present at most of the consultation meetings in the context of the national action planning and implementation process concerning UNSCR 1325. Of those who responded to the survey, 45 percent are part of a national NGO, 36 percent are from an academic institution and 27 percent are from an international NGO.

While all four dimensions of the WPS agenda were mentioned as important, over 70 percent of the respondents highlighted the aspect of prevention as being particularly important to them.

Similarly to international actors, most respondents stated that Germany's contributions to the WPS Agenda are satisfactory but could improve compared to other international actors. The coordination between the current government and civil society actors was perceived as satisfactory and relatively good by most respondents (18 percent and 45 percent respectively).

The survey asked for perceptions of the different policy areas, including the activities and commitment of all implementing ministries who are part of the inter-ministerial working group of UNSCR 1325. In terms of the concrete measures taken by the German Federal Foreign Office, respondents recognised Germany's increased commitment to the WPS Agenda, but were critical of the lack of consistency, and recommended a more active involvement of embassies, consulates and all actors working in areas influencing WPS issues abroad.

Furthermore, respondents were relatively happy with Germany's development cooperation efforts in relation to WPS. However, the lowest ranking policy area is related to internal affairs and the efforts by the Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community (BMI). Almost a third of the respondents ranked this governmental department to be below satisfaction when it comes to putting women, peace and security on the agenda and into practice. In a comment, a respondent elaborated on the lack of a coherent implementation effort, and the perception by the BMI, and stated that the Ministry appears to understand the WPS Agenda as an instrument that exclusively affects foreign policy issues. In this context, respondents also mentioned the need for increased disarmament and demanded for Germany to completely abolish arms trade and its relations to the arms industry.

The overall NAP development process on the other hand was seen relatively positively and as a key instrument to mainstream gender and the WPS agenda among Germany's governmental institutions. The NAP therefore can be a key tool to contribute to political coherence and consistency when it comes to the implementation of the WPS agenda in general.

The content of the NAP so far was considered quite good. In particular, the multiple consultations with civil society were mentioned explicitly as a positive trait of the NAP. However, in line with the overall global trends for NAP improvements, as well as the feedback from various actors in the country, it is important to put forward a stronger technical document with two key points: an even more explicit and clear outcome-level set of German-specific substantive priorities; and a more robust and user-friendly monitoring framework that would serve as a guiding tool to strengthen effective implementation.

Additional gaps were identified when it comes to the financial and political support of women human rights defenders in and outside Germany and a more transparent and gender-responsive budgeting process overall. As one respondent summarised: *"The Federal Government is an important donor and finances a large number of projects as part of its foreign and development policy. This is an important contribution to the implementation of the agenda. What is missing is that all financing instruments are gender-sensitive and [that] standard gender analyses are requested for project approvals."*⁵⁷

57 Original quote: „Die Bundesregierung ist eine wichtige Geberin und finanziert eine Vielzahl von Projekten im Rahmen ihrer Außen- und Entwicklungspolitik. Dies ist ein wichtiger Beitrag zur Umsetzung der Agenda. Was fehlt ist, das alle Finanzierungsinstrumente gendersensibel ausgestaltet sind und standardsmäßig Genderanalysen für Projektbewilligungen abgefragt werden.“

c. Germany's contributions to women, peace and security in other countries

i. Different actors on the ground

When looking at countries in which Germany has a presence, different forms of contributions come into play. Germany contributes to conflict resolution, development and peacebuilding efforts through a variety of initiatives. These can include official development assistance (ODA), contributions to peace support operations, individual projects through civil society actors, and its diplomatic presence.

As a result, different actors who come from different backgrounds and who may have different agendas are perceived to work under the same German umbrella. These actors could include diplomatic representatives in embassies and consulates, development cooperation agencies, political party foundations, German civil society organisations with an in-country presence, German contributions to the UN or other peace and security missions, but also individuals working for media institutions, international and regional organisations and even tourists that are not necessarily linked to any German institution per se, but still influence how “the Germans” are perceived. All of these diverse individuals shape and define the image of Germany that is perceived on the ground.

For the purpose of this study, we have interviewed key actors working on women, peace and security in four different countries from four different geographic regions. These interviewees were all able to identify different German actors on the ground who were linked to efforts by the German Government, development agencies, or German-based civil society to work directly or indirectly towards WPS goals. At the same time, indirect contributions from Germany through international, regional or national civil society organisations were not always visible to local actors.

Case Study: Colombia

Different actors,
different entry points,
one goal.



Since 2000, Colombia has gone through two peace processes with different armed actors without achieving sustainable peace. The major challenges with respect to women, peace and security in the country relate to: the reorganisation of armed actors controlling territories; displaced populations; an increase in illicit crops; and the political participation of ex-combatants. In addition, the threats to, and even killings of, human rights defenders, and social and environmental leaders, as well as the lack of access to formal decision-making processes has led to exclusion, social tensions and a continuation of violence.

The most recent peace agreement (2016) between the Government and the guerrilla group, FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia), has not been properly implemented, mainly due to the lack of political will from the current Government, and the political and military fragmentation of the former FARC guerrilla. Nevertheless, the agreement included a gender perspective and made explicit reference to UNSCR 1325. This is largely due to a vibrant, active and outspoken women's movement in the country, which has become increasingly recognized for its involvement in peace and security matters.

Another great achievement of the peace agreement is the consideration of gender issues in the various transitional justice mechanisms, such as by the Unit for the Search of Disappeared Persons, the Commission of Truth, Reparation and Non-Repetition, and Justice for Peace. National dialogues have increasingly included gender issues, such as the inclusion of diverse voices to shape historic memory, reparation, victimhood and addressing sexual and gender-based violence.

In Colombia, Germany is widely considered to be an important donor on both the bilateral and multilateral levels. German bilateral cooperation towards the WPS Agenda is led by the current Ambassador, whose character, interest and presence has been key on:

- *supporting initiatives on restitution of illicit crops led by rural women's organisations;*
- *urging protection towards the lives and actions of social leaders;*
- *and demanding more political commitment on peace agreement implementation.*

The Ambassador's actions and media presence have been highlighted as a contributing factor for advancing the WPS Agenda.

Moreover, Germany's presence in peacebuilding is carried out through a myriad of institutions that have included women's issues in various ways. These include political foundations, GIZ, religious cooperation initiatives, and academic networks focusing on peacebuilding. Different German actors also link to different local actors on the ground depending on their beliefs and religious or political affiliations. Considering the, at times, polarizing debate on women's rights between feminist activists and religious institutions in Colombia, there may be different approaches to gender equality and solutions towards a more peaceful Colombian society, including among the German actors.

Although most of these institutions have their own agendas, collectively they have greatly contributed to the opening of spaces to increase understanding of WPS issues in general. Likewise, Germany provides political and economic support to WPS initiatives carried out by OAS, UN Women, the UN Multi-Partner Trust Fund for Sustaining Peace in Colombia and the European Commission Trust Fund.

Overall, most donor initiatives in Colombia demand the inclusion of a gender perspective, but not necessarily specific WPS considerations. Generally speaking, Germany is perceived as an important partner that

keeps a low public profile, but that makes critical contributions through various channels and actors. These different actors may have different approaches to women, peace and security and interact with different parties on the ground. Consolidating those approaches could increase effectiveness on the ground.

Coherent and consistent leadership on WPS could support the consolidation of these efforts by different actors.

Recommendations to expand on this investment in gender equality in Colombia include:

- Build the technical capacities of national government actors to integrate gender in key areas for economic recovery and climate-change sensitivity.
- Support comprehensive programmes on the prevention of violence by strengthening women's mediation networks, and reduce criminality through the control and oversight of small arms sales.
- Support political action and human rights defenders who work on the decriminalization of women involved with illicit crops.
- Provide political and technical support on gender-responsive peacebuilding in areas such as historic memory, transitional justice and transformative reparation.
- Include gender markers in all project funding mechanisms.

Online survey, 24 in-person interviews and analysis by Diana Lopez Castaneda

ii. Germany as a donor

Especially in (post-) conflict settings where Germany is active, its role as a donor for humanitarian relief, peacebuilding and women's rights influences how it is perceived. In all country case studies, Germany's presence as a donor and its financial contributions were recognised, but were not often clearly identified as contributing to WPS. Different political foundations (e.g. KAS, FES, and HBS and others) were seen as actors working in development and conflict resolution, but not prominently focusing on WPS, for example. Only in Ukraine was the HBS identified as an active partner when it comes to WPS issues.

In countries where there are many different donors present, it is important for these actors to openly share and coordinate priorities to identify gaps and repetition. Basket funds and donor coordination meetings can help to avoid duplications and funding gaps. Nevertheless, even in a well-coordinated scenario, economic dependencies and unequal power dynamics between donor and recipients can have negative influences on the local infra-structure, especially with respect to the women's movement and human rights defenders. As the Mali case study above shows, it is key to provide sufficient recognition and support to local women's organisations to contribute to context-specific gender equality efforts, instead of exclusively funding international organisations. Departmental 'silos' and 'turf battles' can lead not only to operational ineffectiveness, but also to confusion and frustration for local civil society and host governments in which women's peace groups often seem to be most affected.

Case Study: Mali

Make funds visible!



After the signing of the June 2015 Algiers Peace and Reconciliation Agreement, the positive momentum towards a durable peace between the Government of Mali and signatory armed groups remains at risk. A protracted crisis persists in the north while the central regions have also fallen prey to incessant instability. The instability in Central Mali demonstrates worrying trends with respect to the protection of civilians. Limited access to potable water, food insecurity and health concerns, including sexual and gender-based violence, remain critical protection risks. Limited livelihood opportunities through the formal economy force some to resort to negative coping strategies. The social fabric is perturbed by the ongoing crisis and this affects social relationships, traditional roles, familial structures, value systems and identities. However, certain customary and religious practices still influence the management of public life and are often used to justify harmful behaviour that further marginalises women and girls. The state of widespread anarchy has resulted in the increase in various forms of sexual and gender-based violence.

Mali has ratified both the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa. Along with the 1992 Malian Constitution, this provides the legal framework for equal protections for women and girls; however, customary law and the legal framework do not always align, and the implementation of protections for women is challenging. Mali is now implementing its third NAP on UNSCR 1325 (2019-2023), which was drafted through a consultative process, which included government, CSOs, NGOs, and women leaders. It is managed by a committee of similar stakeholders, including development partners.

Germany has supported WPS-related activities in Mali in a number of ways, though it has not been labelled specifically as support for the

WPS Agenda. Germany has provided several grants to UN Women since 2016: the first relates to the overall status of women's rights; the second targeted Mali and South Sudan, supporting the economic reintegration of women and girl IDPs and returnees; the third is to support the creation of Woye Siffa (Peace Huts) to promote women's involvement in peacebuilding and social cohesion.

The interviews conducted for this study revealed that many respondents were not familiar with German assistance to the WPS Agenda in Mali, or they were unable to make the connection between the WPS-related activities they know of and German support for them. For example, many partners were involved in the development of the 1325 NAP, but Germany was not a prominent actor. Several interviewees said that there is limited visibility around German-funded work, and a GIZ representative said that Germany's stabilisation activities need to be more clearly communicated to actors beyond their immediate partner scope. It is clear that Germany is supporting national reconciliation and peacebuilding efforts, but the details tend to be vague. Despite this link to WPS, Germany does not report such an outcome under the WPS umbrella and therefore misses out on reporting on success stories.

Additionally, the linkages and connections between Germany's investments in basic social services on the one hand and stabilisation and WPS-related efforts in the country need to be more clearly explained or emphasised. For example, Germany is a strong supporter of water works projects, with approximately 70 percent of GIZ's micro-projects focusing on access to water. The focus on water is pertinent, as limited access to water and or control of water points is a significant driver of conflict in Mali. This adds an additional burden to women and girls who are responsible for securing the household daily water ration. Thus, access to water very much falls under the WPS Agenda.

Though laudable, several interviewees commented that the project funding provided to international organisations can serve to obscure opportunities for funding the work of local actors, as well as the visibility of other actors/partners or donors working on the WPS Agenda. It is very clear that local stakeholders are aware of German support in Mali through the various projects in the cooperation's

portfolio. However, additional linkages need to be made to more clearly explain or emphasise the link between Germany's investments in basic social services and the stabilisation and WPS-related efforts in the country.

The interviews yielded a series of both general and specific recommendations for German authorities involved in the donor community:

- Support the Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children & Family in disseminating and implementing the new National Action Plan on 1325.
- Improve efforts to mark and identify German funding that attributes to the WPS Agenda; improve communication of German objectives related to the WPS Agenda; and increase visibility around the Government's existing efforts.
- Improve partnerships at all levels, and in particular, improve the Government's partner selection process so that they are able to work with more local CSOs and NGOs that work directly on the WPS Agenda.
- Ensure that there is a strong understanding of the cultural dynamics that women face in Mali and how the status/condition of Malian women has devolved with this conflict.

Survey, 14 in-person interviews and analysis was conducted by Iyayi-Osazeme Oyegun

iii. Germany's role in mediating peace processes

Perhaps in part due to its historical past, Germany takes its role as a mediator and its support of mediation efforts in conflict very seriously. A specific department at the AA is exclusively focused on mediation. In this regard, the inclusion of women in mediation efforts is mentioned as one of the key concerns on the website of the Foreign Office.⁵⁸ The Government therefore provides financial support to organisations working on mediation and also trains and sends civilian personnel to organisations working on mediation efforts in (post-) conflict areas.⁵⁹

The most recent and possibly the most prominent peace process that Germany has been heading was the intra-Afghan Dialogue in Qatar in 2019. Despite the general and clear commitment with respect to the inclusion of women in peace processes and the very gendered nature of the Afghan conflict, some interviewees felt that Germany did not actively involve women in the mediation efforts from the very beginning.

58 <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/krisenpraevention/4-mediation>

59 See for examples efforts by the Centre for International Peace Operations (ZiF): <https://www.zif-berlin.org/en/focus-areas/peace-mediation-mediation-support.html>

Case Study: Afghanistan

Women at the peace tables.



Afghanistan's first NAP to implement UNSCR 1325 was passed in 2015.⁶⁰ Divided in two implementation phases (from 2015 to 2018, and 2019 to 2022), 2019 offered an opportune moment for reflection on progress and challenges. This process raised concerns about the plan's implementation given the lack of financial resources and the fragmentation of the implementing bodies.⁶¹ The international donor community has repeatedly affirmed its commitment to support Afghan women's full and meaningful participation and women's rights in the peace processes. Despite this, there has been limited progress in practice, and women and women's civil society groups remain marginalised in the peace talks.⁶² Women have raised concerns about the exclusivity and secrecy of the U.S.-Taliban talks and the fear that women's rights and other hard-gained human rights and democratic achievements made in post-Taliban Afghanistan may be traded away during negotiations in the peace talks.

Women were also side-lined in the parallel intra-Afghan peace talks held in Moscow, with only two women participating among nearly 30 male representatives. In this context, Germany played a positive role. Germany stated its support for women's participation in the peace negotiations and said that it has advocated for this in its efforts to work towards peace with relevant stakeholders.⁶³ During a Security Council meeting on Afghanistan in July 2019, Germany advocated that, "Women must have a seat at

the table. They must be heard, and their rights respected."⁶⁴ After several advocacy meetings between the Afghan Women's Network and German diplomats, women were irreversibly put on the agenda.

Germany hosted the inter-Afghan peace talks with the Taliban in Doha in July 2019, for which it sponsored the participation of 50 representatives, including 11 female delegates.⁶⁵ Germany also provides significant financial and technical support to the Government of Afghanistan for strengthening government institutions, including through gender mainstreaming. Furthermore, the German Government also reported that it is funding projects that are "aimed at developing the capabilities of negotiating teams",⁶⁶ but it is not clear if this would also benefit women's groups involved in the negotiations.

Within Afghanistan, one of the most visible German actors is the GIZ. Its Gender Mainstreaming Project supported the Afghan Government to assist the ministries in their efforts to realize equality between women and men.⁶⁷

Germany has also supported police training to prevent and respond to violence against women, as well as to strengthen the Gender Focal Points at the district level of the Ministry of Women's Affairs.

While Germany is not known to be a major actor when it comes to WPS, it is perceived as

60 Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Directorate of Human Rights and Women's International Affairs. Afghanistan's National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325- Women, Peace and Security. June 2015

61 In dialogue with Afghanistan, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women stresses that the future peace agreement should preserve hard-won gains for women, CEDAW, 18 February 2020, <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=25578&LangID=E>

62 UN Security Council, SC/13900, 26 July 2019, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2019/sc13900.doc.htm>

63 Input Paper on German Support for the Peace Process in Afghanistan, Report to the German Bundestag, February 2019, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/2192262/003e912f390b0c3d05fd3ee401c594c5/190213-inputpapier-breg-an-bt-data.pdf>

64 UN Security Council, SC/13900, 26 July 2019, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2019/sc13900.doc.htm>

65 The conference brought together representatives from the Afghan government, opposition politicians, media and civil society activists with the Taliban. See: AAN Q&A: What came out of the Doha intra-Afghan conference?, AAN, 11 July 2019, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/aan-qa-what-came-out-of-the-doha-intra-afghan-conference/>

66 Report to the German Bundestag, February 2019, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/2192262/003e912f390b0c3d05fd3ee401c594c5/190213-inputpapier-breg-an-bt-data.pdf>

67 Mainstreaming Gender on the Governmental Level, GIZ, <https://www.genderingermadevelopment.net/afghanistan.html>

a partner that can play a vital role in advancing the agenda of peace with the Taliban, and one that can ensure meaningful participation of women in the peace process. Germany's most welcomed and visible interventions and initiatives in the country have been: involvement in police training and the inclusion of women

in the police; and facilitation of the peace talks between the Taliban and Afghan civil society and women representatives in Doha in July 2019.

Stakeholders interviewed for this study, made the following recommendations to the Government of Germany:

- Conduct gender-responsive conflict analysis including mapping of actors that support and work with women's organisations.
- Step up efforts to implement the WPS agenda in Afghanistan to ensure that women are meaningfully represented in peace talks and in the security sector, including at decision-making levels. Provide political and financial support to women groups that are working on peace initiatives at the local and community levels.
- Take action to ensure that women's rights are included in the peace negotiations with the Taliban. For any future peace talks, prioritise meetings with women representatives from Afghanistan. Women must be selected in a transparent and representative manner.
- Allocate earmarked and specific budgets to WPS issues.
- Provide technical support to the Afghan Government for the implementation of laws, policies and action plans related to women's rights and for the involvement of women in peace and security.

15 In-person interviews and analysis were conducted by Horia Mosadiq

iv. Supporting women human right defenders

Supporting human rights defenders who work on WPS does not only consist of providing funding to women's organisations, but also involves actively including women human rights defenders in decision-making processes, including ones at the grassroots and community levels. Making their voices heard and respected within peace negotiations and decision-making can help to prevent a conflict from relapsing and sustain peace. Germany has therefore taken up the good practice established by Sweden of inviting women from conflict-affected countries to be heard at the UNSC. Germany also makes an effort to include women in different projects in different countries, including Colombia, for example. Nevertheless, a recommendation that was raised by international actors, as well as German organisations and representatives from women's organisations interviewed from different countries, was the need for more active and long-term support for women human rights defenders, and more direct contact with local women's organisations and those who promote gender equality.

Case Study: Ukraine

Include local women!



The Ukrainian National Action Plan⁶⁸ on UNSCR 1325 up to 2020 (NAP 1325) was adopted in 2016 in response to the ongoing military conflict in Eastern Ukraine that began in 2014. The adoption of the NAP 1325 was a logical step for ensuring the integration of the WPS Agenda in the security and defence sector reform process, which was declared as one of the priority reforms for Ukraine.⁶⁹ In addition, the adoption of the NAP showed evidence of women's meaningful participation in the security and defence sectors of their country. Indeed, women took an active part in the Maidan protests (2013-2014), which provided them with the space to adopt and assert new gender roles. Additionally, with the eruption of the military conflict, women joined both volunteer battalions and the official Ukrainian security forces in what was named the anti-terrorist operation (ATO) and the joint forces operations (JFO).

In 2018, Ukraine's NAP 1325 was amended following its mid-term review. It is now being localised through district-level implementation plans.⁷⁰ It includes several areas of responsibility for state institutions to mainstream gender into the peace and security agenda, including: increasing women's participation in peace-building processes and peacekeeping operations, conducting a gender assessment and providing gender-responsive services to people affected by conflict; ensuring human rights and protection of women's rights; and preventing and addressing conflict-related sexual violence in Ukraine.

68 Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine as of February 24, 2016 No.113-p On approval of the National Action Plan for implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 "Women, peace, security" for the period till 2020: Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine // <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/ua/npas/248861725>

69 Decree of the President of Ukraine as of March 4, 2016 No 92/2016 On the decision of National Security and Defense Council on the Concept of Development of Security and Defence Sector // <https://www.president.gov.ua/documents/922016-19832>

70 <https://www.osce.org/secretariat/357361>

Support from Germany to advance the WPS Agenda in Ukraine has focused mainly on prevention and awareness-raising and mediation and dialogue initiatives. These were held as local projects and have not yet evolved into nation-wide activities. These include projects such as the "Women's Initiatives for Peace in Donbas (2017-2020)" supported by the German-based NGO Owen and the initiative "Women, Peace and Security: A Chance for Georgia and Ukraine's Protracted Conflicts (2018-2019)", in collaboration with the Berlin-based grassroots think tank, Polis 180. The initial results of both German-supported projects can be used by the international community and national stakeholders to build on the success stories and lessons learned for strengthening preventative measures, and to support the engagement of grassroots female activists on the national level.

In addition to German-funded support to the specific implementation of the WPS Agenda in Ukraine, there are also initiatives and events focused on conflict-affected and internally displaced women which have been implemented with the financial support of Germany.

There are a number of other German-funded projects that are aimed at improving social infrastructure and strengthening cooperation between governmental and non-governmental structures to the benefit of internally displaced persons and host communities.

Overall, Germany is perceived as playing an active role when it comes to overall humanitarian assistance and development cooperation, particularly through GiZ, as well as a political supporter working towards conflict resolution, but not a central actor when it comes to WPS issues. Other donors and actors such as UN Women, Norway and Sweden are much more visible in that regard. Germany's bilateral support is not felt strongly. A local NGO representative stated that the "Involvement of Germany in WPS issues in

Ukraine has been transferred to German civil society organizations”.

Acknowledging the expertise on the ground by local women is particularly key for the successful implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Ukraine. Local actors encourage more

engagement by German representatives in the country in collaboration with civil society.

Recommendations by interviewees for the improvement of Germany’s commitment on WPS issues in Ukraine included the following activities:

- Bring the WPS Agenda and local grassroots women’s representatives into peace negotiations.
- Support implementation of the NAP 1325 with financial and technical assistance, and provide support to already existing WPS initiatives to multiply their effects.
- Provide gender-sensitive support to ongoing security sector reform (through NATO), and advocate for the integration of the WPS Agenda in the reform process.
- Hold local dialogue fora for women in order to increase visibility, transparency and inclusion of diverse women’s groups.

12 in-person interviews and analysis were conducted by Svitlana Zakrynytska and Liudmyla Kolvalchuk

6. Key Findings

The push-back against women's rights and gender equality has significantly shaped the current political climate and many public discourses, from social media platforms to the UN Security Council. Furthermore, the current global public health pandemic has exacerbated gender inequalities and vulnerabilities in many different countries. As a political actor, Germany has taken steps to respond to these threats to women, peace and security. Nevertheless, its commitment needs to be coherent, competent and focused on long-term engagement in order to translate into global and local leadership on these issues.

Particularly since 2018, Germany has become visible with respect to the WPS Agenda internationally. Its international appearance and initiatives supporting women's participation in peace processes, the prevention and response to sexual and gender-based violence, and the inclusion of a gender perspective in conflict prevention have been noted internationally as well as nationally in all of our country case studies. Nevertheless, it has also been noted that speeches and narratives by high-ranking government officials and committed individuals have not consistently been translated into actions at all levels and have not been systematically institutionalised.

In spite of the many initiatives and the overall perception that Germany is an ally when it comes to gender equality, human rights and peaceful conflict resolution, Germany is still not considered to be among the key players in the international or national arenas when it comes to WPS issues. Other countries, like Canada, Norway, the United Kingdom or Sweden are more visible when it comes to pushing the WPS Agenda forward. Their decade-long experience, work relationships and more coherent capacities when it comes to WPS issues and actors make a significant difference in comparison to the relatively new actor Germany is in this landscape. In general, Germany's commitment to WPS is perceived as increasingly visible, yet often based on individual commitment and not coherent enough. The most recent initiatives have been well noted but require long term commitment.

Due to various reasons, Germany has been recognised as a great convener and coordinator of dialogue and collaboration efforts. Financial and political support of women human rights defenders and women's networks in different geographic regions have been very much welcomed by all interviewees of this study. Nevertheless, it was emphasised that long-term commitment to these networks is key for the country's credibility.

Within Germany, in particular, the development of the new NAP has received positive responses, especially with respect to the active inclusion and consultations with civil society organisations. Nevertheless, points of critique include the need for even more transparency and inclusiveness, especially when it comes to more effective monitoring and evaluation, as well as (gender-responsive) budgeting of the activities in the NAP. Much of Germany's financial contributions to WPS are not explicitly earmarked and are therefore not visible.

Despite the many important initiatives, most efforts seem very much to depend on the capacities of individuals holding different positions and departments

rather than a systematic and institutional approach to gender equality within the respective ministries.

The overall perception of openness and of a serious willingness to play a role in the WPS arena led many of our interviewees to provide positive and constructive feedback, suggestions and recommendations on how to fill the current gaps on WPS issues in the future.

Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Strong, explicit and coherent commitment and action on gender equality

Almost all interviewees for this study strongly welcome Germany's interest in the WPS Agenda and invite Germany to take a more pro-active, leading role to help shape the WPS Agenda in coming years. There are various ways and approaches to do so, but most of all, there is a clear need for a substantive, strategic and leadership-level engagement. Interviewees expressed the need for more explicit and active leadership against the backlash that women human rights defenders and people of diverse sexual orientation and gender identity experience in particular.

Germany should take a clear and firm position towards gender equality in all bi- and multi-lateral meetings, even when encountering resistance. The role of civil society actors in this regard is crucial. Building reliable, long-term relationships with women's organisations and actors is the basis for the trust needed to build strong alliances against backlash, and for successful negotiations between different parties at all levels, internationally as well as nationally.

Possible Action Points:

- ⇒ Take a clear and unwavering position on gender equality, human rights and conflict resolution in negotiations and meetings, even when being confronted with resistance
- ⇒ Focus on implementation of the existing normative framework rather than expanding it, especially if running the risk of regressing on already established language
- ⇒ Fill funding gaps in areas such as sexual and reproductive health
- ⇒ Reach out to new international, bilateral and civil society allies who support WPS issues
- ⇒ Invest in long-term and trustworthy relationships with civil society organisations that have been working on WPS internationally and locally
- ⇒ Ensure the German official position on gender equality is known and reproduced consistently and competently by all representatives of the Foreign Office

Recommendation 2: Recall the core of UNSCR 1325

Especially in the current context of increasing inequalities, polarizing political debates, global insecurities and social tensions, it is important to emphasise that UNSCR 1325 is not about increased militarisation and securitisation of responses to threats, but rather about finding peaceful solutions to conflict and a sustainable

and inclusive way of living together peacefully. Therefore, the WPS Agenda is not merely about increasing the number of women in the security sector, but rather aims to provide sustainable peace, equal and sustainable access to resources, as well as equal opportunities to participate in decision-making processes for all.

Possible Action Points:

- ⇒ Emphasise the importance of the prevention pillar of the WPS Agenda and its importance in times of peace
- ⇒ When speaking about sexual and gender-based violence, emphasise that women are not mere victims and survivors of violence, but also agents of change due to their unique knowledge, experiences and capacities
- ⇒ Reduce arms trade and relations with weapons industries
- ⇒ Connect the WPS Agenda to SSR, peacekeeping and transitional justice on the one hand, but also to a broader development framework on the other

Recommendation 3: Coherence and long-term engagement

Gender equality, sustainable peace, human security and human rights are long-term goals. There are no quick fixes for achieving gender equality or resolving armed conflict. These goals can only be achieved through systematic and strategic initiatives that support behavioural and societal change.

If Germany strives to join the group of internationally leading countries on WPS issues, current initiatives would need to translate into long-term engagements that truly prioritise WPS issues consistently at policy and programmatic levels. Narratives presented in global hubs like New York, Geneva, and Brussels would need to translate into action in Berlin, as well as through Germany's presence in countries affected by Germany's foreign and development policies and programmes. Such coherence would also include equal and diverse representation at all events, conferences, meetings and public affairs engagements to ensure a strong and visible presence of German female officials and civil society leaders.

Possible Action Points:

- ⇒ Increase the capacities on WPS of all German embassies and consulates.
- ⇒ Mainstream gender within internal processes
- ⇒ Support greater gender balance and diversity in missions, delegations and staffing (especially at the higher level)
- ⇒ Recognise and reward specific gender expertise among staff when it comes to peace and security issues through human resource processes including promotions and job descriptions
- ⇒ Consult with gender experts prior to policy development and in decision-making processes

Recommendation 4: Take women's voices seriously

Women's voices are increasingly included in dialogue fora and debates, but at the same time, they are also often silenced, ignored or even attacked. Underlying gender biases still exist and unravel especially in times of crisis. During the current COVID-19 crisis, women are pulled back into the domestic sphere and ignored when it comes to addressing the (security) needs of families in crisis. Their input to security policies is way too often not heard and left out. *“By setting women at the centre stage of key security topics, Germany can fill a significant gap. Especially in areas like counter terrorism initiatives, cyber security and other security debates,*

women's concerns and gender issues need to be considered," a representative from a regional organisation stated in our interviews.

Possible Action Points:

- ⇒ Identify (unconscious) biases among staff members
- ⇒ Take note of how much of what women said is translated into decision-making and action
- ⇒ Consult with women, especially those living in rural areas and young women leaders, when it comes to decision-making processes, especially on matters concerning their own security right from the beginning
- ⇒ Increase the gender balance among staff members, especially in upper levels of missions, delegations and diplomatic positions
- ⇒ Do not provide the platform for men-only panels (so called "manels"), but rather ensure diversity on stage
- ⇒ Include gender-inclusive language in all speeches, statements and policies

Recommendation 5: Gender analysis as the basis for peace and security initiatives

Consistent and multidimensional conflict analysis has to consider gender as well as its intersectional aspects. All members of the inter-ministerial working group on UNSCR 1325 should consistently apply a gender perspective to their analytical frameworks when examining conflict and violence. This should then lead to knowledge generation that shapes policy, programmes and projects from a gender perspective. More concretely, this requires actively supporting data-driven research and advocacy on WPS directed towards addressing information gaps at the national level to help take stock of progress, identify action gaps, and channel efforts to address them. As the director of a German civil society organisation stated, "*While we have seen significant progress especially over the last two years in terms of the commitment of the German Government, much remains to be done to put this into practice. One example is the comprehensive inclusion of a gender perspective in conflict and context analyses. This would also include an active involvement of German embassies and missions abroad.*"⁷¹

A regular review of good practices and lessons learned on the implementation and promotion of the WPS Agenda at different levels could help guide decisions. A self-critical analysis where WPS commitment was either insufficient or did not translate into the planned impact is key to success in the future. At the same time, positive leadership through gender champions in the respective embassies could serve as role models for others.

Possible Action Points:

- ⇒ Collect sex- and age-disaggregated data
- ⇒ Consider inter-relational and intersectional gender aspects within each armed conflict
- ⇒ Include the less visible actors including women's organisations, shelters and community leaders in the mapping of actors
- ⇒ Include intersectional gender identity, roles and expectations when analysing and interpreting interests and political intentions
- ⇒ Obtain gender expertise and a gender balance in research teams

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- ⇒ Consider individual biases and cultural interpretations of what gender equality means
- ⇒ Actively involve embassies and consulates in consultations and gender-sensitive conflict and context analysis
- ⇒ Conduct self-assessments of (unconscious) biases against diversity and gender equality in German institutions including all departments and representations of the German Federal Foreign Office

Recommendation 6: Leading through coordination and dialogue

Beyond the WPS Agenda, Germany is already seen as a strong voice for multilateral cooperation, rule of law, and respect for human rights. It is especially recognised for its political and economic influence in these areas.

Coordination has always been challenging among different actors working on WPS issues. Several suggestions were not so much that Germany assume a role of a 'a global convener', but rather to focus on meaningful partnerships in conflict countries directly. Active, meaningful and regular engagement is key for strong and trusting relationships, especially when it comes to grassroots organisations in situations of armed conflict and crisis.

Possible Action Points:

- ⇒ Convene meetings with leading civil society actors
- ⇒ Regularly invite and consult with academia who work on and research WPS issues
- ⇒ Take a joint position on mediation teams with respect to gender equality and the inclusion of women from the start in peace processes
- ⇒ Consider gender expertise and analysis when planning and implementing peace agreements
- ⇒ Support gender focal point networks, gender advisors and experts within international organisations and institutions, including UN peacekeeping missions
- ⇒ Continue to support AWL and UNIDAS

Recommendation 7: Track the funds

One indicator to measure true commitment is the investment of time and resources on a specific topic. In order to know how resources are earned and spent, a differentiated analysis is needed. Even though some ministries, such as the Foreign Office and the Ministry for Development Cooperation (BMZ), have started to include a gender marker system within their project support schemes, neither the current NAP nor other security policies indicate how much is spent on WPS issues.

In order to identify gaps and potential over-funding in the longer term, a gender analysis, in addition to a gender marker system, could help to reveal where investments for peace and security are directed. More effective, transparent and targeted support would thereby be possible. While primarily focused on political and diplomatic leadership, most interviewees encourage Germany to also increase the funding support for WPS, especially directly to women's peace efforts on the ground.

With respect to the new NAP, one UN representative in headquarters suggested to "set a specific WPS target for spending in ODA (Official Development Assistance)

for gender equality like Canada and Australia. Finalize the explicit commitment on the WPS marker to be more specific – as a more precise measure for programs and projects with WPS focus and outcomes”. Such gender-responsive budgeting initiatives could consequently also include the creation of new directives to guide Germany’s funding for peace operations and humanitarian response to ensure that funding also advances WPS.

Possible Action Points:

- ⇒ Add budget estimates per output in future WPS NAPs
- ⇒ Track funds that directly and indirectly contribute to gender equality
- ⇒ Implement a consistent gender marker system in all departments of the German Federal Foreign Office
- ⇒ Support the call for an overall gender budget analysis of the *Bundeshaushalt*
- ⇒ Contribute and advocate for basket fund schemes on WPS
- ⇒ Contribute more directly to grassroot women’s organisations
- ⇒ Provide long-term support to core budgets of key stakeholders on WPS

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- Institute for Inclusive Security: www.inclusivesecurity.org
- UNDKO Website: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en>

2. List of Interviewees

International

Representatives from the following international and regional organisations

- UNDP
- UN Women
 - Peace and Security Section at Headquarters
 - Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean
- UN Executive Office of the Secretary-General
- ESCWA
- Organisations of American States
- European Union
- OSCE
- North Atlantic Treaty Organisations

Civil Society Organisations and Academia

- Civil Society Action Network (ICAN)
- Women, Peace and Security Centre at the London School of Economics
- Global Network for Women Peacebuilders (GNWP)
- WPS NGO Working Group
- OXFAM
- Institute for Security Studies
- GAPS UK
- International Peace Institute
- Folke Bernadotte Academy
- Medica Mondiale
- CSOs from the Bündnis 1325

Bilateral Actors

- Sweden MOFA

Country Case Studies

Afghanistan:

1. Afghan State Ministry for Peace
2. Embassy of Germany in Kabul
3. EU Representative in Kabul
4. UNAMA Human Rights Unit
5. UN Women country office
6. GIZ -representative in Afghanistan
7. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan Human Rights Unit
8. Ministry of Women Affairs of Afghanistan
9. Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC)
10. Afghan Women Network (AWN) and a member of High Peace Council.
11. Afghan Women Education Centre and a member of High Peace Council.
12. Member of the Parliament and a member of the peace negotiation team with the Taliban.
13. Director of Research Institute for Women, Peace and Security
14. Women Rights Defenders from different regions

Colombia:

1. Ministerio de Relaciones exteriores
2. Consejería para la equidad de la mujer
3. Corporación de Investigación y Acción Social y Económica (CIASE)
4. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) programas mixtos con EXTITUO
5. GIZ
6. Brot für die Welt/miserior
7. UN Women country office
8. Fondo Multidonante de las Naciones Unidas para el Sostenimiento de la paz
9. Diakonia
10. FESCOL Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
11. CAPAZ – Instituto Colombo- Alemán por la paz.
12. Fundación Ideas para la Paz- Irina Cuesta
13. Redepaz (Red Nacional de Iniciativas Ciudadanas por la Paz y Contra la Guerra)
14. Instituto Pensar /Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular –CINEP (institutos jesuitas)
15. Fundación Herich Bôll
16. Corporación Podion
17. Corporación Viva la Ciudadanía
18. Martha Eugenia Segura - Fundación APEGO
19. Fundación AVINA
20. Organización Estados Americanos. Representante CIM y equipo de gobernanza y género
21. Embajada de Suecia- área de DDHH
22. ONU misión de verificación y monitoreo
23. Representante de líderes estudiantiles, red de género.
24. Mariano Aguirre- Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre NOREF
25. Corporación humanas

Mali:

1. Ministry of National Reconciliation, Peace and Social Cohesion (MRNCS)
2. Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and Family (MPFEF)
3. GIZ Country Office
4. KfW Country Office
5. UN Women Country Office
6. WFP
7. MINUSMA Peacebuilding unit
8. UNDP
9. Oxfam Mali
10. Interpeace destruction.
11. IMRAP – Malian Institute for Research-Action for Peace
12. CAEB – Conseil et appui pour l'éducation a la base
13. Woye Siffa (Case de la Paix/Peace Huts)
14. CAFO – Coordination of Malian Women's NGO's and Associations
15. Macina Films

Ukraine:

1. Cabinet of Ministries
2. Ministry of Interior of Ukraine (Mol)
3. Ministry of Social Policy
4. Ministry of Defence
5. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
6. Ministry of Veterans, Temporarily Occupied Territories and IDPs
7. Office of Deputy Prime-Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic integration
8. OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine
9. EU Advisory Mission to Ukraine
10. German Embassy
11. GiZ Country Office
12. Heinrich Boell Foundation
13. UN Women Country Office
14. Center of civil initiatives "Ideas for Changes"
15. Theater of Dialogue
16. Vostok SOS
17. Ukrainian Women's Fund
18. Institute of Gender Programs, Ukrainian Women Veteran Movement
19. Information Consultative Women Center

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