Thematic Review on
Gender-Responsive Peacebuilding

Authored by Katharina Merkel
Edited by Kelly O'Neill

November 2021

PEACEBUILDING FUND

Federal Foreign Office

STABILISATION PLATFORM

▶ TABLE OF CONTENTS

► ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

► ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The author **Katharina Merkel** is a London-based Gender, Conflict and Evaluation Specialist. Prior to moving to London, she spent 5 years in Kabul, Afghanistan where she consulted for the Afghan government and a variety of international aid agencies. Katharina currently supports the German government in the implementation of its UNSCR 1325 commitments. She also serves as an Advisor to the UK government Civilian Stabilisation Group. Katharina holds a masters' degree from the Department of War Studies at King's College London and currently reads for an MPhil in Evidence-based Practice and Social Policy Evaluation at the University of Oxford.

▶ FOREWORD

Gender-responsive peacebuilding is key to the mission of the UN Peacebuilding Support Office in the Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs to help sustain peace by fostering international support for nationally-owned and led peacebuilding efforts. In 2014, the PBSO issued its first independent Thematic Review on Gender and Peacebuilding, which outlined critical gaps in policy, practice, and results for more inclusive, gender-responsive peacebuilding. Looking back at global performance since 2015, this current Review offers important insights into how far we have traveled, but – perhaps more importantly – it also highlights how much further we must still go to secure a more equitable, inclusive, and just future for all.

Speaking to the accomplishments, over the course of the last six years I have witnessed the impressive gains made by the UN Secretary-General's Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) to improve its policies in support of gender-responsive peacebuilding. The Fund's record on meeting – and then vastly exceeding – the Secretary-General's 15 per cent target for gender-responsive financing, as well as the PBF's guidance on how to implement a more rigorous and transparent gender marker system, have provided much inspiration to others throughout the UN and beyond to set ambitious targets and implement policies that support their achievement. It is noteworthy that 2021 marks the 10th anniversary of the Peacebuilding Fund's Gender Promotion Initiative (GPI), a special call for proposals through which the Fund has allocated $88.7 million to 77 projects in over 30 countries since 2011. The GPI has been key to advancing the Women, Peace and Security agenda and other UN frameworks on the ground. It is gratifying to see these efforts recognized by the Review and to note that the Fund is now viewed as a pioneer of gender-responsive practices within the UN system.

This Thematic Review was conducted during an unprecedented global crisis triggered by the COVID-19 pandemic – a situation that has revealed that the gains made since the 2014 Review must be nurtured and protected if they are to be sustained. We have already seen how economic, social and security challenges have had a disproportionately negative effect on women and girls, with escalating rates of violence against women, higher rates of female unemployment and reduced access to education and basic services. While COVID-19 limited our own reach, civil society actors have bravely been on the front lines, assisting communities and raising the alarm about the precariousness of gender-responsive peace globally. This Review makes clear that these indispensable actors must be supported.

As we look to emerge from the pandemic and confront new challenges, we hope that the Thematic Review on Gender-Responsive Peacebuilding will provide an important guiderail for how to further advance the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, and encourage all who play a vital peacebuilding role – Member States, multilateral institutions, UN Agencies, Funds and Programmes, as well as the PBF – to join their efforts and recommit to ensuring that all peacebuilding interventions are gender-responsive and contribute to truly transformative change.

Oscar Fernández-Taranco,

Assistant Secretary-General for Peacebuilding Support,
Peacebuilding Support Office

▶ LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACORD	Agency for Cooperation and Research
CAR	Central African Republic
CSO	civil society organization
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FGD	focus group discussion
GBV	gender-based violence
GEWE	gender equality and women's empowerment
GFFO	German Federal Foreign Office
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GM	gender marker
GNWP	Global Network of Women Peacebuilders
GPI	Gender Promotion Initiative
GPPAC	Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict
GYPI	Gender and Youth Promotion Initiative
ICTJ	International Center for Transitional Justice
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRF	Immediate Response Facility
KII	key informant interview
LGBTQI	lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex
MDTF	Multi-Donor Trust Fund
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MPTFO	Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office
NAP	National Action Plan
NIMD	Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PBF	UN Peacebuilding Fund
PBSO	UN Peacebuilding Support Office
PRF	Peacebuilding and Recovery Facility

SFCG	Search for Common Ground
SGBV	sexual and gender-based violence
SSR	security sector reform
SPF	Stabilisation Platform
ToC	theory of change
ToR	terms of reference
UN	United Nations
UNCT	UN Country Team
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDPPA	United Nations Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHABITAT	United Nations Human Settlement Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council resolution
UN WOMEN	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
WFP	World Food Programme
WPHF	Women, Peace and Humanitarian Fund
WPS	Women, Peace and Security
YPI	Youth Promotion Initiative

▶ EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This **Thematic Review on Gender-Responsive Peacebuilding,** commissioned by the UN Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) in partnership with the German Federal Foreign Office (GFFO) and UN Women, was prepared in the context of the 20th anniversary of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000).[1] It maps good practices, gaps, challenges, emerging trends and priorities for action in gender-responsive peacebuilding. In 2014, PBSO's first Thematic Review on Gender and Peacebuilding[2] identified several areas in need of accelerated action, including the need for increased budgetary allocation and better tracking of project results. The present Thematic Review, which focuses on the period from 2015 to 2020,

analyses progress across those and other areas related to gender-responsive peacebuilding, paying particular attention to the extent to which recommendations put forward in the 2014 Review have been implemented.

The current Thematic Review also draws on field-level consultations with women's civil society organizations in **Guatemala**, **Mali**, **Niger**, **Somalia**, **South Sudan**, and **Sri Lanka** and key informant interviews with policymakers, academics and UN staff carried out between April and June 2021; and a review of academic, practitioner and policy literature, as well as UN Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) project documents, evaluation reports and guidance notes.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

EMERGING CONTEXT, TRENDS AND DEBATES

▶ There is no doubt that 2020 presented unexpected and unprecedented challenges for peace and security. The outbreak of the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) has underscored and, in many cases, intensified the devastating effects of social inequalities, discriminatory structures and toxic social norms. The Thematic Review provides strong support for the notion of a 'shadow pandemic' of gender-based violence (GBV). Restrictive measures to protect public health have, in some cases, served as pretext for closing civic spaces, with women's organizations seen as easy targets in such crackdowns. Trust-building measures – an important ingredient in effective peacebuilding – have been weakened in the absence of direct human contact. On top of long-standing difficulties in securing political support for gender-responsive peacebuilding, COVID-19 has created new obstacles for those working to prevent conflict and sustain fragile peace.

▶ While socioeconomic and political contexts are challenging, advances in policy and research since the PBF's last Thematic Review on Gender and Peacebuilding underscore the field's substantial accomplishments since 2014. Several high-level reviews and UN reforms have reaffirmed the importance of gender equality and women's empowerment in peacebuilding processes. A growing research base contributes to robust debates on topics such as the risks of gender essentialism, and the value of inclusive perspectives that recognize challenges associated with the gender binary and are sensitive to the needs and interests of minority groups. Accordingly, activists have started calling for more nuanced gender-balancing and gender-mainstreaming approaches to better reflect the complexities of gender identities, variations in women's experiences and needs, and the interrelationship of war with both masculinities and femininities. These are positive developments with potential to yield even stronger outcomes for gender-responsive peacebuilding. At the same time, this Thematic Review indicates that these emergent good practices remain to be fully implemented.

---

1   S/RES/1325, https://undocs.org/en/S/RES/1325(2000).

2   Eleanor O'Gorman, "Independent Thematic Review on Gender for the UN Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO)", PBSO, March 2014, https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/final_report_thematic_review_on_gender_peacebuilding_0.pdf.

GENDER-RESPONSIVE FINANCING

▶ A lack of financing was identified as a key impediment to gender-responsive peacebuilding in the PBSO's 2014 Thematic Review on Gender and Peacebuilding.[3] In 2010, the Secretary-General (SG) committed the UN to allocate a minimum of 15 per cent of all peacebuilding and recovery funds to gender equality.[4] Since then, several UN pooled funds have experimented with ways to achieve the target. After meeting the 15 per cent target in 2015, the PBF committed to achieving a more ambitious 30 per cent[5] – a target it has met or exceeded every year since.[6] However, beyond the PBF, funding increases have been slow to occur, and many UN funds still lack appropriate systems to even report against their targets. The PBF's Gender Marker (GM) is widely seen as good practice and other UN funds draw extensively on PBF guidance.

▶ An area of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda that remains chronically underfunded is direct bilateral aid to women's organizations in fragile and conflict-affected states. OECD data indicate that between 2016 and 2017, only 1 per cent of all gender-focused funding went to local women's organizations.[7] Between 2017 and 2018, this rate declined even further to only 0.39 per cent.[8] Despite pleas by the UN Secretary-General to multiply by five the percentage of funding allocated directly to women's organizations in fragile and conflict-affected countries,[9] persistent funding gaps remain at the local level. Many grassroots women's organizations interviewed as part of this Thematic Review expressed concern over the slow pace of global progress in making funding more readily available. This situation persists despite accelerated efforts across the wider UN system. For instance, in 2016 and for the first time, the PBF made available funding to peacebuilding projects focused on youth empowerment and extended eligibility to CSOs. The same year saw the launch of the Women's Peace and Humanitarian Fund (WPHF) as an innovative and flexible funding mechanism for grassroots women's organizations.

---

3   Ibid.

4   The 2010 SG Report on WPS introduced the Seven-Point Action Plan that proposed the 15 per cent target. Available at https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/seven_point_action_plan.pdf.

5   In recognition of diverse priority and focus areas of PBF investments, the Peacebuilding Fund's 30 per cent target is calculated based on the budget allocations to Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment across the entire PBF portfolio (among GM1, GM2 and GM3 projects).

6   Thirty-six per cent in 2017, see 2017 SG Report on PBF at https://undocs.org/A/72/740; forty per cent in 2018, see 2018 SG Report on PBF at https://undocs.org/A/73/829; forty per cent in 2019, see 2019 SG Report on PBF at https://undocs.org/A/74/688; forty per cent in 2020, see 2020 SG Report on PBF at https://undocs.org/en/A/75/735

7   https://www.oecd.org/development/gender-development/OECD-Gendernet-Financing-UNSCR.pdf.

8   Ibid.

9   2020 SG Report on Women and Peace and Security, https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2020_946.pdf.

DESIGN, MONITORING, EVALUATION & LEARNING

▶ One of the priority areas identified in the 2014 Thematic Review was the need for validated theories of change to enhance the design, monitoring, and evaluation of gender-responsive peacebuilding interventions. There has been some progress on this front. All PBF projects are now required to submit a theory of change (ToC) at the proposal stage. As a review of selected samples suggests, however, theories of change put forward by fund recipients generally lack specificity regarding the intended results of projects. Many of the terms used, such as 'women', 'participation', 'decision-making' and 'peace', require elaboration. ToC frameworks often view women's participation as the final goal, but how this participation is expected to contribute to peace is rarely made explicit. Theories of change need to pay closer attention to how the various ways diverse women participate in peacebuilding interact with wider conflict dynamics.

▶ As one of the four pillars of the WPS agenda, 'participation' tends to dominate the framing of gender-responsive peacebuilding. There is a need, however, to look more closely at the other pillars – protection, prevention, relief and recovery – and their interrelationship. For instance, interventions aimed at addressing the psychosocial and justice needs of survivors of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) are often articulated in terms of the 'protection-participation hypothesis'. In other words, since SGBV survivors are supported, women's

participation in peace and security decision-making is assumed to increase. While it is beyond the current scope to assess the validity of the hypothesis, the tendency to default to the participation pillar risks diminishing, or altogether overlooking, other important peacebuilding dimensions. Projects that address the justice needs of SGBV survivors can, for instance, also lead to work against impunity, thus linking to the prevention pillar.

▶ The broadening of the conceptual scope of gender-responsive peacebuilding – a key recommendation put forward in this Thematic Review – also opens up opportunities to work on other relevant themes, including gender norms such as those associated with masculinities and femininities. For example, high rates of SGBV can reflect complex causes, including young men's violent indoctrination into armed groups and gendered norms related to ideas of 'manhood'. While projects addressing the psychosocial and justice needs of SGBV survivors are critical – this Thematic Review by no means calls for their suspension – these types of interventions only address the symptom and not the cause. To achieve progress for women and for girls, there is a need to address the gendered norms that harm both women and girls as well as men and boys. This Thematic Review calls for greater focus on these interrelationships and deeper exploration of the gendered roots of armed conflict and violence at the project design stage.

▶ While all PBF projects are now required to include gender considerations in their context and conflict analyses, the quality of analysis varies significantly across the PBF portfolio, with marked differences between Gender Marker 3 (GM3) and other projects. Conflict analyses that fall outside the Gender Promotion Initiative (GPI)[10] tend to include only a cursory treatment of gender issues. GM3 project analyses often explore gender more systemically, for instance, by looking at how gender relations have changed during, and because of, conflict. GPI and other GM3 project conflict analyses are generally good at avoiding stereotypical portrayals of women, and even on occasion adequately account for intersecting forms of exclusion and discrimination. Overall, however, most analyses continue to overlook the different roles and identities held by women and instead portray them as one-dimensional actors.

---

10 GPI projects are required to meet GM3 requirements.

▶ Some unresolved challenges also remain when it comes to results measurements. Despite widespread adoption of gender-mainstreaming programmes and policies, the impact of promoting gender equality in peacebuilding interventions has been difficult to measure. Peace itself remains an elusive concept, as it can be experienced differently person to person. This is important to recognize in gender-responsive peacebuilding. Indicators that are gender-blind and/or gender-biased will likely not reflect differences in women's and men's lived experiences of conflict or peace. Yet, results frameworks often draw on the same metrics of success for both women and men. Overall, the peacebuilding sector remains unhelpfully concerned with numbers ('counting women'), while more fundamental questions are often left aside, such as tracking perceptions of security or levels of conflict-related sexual violence and gender-based violence in ascertaining the quality of 'peace' for women.

▶ Beyond challenges in identifying suitable metrics of success, monitoring and evaluation is also hampered by a lack of gender-disaggregated data collection. While the majority of PBF results frameworks call for the collection of sex- and age-disaggregated data, review of a selected sample of GM2 project evaluations illustrates that this data is often unavailable. Approximately one fifth of the evaluation reports reviewed referred to 'beneficiaries' as a homogenous group. Overall, consideration of other intersecting variables remains limited in results frameworks. For example, while most projects that fall under the Youth Promotion Initiative (YPI) consider gender an intersecting variable, age is rarely considered outside of the YPI. Given these limitations, robust evidence of what works in gender-responsive peacebuilding remains scarce, with many of the assumptions that underpin gender-responsive programming lacking rigorous testing.

RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICYMAKERS

▶ **Strengthen the language of diversity and intersectionality[11] in WPS policy discourse** by explicitly referring to the different experiences and needs of women of diverse backgrounds and origins.

▶ **Enhance the WPS Global Indicator Framework** through expanding the focus to include not only quantitative indicators measuring the advancement of women but also their substantive representation – i.e., look at not just the number of women involved but also the type of power they hold. Apply an intersectional lens and recognize how women's diversity impacts their access to decision-making. Measure gender-responsive peacebuilding by widely applying indicators based on women's narratives and experiences of conflict and peace.

▶ **Pay greater attention to the construction of male identities and masculine norms** (as related to femininities/female identities) in the context of armed conflict.

▶ **Ensure that the WPS agenda is truly inclusive and intersectional**, including by referring explicitly to the experiences and needs of gender and sexual minority groups.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DONORS

▶ **Finance the WPS agenda in a moment of extraordinary crisis** by scaling-up direct funding to grassroots women's organizations in fragile and conflict-affected states and supporting those peacebuilding initiatives that place gender equality and grassroots engagement at the centre of their strategies (e.g., PBF's GYPI and the WPHF).

▶ **Strengthen peaceful and gender-sensitive responses to the COVID-19 pandemic** by ensuring that gender and conflict are considered cross-cutting themes in all response measures.

▶ **Strengthen gender-responsive peacebuilding approaches through robust monitoring and evaluation** by making adequate investments in rigorous, theory-based evaluation approaches that test linkages and assumptions underpinning gender-responsive peacebuilding.

---

11 See UN Women brief on addressing exclusion through intersectionality in rule of law, peace and security context: "Emerging from critical race and gender theory, intersectional approaches encourage policymakers and practitioners to move beyond singular categories of identity (such as gender, race, disability or age) and consider the more complex relationships and interactions between all identities and the impact of structures of oppression – including racism, sexism and ableism. The lens of intersectionality, broadly conceived, can better illuminate complex contexts and drivers of exclusion as it pays attention to the relationships between experiences of marginalization, power dynamics and structural inequality." Full text available at https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2020/12/brief-addressing-exclusion-through-intersectionality-in-rule-of-law-peace-and-security-context.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PEACEBUILDING FUND

▶ **Enhance the Gender Marker** tool by expanding the PBF Gender Marker Guidance Note's focus to include masculinities and femininities and by specifying the requirements for gender-sensitive conflict analysis. Continue to invest in quality assurance and verification of Gender Marker scores, especially in those countries where the UN lacks in-country gender expertise.

▶ **Introduce a gender scorecard** in the evaluation process to encourage more thorough examination of the gendered impacts of an intervention. The gender scorecard will help assess projects along a continuum from harmful to gender transformative. A useful example is the recently launched CARE Gender Marker[12] that uses a five-point ranking to examine gender equality outcomes instead of intended results.

▶ **Enhance design, monitoring and evaluation frameworks** by engaging in cross-fertilization of knowledge with DPPA desks and units, sharing guidance notes, tools and analyses more systematically. Consider introducing a revised results framework that includes an intermediate outcome level to encourage fund applicants to reflect more holistically on both gender equality and peacebuilding outcomes. In the PBF Theory of Change Guidance Note,[13] include examples of ToC diagrams/ systems maps to enhance understanding of the importance of underlying assumptions in gender-responsive peacebuilding.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUND RECIPIENTS

▶ **Enhance the quality of gender-sensitive conflict analysis** by ensuring a deeper exploration of the gendered root causes of conflict and violence.

▶ **Enhance the quality of theories of change** by using ToC diagrams/systems maps as an alternative to 'if/then statements' and clearly spell out the assumptions underpinning programming.

▶ **Improve metrics to move beyond participation** by complementing quantitative indicators on women's advancement in peace and security spheres (gender balancing) with qualitative assessments of women's substantive representation as well the various ways they participate in peacebuilding. Use an intersectional lens to understand the interaction of women's multiple identities with experiences of exclusion and oppression. Monitor whether and how the contributions of diverse women translate into broader gender equality objectives.

▶ **Improve metrics to include gendered definitions of project success** by ensuring that results measurements place greater focus on the lived experiences of conflict and peace, including through conducting perception surveys and integrating women's narratives and experiences of conflict and peace.

▶ **Provide capacity-building support to local implementing partners** by focusing routinely on institutional capacity development for grassroots women's organizations, specifically in such areas as financial management, grant writing and monitoring and evaluation.

---

12 CARE Gender Marker Guidance, http://gender.careinternationalwikis.org/_media/care_gender_marker_guidance_english.pdf.
13 https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/toc_guidance_note_en.pdf

► INTRODUCTION

This Thematic Review on Gender-Responsive Peacebuilding, commissioned by the UN Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO), in partnership with the German Federal Foreign Office (GFFO) and UN Women, is part of a series of studies conducted in the follow-up to the 20th anniversary of the adoption of UN Security Council resolution (UNSCR) 1325 (2000)[14] and two decades of efforts to integrate women and their perspectives into peacebuilding. UNSCR 1325 formally recognizes that women are crucial actors in forging and maintaining peace and security. Furthermore, UNSCR 1889 (2009)[15] calls for greater attention to the gender dimension of planning and financing for peacebuilding. While women are still often sidelined from official, government-led processes, track two or backchannel diplomacy has offered a meaningful space for women to engage. Recent research, for instance, indicates that 60 per cent of formal peace processes between 1989 and 2017 were accompanied by informal peace processes, of which 71 per cent had clear evidence of involvement from identifiable women's groups.[16] Through engagement in these informal processes, women have contributed in meaningful ways to build and sustain peace in their communities.

In Guatemala, CONAVIGUA – an organization set up in 1988 to demand justice for civil war atrocities – now has more than 30,000 members, most of them indigenous women. Likewise, in Sri Lanka interview respondents highlighted the once crucial role of the 'Mothers Front' in investigating disappearances and killings during the war. In Somalia, women's participation has made significant progress in promoting peace. As a CSO interview respondent stated:

"Women play a big role, but it is often not seen in the community. For example, in Jubbaland, just outside Kismayo where two different clans live, there has been constant fighting. The Kismayo Women's Platform went there and facilitated a reconciliation. The women insisted that they would not go home until the men came out and reconciled the matter. Women have the power. They mediated the conflict – but it is not seen in the public eye, it is hidden, as they usually do it behind the scenes."

Despite these examples of the myriad ways diverse women participate – and the passage of twenty years since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 – women's contributions to peacebuilding remain difficult to measure. Certainly, assessment of progress requires applying gender sensitivity and an intersectional lens. This Thematic Review aims to contribute to filling the knowledge gap by mapping good practices, challenges, emerging trends, and priorities for action in gender-responsive peacebuilding. Building on the 2014 Thematic Review,[17] the current version focuses specifically on the period between 2015 and 2020.

> " *Women play a big role, but it is often not seen in the community. For example, in Jubbaland, just outside Kismayo where two different clans live, there has been constant fighting. The Kismayo Women's Platform went there and facilitated a reconciliation. The women insisted that they would not go home until the men came out and reconciled the matter. Women have the power. They mediated the conflict – but it is not seen in the public eye, it is hidden, as they usually do it behind the scenes.* "

The previous Review identified four main areas in need of accelerated action: 1. the need for increased budget allocations and better tracking of financial commitments; 2. the importance of grounding interventions in gender-sensitive conflict analysis; 3. better tracking of project results, including through the development of enhanced ToC frameworks; and 4. the strengthening of gender expertise and the development of guidance notes and tools. This Thematic Review captures progress across these and other areas related to gender-responsive peacebuilding.

---

14   S/RES.1325 (2000).
15   S/RES/1889 (2009), https://undocs.org/S/RES/1889(2009).
16   GIWPS (2020).
17   Eleanor O'Gorman, "Independent Thematic Review on Gender for the UN Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO)", PBSO, March 2014, https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/final_report_thematic_review_on_gender_peacebuilding_0.pdf.

▶ METHODOLOGY

Divided into two parts, the Thematic Review draws on a detailed framework developed during the inception phase in close consultation with the Reference Group. Part 1 is a scan of the global peacebuilding landscape to assess how the context for gender-responsive peacebuilding has evolved and to map emerging trends and debates. Part 2 is a review of the UN Peacebuilding Fund to assess key progress and generate lessons learned from implementation.

PART 1 GLOBAL SCAN

To consolidate knowledge and leverage sector-wide experiences, the global scan involved a rapid, targeted review of academic, practitioner, and policy literature related to gender and peacebuilding. Documents examined included UNSCR 1325 National Action Plans (NAPs); the gender strategies, policies and action plans of various UN agencies; gender marker and conflict analysis guidance notes; academic studies and various other publications.

The priority areas identified in the Thematic Review inception report informed the research questions. For example, the conceptualization and application of gender markers were assessed for commonalities and differences in practice across the field. UNSCR 1325 NAPs were evaluated for evidence as to whether they were costed since this was one of the key research questions in the original review framework. Initial screening of the academic literature led to the identification of additional themes related to the framing of NAPs and their focus on intersectionality. These themes were subsequently included in another round of analysis.

Academic reports on gender and peacebuilding were primarily utilized to assess longitudinal change and map out emerging debates and salient critiques. For instance, discussions about essentialized notions of women figure prominently in academic discourse. The global literature scan also informed Part 2 of the Thematic Review, particularly the findings and recommendations pertaining to the PBF Guidance Note on Theory of Change[18] and the PBF Guidance Note on Gender Marker Scoring.[19] Based on recent academic and policy literature, the theories of change and gender marker scoring of selected PBF-funded projects were assessed against emergent good practices identified by the global scan. The scan also drew on key informant interviews (KIIs) that took place between April and June 2021 with participants from civil society[20] (N=14); multilateral organizations[21] (N =12); policy think thanks and academia[22] (N=3) as well as representatives from the governments of Afghanistan and the United Kingdom (N=3).

---

18 https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/toc_guidance_note_en.pdf.
19 https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/pbf_guidance_note_on_gender_marker_scoring_2019.pdf.
20 Conciliation Resources, Search for Common Ground, Saferworld, MercyCorps.
21 Various UN entities, World Bank, OECD.
22 The London School of Economics WPS Centre, RUSI Org

PART 2 SCAN OF THE PEACEBUILDING FUND

PBF DOCUMENT REVIEW AND ANALYSIS

A broad range of PBF programming documents were reviewed to examine promising practices and lessons learned regarding financing, monitoring and evaluation of gender-responsive peacebuilding. Materials examined included project documents (ProDocs), results frameworks, project reports and other documents such as baseline studies and evaluations.

META-SYNTHESIS

The aim of the meta-synthesis was to consolidate knowledge on gender-responsive peacebuilding by summarizing and distilling evidence from 45 PBF project evaluation reports. The meta-synthesis identified patterns and trends across PBF-funded projects to help generate more robust conclusions.

Evaluation reports were selected using a purposive sampling approach to ensure that projects represented sufficient diversity in implementation modalities, geographic regions, gender markers, and thematic focus areas. The full list of projects included in the meta-synthesis can be found in Annex 1. The evaluation reports were analysed inductively and deductively using the qualitative coding software Dedoose. Following an initial screening of evaluation reports, the initial coding framework – structured around intervention themes and reported outcome-level changes – had to be adjusted.

Importantly, an initial screening of evaluation reports found limitations in the technical merits of the reports; this led to a revision of the scope of the meta-synthesis. Qualitative meta-synthesis of intervention effectiveness required the exclusion of non-high-quality primary cases. The question of what constitutes 'quality' in peacebuilding evaluation remains largely debated. The strengths

and weaknesses of the evidence were therefore assessed against basic methodological criteria applicable to both qualitative and quantitative approaches: 1. clear articulation of methods used; 2. methodological limitations of the approach; and 3. interpretation of data.

Primary cases varied greatly when assessed against these criteria. For instance, 24 per cent contained no clear description of the methodology used. Most evaluation reports (82 per cent) relied solely on qualitative methods. Where quantitative approaches were used (N=8), baseline data was often lacking. Only one evaluation design included a comparison group, and questions of attribution were generally not addressed. Significantly, 17 per cent of GM2 project evaluations did not collect gender-disaggregated data. For these reasons, a rigorous assessment of the effectiveness of one type of intervention vis-à-vis another was not feasible. The scope of the meta-synthesis was refined, therefore, following an initial screening of reports. Rather than focusing on 'hard evidence' of intervention effectiveness, the focus shifted to understanding shared programming approaches, how success is commonly defined, and what factors are considered conducive or unfavourable to gender-responsive peacebuilding.

PRIMARY FIELD RESEARCH

In addition to the meta-synthesis used to reduce and structure data across a broad range of studies, case studies were identified to provide more in-depth and granular information on specific projects, country portfolios and cross-cutting themes. Thematic Review partners – PBSO, GFFO/SPF, UN Women – selected six countries in consultation with PBF programme officers. Field-level consultations were carried out in Guatemala, Mali, Niger, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sri Lanka by a network of local researchers guided by the lead consultant. Field research focused primarily on the experiences of civil society organizations (CSOs) working on gender and peacebuilding. In total, 98 semi-structured interviews were held with representatives from civil society, including women's CSOs as project implementing partners

and beneficiaries (N=64), government (N=12), youth beneficiaries (N=6) and project staff (N=16). The full list of PBF-funded projects that informed the Review's primary research can be found in Annex 2.

The number of interviews conducted with youth beneficiaries fell sharply behind the target set out during the inception phase, as these were meant to take place primarily in Mali and Somalia. In Mali, data collection was hampered by security-related matters as fieldwork coincided with a coup d'état in the country. Reaching respondents – in particular youth beneficiaries – by phone also proved challenging, as numbers were often inaccurate or outdated. Furthermore, the timing of primary research coincided with Ramadan and the Eid holidays, hence many government officials were

not available. In Somalia, there was only a short time-span available for the interviews because of delays in recruitment of the national consultant.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, most consultations were held remotely by phone. This process was time-consuming, as respondents had to be interviewed individually rather than as part of focus group discussions (FGDs). After securing the permission of each study participant, national researchers conducted the interviews in local languages. Using the qualitative coding software Dedoose, transcripts and the short synthesis reports written by the national researchers and later translated into English were coded using a framework structured around the questions set out in interview topic guides.

▶ DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

PEACEBUILDING

> *The definition of peacebuilding can differ and sometimes women don't even know that they are involved in peacebuilding. Generally speaking, there are many women and women's organizations working at different levels on peacebuilding. It could be building vigilance between communities, involving social media, taking out messages of non-violence … or providing a counter-narrative to hate speech.*
>
> – CSO interview respondent, **Sri Lanka**

Despite concerted efforts, a single definition of 'peacebuilding' remains elusive. While during the 1990s peacebuilding was often seen as time-bound and concerned primarily with ending conflict,[23] an understanding of the nature of conflict has evolved. Today, there is broad recognition that conflict rarely stops once a peace agreement has been signed; rather, it tends to oscillate along a pathway between stability and conflict. Indeed, 60 per cent of violent conflicts in the early 2000s relapsed within five years.[24] These cycles of recurring violence have led the peacebuilding sector to broaden its horizon, gradually expanding into areas such as development, human rights, and security. The term 'peacebuilding' now tends to be used more broadly to refer to a wide range of activities aimed at preventing the outbreak, continuation, escalation and recurrence of violent conflict. Within the UN system, the term 'sustaining peace' was introduced as part of the 2015 Review of the Peacebuilding Architecture. The idea of sustaining peace encompasses "the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships".[25] For the purposes of this Thematic Review, peacebuilding refers to this broader approach that is focused on sustaining peace.

GENDER-RESPONSIVE PEACEBUILDING

> *When you use a militarized framing of peace, you are going to miss out both from a gender and a peacebuilding lens.*
>
> – Sophia Close, Head of Gender and Peacebuilding at Conciliation Resources

---

23 IPI (2017).
24 Legatum Institute (2020).
25 https://www.un.org/press/en/2016/sc12340.doc.htm.

At the core of gender-responsive peacebuilding is the recognition that peace is a gendered process. Gender-responsive peacebuilding calls for women's equal participation and the adoption of a gender equality perspective in all peacebuilding processes and programming. It recognizes that conflict impacts women and men differently and that gender roles both shape – and are shaped by – peacebuilding outcomes. The demand for women's inclusion is rooted in a normative framework that views equal participation as a fundamental human right.

Twenty-one years after the adoption of UNSCR 1325, there is ample evidence that women are crucial actors in the maintenance of peace and security. Recent scholarship illustrates that formal peace processes inclusive of women are both more likely to succeed and be more durable.[26] While similar hard evidence for informal peacebuilding processes is difficult to attain, the underlying premise is the same: women's experiences and capacities are a critical resource in the process of post-crisis recovery. By drawing attention to exclusionary structures and toxic social norms, the inclusion of women – and the adoption of a gender perspective – can enable a deeper understanding of the situation and highlight the root causes of conflict and violence. Rather than rebuilding the structures that contributed to violent conflict in first place, gender-responsive peacebuilding aims to recover in a manner that helps societies save lives and builds resiliency against future shocks.

Research also underscores that where gender equality is lacking, other prerequisites for peaceful development are also likely absent. Furthermore, the larger the gender gap in a society, the higher the probability for a country to be involved in intrastate or interstate conflict.[27] The World Bank and other institutions, therefore, view gender equality as a key predictor of armed conflict. As Fawzia Koofi, a peace negotiator in the intra-Afghan peace talks interviewed June 2021 for the Thematic Review noted: "If you ignore women's rights in this process, that means democracy will not be complete. That means other freedoms and values will also be undermined."

---

26 See, for example, L. Stone (2015), J. Krause and others (2018) and Maxwell Adjei (2019).
27 Valerie M. Hudson and others (2012).

▶ PART 1 GLOBAL SCAN

COVID-19 PANDEMIC

> " *The pandemic has not only affected the health of the Guatemalan population but has also deepened the social problems that the country already faced: racism against indigenous people, social inequalities and exclusion, high rates of poverty that affect primarily indigenous women, the lack of job opportunities for young people and for women, violence against women. The registries of girl and adolescent pregnancies have grown, the rates of sexual violence have increased since the confinement. Today the experience of sexual violence is so strong among women – especially young women – that it will affect the life cycle of a whole generation.* "
>
> – CSO interview respondent, **Guatemala**

There is no doubt that 2020 presented unexpected and unprecedented challenges for peace and security around the world. Despite broad political backing for the Secretary-General's global ceasefire appeal,[28] violence continues to accompany the COVID-19 pandemic in many parts of the world. At the same time, the pandemic has itself created new fault lines and tensions. The Thematic Review, therefore, examines the implications of the pandemic on peacebuilding and gender equality efforts.

THE EVOLVING CONTEXT FOR GENDER-RESPONSIVE PEACEBUILDING

Although how the pandemic will play out over the coming years is yet unknown, it is already clear there will be ramifications well beyond public health constraints. The consequences of the pandemic are likely to accelerate violent conflict in many parts of the world, as structural weaknesses and societal divisions are further amplified. As with other global emergencies, both women and girls are disproportionately impacted by the crisis. While statistically more men than women have serious symptoms and die from COVID-19,[29] women experience greater secondary impacts, such as rising unemployment and poverty rates.[30] Under confinement measures, such as lockdowns, both women and girls are experiencing unprecedented rates of gender-based violence (GBV).[31] While initially the pandemic appeared to be an equalizer, the emerging picture instead depicts the exacerbation of many existing inequalities and injustices.

It is critical that fragile gains made earlier in gender-responsive peacebuilding are not lost in the current global crisis. Not only have peacebuilding needs increased as a direct consequence of the global pandemic, but additional obstacles have been created for those trying to prevent conflict and sustain peace. In Guatemala, transitional justice processes have reportedly been interrupted, putting at risk hard-won gains in achieving redistributive justice for survivors of sexual and gender-based violence. In Sri Lanka, trust-building measures, important for effective peacebuilding, have reportedly been weakened in the absence of direct human contact. Meanwhile, in countries such as South Sudan and Niger, limited access to personal technology devices, illiteracy and unreliable media have made it difficult for some peacebuilding organizations to shift to a virtual format. In some cases, lockdowns have also served as a pretext for the closing of civic spaces, with women's rights organizations seen as easy targets during such crackdowns. As a Guatemalan CSO interview respondent noted: "The pandemic has served them [authorities], it has allowed them to close down [rights organizations] under the premise of 'social distancing'."

28 https://www.un.org/en/academic-impact/un-secretary-general-calls-global-ceasefire-focus-ending-covid-19-pandemic.
29 https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(20)30526-2/fulltext.
30 https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/9/feature-covid-19-economic-impacts-on-women.
31 https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/in-focus-gender-equality-in-covid-19-response/violence-against-women-during-covid-19.

> **The pandemic has served them [authorities], it has allowed them to close down [rights organizations] under the premise of 'social distancing'.**

Even a cursory look at the implications of the COVID-19 pandemic illustrates why the WPS agenda remains profoundly relevant during this moment of crisis. The erosion of democracy and human rights – a global trend accelerated by the pandemic – is a gendered process.[32] Shrinking civic space often goes hand in hand with fundamentalist discourse and a re-assertion of traditional patriarchal values.[33] Likewise, the expansion of military and police powers to enforce lockdowns has gendered implications, particularly in countries where security forces themselves are involved in cases of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV).

The principles often stressed by proponents of the WPS agenda – such as the need for inclusivity, gender analysis, and respect for human rights – are equally relevant in responses to all societal shocks, including those from the COVID-19 pandemic. UN Security Council resolution 2242 (2015) recognizes health pandemics as part of the WPS agenda and stresses the importance of including a gender equality perspective in all recovery efforts.[34] Through its focus on intersectional analysis, the WPS framework can serve as a lever to help mitigate and prevent violence. It is essential to draw attention to the unequal and long-lasting impacts of the crisis to ensure that recovery efforts avoid exacerbating existing tensions.

FINANCING FOR GENDER-RESPONSIVE PEACEBUILDING IN AN EVOLVING GLOBAL CONTEXT

Although long-term funding trajectories are difficult to predict, the economic crisis precipitated by the pandemic will likely have implications for donor priorities and funding. While in 2020 overseas development assistance (ODA) reached an all-time high, due to pandemic-related spending several donor governments have reduced their aid spending because of the economic fallout of the crisis.[35] As peacebuilding ODA is strongly reliant on a small number of donor governments,[36] such a redirection could have significant negative repercussions for fragile and conflict-affected states reliant on ODA as a significant part of their national budgets.

---

32 https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/policy-brief-covid-19-and-womens-rights-organizations-en.pdf
33 https://kvinnatillkvinna.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/2-Suffocating-the-movement-ENG.pdf.
34 S/RES/2242 (2015): https://undocs.org/en/S/RES/2242(2015).
35 OECD (2021).
36 Veron and others (2020).

In a context characterized by increasingly scarce resources, there are serious concerns about the potential diversion of funds. As one interview respondent from a CSO in Niger noted: "Resources are increasingly divided between 'the fight against insecurity' and 'the fight against the virus'." As the world continues to be uprooted not only by the COVID-19 crisis – but also by other major upheavals, including climate change and increased geopolitical volatility – there is a need to articulate the relevance of gender-responsive peacebuilding vis-à-vis other global needs. This Thematic Review urges key actors not to view pandemic recovery and gender-responsive peacebuilding as competing priorities; rather, they are overlapping agendas that can be mutually reinforcing.

> " *Resources are increasingly divided between 'the fight against insecurity' and 'the fight against the virus'.* "

Women's grassroots organizations remain at the forefront in providing peaceful responses to the crisis, while also delivering critical services where state institutions are overwhelmed.

For instance, in South Sudan, women's peacebuilding organizations also serve as conduits for transmitting important health and safety information to communities that are isolated by the conflict. Combatting COVID-19 is essential to avoid a further escalation of the humanitarian crisis which itself can create new issues. Rather than focusing on one dimension at the expense of another, there is a need to simultaneously address the multifaceted impacts of the pandemic on health and economic systems and on peace and security.

In the face of increasing uncertainty, there is urgent need for international donors to be responsive to the demands of local organizations for greater flexibility. Allowing grantees to repurpose funds should be the norm, not be the exception. In a moment of extraordinary crisis, the focus cannot be on 'business as usual'. The Peacebuilding Fund has, for instance, put in place measures to enable fund recipients to re-tailor programmes and adapt project timeframes and budgets. This should be considered good practice not only during the pandemic, but also beyond. Even in the best of circumstances, peacebuilding contexts remain highly volatile and complex, requiring nimble responses on the part of fund recipients and donors.

> " *We would like to request donors to be more flexible, not only during the pandemic, but also in moments of 'normality'.* "
>
> – CSO interview respondent, **Guatemala**

COVID-19, and its associated effects, have also brought to the fore the need to strengthen local capacities, as aid agencies are increasingly obliged to work remotely and devolve programme management to local partners. This shift to the local presents an opportunity to reframe the circumstances of the crisis as an opportunity for positive change, such as strengthening the leadership role of local actors.

The Secretary-General's plea to allocate five times more funding directly to women's organizations in fragile and conflict-affected states[37] has taken on

> **Between 2016 and 2017, only 1 per cent of all gender-focused funding in fragile and conflict-affected states went to local women's organizations. Between 2017 and 2018, this rate declined even further to only 0.39 per cent. It is critical that all donors address these persistent funding gaps.**

new urgency because of the pandemic. OECD data shows that this area of the WPS agenda remains chronically underfunded. Between 2016 and 2017, only 1 per cent of all gender-focused funding in fragile and conflict-affected states went to local women's organizations.[38] Between 2017 and 2018, this rate declined even further to only 0.39 per cent.[39] It is critical that all donors address these persistent funding gaps.

---

37 2020 SG Report on Women and peace and security, https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2020_946.pdf.

38 https://www.oecd.org/development/gender-development/OECD-Gendernet-Financing-UNSCR.pdf.

39 Ibid.

REFORM OF THE WPS ARCHITECTURE WITHIN UN PEACE AND SECURITY PILLAR

Changing contexts have confronted the UN system long before COVID-19. The 2015 UN Peacebuilding Architecture Review and the adoption of the subsequent twin resolutions (A/RES/70/262 and S/RES/2282) acknowledged that an increasingly complex context for conflict and peacebuilding – with a high number of intractable intra-state conflicts – necessitated fundamental changes in the way the UN system operates.[40] To confront the new challenges, the Review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture suggested that peacebuilding can and should occur during all phases of armed conflict. Rather than intervening when it is already too late, peacebuilding should be seen as part of the preventative toolbox. Accordingly, the notion of 'sustaining peace' was introduced as a counterpoint to the term 'peacebuilding'.

An important breakthrough in the twin resolutions was the importance accorded to gender considerations. Gender equality and women's empowerment are seen as integral factors to sustaining peace. In addition, the Global Study on the Implementation of the Security Council resolution 1325,[41] also undertaken in 2015, called for the integration of the gender dimension in all pillars of the UN system. The Report of the Advisory Group of Experts (AGE) for the 2015 Review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture[42] called for the development of comprehensive gender strategies and enhanced efforts to ensure that the UN Secretary-General's 15 percent target set out in the Seven-Point Action Plan[43] is attained and surpassed. Since then, accelerated efforts have been underway across the wider UN system to achieve these objectives. In 2016, the Peacebuilding Commission launched its first comprehensive gender strategy to "ensure a more structural integration of gender perspectives in all its work".[44] In 2017, the Peacebuilding Fund committed to achieving a 30 per cent target,[45] established in the PBF's 2017-2019 Strategic Plan,[46] and has met or exceeded it in the four years since.[47] The Myanmar Joint Peace Fund has now earmarked 15 per cent, while the Multi-Partner Trust Fund (MPTF) in Colombia recently raised their target from the original 15 per cent to 30 per cent.[48]

> In 2017, the Peacebuilding Fund committed to achieving a 30 per cent target, established in the PBF's 2017-2019 Strategic Plan, and has met or exceeded it in the four years since. The Myanmar Joint Peace Fund has now earmarked 15 per cent, while the Multi-Partner Trust Fund (MPTF) in Colombia recently raised their target from the original 15 per cent to 30 per cent.

On the side of the institutional reforms, because of the adoption of the 2017 UN General Assembly resolution 72/199,[49] Restructuring of the United Nations peace and security pillar, the Department of Political Affairs (DPA) and the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) were merged into the new Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA), effective January 1, 2019. The DPPA brings together the mandates and responsibilities of the two entities and seeks to link the peace and security pillar with system-wide efforts. Within DPPA, the Gender, Peace and Security (GPS) Unit focuses on WPS mandates related to the department's work in special political mission and non-mission settings through technical support, policy advice, capacity-building, and monitoring and reporting. PBSO has a Gender Advisor, seconded by UN Women, to support the office and its three branches (the Peacebuilding Commission Support Branch, the Peacebuilding Strategy and Partnerships Branch, and the Financing for Peacebuilding Branch/Peacebuilding Fund) in strengthening gender responsiveness within its conflict prevention and

---

40 https://www.un.org/pga/70/wp-content/uploads/sites/10/2016/01/NUPI_Report_2_16_Stamnes_Osland.pdf.

41 Preventing Conflict Transforming Justice Securing Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325. Available from wps.unwomen.org/.

42 The challenge of sustaining peace: Report of the advisory group of experts for the 2015 review of the United Nations peacebuilding architecture. Available from reliefweb.int/report/world/challenge-sustaining-peace-report-advisory-group-experts-2015-review-united-nations.

43 2010 SG Report on WPS introduced SG's Seven-Point Action Plan that proposed the 15 per cent target. Available from https://undocs.org/en/S/2010/498.

44 https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/gender-strategy.

45 In recognition of diverse priority and focus areas of PBF investments, the Peacebuilding Fund's 30 per cent target is calculated based on the budget allocations to Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment across the entire PBF portfolio (among GM1, GM2 and GM3 projects).

46 https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/pbf_sp_2017-19_final_180327.pdf

47 Thirty-six per cent in 2017, see 2017 SG Report on PBF: https://undocs.org/A/72/740; forty per cent in 2018: https://undocs.org/A/73/829; forty percent in 2019: https://undocs.org/A/74/688; forty percent in 2020: https://undocs.org/en/A/75/735.

48 UN Security Council, 2020.

49 A/RES/72/199: https://undocs.org/A/RES/72/199.

sustaining peace efforts. The Gender Advisor and GPS Unit coordinate regularly and collaborate to implement the 2019 DPPA's WPS policy[50] and support senior leadership in fulfilling their respective institutional commitments.

More recently, in his 2018 and 2019 Reports on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace, the Secretary-General reiterated commitment to his Seven-Point Action Plan to accelerate progress on the participation of women in peacebuilding, including through increased financing for gender-responsive peacebuilding and improved gender-sensitive analysis and planning.[51] While the former DPA was once exempted from the Secretary-General's 15 per cent requirement, the new DPPA – with its broadened mandate – has now established a 17 per cent benchmark on gender-inclusive prevention and peacebuilding in DPPA extrabudgetary projects, as well as a new $3 million dedicated WPS window. Due to the different nature of their funding and operational mechanisms, the DPPA desks and units and PBF/PBSO do not draw on a shared gender marker system. However, while opportunities to share guidance notes, tools and analyses exist they are not fully harnessed. During interviews, DPPA staff described similar types of quality challenges in their conflict analyses, as were identified across the PBF portfolio. Two key obstacles include frequently superficial attention paid to gender considerations, and a lack of deeper exploration of the gendered root causes of armed conflict and violence.

The ongoing review of the Seven-Point Action Plan, requested by the Secretary-General, aims to reflect the reforms and the new policy and normative frameworks, as well as more recent developments in Women, Peace and Security, and to improve accountability of the UN system on its implementation. The ongoing review of the Seven-Point Action Plan and the Global WPS Indicator Framework provides an opportunity to share lessons to chart the way forward.

EMERGING PERSPECTIVES, TRENDS AND PROSPECTS

MOVING TOWARDS EQUAL PARTICIPATION AND BEYOND

Increasing women's participation in peace and security spheres is central to the WPS agenda. Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, the UN has urged Member States to begin a process of gender balancing by calling for increased participation of women in all aspects of peace, security, and post-conflict reconstruction. Among assumptions underlying these calls is the recognition that all people have a fundamental right to participate in decision-making that affects their lives and the future of their countries, including women.

Gender balancing is premised on the idea that people's concerns have a better chance of becoming part of the political agenda through greater representation. Processes that exclude women necessarily ignore the visions, needs, and priorities of a large part of the population. As such, they perpetuate many of the inequalities and exclusions that fed conflict dynamics in the first place. Women's equal participation, therefore, is as much about the effectiveness of peacebuilding processes as it is about inclusion and human rights.

---

50 dppa.un.org/sites/default/files/190604_dppa_wps_policy_-_final.pdf.
51 A/72/707-S/2018/43, para. 27; and A/73/890-S/2019/448, para. 45.

Research indicates that peace agreements are more likely to include specific gender provisions if women are present at the peace negotiation table.[52] Likewise, electoral gender quotas have been associated with greater legislative attention directed towards the interests and priorities of women.[53] A challenge mentioned by some respondents, however, is to ensure that women's participation is not just symbolic or tokenistic. Concern for women's empowerment is not always equally shared by all actors, and where women are merely included to comply with donor requests and to secure funding, they may lack real authority and decision-making power.

Beyond challenges related to securing women's substantive representation, there are also concerns that gender balancing approaches to peacebuilding are all too often premised on stereotypical accounts of women's experiences of conflict. These assumptions can overlook individual women as active agents with their own political and economic agendas. To promote truly inclusive participation, there is a need to also look at other identity-forming characteristics. Ethnicity, religion, social and economic class, age, disability, and sexual orientation are other variables that can be highly relevant from a peacebuilding perspective. As gender is often only one axis of exclusion, there is a need to pay greater attention to overlapping forms of discrimination that can prevent women's access to decision-making bodies. When only a select group can participate, unequal power dynamics remain, and the needs of minority groups may not be reflected.

> **As gender is often only one axis of exclusion, there is a need to pay greater attention to overlapping forms of discrimination that can prevent women's access to decision-making bodies. When only a select group can participate, unequal power dynamics remain, and the needs of minority groups may not be reflected.**

The inclusion of some women does not automatically address the needs of all women in society. Policymakers, for instance, often assume that by increasing the number of women in the security sector, trust in the military and police forces can be fostered, and incidents of sexual and gender-based violence reduced. This is a key assumption that underpins gender balancing in the peacekeeping sector. Recent research[54] has shown, however, that women's participation alone does not necessarily lead to the intended peacebuilding outcomes.

> " *Just having a quota system will not be inclusive; it is going to be exploitative. In Sri Lanka, without the [25%] quota we were not able to raise [women's] participation … but along with the quota system we need other mechanisms for women heads of household, conflict-affected women – all of them must be represented.* "
>
> – CSO interview respondent, **Sri Lanka**

Policymakers and other actors, such as CSOs, commonly prioritize a gender balancing approach. In Somalia, a CSO interview respondent discussed several examples including how the Nagaad Network advocated for the inclusion of women in the security sector as part of the reform process. The respondent also mentioned recruitment of women by the Somalian Coast Guard as well as the national police service noting that "[t]he inclusion of women in the security institutions, although slow, has helped changed negative attitudes and perceptions held against women in the sector". In Niger, an interview respondent noted the importance of women seeing other women in security roles: "Faced with the insecurity that is rife in Niger, we often see women from the defense and security forces who stand out for their bravery in the face of terrorist threats. Recently in Tillabéri a woman had succeeded in subduing a kidnapper while all these brothers in arms ran away."

---

52 "Towards inclusive peace: Analysing gender-sensitive peace agreements 2000–2016", https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0192512118808608.

53 How Do Electoral Gender Quotas Affect Policy?, https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev-polisci-041719-102019.

54 For example, see Thania Paffenholz and others (2016), p. 6.

> **"Faced with the insecurity that is rife in Niger, we often see women from the defense and security forces who stand out for their bravery in the face of terrorist threats. Recently in Tillabéri a woman had succeeded in subduing a kidnapper while all these brothers in arms ran away.**

Gender balancing would yield even stronger outcomes for peacebuilding through the adoption of a more sophisticated approach that pays attention to the power women hold, how their participation changes gender practices in situ, the impact of gender expertise and women-led civil society advocacy, and how these elements interact with wider conflict dynamics.

GENDER ESSENTIALISM: RECENT ADVANCES AND REMAINING GAPS

While there has been some progress in the way women are framed in WPS discourse,[55] gender essentialism remains a persistent challenge. The high-profile recognition given to sexual violence and related issues – although clearly a topic of great normative importance – has been criticized for invoking perceptions of women as being powerless and weak. One of the most sustained critiques of the WPS agenda relates to its 'overemphasis' on issues related to sexual violence. In quantitative terms, UNSCR 1325, and its successor resolutions, have placed greater stress on protection issues than on the question of women's participation in the peace and security spheres.[56] Many analysts suggest that this focus on victimhood undermines women's authority and reinforces existing stereotypes.[57]

Likewise, the coupling of 'women and children', and (more recently) 'women and youth' that often pervades WPS discourse has been criticized for being essentialist and counterproductive.[58] The key concern is that such pairings draw too much attention to notions of motherhood, rather than elevating women's status as active agents in all social, economic and political spheres. A recent guidance note developed by the DPPA Policy and Mediation Division's Gender, Peace and Security and Mediation Support Units, in consultation with PBSO and the Office of the Special Envoy for Youth (OSGEY), also urges actors to avoid using language that lumps women and youth together. To avoid these kinds of traps in the future, 'women' and 'youth' should be considered as distinct categories, with differentiated needs and agency, and – where possible – referred to separately and using more precise references (i.e., women refugees, or internally displaced women).

> **Yes, these stereotypes unfortunately exist in our country. However, nowadays the war is also waged in an insidious way by some women who serve as informants to the armed groups.**

Another critique in the realm of gender essentialism relates to the idea that women are inherently peaceful. As a CSO interview respondent in **Niger** stated: "Yes, these stereotypes unfortunately exist in our country. However, nowadays the war is also waged in an insidious way by some women who serve as informants to the armed groups." Reductionist ideas regarding women's experiences in conflict can create overly narrow conflict frames that fail to recognize women's active participation in conflict, for instance, as combatants or members of insurgent groups. National Action Plans (NAPs) related to UNSCR 1325, and other policy frameworks, still frequently portray women as inherently peaceful. For instance, Germany's recently published UNSCR 1325 NAP explicitly refers to the aim of "strengthening capacities of female peace activists to combat extremism"[59] under the participation pillar. A useful counterpoint would have been a reference to the goal of "combating the risk of female extremism" under the prevention pillar. Women in conflict spaces play diverse roles and they are not always a pacifying force – a point frequently emphasized by interview respondents.

55   UNSCR 2122 (2013) was the first WPS resolution to recognize the diversity of women in conflict and post-conflict spaces.

56   https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/ia/inta92-2-08-shepherdkirby.pdf.

57   Ní Aoláin, Fionnuala D., and Nahla Valji. "Scholarly Debates and Contested Meanings of WPS." Chap. 5 In The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace and Security, edited by Sara E. Davies and Jacqui True, 53-66. New York, NY, United States of America: Oxford University Press, 2019, pp. 54-55.

58   "Nations Women Peace and Security Agenda: - Essentialism, Well-intentioned Feminist International Relations Theory, and the Gender Blind Spots They Create", https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/308/305/skidmore.pdf.

59   "Aktionsplan der Bundesregierung zur Agenda Frauen, Frieden und Sicherheit", https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/2443848/3596859eebe39f90fa327e81ede416a3/aktionsplan-zu-wps-iii-data.pdf.

> "*Lessons from Kismayo show that women played both positive and negative roles. When I say negative, I mean they would often contribute to insecurity. Women would sell their jewelleries and would actively take part in the conflict, so that their kinsmen would win the war against other tribes. From this you can see that women were also contributors to conflict.*"
>
> – CSO interview respondent, **Somalia**

How groups in conflict are framed often reflects deeper beliefs about their innate nature and this can have significant impact on how they are treated. For instance, the belief that women are solely victims of war rather than perpetrators, contributes to women's continued exclusion from demobilization and reintegration efforts.[60] Likewise, the tendency to essentialize women in the security sector can negate the fact that some women who join security institutions may prefer to fulfil traditional security roles, rather than work as 'protectors' of other women. In an April 2021 interview, Hosna Jalil – former Deputy Minister of the Interior in Afghanistan – stated: "I refused to be their unofficial head of the gender department, just because I am a woman."

> "*I refused to be their unofficial head of the gender department, just because I am a woman.*"

The perception of innate feminine qualities detracts from gender equality and contributes to the recruitment of women for roles according to their perceived, rather than actual, skills and interests. Such misperception also undermines opportunities for gender-responsive work by assuming that hiring women equates to hiring gender expertise. At the same time, challenging gender essentialism also applies to the roles men play in peace and conflict. Evidence emerging from contemporary conflicts has, for instance, made visible that while sexual violence in conflict affects both women and girls, it can also be targeted against both men and boys. UNSCR 2467 (2019) explicitly recognizes this point and urges Member States to "challenge

cultural assumptions about male invulnerability to [sexual] violence".[61] The International Protocol on the Documentation and Investigation of Sexual Violence in Conflict, issued by the United Kingdom Foreign and Commonwealth Office in 2017, has dedicated a specific chapter to the topic.[62]

Increased recognition of the diversity of women (and men) in conflict spaces has also drawn attention to the specific needs and experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex (LGBTQI) individuals. There is mounting criticism of the analytical omission of individuals who fall outside the cisgender heteronormative[63] paradigm and activists have called for their inclusion into WPS policy frameworks.[64] Growing insecurities facing LGTBQI communities in conflict countries provide an important impetus for these calls, leading to increased policy visibility. For example, in 2020 the PBF's Gender and Youth

> **In 2020 the PBF's Gender and Youth Promotion Initiative (GYPI) called for proposals to support LGBTQI human rights defenders and peacebuilders. Furthermore, both Canada's and Albania's UNSCR 1325 NAPs refer to sexual minority issues. Canada has set up a specific Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans/Two-Spirited National Advisory Committee to advise the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Albania's NAP explicitly refers to the need to "strengthen professional capacities of police officers to investigate crimes on the grounds of sexual orientation (hate crimes)".**

---

60 "Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration", https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20050300_cru_paper_bouta.pdf.

61 https://undocs.org/S/RES/2467(2019).

62 https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/report/international-protocol-on-the-documentation-and-investigation-of-sexual-violence-in-conflict/International_Protocol_2017_2nd_Edition.pdf

63 Cis/cisgender denotes a person whose gender identity and the sex they were assigned at birth align. Heterosexism/heteronormativity is viewing heterosexuality as superior and assuming all people are heterosexual. See IOM SOGIESC Full Glossary of Terms.

64 "Queering women, peace and security", https://academic.oup.com/ia/article-abstract/92/2/313/2417217.

Promotion Initiative (GYPI) called for proposals to support LGBTQI human rights defenders and peacebuilders. Furthermore, both Canada's and Albania's UNSCR 1325 NAPs refer to sexual minority issues. Canada has set up a specific Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans/Two-Spirited National Advisory Committee to advise the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.[65] Albania's NAP explicitly refers to the need to "strengthen professional capacities of police officers to investigate crimes on the grounds of sexual orientation (hate crimes)".[66]

Some activists in favour of bringing these conversations together have also theorized that an LGBTQI-inclusive understanding of the WPS agenda could strengthen peacebuilding approaches by drawing attention to overlapping and intersecting forms of oppression, such as misogyny, homophobia, racism, and xenophobia. As researcher Henri Myrttinen observes: "If you look at who mobilizes around misogyny and homophobia around the world, often the two go hand in hand, and we see a broad spectrum of groups, from the religious to the secular, from the far left to the far right, rallying around these forms of hate."[67]

> " *If you look at who mobilizes around misogyny and homophobia around the world, often the two go hand in hand, and we see a broad spectrum of groups, from the religious to the secular, from the far left to the far right, rallying around these forms of hate.* "

A more expansive understanding of one form of oppression can enhance understanding of another and this can, in turn, help make the root causes of conflict and violence more visible. For example, online platforms are often exploited for bigotry with incendiary rhetoric stigmatizing and dehumanizing women, minorities, and any so-called 'other'. Often, this occurs when public discourse is weaponized for political gains. Further research in this area should be encouraged to aid in the identification of new and innovative programming approaches. Some recent experiences in Iraq, for instance, illustrate that by building coalitions across women's and LGTBQI movements, their voices can be amplified and strengthened.[68]

65 https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/assets/pdfs/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/cnap_implementation_plans_eng.pdf.

66 http://1325naps.peacewomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Albania-Action-Plan-on-Resolution-1325_ENG-CMD-524-11.09.2019-1-2.pdf.

67 April 2021 interview with the Co-Investigator in the Masculinities and Sexualities research stream of the Gender, Justice and Security Hub of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) WPS Centre.

68 "WPS and LGBTI Rights", https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190638276.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780190638276-e-50.

PART 2 SCAN OF THE PEACEBUILDING FUND

MAPPING PROGRESS SINCE 2015

> *The PBF has supported women's participation in peacebuilding, and in some areas it was the first time women got equal representation as men and benefitted from the project.*
>
> – CSO interview respondent, **Somalia**

The preceding discussion has shed light on emerging good practices and priorities for action. This section of the Thematic Review assesses progress made by the PBF in responding to the recommendations set out in the 2014 report, while also evaluating the extent to which emergent good practices are already reflected in PBF programming. The scan of the PBF also looks at the quality of conflict analyses and ToC frameworks, monitoring and evaluation, and progress in gender-responsive financing.

GENDER-SENSITIVE CONFLICT ANALYSIS

As part of the initial project design document (ProDoc), all PBF-funded projects are required to submit a conflict or context analysis. The goal of the context analysis is to improve sensitivity to conflict in project operations, and to describe conflict dynamics and opportunities for peace that the project will aim to address. The PBF Gender Marker Guidance Note specifies that all projects, regardless of their Gender Marker ranking, must include gender considerations in their context/conflict analyses.[69]

A desk review of thirty conflict analyses shows marked differences in quality across the PBF portfolio. Conflict analyses that fall outside the Gender Promotion Initiative (GPI) tend to include only a cursory treatment of gender issues. Conflict analyses of GPI projects usually indicate good understanding of gender as a social construct – that is, they recognize that gender roles have cultural and social origins. In some cases, there is exploration of how gender relations have changed during, and because of, conflict. This is an important point, as conflict often fundamentally alters the roles ascribed to women and men.[70]

GPI and other GM3 project conflict analyses are generally good at avoiding stereotypical accounts of women, recognizing the diverse roles women play in conflict. For example, the conflict/context analysis of PBF/IRF-115 (UN Women, UNFPA, IOM) provides a nuanced account of how women in Kyrgyzstan have become increasingly vulnerable to the risk of violent extremism instead of depicting women as inherently peaceful. Likewise, the conflict/context analysis of PBF/IRF-105 (UNFPA, UN Women) in Mali provides a good description of the roles of women in the conflict, as both combatants and as victims.

GPI and other GM3 project conflict analyses are generally good at avoiding stereotypical accounts of women, recognizing the diverse roles women play in conflict. For example, the conflict/context analysis of PBF/IRF-115[71] (UN Women, UNFPA, IOM) provides a nuanced account of how women in Kyrgyzstan have become increasingly vulnerable to the risk of violent extremism instead of depicting women as inherently peaceful. Likewise, the conflict/context analysis of PBF/IRF-105[72] (UNFPA, UN Women) in Mali

---

69 PBF Gender Marker Guidance Note, https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/content/pbf-guidance-note-gender-marker-scoring-2019.

70 "The Other Side of Gender: Men as Critical Agents of Change", https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep12395.pdf.

71 "Building the evidence base to facilitate responsive gender policy and programs for equality and lasting peace in Kyrgyzstan", http://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/project/00094616.

72 "Programme d'amelioration de l'acces des femmes victimes de violences sexuelles et basees sur le genre a la justice et la securite dans le processus de consolidation de la paix au Mali", https://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/project/00093213

provides a good description of the roles of women in the conflict, as both combatants and as victims.

More recent analyses – especially those developed by GPI projects – often take into account intersecting variables such as class, age, ethnicity, religion, and in some cases disability. A review of a random selection of conflict analyses found that some age considerations are included in most GPI conflict analyses, although at times only briefly. In YPI projects the category of youth is viewed from an intersectional lens, while women and/or girls are often treated as monoliths. There are also good examples of conflict analyses that look at the gendered impact of conflict on different religious and ethnic minority groups. The PBF/IRF-329[73] project (GPI, Search for Common Ground in Sri Lanka) provides one such example.

Gender-sensitive conflict analysis in practice

In Sri Lanka, the project PBF/IRF-329 used gender-sensitive conflict analysis as the foundation for community work in Kurunegala, Puttalam, and Ampara. Muslims in Sri Lanka have often been the target of communal animosity, for instance, during anti-Muslim riots in Amapara in 2018. Since the Easter Sunday attacks in 2019, Muslim-Sinhala tensions in the country have risen further and the districts of Kurunegala and Puttalam have seen property destruction and rioting targeting Muslims, including the torching of Muslim-owned businesses and desecration of religious sites. As a visible minority due to customs of dress, Muslim women are at particular risk of being singled out, facing backlash at schools and in hospitals and government offices.

Using gender-sensitive conflict analysis, Search for Common Ground in Sri Lanka identified the need to reduce open and hidden discriminatory practices. Young women from Muslim and Sinhalese communities were also trained to carry out their own conflict analysis and develop concrete action plans on how to address the peacebuilding needs identified in their communities. Activities developed by the young women leaders included joint visits to religious places, musical programmes related to reconciliation, and photographic exhibitions highlighting the experiences of different communities in conflict.

Overall, however, conflict analyses of PBF-funded projects are unbalanced in their application of gender sensitivity. Typically, greater focus is placed on the gendered impacts of conflict, rather than on the gendered causes of conflict. For example, analysis frequently explores how increased violence against women affects their ability to participate in economic or political spheres. There is far less attention paid to the gendered causes of conflict, including the role of masculinities in perpetuating violence. For example, a growing body of research indicates that aggressive behaviour and domestic violence are often associated with poor mental health due to one's experience of combat.[74] Today, there is a broad recognition that social norms, and experiences in conflict, shape people's propensity to engage in violent actions.

Consultations conducted in South Sudan underline the importance of including a masculinities perspective in conflict analysis. Communities in Bor district have witnessed an increase in cases of rape that are connected to the political conflict but originate in overlapping and deeply held notions of masculinity and femininity. Gendered roles and norms are at the root of cycles of escalating violence in the area, as cattle raiding to meet a "bride price" is often accompanied by cases of revenge killing and rape. This affects the whole community but impacts young women most profoundly.

These and similar types of research in other environments point to the need for greater intersectionality within the Women, Peace and Security agenda. While it is helpful to understand the limits of the male perpetrator/female victim paradigm, it is crucial to maintain the hard-won space for women, in all their diversity, to participate in the already male-dominated realm of peace and security. Addressing gender solely in terms of 'women', or in terms of gender relations (between men and women) loses sight of how gendered political, economic, and social systems of power undergird opportunities for conflict and peace. To strengthen efforts to address the gendered risks, DPPA has recently published guidance for gender-sensitive conflict analysis.[75] Likewise, Conciliation Resources (CR) and Saferworld published a gender-sensitive conflict analysis facilitation guide.[76]

73 "Young Women as Drivers of Peace: Providing 360° Support to Emerging Women Leaders", https://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/project/00119223

74 "The Role of PTSD in Bi-directional Intimate Partner Violence in Military and Veteran Populations: A Research Review," https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5559770/.

75 https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/Gender-sensitive_Conflict_Analysis_infographic.pdf.

76 https://www.c-r.org/resource/gender-and-conflict-analysis-toolkit-peacebuilders.

THEORIES OF CHANGE

One of the recommendations put forward in the 2014 Thematic Review was the need for theories of change to enhance the design, monitoring and evaluation of gender-responsive peacebuilding interventions. While there is no standard ToC approach and various stakeholders have different approaches to them, the PBF has now made them mandatory at the project proposal stage and in 2020 issued guidance on the formulation of theories of change that articulate the assumptions underpinning how project interventions are expected to contribute to peacebuilding change.

As noted in the PBF's ToC Guidance Note, a well-articulated theory of change should clearly spell out what a project hopes to achieve and make explicit the assumptions about the processes through which change is expected to occur. In addition to the Guidance Note, from 2017 until the outbreak of the global pandemic in early 2020, PBF offered in-person training on supporting better formulation of peacebuilding outcomes and theories of change and conducted several webinars on the topic, which were made available on its website and through YouTube.

Despite PBF's efforts, however, most theories of change developed by the UN and CSO entities that apply for PBF funding are not in line with the guidance, as underlying assumptions are typically not explicit. Instead, theories of change are often articulated as simple 'if/then statements' and are therefore not in tune with the complexity they purport to change. This, then, likely contributes to an overemphasis on well-worn responses, such as "if it worked in Guinea, it must also work in Guatemala", or organizationally driven programming priorities, and thus short-changes consideration of approaches that might be more relevant and better tailored to the context.

> **To be able to monitor and evaluate peacebuilding interventions, theories of change need to be explicit.**
> **There is a need to further unpack many of the concepts used in gender-responsive peacebuilding, such as 'women', 'peace', 'participation' and 'decision-making'.**

Analysis of a selection of PBF-funded projects appears to confirm this, as projects that support women's participation appear to dominate gender-focused peacebuilding initiatives. The tendency to default to the participation pillar of the WPS agenda risks diminishing and overlooking other important peacebuilding dimensions. To be able to monitor and evaluate peacebuilding interventions, theories of change need to be explicit. There is a need to further unpack many of the concepts used in gender-responsive peacebuilding, such as 'women', 'peace', 'participation' and 'decision-making'. Often, the language currently employed in theories of change does not make it clear whether 'women' refers to 'women beneficiaries' or the general population of women.

Identification of underlying assumptions is also useful, as there is often a broader body of evidence available for consultation. For instance, behavioural science has looked extensively at whether raised 'awareness' is sufficient to lead to changes in behaviour. Awareness-raising interventions – a common approach in GM3 programming – would do well to consult this evidence base. In most cases, however, theories of change are based not on empirical evidence, but on project teams' own ideas about how they think change will happen and what seems plausible. In cases where there is insufficient evidence to draw upon, logical assumptions may be the best that one can do. In these cases, however, it should be incumbent on the project teams to closely monitor whether their fundamental assumptions are holding throughout implementation. Unfortunately, most PBF projects, including GM3 projects, fail to continuously monitor ToCs in this manner.

There is also a need for theories of change to reflect more holistically on both gender equality and peacebuilding outcomes. Theories of change often view women's participation as the final goal while how this participation is expected to contribute to peace is rarely made explicit. Greater attention on how women's participation interacts with wider conflict and peacebuilding dynamics could make gender-responsive peacebuilding programming

Greater attention on how women's participation interacts with wider conflict and peacebuilding dynamics could make gender-responsive peacebuilding programming more effective.

more effective. The PBF/IRF-154 project (Humanity & Inclusion)[77] in Sri Lanka provides pertinent lessons. This project was intended to empower women, including marginalized women, to participate across dividing lines in a collaborative platform where they could make recommendations on the Transitional Justice and Reconciliation process and mechanisms in Sri Lanka. According to the project evaluator, there were at least two theories of change involved in the project: "The first is a programme-oriented ToC, as described in the logframe, that creates the platform, brings women together and seeks to change attitudes and drive national advocacy. The second is an actor-oriented ToC. Once women have come together, they define their priorities and the ToC that will drive change in their area." The evaluator concluded that while planned project outcomes were framed in terms of women's increased awareness of shared interests and differences, the project made tangible contributions to improving relations across community lines. This illustrates that women's participation is rarely an end in itself; instead, women peacebuilders clearly have larger ambitions.

DESIGN, MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Thinking about project models: A typology for GM3 projects

The meta-synthesis suggests four major strands of GM3 projects: 1. supporting women leaders (e.g. women parliamentarians); 2. supporting individuals in need of protection (e.g. survivors of SGBV and conflict-related violence, former combatants, war widows); 3. mainstreaming gender and transforming institutions (e.g. development of gender policies and action plans, awareness-raising and sensitization); and 4. creating and institutionalizing networks (such as mediators). While practitioners often stress the context-specific dimension of projects, analysis of shared traits can be revealing as there are often common obstacles to implementation and similar flaws in the way interventions are conceptualized. Table 1 synthesizes key observations from this Thematic Review.

Table 1 GM3 Project Typology

Project model	Emerging good practices
Supporting women leaders (e.g., politicians, parliamentarians).	Consider the wider conflict context and overlapping axes of exclusion. Emphasis should be placed on ensuring that the needs of women minority groups are represented.
Supporting individuals in need of protection or support (e.g., survivors of SGBV and/or conflict-related violence, former combatants, war widows).	Explore alternative theories of change that move beyond the 'protection-participation hypothesis'.
Mainstreaming gender and transforming institutions (e.g., development of gender policies and action plans, awareness-raising).	Consider 'uptake' as a key challenge, during the design of the intervention and throughout implementation.
Creating and institutionalizing networks (e.g., support to networks of mediators).	Consider the wider conflict context, building on and supporting existing networks where feasible. Ensure that M&E frameworks reflect the ambitions of networks/platforms.

---

77 "Empowering women for an inclusive and sustainable transitional justice and reconciliation process in Sri Lanka (NUNO)", http://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/project/00104794.

Despite widespread adoption of gender mainstreaming programmes and policies, the impact of promoting gender equality in peacebuilding interventions is difficult to measure. Like many other actors in the peacebuilding field, the PBF frequently encounters this difficulty in its work. There are also broader questions related to what success in gender-responsive peacebuilding looks like, and how it should be defined. The peacebuilding sector has been slow to find solutions to these challenges, although some promising approaches have begun to emerge in recent years. For example, in a PBF-funded project in Guatemala,[78] a Mercy Corps-facilitated community consultation process, came up with the following indicator: % of people who avoid going to or through specific areas due to insecurity – disaggregated by sex and age. This is an excellent demonstration of how peace at the local level can be measured, with attention paid to the distinct experiences of female community members. Overall, these types of approaches are, however, still rare and indicators are often concerned with dimensions that do not necessarily reflect transformative change.

Gender-balancing outcomes

Success in gender-responsive peacebuilding is often defined in terms of women's quantitative advancement in the peace and security spheres. As noted in Part 1 of this Thematic Review, it is vital to expand the focus to also include women's substantive representation, i.e., to look at not just the number of women involved but also the type of power they hold. An intersectional lens is required to recognize how women's diversity affects their access to decision-making and to understand the various ways they contribute to on-the-ground peacebuilding – for example, such as mediators, gender experts and community activists. Part 1 also underscores the importance of monitoring whether women's participation – in all their diversity – translates into broader gender equality outcomes such as gender-responsive policies.

As highlighted in Part 1, gender is often only one axis of exclusion. There is a need to also look at other intersecting forms of discrimination. For example, the PRF/IRF-109[79] project in Kyrgyzstan (UNICEF, UNDP) used the indicator *Women in selected areas, especially women from minorities, run as candidates during municipal elections.* Considering that women from ethnic minorities may experience additional challenges in running for office compared to women from an ethnic majority, this intersectional indicator can provide more nuanced data demonstrating the impact of the peacebuilding intervention for various target groups. The PBF/IRF-251[80] project in the Central African Republic (UNDP, UN Women) used the indicator *Percentage of female candidates declared by ballot for the 2020–2021 electoral deadlines.* The subsequent measurement of this result should recognize differential achievement of the indicator across relevant categories, such as ethnicity, rural/urban, religion, age, social and economic class, disability or sexual orientation.

> **The PRF/IRF-109 project in Kyrgyzstan (UNICEF, UNDP) used the indicator** *Women in selected areas, especially women from minorities, run as candidates during municipal elections.* **Considering that women from ethnic minorities may experience additional challenges in running for office compared to women from an ethnic majority, this intersectional indicator can provide more nuanced data demonstrating the impact of the peacebuilding intervention for various target groups.**
>
> **The PBF/IRF-251 project in the Central African Republic (UNDP, UN Women) used the indicator** *Percentage of female candidates declared by ballot for the 2020–2021 electoral deadlines.* **The subsequent measurement of this result should recognize differential achievement of the indicator across relevant categories, such as ethnicity, rural/urban, religion, age, social and economic class, disability or sexual orientation.**

---

78 "Peace, Opportunities and Dialogue: Women Engaged for Results - PODER (NUNO)", http://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/project/00104797. "Women as Peaceful Voters & Women as Candidates (Kyrgyzstan)",

79 Women as Peaceful Voters & Women as Candidates", https://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/project/00093224.

80 Femmes, arbres de Paix: Pionnieres de la governance locale inclusive en RCA", https://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/project/00113224.

Awareness-raising outcomes

In GM3 programming, indicators often focus on enhanced awareness. As highlighted in the theory of change section in this Thematic Review, evidence is inconclusive as to whether awareness necessarily leads to behavioural change. This lack of evidence reflects the case that project teams tend to measure whether awareness has been raised but not whether increased awareness has translated into changed behaviour. Where possible, project teams should collect data on whether enhanced awareness translates into behavioural changes.

The difference between awareness and behaviour also applies to the introduction of new policy frameworks and tools, such as gender strategies and WPS action plans. The meta-synthesis illustrates that policy uptake and institutionalization can be difficult. The adoption of new policy frameworks should not be seen as a strong sign of sustainability, as project designers and evaluators frequently assert. Certainly, they are an important start, but it is critical to also consider broader structural challenges fully (e.g., lack of budget for implementation). Outcome indicators should provide some evidence of uptake – for instance, new policy frameworks have not only been developed, but are also endorsed, costed and implemented.

Gendered definitions of project success

The recognition that peace can be experienced differently by various groups of stakeholders is crucial to gender-responsive peacebuilding. Peacebuilding indicators that are gender-blind or gender-biased will likely bear little resemblance to lived experiences of conflict or peace.

While PBF mandates that all indicators put forward by fund recipients include sex-disaggregated baselines and targets, the same definitions of peacebuilding or project success usually apply for both women and men. In Yemen, for example, the PBF/IRF-256[81] project (FAO, IOM) used the indicator *% increase of awareness level among women, youth and farmers on risks of land and water conflict.*

Water and land conflicts, however, affect women and men differently due to gendered roles in agriculture and water-fetching. The gender analysis produced by the project recognizes this point by noting that "women are the main fetchers of water for household needs". In addition, however,

> **The recognition that peace can be experienced differently by various groups of stakeholders is crucial to gender-responsive peacebuilding. Peacebuilding indicators that are gender-blind or gender-biased will likely bear little resemblance to lived experiences of conflict or peace.**

understanding whether women and men have the same sense of what the risks are is also a valid point of data. If the results are vastly different between men and women on the perception of risks or awareness of risks, project teams will likely need to deploy other kinds of data collection to investigate the reason for the divergence. Gendered definitions of project success are particularly relevant for GM2 projects, as these projects usually involve female beneficiaries although they are not specifically tailored to the needs of women.

---

81 "Water for peace in Yemen: Strengthening the role of women in water conflict", http://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/project/00113031.

GENDER-RESPONSIVE FINANCING

In the 2014 Thematic Review, lack of financing was identified as one of the key impediments to gender-responsive peacebuilding; it was again frequently cited by respondents during the present Review. In 2010, the Secretary-General committed the UN to allocate a minimum of 15 per cent of all peacebuilding and recovery funds to gender equality. As the graph below illustrates, in 2017 the Peacebuilding Fund committed to achieving a 30 per cent target,[82] as established in the PBF's 2017-2019 Strategic Plan.[83] The PBF has met or exceeded the goal in the four years since.[84]

PBF - Number of Projects by GM and GEWE %[85]

Legend: (Blank) | 1 | 2 | 3 | GEWE%
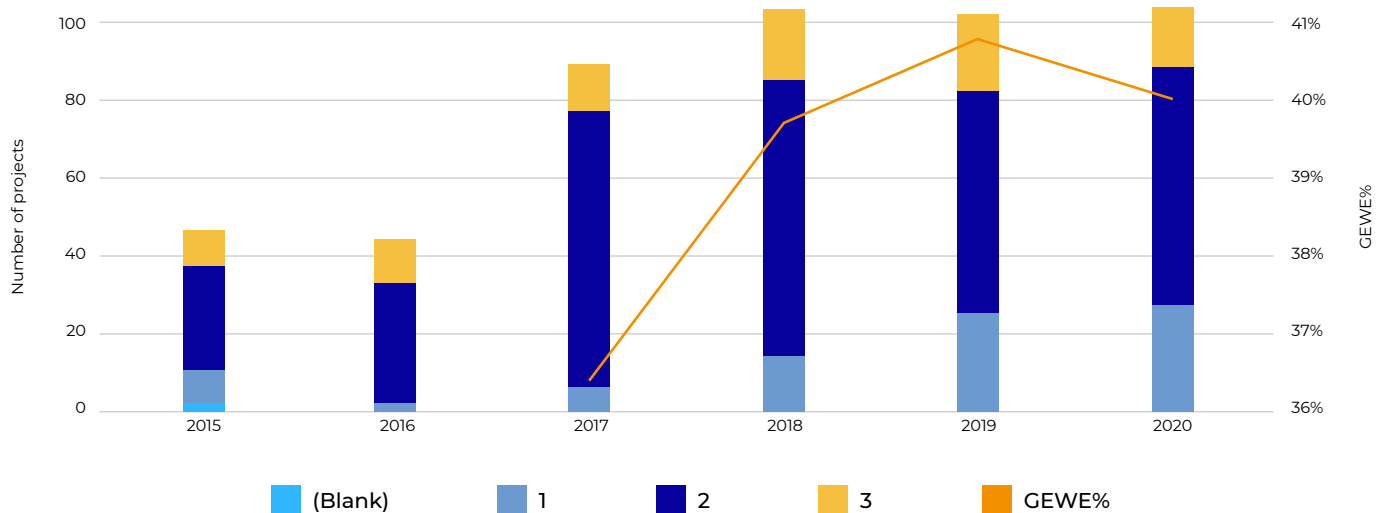
Moreover, since 2014 the PBF has produced useful guidance aimed to improve how the Fund tracks financial commitments that underpin gender-responsive programming at the project level and it has put in place a rigorous gender marker quality assurance process. The Fund's Gender Marker is widely seen as good practice, and other UN funds draw extensively on PBF guidance. Overall, the Gender Marker is well applied, although some fund recipients still struggle to meet all the requirements set out in the Gender Marker Guidance Note.[86] The PBF's Gender Marker ranking is determined by taking into consideration the extent to which gender and gender-responsiveness is integrated in the following: 1. conflict analysis; 2. implementation and activities; 3. results framework; and 4. budget'.[87] As shown earlier, conflict analyses that fall outside the Gender Promotion Initiative often include only a cursory treatment of gender issues. Likewise, gendered definitions of project success are not always routinely included in indicators meant to

measure the results of GM2 projects. These types of indicators would provide stronger evidence of a more robust gender mainstreaming approach that moves the discussion beyond simply having female beneficiaries towards ensuring that gendered implications are fully understood and tracked throughout implementation.

It is worth noting that Gender Marker coding is heavily dependent on underlying conceptions of what gender equality means, and how it can be achieved. Whether or not gender balancing and women's participation is sufficient to mark progress is a key question here. The answer is not straightforward, as it may well depend on the context and situation. To ensure a more comprehensive approach to achieving gender equality, due consideration should be given to understanding the role of masculinities and femininities, thus looking beyond biological sex and the associated experiences or stereotypes

---

82 In recognition of the diverse priority and focus areas of PBF investments, the Peacebuilding Fund's 30 per cent target is calculated based on the budget allocations to Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment across the entire PBF portfolio (among GM1, GM2 and GM3 projects).

83 https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/pbf_sp_2017-19_final_180327.pdf

84 Thirty-six per cent in 2017, see 2017 SG Report on PBF: https://undocs.org/A/72/740; forty per cent in 2018: https://undocs.org/A/73/829; forty percent in 2019: https://undocs.org/A/74/688; forty percent in 2020: https://undocs.org/en/A/75/735.

85 The Secretary-General's Peacebuilding Dashboard (Pilot), internal resource of PBSO.

86 https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/pbf_guidance_note_on_gender_marker_scoring_2019.pdf.

87 PBF Gender Marker Guidance Note, https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/pbf_guidance_note_on_gender_marker_scoring_2019.pdf.

about women and men. To require fund applicants to engage in more diligent analyses of gendered conflict drivers, the PBF should consider including a section on conflict risks related to masculinities/femininities in its Gender Marker Guidance Note.

There is a need to continue investment in quality assurance and verification of Gender Marker scores – in particular in those countries where the UN lacks in-country gender expertise. The PBF currently performs an annual quality assurance process during which GM rankings are occasionally downgraded or upgraded if projects do not meet or exceed the minimum requirement for ranking. There may be opportunities to link the Gender Marker more closely to achieved outcomes by introducing a gender scorecard in the evaluation process.[88] The feasibility and practicality of such an approach should be further explored by the PBF. Some suggestions on how this could be done are provided in the Recommendations section.

PBF funding to civil society organizations

Direct support to women's civil society organizations in fragile and conflict-affected states is an area of the WPS agenda that remains chronically underfunded. As a CSO interview respondent in Guatemala stated: "Support for the grassroots, the communities, the strengthening of their cultural processes within their own contexts, of their own community processes – that is empowerment that must continue … and the work with women, with indigenous women, with rural populations. Listen to those voices, facilitate access to information and political participation." The underfunding of civil society organizations occurs despite accelerated efforts across the wider UN system to make funding more readily available. The PBF launched the Gender Promotion Initiative (GPI) in 2011, and in 2016 managed to find a legal pathway to open direct funding to CSOs who participated in the first Youth Promotion Initiative (YPI) call that year. As the table[89] below illustrates, such funding has consistently increased in recent years.

> *Support for the grassroots, the communities, the strengthening of their cultural processes within their own contexts, of their own community processes – that is empowerment that must continue … and the work with women, with indigenous women, with rural populations. Listen to those voices, facilitate access to information and political participation.*

---

88   See, for example, the CARE Gender Marker Guidance: http://gender.careinternationalwikis.org/_media/care_gender_marker_guidance_english.pdf.

89   The Secretary-General's Peacebuilding Dashboard (Pilot), internal resource of PBSO.

Table 2 PBF Funding to Civil Society Organizations
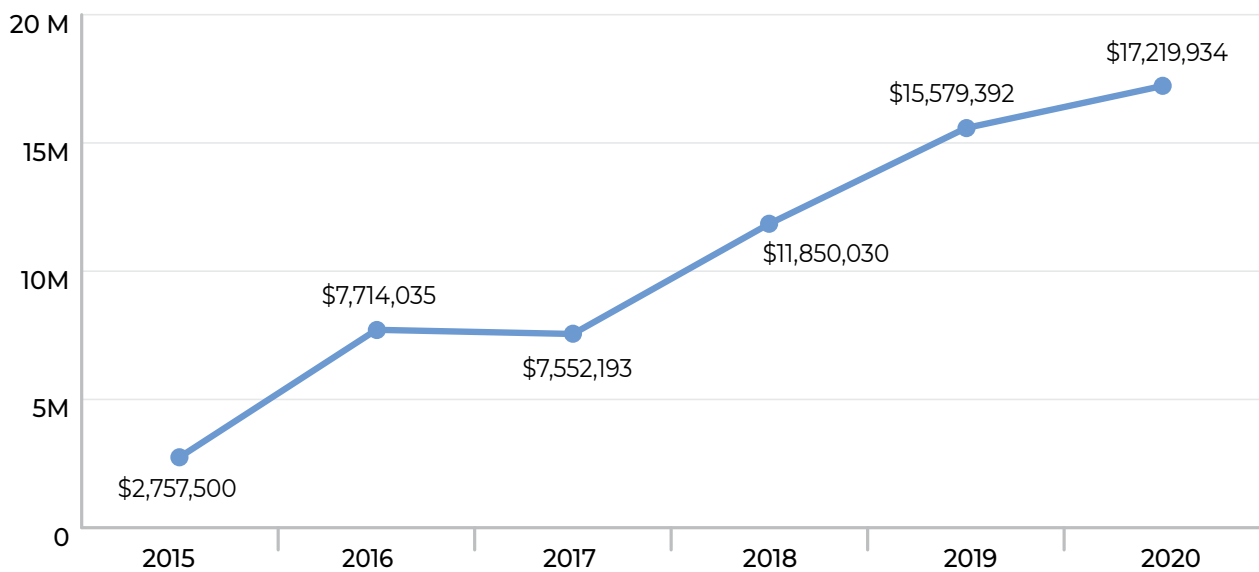
All GYPI fund recipients are now required to allocate at least 40 per cent of the requested grant to local or national women's or youth organizations.[90] Since 2020, the GYPI has specifically encouraged joint UN-CSO proposals. These are positive steps to close persistent funding gaps at the local level. Investment in the capacities of local organizations is important to ensure greater sustainability of results, although there are legitimate concerns related to transferring risks to CSOs.

Despite the expansion of UN efforts to channel funds to CSOs, grassroots women's organizations still find it difficult to access PBF funding.[91] Across the PBF portfolio, there are only 11 national CSOs[92] that have been able to access funding directly as lead implementing agencies[93] – three of which are women's organizations working primarily on themes related to gender equality.[94] Even among international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), there is a perception that PBF funding is challenging to access.[95] This view is due to the high bar the Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office (MPTFO), PBF's administrative agent, has established for CSOs in terms of legal and fiduciary requirements.[96]

Between 2016 and 2020, approximately 38 per cent of GPI projects were led by CSOs, as compared to 57 per cent of YPI projects. According to PBF staff, part of this discrepancy is explained by the greater longevity of the WPS agenda versus YPS (Youth, Peace and Security). UN agencies are therefore better at producing fundable proposals for WPS than they are for YPS, and this results in greater competition for CSOs in the GPI. To increase CSO participation, the PBF is currently piloting a new funding facility in the Sahel to establish a managing agent that would help provide direct funding to local CSOs on a smaller scale. This will be an important learning initiative, and it is hoped that similar types of approaches can be scaled globally.

---

90 https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/content/gypi-en.
91 During interviews, CSO respondents highlighted both challenges in understanding donor requirements and language-related issues.
92 These include Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa, Fund for Congolese Women, Sisma Mujer, Accountability Lab Liberia, Educare Liberia, National Peace Council Sri Lanka, Sampan' Asa Momba Ny Famdandros, Red de Institutiones por los derechos de la ninez y la juventud de Honduras, Action pour Paix et Concorde (Congo), Fundacion mi Sangre, and CECI-BF Burkina Faso.
93 See section delivery analysis available at http://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/fund/PB000.
94 Fund for Congolese Women, Sima Mujer, Centre for Equality and Justice.
95 This was suggested by several representatives from INGOs interviewed for this Thematic Review.
96 These include organizational registration, audits, annual reports, and ideally status as a prior recipient of the PBF or other UN donors.

SOME LESSONS FROM IMPLEMENTATION

> "The difficult thing was not to sign peace, but to advance in the implementation of peace."
> – CSO interview respondent, *Guatemala*

THE IMPORTANCE OF PARTNERSHIPS

There is broad acknowledgement that partnerships are vital to effective peacebuilding. The case of Guatemala illustrates how actors with different mandates and profiles can join forces to drive positive change. In Guatemala, indigenous women have long been at the forefront of the fight to ensure that the crimes committed during the civil war period do not go unpunished. In recent years, considerable progress has been achieved in holding perpetrators to account. The Sepur Zarco case[97] – in which two former military members were accused of committing acts of sexual violence, sexual slavery, and domestic slavery – was a landmark victory. It marked the first time that former military members were prosecuted for acts of sexual violence committed during the civil war. Likewise, in the case of the Achí genocide[98] lines of investigation were opened.

The National Association of Guatemalan Widows (CONAVIGUA), set up in 1988 to defend widows' rights and protect women, is seen as a major force in driving forward these positive changes. Interview respondents frequently referred to CONAVIGUA as the main protagonist. Solutions, and the agency to transform conflict, almost always lie at the local level.

The National Association of Guatemalan Widows (CONAVIGUA), set up in 1988 to defend widows' rights and protect women, is seen as a major force in driving forward these positive changes. Interview respondents frequently referred to CONAVIGUA as the main protagonist. Solutions, and the agency to transform conflict, almost always lie at the local level. The research suggests that effective partnerships were equally essential to these successes. The support of various UN entities – especially UN Women and the PBF – has been instrumental in ensuring that the voices of indigenous women are heard. This high-level advocacy – a particular strength of UN actors – helps sustain the necessary pressure in this regard.

THE CHALLENGE OF SECURING GOVERNMENT BUY-IN AND APPROVAL

A recurring theme in both project evaluation reports and interviews with women's organizations was the challenge of securing government buy-in and approval. Both peacebuilding and gender equality are fundamentally political endeavours. Organizations engaged in gender-responsive peacebuilding thus face a dilemma. While the nature of their work requires them to challenge existing power structures, there is a need to simultaneously accommodate these structures. Bilateral and multilateral interventions simply cannot go ahead without securing partner government approval.

To create buy-in, practitioners engage in several practices. For instance, interview respondents in Sri Lanka noted that the inclusion of an economic empowerment component helped them secure approval from the authorities. They noted that women's livelihoods are seen as less controversial in comparison to issues like the introduction of electoral gender quotas, which is seen as a more deliberate attempt to dismantle existing patriarchal structures.

Gender-responsive peacebuilding approaches often must be subtle and incremental. Where buy-in is lacking, project objectives often need to be couched in alternative terms. 'Sexual harassment guidelines' become 'respectfulness guidelines', 'peacebuilding' is rephrased as 'strengthening social cohesion', while the term 'gender equality' is replaced with 'equality between men and women'. Finding entry points for programming – i.e., making interventions acceptable to government stakeholders and counterparts – is a common challenge in gender-responsive peacebuilding.

Security Sector Reform (SSR) programming in Guinea provides a case in point. Between 2014 and 2016, UNFPA, UNICEF and OHCHR implemented SSR project PBF/IRF-104[99] under the GPI. A careful

---

97 "Access to Justice for Victims of Conflict-related Sexual Violence: Lessons Learned from the Sepur Zarco Case", https://academic.oup.com/jicj/article-abstract/18/2/243/5864743.

98 http://rio-negro.info/che/doc/ChixoyDam_StoryOfForcedResettlement.pdf.

99 "Appui a l'institutionnalisation de l'approche genre, de la prevention et protection des VBG au sein des forces de defense et de securite (Guinea)", http://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/project/00093212.

Gender-responsive peacebuilding approaches often must be subtle and incremental. Where buy-in is lacking, project objectives often need to be couched in alternative terms. 'Sexual harassment guidelines' become 'respectfulness guidelines', 'peacebuilding' is rephrased as 'strengthening social cohesion', while the term 'gender equality' is replaced with 'equality between men and women'. Finding entry points for programming – i.e., making interventions acceptable to government stakeholders and counterparts – is a common challenge in gender-responsive peacebuilding.

in driving forward deeper changes, in particular greater representation of women in decision-making bodies. During evaluation interviews, the project counterpart – the Guinea Ministry of Defense – assessed the project focus as "too narrow" and raised questions over the targeting of the intervention.

The Guinea case highlights the crucial point that those involved in gender-responsive peacebuilding often must narrow down their own ambitions. In particular, macro-level efforts are often described by practitioners as "slow", "frustrating", and "tedious". This raises important challenges for evaluation. As policy and other types of changes at the national level are often slow to occur, macro-level interventions are frequently judged to be ineffective. However, policy changes are usually the result of years of advocacy from different organizations and therefore cannot be attributed to a particular project. Donors must be sensitive to this possibility and invest in long-term follow-ups to properly understand a project's impact. Evidence-based practice – although laudable in its ambition – can have negative consequences if it is all too narrowly applied. Gender-responsive peacebuilding requires patience, perseverance, and trial and error.

reading of the evaluation report suggests that counterpart buy-in was low, and that there was no real interest in driving forward the proposed changes. The project evaluator concluded that while the project was effective in terms of increasing awareness among security forces regarding gender issues,[100] it did not succeed

---

100 It should be noted that no rigorous assessment was conducted, and this finding is based solely on several qualitative interviews.

▶ CONCLUSION

Significant changes in the peacebuilding landscape and architecture have occurred since the last PBSO's Thematic Review on Gender and Peacebuilding in 2014. The 2015 UN Peacebuilding Architecture Review, and the adoption of the subsequent twin resolutions (A/RES/70/262 and S/RES/2282), broadened the mandate of the UN architecture to reflect the lived realities of conflict – including that conflict is neither linear across time nor uniform across geography. The 20th anniversary of UNSCR 1325 (2000) was expected to provide an opportunity to accelerate efforts to meet the commitments it enshrines. Instead, the anniversary was upended by an unprecedented health crisis, putting at risk not only decades of socioeconomic progress, but also unleashing the potential for increased political instability and violence. As is so often the case during global emergencies, both women and girls have been disproportionally affected by the secondary impacts of the crisis. The 2021 Thematic Review on Gender-Responsive Peacebuilding notes progress made since 2014 and highlights the issues that have emerged or intensified since the global pandemic began.

Since 2014, the Peacebuilding Fund has made impressive gains in strengthening its systems to support gender-responsive peacebuilding. PBF has developed one of the most rigorous sets of requirements in the whole UN system to gauge each project's contribution to gender equality and women's empowerment. This innovation has enabled the Fund to not just support better design of gender-responsive projects, but to also track their implementation. These improvements have enabled a second major finding – the PBF has become a leader from within the UN system in setting, meeting and exceeding ambitious goals related to investments in gender-responsive peacebuilding. The Secretary-General's Seven-Point Action Plan, which commits UN entities to allocate at least 15 per cent of resources to this effort, has been difficult for many to achieve. The PBF first met this target in 2015, and, even more importantly, the Fund did not see 15 per cent as the ceiling but as the floor. In 2017, the PBF raised its own internal target to 30 per cent, a goal it has met or exceeded every year since. The Fund's actions have encouraged bold target setting by others in the system.

Despite these accomplishments, however, there are a few areas where the PBF and other actors – donors, policymakers, fund applicants and recipients – can further strengthen their efforts. First, the experience of the pandemic has placed into sharp relief pre-existing inequalities and institutional weaknesses, resulting in a disproportionate rise in female unemployment, domestic violence and worsening access to justice and basic services. In some places, lockdown and other control measures have had the effect – intentional or not – of stifling civil society. Such challenges can easily transform into grievances that can destabilize communities, regions and states. Member States are urged to

take a holistic approach in their WPS National Action Plans when responding to the pandemic's negative fallout. There is a need to re-assess existing strategies, ensuring they are appropriate to the current situation. It is also vital to appreciate that social groups – gender, ethnic, religious – are not homogeneous. An intersectional approach that both recognizes the compounded effects of different vulnerabilities as well as the strengths of various identity groups, is key for gender-responsive peacebuilding.

International actors are encouraged to provide adequate levels of funding to gender-responsive peacebuilding, despite competing pandemic priorities. Specifically, the Thematic Review encourages donors to enhance funding to grassroots women's organizations to reflect and respond to the diverse needs of women on the ground. In so doing, donors should look for ways to make longer-term, flexible funding directly available to women's grassroots peacebuilding organizations, including through institutional and capacity-building support so that women's organizations are able to continue operating and meet the increasing demands of their communities in light of the pandemic.

Finally, to better assess progress on gender-responsive peacebuilding and generate greater buy-in and increased financial commitments, the Review calls upon all peacebuilding practitioners to develop rigorous theories of change that explore underlying assumptions about the gendered causes of violence, and to consider women's and men's distinct experiences of conflict or peace. Likewise, it is crucial to enhance indicator frameworks to improve the quality of results reporting. Currently, within the WPS agenda, there is often a singular focus on women's participation in peacebuilding. While getting women to the table is a necessary first step, the Review highlights that what happens once they are there needs more attention to avoid merely symbolic or tokenistic participation by women.

As the UN Secretary-General has noted, the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic presents the global community with the chance to save lives, protect societies, and recover better. Recovery also provides the opportunity to build resiliency to future shocks through strengthening inclusive peacebuilding today. It is our hope that this Thematic Review helps renew and strengthen the global commitment to gender-responsive peacebuilding at a time when there is an urgent need for transformation.

▶ RECOMMENDATIONS

> " *Women can be very instrumental for peacebuilding. If empowered, and if they can be mobilized in a certain way, that could be very effective.* "
>
> – CSO interview respondent, **Sri Lanka**

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICYMAKERS

▶ **Strengthen the language of diversity and intersectionality in WPS policy discourse.** Gender essentialism remains a persistent challenge in WPS discourse. Women are still often treated as a homogenous group with similar experiences and needs. The assumption of women's sameness repeats problematic gender binaries and fails to account for the fact that gender is often only one axis of exclusion. Essentialist discourse can also lead to essentialist action and contribute to the design of interventions that do not meet the needs of different segments of society, including those of minority groups. To root out gender essentialism, there is a need to strengthen the language of diversity and intersectionality in WPS policy discourse. **Rather than referring to 'women and girls' – a coupling that seeks to draw attention to gender as an intersecting variable – 'women' and 'children', or 'women' and 'youth', should be considered distinct categories, with different needs and agency, and – where possible – referred to separately. Whenever feasible, more precise references should also be included (i.e., women from ethnic or religious minorities, women living in poverty, women living with disabilities).**

▶ **Enhance the WPS Global Indicator Framework.** A prominent critique is the narrowing of the WPS agenda to issues of representation. Not only are the programmes put forward by international actors often limited in their focus and scope, **the overemphasis on women's participation is also evident in the WPS Global Indicator Framework where seven of the twenty-six indicators[101] relate to the quantitative advancement of women's representation.** While undoubtedly critical, these indicators need to be complemented with qualitative assessments of women's substantive representation, intersectionality and the impact of the various forms of their direct and indirect participation in peacebuilding efforts including as mediators, contributors of gender expertise or as women activists in CSOs.

A move towards a more comprehensive and less essentialist approach also requires greater attention to the peculiarities of a given conflict, and diverse women's lived experiences of conflict. **For example, Index Indicator 14 in the WPS Global Indicator Framework looks at changes to women's security, based on women's own perceptions. This particular indicator, along with similar ones, should be**

---

101 Indicators 3b, 7, 11a, 11b, 12a, 12b,16.

further elevated. An examination of women's enhanced cooperation across group and cross-cutting cleavages like ethnic lines would be another suitable indicator for gender-responsive peacebuilding. As many UN entities draw directly on the WPS Global Indicator Framework, enhancements to the framework could provide an overall boost to the quality of monitoring and evaluation in the field.

▶ **Pay greater attention to the construction of male identities and masculine norms (as related to femininities/female identities).** The Thematic Review indicates that the term 'gender' is often used as a placeholder for 'women'. While UNSCR 1325 was born out of a recognition that the peace and security domain is almost entirely devoted to men, the exclusive focus on women in the WPS agenda conceals that both men and boys can contribute to, and be harmed by, gender norms. Indeed, it is a missed opportunity to draw attention to the gendered roots of armed conflict which is central to the success of the WPS agenda. **Future iterations of the WPS agenda should address the analytical omission of masculinities and adopt a broader gender perspective as part of addressing gendered risks. This necessitates going beyond the concept of 'men as allies' towards enhanced analysis of the processes that shape men's (and women's) propensity to use violence.**

▶ **Ensure that the WPS agenda is truly inclusive and intersectional.** While the WPS agenda has expanded since the 2000 passage of UNSCR 1325, none of the WPS resolutions explicitly refer to the needs and experiences of LGBTQI individuals. This is a significant policy omission and a missed opportunity to ensure that the WPS agenda is truly inclusive and intersectional. Future iterations of the WPS agenda should seek to address this gap by drawing attention to issues of sexual orientation and gender identity. **Reflecting more holistically on the experiences of different individuals, including those who fall outside the cisgender heteronormative paradigm, can also contribute to a better understanding of the underlying root causes of conflict and violence.**

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DONORS

▶ **Finance the WPS agenda in a moment of extraordinary crisis.** Faced with an unprecedented crisis, it is essential that gender equality and women's empowerment are not sidelined in crisis recovery. The availability of long-term, adequate and predictable funding is vital to ensure progress on the WPS agenda. In the face of overstretched resources, there is a need to look carefully at how WPS funding is allocated. Funding to grassroots women's organizations must be strengthened to reflect and respond to the diverse needs of women on the ground. **Donors need to provide support to initiatives that place gender equality and grassroots engagement at the centre of their strategies, including the PBF's GYPI and the Women, Peace and Humanitarian Fund (WPHF) programmes.** Donors should also assess ways to make long-term, flexible funding directly available to women's peacebuilding organizations. Indeed, flexibility in funding to improve reach to the most vulnerable segments of society should be the key priority considering the COVID-19 crisis.

▶ **Strengthen peaceful and gender-sensitive responses to the COVID-19 pandemic.** Effective pandemic response goes well beyond the public health sector. Peaceful and gender-sensitive responses to COVID-19 require a comprehensive approach that recognizes the needs of all segments of society. **Gender and conflict must be considered cross-cutting themes in all response measures. Donors must also recognize the shifting social, economic and political environments created by the pandemic.** These changing contexts will likely influence future conflict drivers and have significant impact on peace and security, especially the security of women. There is an urgent need to step up efforts to prevent and mitigate gender-based violence and re-assess existing strategies (such as UNSCR 1325 NAPs), to ensure they are appropriate to the current situation.

▶ **Strengthen gender-responsive peacebuilding approaches through robust monitoring and evaluation.** In a global context of aid shortfalls, there is pressing need to assess the impact of interventions. Robust evidence of what works in gender-responsive peacebuilding remains scarce. Complexities involved in the evaluation of peacebuilding interventions require donors to provide adequate technical and financial resources for evaluation. Testing linkages and assumptions underpinning gender-responsive peacebuilding could improve the overall quality of theories of change in the sector by providing avenues for greater cross-referencing and learning. This necessitates sustained investments in rigorous, theory-based evaluation approaches. **Better evidence of the transformative effects of gender-responsive peacebuilding could also help to elevate the status of gender-responsive peacebuilding and encourage more sustained funding and support.**

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PEACEBUILDING FUND

▶ **Enhance the Gender Marker**. Research for the Thematic Review highlights that the PBF currently has one of the most advanced gender marker systems across the UN system. Nonetheless, a few suggestions are made for strengthening the PBF Gender Marker. First, it is important to note that coding is heavily dependent on underlying conceptions of what gender equality means in each context, and how it can be achieved. Within the PBF Guidance Note on Gender Marker Scoring,[102] gender is largely seen as synonymous with women. This presents a missed opportunity to work on masculinities/femininities and to make visible other types of interventions that are highly relevant to gender equality, such as psychological support for male victims of trauma as part of more holistic protection. **A broader gender equality perspective should be adopted, one that includes men and masculinities, in addition to women and femininities.** Conflict analyses often focus on narrow conceptions of women's lack of representation and fail to present a deeper analysis of the gendered root causes of conflict. Further guidance should be provided to encourage more in-depth analysis. In addition, there is a need to invest in quality control and verification of Gender Marker scores in those countries where the UN lacks in-country gender expertise.

▶ **Introduce a gender scorecard.** The Thematic Review indicates that approximately one fifth of the evaluation reports produced by PBF-funded projects are still gender blind. Even where gender-disaggregated data is collected as part of the evaluation process, there is often a lack of in-depth and nuanced analysis of the gendered effects of an intervention. **To enhance attention to gender considerations, the PBF should consider introducing a gender scorecard in the evaluation process to assess projects along a continuum from harmful to gender-transformative and include a narrative justification.** This could be in the form of a two-tier system in which a first score is assigned by the project evaluator. The gender score would then need to pass PBF quality assurance. Only evaluations that provide strong enough evidence would receive the gender transformative outcome score. The score would thus speak both to positive gender achievements, as well as good quality data. Achieving a gender transformative score could be linked to greater success in receiving future GPI funding. To provide a more comprehensive picture, the gender scorecard could also be linked to the Gender Marker scores assigned at the design stage and verified throughout implementation.[103]

---

102 https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/pbf_guidance_note_on_gender_marker_scoring_2019.pdf.

103 As an example, see CARE Gender Marker Guidance: http://gender.careinternationalwikis.org/_media/care_gender_marker_guidance_english.pdf.

▶ **Enhance design, monitoring and evaluation frameworks.** PBF and DPPA desks and units should take advantage of the new DPPA structure to share guidance notes, tools and analyses more systematically to strengthen the gender responsiveness of their respective work, including at the design stage of PBF-funded projects. Moreover, to enable projects to reflect more holistically on both gender equality and peacebuilding outcomes, the PBF should consider introducing a revised results framework that includes an intermediate outcome level. To ensure projects move beyond the issue of representation, long-term outcomes should focus on transformative peacebuilding impact. As an example, women's representation in security forces would be an intermediate outcome, whereas enhanced community trust resulting from women's representation would be the overarching peacebuilding objective. A similar approach should also be encouraged for theories of change. **To encourage fund applicants to pay greater attention to the underlying assumptions in gender-responsive peacebuilding programming, the PBF should also include examples of ToC diagrams/systems maps in the ToC Guidance Note and in project document templates. When assessing project proposals, increased weighting should be given to the quality of assumptions underpinning gender-responsive peacebuilding.**

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUND RECIPIENTS

▶ **Enhance the quality of gender-sensitive conflict analysis.** There is a need to move to more substantive gender discussions. The development of strong peacebuilding project proposals focused on gender equality and women's empowerment necessitates the application of an in-depth and rigorous gender lens to conflict analysis. **Good quality conflict analysis must pay attention to the gendered root causes of conflict and violence, discriminatory practices and the differentiated effects of conflict and violence on various segments of society.** While there are good examples of analyses that partially meet these requirements, in some cases analyses are too superficially concerned with women's lack of representation. Particularly in the case of GM2 projects, there is often only a cursory treatment of gender issues. Typically, the focus of conflict analyses is on macro-level conflict dynamics, with insufficient attention paid to regional diversity and localized conflict dynamics. In recent years, some good quality guidance and toolkits have emerged to facilitate gender-sensitive analysis.[104] Fund applicants should draw on these tools to enhance the quality of their analyses.

▶ **Enhance the quality of theories of change.** While all PBF fund applicants are required to present a ToC at the proposal stage, these are often vague as to a project's intended results. **A complete theory of change should outline not only what a project hopes to achieve, but also identify assumptions about the processes through which change is expected to occur.** This is important to ensure that assumptions are grounded in prior research and practice and can be subjected to empirical testing. This, in turn, can lead to better design decisions in gender-responsive peacebuilding and contribute to the development of a stronger evidence base. When developing theories of change, PBF fund applicants should consider alternatives to overly narrow 'if/then statements', in particular the use of systems maps and ToC diagrams.

---

104 See, for example, Conciliation Resources and Saferworld Gender-Sensitive Conflict Analysis Toolkit at https://www.c-r.org/resource/gender-and-conflict-analysis-toolkit-peacebuilders; or DPPA Practical Guidance for Gender-sensitive Conflict Analysis at https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/Gender-sensitive_Conflict_Analysis_infographic.pdf.

► **Improve metrics to move beyond participation.** Results frameworks often concentrate on narrow questions of women's participation. This metric is insufficient to assess whether an intervention has been successful. Where possible, quantitative indicators on women's advancement (gender balancing) should be complemented with qualitative assessments of women's substantive representation. Women participate across many activities including as mediators, gender experts and community activists, and the recognition of different types of women's participation and the respective impacts needs to be included in measurement. **In addition, to better understand women's access to decision-making it is essential to consider diverse experiences of women based on their intersecting identities, thus tailoring indicators to differential experiences of women based on age, religion, ethnicity, social and economic class, disability, or sexual orientation.**

► **Improve metrics to include gendered definitions of project success.** While most results frameworks put forward by PBF fund recipients mandate gender-disaggregated data collection, the same definitions of success usually apply to both women and men. This is not always appropriate as conflict can affect men and women differently. **Therefore, project teams need to conduct perception surveys and integrate women's narratives and experiences of conflict and peace into project results metrics.** For instance, water and land conflicts can have differential effects due to gendered roles in agriculture and water-fetching. A gendered indicator targeted specifically at women could, for instance, look at how safe women feel while fetching water – a role typically ascribed to them. A gendered indicator targeted specifically at men might look at the extent of tenure security; tenure is still often held by, and in some countries legally restricted to, men. It is important to develop gendered definitions of project success to ensure that indicators look at aspects that are the most salient to different groups of beneficiaries based on their gender, thus ensuring that projects meaningfully address the needs of all target groups.

► **Provide capacity-building support to local implementing partners.** Partnerships between UN entities, INGOs and smaller community-based organizations can be an effective way to build local capacities. Many CSO interview respondents from smaller women's organizations recalled positive examples of how working in consortia structures assisted them in improving managerial systems and skills. Respondents also highlighted, however, the need for more sustained support in areas such as financial management, grant writing and monitoring and evaluation. To further enhance the ability of women's peacebuilding organizations to provide services to their communities and to grow as organizations, PBF fund recipients partnering with local community-based organizations should routinely emphasize institutional capacity development. **To harness the full advantages of partnerships, it is vital to set out capacity development goals at the onset of a project. In addition to measuring progress against project indicators, consortia partners should routinely track progress against capacity-building targets.**

▶ ANNEXES

ANNEX 1

OVERVIEW OF PROJECTS INCLUDED IN THE META-SYNTHESIS

#	Country & project code	GM	Mod.	Thematic focus	Timeline	Organisations
1	Mali (PBF/IRF-158)	3	IRF-GPI	SSR	2017-2020	Interpeace
2	CAR (PBF/IRF-251)	3	IRF-GPI	Political participation	2018-2020	UNDP, UN Women
3	Sri Lanka (PBF/IRF-154)	3	IRF-GPI	Transitional justice	2017-2019	Humanity & Inclusion
4	Myanmar (PBF/IRF-242)	3	IRF-GPI	Inclusive peacebuilding	2018-2019	UNFPA, UNDP
5	Kyrgyzstan (PBF/IRF-150)	3	IRF-GPI	Violent extremism	2016-2018	UNODC, UNFPA, UNICEF, UNDP
6	Liberia (PBF/IRF-216)	3	IRF-GPI	WPS/SSR	2018-2019	IOM, UNDP, UN Women
7	Cote d'Ivoire (PBF/IRF-91)	3	IRF-GPI	Reconciliation	2014-2016	UNFPA, UNDP, UN Women
8	Guinea (PBF/IRF-104)	3	IRF-GPI	Prevention SGBV/SSR	2014-2016	UNFPA, UNICEF, OHCHR
9	Mali (PBF/IRF-105)	3	IRF-GPI	Survivors SGBV	2014-2017	UNFPA, UN Women
10	Nepal (PBF/IRF-107)	3	IRF-GPI	Conflict resolution/land rights	2014-2016	UNHABITAT, IOM, UNDP
11	Kyrgyzstan (PBF/IRF-109)	3	IRF-GPI	Political participation	2015-2016	UNICEF, UNDP
12	Papua New Guinea (PBF/IRF-111)	3	IRF-GPI	Prevention SGBV	2015-2017	UNICEF, UN Women
13	Kyrgyzstan (PBF/IRF-115)	3	IRF-GPI	Inclusive peacebuilding	2015-2016	UNICEF, UNDP
14	Papua New Guinea (PBF/IRF-117)	3	IRF-GPI	Political participation	2015-2017	UN Women, UNDP
15	Somalia (PBF/IRF-119)	3	IRF-GPI	Inclusive peacebuilding	2015-2016	UNDPPA, UNDP, UN Women
16	Guatemala (PBF/IRF-145)	3	IRF-GPI	Survivors SGBV	2016-2019	UNFPA, UNDP, UN Women
17	Mali (PBF/IRF-146)	3	IRF-GPI	Peace agreements	2016-2018	UNFPA, UN Women

18	Kyrgyzstan (PBF/IRF-195)	3	IRF-GPI	Women's leadership	2017-2019	UNOCD, UNFPA
19	Guatemala (PBF/IRF-157)	3	IRF-GPI	Conflict resolution/land rights	2017-2019	Mercy Corps
20	Cote d'Ivoire (PBF/IRF-156)	3	IRF-GPI	Peace agreements	2017-2018	Care international
21	Papua New Guinea (PBF/IRF-204)	3	IRF-GPI	Inclusive peacebuilding	2017-2019	UNFPA, OHCHR
22	Cote d'Ivoire (PBF/IRF-168)	3	IRF-GPI	Inclusive peacebuilding	2017-2018	UNICEF, UN Women
23	Yemen (PBF/IRF-202)	3	IRF-GPI	Conflict resolution/ natural resources	2017-2019	FAO, IOM
24	Yemen (PBF/IRF-256)	3	IRF-GPI	Conflict resolution/ water	2018-2020	FAO, IOM
25	Liberia (PBF/IRF-160)	3	IRF-GPI	Inclusive peacebuilding	2017-2018	Educare Liberia
26	Cote d'Ivoire (PBF/IRF-199)	2	IRF[105]	Conflict resolution	2017-2019	UNFPA, UNDP
27	Sri Lanka (PBF/IRF-215)	3	IRF-GPI	Economic empowerment	2018-2019	ILO, WFP
28	Haiti (PRF/IRF-227)	2	IRF[106]	Inclusive peacebuilding	2018-2020	IOM, UN Women, UNDP
29	Myanmar (PBF/IRF-148)	2	IRF[107]	Ceasefires	2016-2018	UNDP
30	Kyrgyzstan (PBF/IRF-131)	2	IRF[108]	Cross-border violence	2015-2019	FAO, UNICEF, UNDP, UN Women, WFP
31	Guinea (PBF/IRF-166)	2	IRF	SSR	2017-2018	OHCHR, UNDP
32	Guinea (PBF/IRF-149)	2	IRF-YPI	Gang violence	2017-2018	UNHABITAT, UNIDO, UNDP
33	Mali (PBF/IRF-161)	2	IRF-YPI	Violent extremism	2017-2018	ACORD
34	Somalia (PBF/IRF-205)	2	IRF-YPI	Inclusive peacebuilding	2017-2019	UNFPA, UNHABITAT
35	Sri Lanka (PBF/IRF-240)	2	IRF-YPI	Transitional justice	2018-2020	Nat. Peace Council Sri Lanka
36	Kyrgyzstan (PBF/IRF-239)	2	IRF-YPI	Media/peace messages	2018-2019	GPPAC

---

105 Priority window: Transition from UN or regional peacekeeping or special political mission.
106 Ibid.
107 MDTF/PUNO only.
108 Priority window: Cross-border or regional project.

37	Burundi (PBF/IRF-241)	2	IRF-YPI	Political participation	2018-2020	NIMD
38	CAR (PBF/IRF-276)	2	IRF-YPI	Inclusive peacebuilding	2018-2020	War Child UK
39	Kyrgyzstan (PBF/IRF-282)	2	IRF-YPI	Inclusive peacebuilding	2018-2020	Safer World
40	Cote d'Ivoire (PBF/IRF-283)	2	IRF-YPI	Inclusive peacebuilding	2018-2020	ICTJ
41	Mali (PBF/IRF-234)	2	IRF-YPI	Inclusive peacebuilding	2018-2020	Mercy Corps
42	Myanmar (PBF/IRF-226)	2	IRF-YPI	Inclusive peacebuilding	2018-2019	UNFPA, UNICEF
43	Guinea (PBF/IRF-233)	2	IRF-YPI	Youth promotion	2018-2019	ACORD
44	DRC (PBF/COD/B-6)	2	PRF	Conflict resolution/ stabilisation	2016-2018	UNDP, International Alert
45	DRC (PBF/COD/A-2)	2	PRF	Stabilisation	2017-2019	UNHABITAT, IOM, UNDP, Mercy Corps

ANNEX 2

OVERVIEW OF PBF-FUNDED CASE STUDY
PROJECTS INCLUDED IN PRIMARY RESEARCH

Sri Lanka:

PBF/IRF-329 Young women as drivers of peace – providing 360-degree support to emerging leaders

PBF/IRF-252 Hidden challenges – addressing sexual bribery experienced by female heads of household, including military widows in Sri Lanka to enable resilience and sustained peace

PBF/IRF-313 Promoting women's engagement in waste management to prevent conflict in Sri Lanka

PBF/LKA/A-3 Participation of youth and women in the peacebuilding process

Guatemala

PBF/IRF-194 Realizing the transformational effect of the Sepur Zarco reparation sentence to break the continuum of conflict and post-conflict related sexual and other forms of violence against women

PBF/IRF-306 Building the social cohesion of communities receiving youth returnees as a bridge to peaceful and effective reintegration

PBF/IRF-307 Creating new avenues of resilience to sustain peace – Kaqchiquel, Q'eqchi' and mestizo women pathfinders for peace at the centre

Somalia

PBF/IRF-261 Leveraging the strength of women in peacebuilding and promoting gender sensitivity in the National Programme on Disengaged Combatants

PBF/IRF-330 Youth building peace in Somalia

South Sudan

PBF/SSD/A-1 Protecting women and girls in South Sudan: Addressing GBV as a catalyst for peace

Mali/Niger (cross border project)

PBF/IRF-351 and PBF/IRF-352 Femmes et gestion des conflits lies aux resources naturelles

MALI

PBF/IRF-299 Appui aux initiatives transfrontalières de dialogue communautaire et avec les acteurs du secteur de la sécurité et de la justice pour la consolidation de la paix au Mali et au Niger (Mali)

PBF/IRF-158 Femmes, Defense et Securite Participation des Femmes a la Reforme du Secteur de la securite et au renforcement de la confiance entre les populations et Forces de defense et de sécurité au Mali

REFERENCES

Adjei, M. (2019), Women's participation in peace processes: a review of the literature. *Journal of Peace Education*, vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 133–154.

Germany UNSCR 1325 Action Plan. Available at https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/2443848/3596859eebe39f90fa327e81ede416a3/aktionsplan-zu-wps-iii-data.pdf

Gorman (2014). Thematic Review on Gender and Peacebuilding. PBSO. Available at https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/final_report_thematic_review_on_gender_peacebuilding_0.pdf

Hudson, V. and others (2012). *Sex & World Peace*, New York: Columbia University Press.

IPI (2017). *Sustaining Peace: What Does it Mean in Practice?* Available at https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/1704_Sustaining-Peace-final.pdf

Krause J. and others (2018). *Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace*. Available at: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386

Legatum Institute (2020). *Breaking the Cycle of Violence: Fostering peace and reconciliation in post-conflict environments*. Available at: https://li.com/reports/breaking-the-cycle-of-violence/.

OECD (2021). Covid-19 spending helped to lift foreign aid to an all-time high in 2020. Available at https://www.oecd.org/development/covid-19-spending-helped-to-lift-foreign-aid-to-an-all-time-high-in-2020-but-more-effort-needed.htm.

Thania Paffenholz, and others (2016), *Making Women Count - Not Just Counting Women: Assessing Women's Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations*, Geneva: Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative (The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies) and UN Women.

Stone, L. 2015. "Quantitative Analysis of Women's Participation in Peace Processes." In Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes, by M. O'Reilly, A. Ó Súilleabháin, and T. Paffenholz, Annex II. New York: International Peace Institute. Available at https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/IPI-E-pub-Reimagining-Peacemaking.pdf

Veron, P. and Sherrif, A. (2020). *International Funding for Peacebuilding: Will Covid-19 change of reinforce existing trends?* Available at https://ecdpm.org/wp-content/uploads/ECDPM-Discussion-Paper-280-International-Funding-Peacebuilding-COVID-19-Change-Reinforce-Existing-Trends.pdf

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Awad, N. (2020). Sudanese women show that peace requires participation not just representation. Available at https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/north-africa-west-asia/sudanese-women-show-peace-requires-participation-not-just-representation/.

Christien, A. (2020). Advancing Women's Participation in Track II Processes: Good and Emerging Practices. Available at https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Good-Practices-for-Womens-Involvement-in-Track-II.pdf.

Cooper, J. (2020). Women lead in Sudan's clamour for good governance. Available at https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/september-2020/women-lead-sudan's-clamour-good-governance.

Davis, L.; Stern, J. (2019). WPS and LGBTI Rights. The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace and Security. Available at https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190638276.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780190638276-e-50.

GFFO (2021). "Peace that is shaped only by men is not Peace". Available at https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/menschenrechte/maas-murad/2458556.

Hagen, J. (2016). Queering women, peace and security. Available at https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1468-2346.12551.

Myrttinen, H. (2020). Transforming masculinities: Engaging with men in post-conflict settings. Available at https://www.kcl.ac.uk/transforming-masculinities-a-conversation-with-herni-myrttinen-on-engaging-with-men-in-post-conflict-settings.

OSCE (2020). Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the OSCE Region. Available at https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/3/4/444577.pdf.

Ross, J. (2020). Chronically underfunded, women peace builder need support more than ever. Available at: https://data.unwomen.org/features/chronically-underfunded-women-peace-builders-need-support-more-ever.

UN (2020). Review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture. Available at https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/content/2020-review-un-peacebuilding-architecture.

United Nations Security Council (2020). Report on Women, Peace and Security. Available at https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2020_946.pdf.

GUIDANCE NOTES, TOOLKITS AND NATIONAL ACTION PLANS

1. Care International Gender Marker Guidance Note. https://insights.careinternational.org.uk/in-practice/care-gender-marker

2. Conciliation Resources and Saferworld Gender-Sensitive Conflict Analysis Toolkit. https://www.c-r.org/resource/gender-and-conflict-analysis-toolkit-peacebuilders

3. DPPA Practical Guidance for Gender-sensitive Conflict Analysis. https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/Gender-sensitive_Conflict_Analysis_infographic.pdf

4. PBF Gender Marker Guidance Note. https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/pbf_guidance_note_on_gender_marker_scoring_2019.pdf

5. PeaceWomen Guidance Note on WPS NAPS. https://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/national_action_plan_development_toolkit.pdf

6. SDG Fund Gender Marker Guidance Note. https://www.jointsdgfund.org/article/promoting-specific-needs-women-and-girls-joint-sdg-fund-gender-marker

7. Sweden Feminist Foreign Policy. https://www.government.se/government-policy/feminist-foreign-policy/?TSPD_101_R0=088d4528d9ab20006d23dd1a46a72e593b53db12b9fee5016e2ed-90087feaf324d8ca1d38c4bd9ce083e67edf3143000ccb1885ae5576e0b77a560cb4e8f4b1de91fd-78b1a8b69474252d91cd336c71aec6cf1aba1605441cd32fac0871cf5e8

8. UN Women Gender Marker Guidance Note. https://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/files/un%20women/grb/resources/gender%20equality%20marker%20guidance%20note.pdf?vs=2458

9. WPS Focal Points Network Resources. https://wpsfocalpointsnetwork.org/resources/