

## Critical Reflection

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Following the KOFF roundtable on Integrating Gender into the New Deal

### **New Deal and Resolution 1325 - No Need to Reinvent the Wheel to Make the Road to 2015 and Beyond**

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#### Introduction

Approaching 2015 it has become clear that fragility and gender inequality risk undermining development and reversing the gains that have been made. It has been widely reported that no fragile or conflict-affected state (FCAS) will achieve any of the millennium development goals. Data shows that in FCAS women's education and participation is lagging behind compared to other developing countries<sup>1</sup>. Recent research has shown that gender inequality and negative development outcomes for women and girls are particularly marked in FCAS and provides evidence for the inter-linkages between gender inequality, peacebuilding and statebuilding.<sup>2</sup> To build a state that works for both women and men it is crucial to ensure that gender issues are incorporated in the run-up to 2015.

Since its adoption at the High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan in 2011, the New Deal of Engagement in Fragile States is gaining a lot of momentum by local and international actors addressing gaps in development in FCAS that had not been sufficiently addressed by the global development agenda. The New Deal encompasses five state and peacebuilding goals, addresses new ways of engaging, emphasizing

and supporting transition that are country-led and country-owned (FOCUS) and outlines how resources and aid will be managed more effectively and transparently (TRUST). Centred on the g7+<sup>3</sup>, the New Deal puts FCAS in the driver's seat focusing on local ownership, multi-stakeholder collaboration and a more inclusive process, what makes it particularly important that women's voices are heard. Yet, a gender perspective has hardly been integrated. As the New Deal evolves and is implemented into practice, it presents the opportunity to advance the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda and to promote gender equality on the way to 2015.

Seven consecutive UN Security Council resolutions on Women Peace and Security have been adopted since 2000. They all call upon states, the Security Council itself and the parties to armed conflict to immediately increase women's access to formal peace processes at all levels, to establish comprehensive post-conflict justice frameworks which address violations of their human rights, to prosecute gender-based crimes and to remove all discriminatory barriers which impede women's equal participation in

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<sup>1</sup> All data from World Bank Gender Database at <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/views/variableSelection/selectvariables.aspx?source=gender-statistics>

<sup>2</sup> Clare Castillejo 2011, Helen O'Connell 2011, UN Women Sourcebook 2012.

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<sup>3</sup> Afghanistan, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, DRC, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Haiti, Liberia, Papua New Guinea, Sierra Leone, The Solomon Islands, Somalia, South Sudan, Timor-Leste, Togo.

political, social and economic life. Although progress has been made, their implementation is still far from being achieved. While the policy is well established on an international level the participation of women in processes shaping peace is still marginal. In the same way, women's rights in fragile and violent contexts still continue to be precarious and gender based violence (GBV) and widespread impunity exist. Thus, the primary concerns in the context of the current WPS policy development are the lack of its impact in conflict and fragile settings and the lack of enforceability of women's rights. While the New Deal is becoming the new paradigm for the engagement in fragile and conflict-affected states, it offers a way to address these challenges, and in doing so to strengthen the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and its follow-up resolutions.

Bringing the MDGs, the New Deal and the UNSCR 1325 together may at first glance appear as a mix of different frameworks, but bears in reality many opportunities and allows building on existing tools and mechanisms. There is thus no need to reinvent the wheel to make the road to 2015 and beyond. As gender equality has been identified as a key driver for the achievement of the development agenda, integrating a gender perspective into the New Deal would be critical to its realisation, in particular in regard to its commitments to inclusiveness, participation and equality and would also present an opportunity to both advance the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and other commitments on gender equality and the achievement of a post 2015 agenda.

Following the discussion of the KOFF Policy Roundtable on the New Deal and the Role of Civil Society, the Center for Peacebuilding (KOFF) organised a second roundtable discussion in order to foster the dialogue among Swiss development and peacebuilding actors on taking a strategic and coordinated approach to integrate gender into the New Deal and to identify entry points for action. In order to do so the roundtable brought together gender experts from Cordaid and both Swiss governmental and non-governmental actors. Dewi Suralaga, Senior Policy Advisor of Cordaid's programme on Women's Leadership for Peace and Security and Karen Barnes, independent consultant and co-

author of two Cordaid reports<sup>4</sup> on the gender, fragility and development debate presented their work, recommendations and possible actions (to ensure a more coordinated approach to integrating gender into the New Deal and to addressing fragility and gender inequality in the post MDG framework). As Switzerland has signed the New Deal in Busan and is about to set standards for its implementation, the discussion was centred around how gender has to be integrated at the policy and implementation level and what roles Swiss NGOs could play in order to ensure that gender is given the necessary leeway.

Taking the discussion and the two Cordaid reports as a starting point this critical reflection aims at further exploring how these different processes can be thought together, how the implementation of the New Deal and UNSCR 1325 could be used strategically to contribute to the shaping of the post 2015 agenda and what this would mean for Swiss governmental and non-governmental actors not only at the policy level but also for its work in reality on the ground.

### [New Deal and UNSCR 1325 to highlight gender inequality und fragility](#)

With the deadline for achieving the Millennium Development Goals at arms' length, it has become clear that none of the goals will be met for the countries affected by conflict or fragility. Inequality has been identified as one of the main obstacles to sustainable development. Gender inequality exists in virtually all societies to a greater or lesser extent, but intersects with other social, economic and political inequalities. Growing evidence shows that gender inequality in conflict-affected states produces specific forms of violence referred to as gender-based violence (GBV). And in situations where there is no violent conflict or civil war GBV is used to sustain and perpetuate gender inequality. GBV is cause as well as manifestation of gender inequality and upholds existing gender hierarchies undermining development. Alongside negative effects, conflict

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<sup>4</sup> For more information refer to Cordaid's reports: <http://www.cordaid.org/nl/publicaties/gender-new-deal/>; <http://www.cordaid.org/en/publications/gender-inequality-and-fragility-post-mdg-framework/>

and fragility can also shape gender relations in a positive way in terms of reducing existing inequalities. When analysing conflicts and conflict dynamics from a gender perspective, unfortunately, the positive changes that occur are too often short lived and existing “windows of opportunities” tend to close down again quickly. This is why it is important to examine in detail how the changes unfold in each specific conflict context. As Karen Barnes Robinson puts it gender and conflict analysis is an effective tool for understanding power dynamics and structural inequalities that can undermine progress on the MDGs. She adds that gender inequality and fragility can result in or exacerbate negative development outcomes, particularly for women and girls, which will prevent the MDGs from being achieved in FCAS.

Recognising that gender equality is highly important for the success of any post- MDG, in particular in FCAS, the New Deal offers a great opportunity to address gender inequality. As its implementation is still in its early stage and while its mechanisms and tools are being defined, it has the potential to support both the post 2015 agenda as well as UNSCR 1325. With this in mind, Cordaid presented several strategic entry points to link 1325, the New Deal and the post-2015 MDGs. We are here taking the example of how the three main components of the New Deal would look like from a gender perspective and how gender can be integrated effectively into the implementation of the New Deal.

In regard to the five peace-and statebuilding goals (PSGs), they do not have adequately incorporated a gender perspective. It is thus important to note that there are gender specific issues that should be addressed under the five PSGs. For the first PSG this would for example mean that the political settlement is broadened beyond an elite settlement, which includes women and addresses gender issues; institutions uphold women’s rights and both women and men are able to participate in decision-making at all levels; civil society, including women’s organisations are engaged and active; broad-based processes for conflict resolution and reconciliation build on women’s grassroots peacebuilding efforts and address gender-related inequalities and insecurities; and women leaders - representative of a range of backgrounds and identities (urban, rural, wealthy, poor, etc.) - are

included on equal footing in all negotiations. A more detailed overview on a gender perspective is presented in the following table.

As for the second component of the New Deal, the FOCUS that is emphasizing on country led pathways out of fragility, integrating gender requires that fragility assessments are informed by a sound gender analysis and done in consultation with civil society organisations in particular women’s groups and organisations. These assessments are intended to lead into the development of a one-vision plan which will then be implemented by a compact. It is therefore crucial that any national plan and vision is informed by gender related priorities. A useful resource for identifying national priorities in regard to gender in this context, are National Action Plans (NAPs)<sup>5</sup> on the implementation of UNSCR 1325. NAPs serve as *the* instrument to integrate the specific WPS objectives into national security policies and foreign peace and development policies. Commonly NAPs on 1325 are developed in close cooperation with women’s civil society organization and build on country plans, strategies and networks that already exist or are being developed and would therefore be very valuable in this regard. Additionally, FOCUS is supporting inclusive political processes where all members of society have a voice and play a role in peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts. While UNSCR 1325 has been pushing in the same direction, it is still far from its objective of increased participation of women in peacebuilding. The New Deal would therefore present an excellent opportunity to increase women’s participation and access to formal peace processes. Much has already been achieved with the adoption of NAPs by, integrating WPS issues into national security and development policies, engaging governments in dialogue with civil society, establishing monitoring mechanisms and data collection that could be easily integrated into the activities that constitute the FOCUS pillar of the New Deal.

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<sup>5</sup> In the last years a wide number of states have followed this call, by end of 2013, 42 countries adopted national action plans to implement SCR 1325, others are underway.

PSGs	What it means from a gender perspective
<b>Legitimate politics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>&gt; The political settlement is broadened beyond an elite settlement to become a societal compact, which includes women and addresses gender issues</li> <li>&gt; Institutions uphold women's rights and both women and men are able to participate in decision-making at all levels, including through holding public office</li> <li>&gt; Civil society, including women's organisations are engaged and active</li> <li>&gt; Broad-based processes for conflict resolution and reconciliation build on women's grassroots peacebuilding efforts and address gender-related inequalities and insecurities</li> <li>&gt; Women leaders representative of a range of backgrounds and identities (urban, rural, wealthy, poor, etc) are included in all negotiations</li> </ul>
<b>Security</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>&gt; Improved behaviour, effectiveness and accountability of formal and informal security actors, particularly in relation to the protection of women</li> <li>&gt; Particular attention to the gender-specific security needs and to the specific vulnerabilities of women and girls</li> <li>&gt; Support for the full and meaningful participation of communities, including women leaders and networks, in shaping security priorities and provision</li> <li>&gt; Physical security is understood as a necessity for women's economic security as well as their access to and opportunities for political participation, education, healthcare and other services</li> </ul>
<b>Justice</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>&gt; All grievances, injustices and violations, including sexual and gender-based violence, are addressed by peace and reconciliation processes</li> <li>&gt; Formal justice mechanisms are accessible, affordable and uphold and protect women's rights</li> <li>&gt; Traditional, non-state and informal means for dispute resolution and adjudication are strengthened and aligned with international human rights standards, particularly in relation to women's human rights</li> </ul>
<b>Economic foundations</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>&gt; Job opportunities are created and reduce incentives to engage in violence and conflict, and the barriers to women's access to formal employment are actively addressed</li> <li>&gt; Funding is allocated to income-generating projects including some quick-wins, particularly for youth and marginalised groups</li> <li>&gt; Women are prioritised and targeted for involvement in labour intensive public and community works</li> <li>&gt; Increased agricultural productivity and domestic private sector development benefit women farmers and entrepreneurs</li> </ul>
<b>Revenues and services</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>&gt; Resources are raised, prioritised and managed in a way that contributes to more equitable service delivery, ensuring that the vulnerable and marginalised have access to these services</li> <li>&gt; The specific barriers that affect women and girls' ability to access services are addressed</li> <li>&gt; There is sound and transparent public financial management, including through the use of gender budgeting</li> <li>&gt; Natural resources are managed in a transparent way that benefits all members of society</li> </ul>

Table 1: A gender perspective on the PSGs, see Cordaid (2013:13)

Finally, integrating a gender perspective in the last component of the New Deal, summarized under TRUST<sup>6</sup> and outlining how resources and aid will be managed more effectively and transparently, will also be essential to ensure that funding is allocated accordingly to women's organisations and the respective ministries. Here, it is important to note that gender related planning and programming often falls under under-resourced and marginalised women's machineries (such as ministries of women's affairs and others) while resource allocation under the New Deal often is located within the more powerful ministry of economics and finance.<sup>7</sup>

With the implementation of the New Deal in piloting countries such as Afghanistan and South Sudan on the way, it is at the time to ensure that this is done in an inclusive and participatory manner and without side-lining gender aspects. Practically this calls for the integration of gender aspects in the drafting of fragility assessments and PSG country specific indicators and compacts. As fragility assessments lay out the foundation for subsequent planning processes and the identification of national priorities, the integration of a gender lens (see table above) can bring about many gains for counteracting a country's fragility besides its benefits for the WPS agenda. Carrying out a gender and conflict analysis shows underlying power dynamics and structural inequalities and helps to identify national priorities that need to be included. Unfortunately gender dynamics (inequalities and discrimination) are hardly recognized by the fragility assessment framework as a key driver of fragility, conflict or resilience.

In order to use the PSGs as a useful benchmark, the g7+ together with other members of the IDPS have been working on the development of a set of indicators. As the development process of the Global Indicators for the UNSCR 1325 has already shown this can constitute a very challenging task, given political constraints and complexities of measuring the PSGs across a range of different countries and contexts. In the

case of FCAS, these indicators were developed through consultative and participatory processes. Weaving these indicators in the New Deal it could be drawn on a set of sophisticated and country-owned indicators that would ensure that the New Deal process becomes more inclusive.

#### Example from South Sudan

In South Sudan a fragility assessment has been carried out by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. Although issues around discrimination against women are mentioned in the draft report, gender issues are not very well integrated. A National Gender Assessment was carried out by the Uganda Women's Network on behalf of the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Welfare in late 2011, and a Joint Donor Team supported a scoping study on the implementation of UNSCR 1325. In addition, a validation workshop carried out by Cordaid with the South Sudanese civil society identified many more issues such as gender-based violence, economic opportunities for women and the need for the inclusion of women in decision-making. All these are valuable sources of information and baseline data that could be used to support and inform the fragility assessment as well as to identify priority areas and indicators for inclusion in the fragility spectrum.

<sup>6</sup> Of all the components of the new deal, there is the least clarity about what TRUST will look like in practice, given that the priority is currently on developing the indicators for the PSGs and the framework for fragility assessments.

<sup>7</sup> Dewi Suralaga at the KOFF Roundtable, 24.10.2013.

## Entry Points from a Swiss Perspective

Given the evidence of the links between conflict, violence, fragility and development and the recognition to the importance of equality for sustainable development efforts within its policy guidelines, Switzerland actively supports and promotes the inclusion of gender equality and fragility in a new post 2015 development framework in promoting a standalone goal for both gender equality and peace and safe societies as well as a transversal approach to integrate gender into all other development goals.

Switzerland has signed the New Deal in Busan and is about to set standards for its implementation. Yet, the process to translate the new framework to the practical level is facing many challenges. The nexus between peacebuilding and development in the New Deal evokes stronger coordination and alignment efforts between the different ministries and non-governmental civil society but also business actors. SDC, that is in charge for the Swiss implementation of the New Deal, takes a soft guidance approach, rather than as a guiding principle for all forms of engagement in FCAS. The reason for this approach is SDC's decentralisation process of responsibilities towards country offices. Gender aspects are part of the context and conflict analysis which in turn is key for the formulation of SDC strategies and programming at the country level in fragile and conflict affected regions. However, the necessary local capacities and resources on gender issues and the knowledge to integrate them, is often limited. Thus gender is often not incorporated systematically into context and conflict analysis, so there is a risk that important entry points to integrate gender are missed from the beginning.

2007 Switzerland launched its first NAP to implement UNRES 1325 which until today has been revised twice and represents the point of reference for all Swiss civilian and military peacebuilding activities in relation to gender. UN Resolution 1325 is an interdepartmental task coordinated by the Human Security Division, but where SDC plays an important role. The Swiss NAP, as one of the first, contains indicators which allow the measuring of its achievements. In 2011-12 a first comprehensive report on its implementation has been elaborated which is

about to be published soon. And with the latest version containing a strategic logframe a clear division of roles, tasks and responsibilities between the different ministries is outlined allowing for better measurements of the results achieved.

Many Swiss 1325 relevant initiatives can be observed on the operational level, as for example SDC's project to support the training of female police officers in the Afghan police force and support the establishment of Police family units where cases of violence against women and girls (including domestic violence) can be reported. Other supporting initiatives to develop NAPs in conflict-affected and fragile states have been undertaken, as it is the case for the Nepali NAP on 1325. Often these initiatives have not been developed specifically under the Swiss NAP 1325 framework and synergies are not always established. The Gender Equality Policy of SDC is based upon the CEDAW and the Beijing Plan of Action which also includes a chapter on women in conflict. Thus SDC strategies and programmes (as for example in SDC programmes for the protection of victims) do not explicitly refer to the NAP 1325 as policy reference. As a consequence, opportunities for the identification of 1325 relevant priorities in SDC programmes may be missed out in the planning process. This also explains why SDC reporting on 1325 relevant activities is rather poor, since gender aspects in regard to 1325 have not been included in a strategic way.

Thus there is no need to reinvent Swiss policy or to replace the NAP with any post 2015 development framework but to draw on already good defined policies in order to adopt a strategic approach to incorporate gender. If gender is integrated from the beginning as part of the context analysis a lot is gained. Building on the work that has already been done under the development of the NAP, the New Deal process can take up gender related priorities that have already been identified during consultations with civil society networks, including women's organisations under the implementation agenda of 1325.

While the Swiss NAP is a federal document it was elaborated in consultation with Swiss civil society organisations that are playing a key role in both advocating for its development and

implementation. As shown in the last roundtable discussion, Swiss Civil Society is only at the beginning to organize itself to engage in this process. By referring to the relevance of the UNRES 1325 for the successful implementation of the New Deal, Swiss Civil Society is equipped with two strategic tools that - if used in an integrated way - provide them with the necessary leverage and guidance to shape Swiss peace and development initiatives in a meaningful way. Given the NGOs' expertise in the implementation of the WPS agenda and their networks on the ground, they could act as liaison between different national (women's) civil society organisations and the respective ministries in charge of the New Deal and support Civil Society networks and organizations as well as SDC's local representatives with technical advice and capacity building in regard to gender and the New Deal – a role that for example Dutch civil society is already modelling.<sup>8</sup>

## Conclusion

With the new paradigm of engaging in fragile and conflict-affected states a shift towards country led, people-centred engagements and inclusivity as well as accountability is taking place. In order to make this a reality, it is crucial to listen to women's and men's voices on the ground on equal footing and to respond to their respective needs and priorities.

It has been shown that gender inequality and fragility are interrelated and that both can result in or exacerbate negative development outcomes which will prevent the MDGs from being achieved in FCAS. With the New Deal being implemented it is crucial to integrate gender from the beginning to make the new deal work. Weaving the national indicators for the implementation of the UNRES 1325 into the New Deal allows drawing on a set of sophisticated and country-owned set of indicators that would ensure that the New Deal process becomes more inclusive. Moreover,

gender and conflict analysis is an effective tool for understanding power dynamics and structural inequalities and, if incorporated from the beginning, enhances the fragility assessment and allows putting gender issues strategically on national peace and development plans.

The debate at the KOFF roundtable made clear that a strategic approaches to incorporate gender inequality and fragility into the post-MDG framework is needed and how this could be done building on existing 1325 frameworks and networks. Having a clear and robust argument of why gender inequality and fragility should be prioritized going forward will be critical to get the needed support.

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<sup>8</sup> In the Netherlands (women's) civil society organisations participated actively in the drafting of the NAP. A Working Group 1325 provided consolidated inputs to the plan, which were then incorporated into the text. In contrast to the Swiss NAP the Dutch Civil Society is not only more involved in the development but also in the implementation of the UNRES 1325 at the local level.

### Recommendations for Swiss actors

#### **CSO participation**

- Advocating the significance of addressing gender inequality and fragility in the way forward to a post-MDG framework
- Using the New Deal and UNRES 1325 in an integrated and strategic way to shape Swiss peace and development policy
- Supporting grass-root organisations with technical advice and capacity building on gender and the implementation of the new deal and linking different networks and working groups.

#### **SDC and HSD**

- Include systematic gender analysis in the context and conflict analysis and the strategic planning of programmes and projects in fragile and conflict affected regions
- Build on the experience made in existing framework, in particular with the implementation of UNSCR 1325 when establishing and defining targets and indicators for the New Deal,
- Ensure coherence between the different frameworks
- Provide adequate financing for implementation of the New Deal, UNSCR 1325 and any post-MDG framework
- Strengthen data collection
- Ensure robust monitoring and accountability mechanisms
- The different offices, in particular SDC and the Human Security Division, should closely collaborate on UNRES 1325, the New Deal and the Post 2015 Agenda and develop practical approaches on how to translate and include gender in programs and strategies in FCAS.

**Further:** Initiate research to generate new evidence on the links between gender inequality and fragility



## swisspeace

swisspeace is a practice-oriented peace research institute. It carries out research on violent conflicts and their peaceful transformation. The Foundation aims to build up Swiss and international organizations' civilian peacebuilding capacities by providing trainings, space for networking and exchange of experiences. It also shapes political and academic discourses on peace policy issues at the national and international level through publications, workshops and conferences. swisspeace therefore promotes knowledge transfer between researchers and practitioners. swisspeace was founded in 1988 as the Swiss Peace Foundation in order to promote independent peace research in Switzerland. Today the Foundation employs more than 40 staff members. Its most important donors are the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, the Swiss National Science Foundation and the United Nations.

## Center for Peacebuilding (KOFF)

The Center of Peacebuilding (KOFF) of the Swiss Peace Foundation swisspeace was founded in 2001 and is funded by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) and 45 Swiss non-governmental organizations. The center's objective is to strengthen Swiss actors' capacities in civilian peacebuilding by providing information, training and consultancy services. KOFF acts as a networking platform fostering policy dialogue and processes of common learning through roundtables and workshops.

## Critical reflections

In its *critical reflection* publications, swisspeace and its guest speakers critically reflect on topics addressed at roundtables. They both make a note of the arguments put forward during the roundtables and carry on the discussion in order to encourage further debates.