

RESEARCH PAPER

FINANCING GENDER-INCLUSIVE PEACE: GAPS IN IMPLEMENTING THE WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA



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**WOMEN, PEACE AND
SECURITY SECTION
UN WOMEN**

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ACRONYMS

CAB	Comprehensive Agreement on Bangsamoro
CSIVI	Commission for the Monitoring, Promotion, Verification and Implementation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DDR	Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration
FAB	Framework Agreement on Bangsamoro
FARC-EP	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia — Army of the People
MPTF	United Nations Multi-Partner Trust Fund
MTF	Mindanao Trust Fund
ODA	official development assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPAPP	Philippines Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process
UNAMI	UN Assistance Mission for Iraq
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNDG ITF	United Nations Development Group Iraq Trust Fund
UNPBF	UN Peacebuilding Fund
UNSCR	UN Security Council resolution 1325
USD	United States dollars
WPHF	Women's Peace and Humanitarian Fund
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

For years, UN Women has highlighted the persistent under-investment in gender-inclusive peace in conflict and post-conflict settings and the significant gaps in financing that make the implementation of Women, Peace and Security (WPS) commitments much more difficult. However, there is a dearth of data on the size of this gap, and how exactly the pledges and promises from donor conferences, peace agreements or post-conflict planning frameworks dissipate when it comes to allocating and spending resources on these issues.

The objective of this paper is to measure financing for gender-inclusive peace through the mechanisms of bilateral and multilateral donor investments during peace processes and post-conflict recovery, which support States to finance and sustain peace. Gender-inclusive peace is qualitatively defined as “the combination and result of ‘sensitive’ (theory/design) and ‘responsive’ approaches (operational/practical) that enable and enhance women’s, men’s, boys’, girls’, and sexual and gender minorities’ equal representation and participation in decision-making processes. Post-conflict transitions are widely regarded as gender-inclusive due to the efforts to ground them in women’s analysis and experiences, and on this basis, to reform laws and policies with gender-sensitive principles and to back these efforts with budgeting and implementation plans that are gender-responsive.”¹

The research focuses on three case studies in particular: Colombia, Iraq and the Philippines, exploring the planned investments in gender equality and women’s participation (including for women’s economic participation), set against the ambition of statements of gender-inclusive peace and specific provisions in those countries’ peace agreements or reconstruction planning and programmes. It illuminates the financing gap between plans, aspirations and expenditures, and examines patterns of money and resources and the extent to which they follow and support the life cycles of inclusion and reconstruction.

Peace and reconstruction processes that include specific gender provisions should be translated into targeted assistance and tangible reforms to ensure gender-inclusive and sustainable peace. However, in the cases of post-conflict Colombia, Iraq and the Philippines, gender inclusion in political and economic reconstruction does not seem to benefit from substantially greater financing. Few donor States have committed to the

UN target of 15 per cent of peacebuilding funding to promote gender equality and women’s empowerment. Less than 2 per cent of official development assistance (ODA) is currently targeted principally for this purpose in peace and reconstruction processes in Colombia, Iraq and the Philippines.

The greatest increase in gender-targeted (bilateral) donor assistance occurred in the year following the signing of peace agreements in the Philippines and Colombia (though not in Iraq). But these gender investments have not been sustained in either the Philippines or Colombia, and in fact, have declined significantly from 2016 onwards – in the case of the Comprehensive Agreement on Bangsamoro (CAB) 2014 and Bangsamoro Basic Law, and since 2018 in the case of the 2016 Colombian-FARC Agreements. This decline is despite overall increases in donor assistance to Colombia and the Philippines. In other words, **more aid does not mean more assistance for women’s empowerment and gender equality, except perhaps in the year following peace agreements, where there is greater attention to the achievements of gender provisions.**

In contrast with Colombia and the Philippines, there have been increases in gender-focused bilateral ODA for Iraq. However, **only a small minority of projects financed by billion-dollar plus multi-donor funds since 2004 address women’s empowerment or gender equality specifically in areas of the ‘productive economy’** – such as in infrastructure, rural development, agriculture and water, economic reform and diversification.

Even when a country achieves a gender-sensitive peace agreement, therefore, donors are not scaling up the investment in recognition of this hard-won gain and to achieve meaningful gender inclusion in the post-conflict society. At a minimum, donors are

not being transparent. The CAB in the Philippines included a gender provision in line with the Philippines Magna Carta for Women² with **a five per cent allocation of development funds to support women's return to 'normal life' and participation. Yet, none of the seven programmes funded by the multi-donor Mindanao Trust Fund (MTF) Reconstruction and Development Programme (2013–2017, Phase 1) has reported on the allocation of funds set aside to fund programmes that benefit women.**

Gender provisions in Colombia, Iraq and the Philippines focus strongly on gender equality and women's economic security. Yet the ODA funding and projects approved appear to privilege women's governance participation in community forums and civil society organizations, and in their voluntary capacity without also enabling women's economic participation through innovative financing and support. Women's governance participation is a necessary but insufficient condition for women's economic empowerment and agency.

Overall, it is extremely challenging to 'follow the money' for sustaining gender-inclusive peace.



Orange the World 2019 - Colombia
Photo: UN Women/Juan Camilo Arias

But monitoring the financing is imperative with respect to gender equality goals and the implementation of the WPS agenda. International commitments that have supported gender-inclusive peace processes need to be translated into gender-inclusive investments in post-conflict reconstruction. Without funding commitments, gender provisions will remain good intentions rather than transformative actions.

Key strategies for addressing this gap include:

- 1) Implementation of peace agreement gender provisions should be effectively monitored in all post-conflict countries and include the tracking of gender-responsive investments.**³ This tracking is in line with SDG Target 5.c.1, which measures the proportion of countries with systems to track and make public allocations for gender equality and women's empowerment.⁴ A clear methodology, which could be based on the methodology developed in this research paper, needs to be established to follow donor and State investments as part of implementing gender-inclusive peace agreements and their specific gender provisions.
- 2) Increases in donor bilateral and multilateral funding for the WPS agenda to ensure it is adequately resourced must leverage commensurate or matching post-conflict State funding for gender equality and women's rights as a catalyst for sustaining peace.** The percentage of the contribution should be at least in line with the overall proportion of State contributions to post-conflict rebuilding, in accordance with WPS principles, to ensure coherence and sustainability.
- 3) A 'gender marker' is required for all peace and reconstruction funding,** similar to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC)'s screening of bilateral development assistance or the Peacebuilding Fund's criteria of meaningful participation to identify and report on whether gender equality and women's empowerment is a principal and/or a secondary objective of a funding commitment.
- 4) The UN's 15 per cent target for post-conflict donor and State peace and reconstruction funds needs to be set at the level of project funding for funding activities** where women's empowerment and gender equality is a principal and/or significant objective. With this set target, all multilateral (World Bank and UN) peace and reconstruction funds at the project level should publicly report on progress in meeting that target.

INTRODUCTION

During and after violent conflict, women's vulnerability often increases significantly, yet women's post-conflict status has not received the attention and investment that it needs in the post-conflict period. Women in conflict, disaster and violent extremism situations have restricted access to productive assets and resources, such as land, agricultural inputs, finance and credit, markets, extension services and technology, which deeply impact their livelihoods. Furthermore, the significant time and energy burden of women's unpaid work responsibilities further hampers women's ability to take advantage of employment and market opportunities as well as longer-term social, political and peacebuilding initiatives. Conflict-affected women often face great difficulties in gaining access to public services (including education and functional literacy), social protection, decent employment opportunities and they are often discriminated against during disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR). Additionally, women are often absent from the governance bodies and decision-making processes regarding economic and political reforms, recovery and reconstruction in their respective countries.

The 2015 *Global Study on the Implementation of UN Security Council resolution (UNSCR) 1325* highlighted a 'persistent failure to adequately finance the WPS agenda'.⁵ The study recommended that States, regional organizations and agencies within the UN system allocate at least 15 per cent of all funding relating to peace and security for programmes

addressing women's specific needs and advancing gender equality.⁶ International financial institutions have adopted institutional mandates to promote gender-inclusive global development agendas and to prevent situations of 'fragility, conflict and violence',⁷ but so far have failed to meet minimum funding levels.⁸



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