

Costing and Financing 1325

Estimating the Resources Needed to Implement Women, Peace and Security Resolutions at the National Level

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Acronyms

AWID	Association for Women’s Rights in Development
AusAID	Australian Government’s Overseas Aid Program
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CSO	civil society organization
DFID	Department for International Development, UK
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EU	European Union
GAD	gender and development
GNWP	Global Network of Women Peacebuilders
INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
M&E	monitoring and evaluation
NAP	national action plan
NGLS	United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service
NGO	non-governmental organization
ODA	official development assistance
OECD-DAC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development – Development Assistance Committee
OPAPP	Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, Philippines
OSAGI	Office of the Special Advisor to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PRS	poverty reduction strategy
SSR	security sector reform
UNDP	United Nations Development Fund
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
WILPF	Women International League for Peace and Freedom

1. Introduction

"[P]ublic budgets are not mere financial and economic tools, but are the basic framework within which the model of socio-economic development is shaped, criteria of income redistribution are set and political aims are prioritized." (European Parliament, 2003)

Implementing resolution 1325 requires the significant investment of resources. During this time of economic crisis and multiple states of emergency around the globe, however, funding for development, peace and gender equality is a limited good. Major challenges include not only identifying possible donors and reliable recipients but also gaining an overview of what funds are available. The question of how much is needed, how much is accessible and how much is missing to fully implement resolution 1325 is extremely hard to answer due not only to the complex nature of the topic of women, peace and security but also to the different expectations and objectives of the various institutions and sources already funding 1325 initiatives.

Even in the absence of armed violence, not one country reports full peace and security for all its citizens. Domestic violence and exclusion and discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, social class, caste and gender are common in times of peace and worse in times of war. Differences in how people perceive and suffer from armed conflict and violence depends on geographical, biological, psychological but also social preconditions. Elderly white women from a high social class in Australia, for example, are confronted by different types of violence and obstacles as well as opportunities than poor young black men in Trinidad and Tobago. Security and the effects of armed conflict and violence are gendered; therefore the response to them must incorporate this reality.

For the implementation of resolution 1325 and its supporting resolutions 1820, 1888 and 1889, different possible sources and actors can be identified: internal and external funding opportunities are divided among government agencies, international organizations and civil society organizations (CSOs). The provision of services and capacities for the implementation of women, peace and security issues by civil society or other organizations forms part of the cost of the implementation of the resolutions. *"Understanding how policy and public financing choices can support gender equality requires knowledge on several fronts, including: the collection and distribution of resources; financing flows and types; domestic and international contexts; the objectives of macroeconomic and social policy frameworks; and the degree of coherence between economic and social policies"* (UNIFEM and NGLS, 2008). Gender and security, the main subjects of the resolutions, are cross-cutting issues that touch on every possible policy area. This means that funds may be allocated to specific thematic topics such as women in peacebuilding, peacekeeping, security or reintegration, or address the issues within larger frameworks such as human development and human rights programmes and projects.

Identifying the funding for and the resources spent on the implementation of resolution 1325 is also complicated due to the lack of a standardized tracking system. In addition,

information on governmental spending, especially on security issues, is often not accessible to the public.

In order to obtain this information, a participatory and mainly qualitative methodology has been adopted as follows:

- Conduct a desk and literature review;
- Analyse the existing normative framework;
- Review publicly accessible national action plans (NAPs) and international reports;
- Consult with the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP) on existing and needed resources for the implementation of women, peace and security issues at the local level;
- Interview individual stakeholders (such as staff working on women, peace and security action planning in government as well as international organizations) regarding resource allocation for women, peace and security implementation strategies.¹

This paper thus aims to clearly outline the normative framework, highlighting the scope of the resolutions and related women, peace and security provisions. Its main focus, though, is on the cost and funding of implementing the resolution at national level. Different implementation strategies with a special focus on NAPs will be discussed, and it also looks at gender budgeting and aid effectiveness. An overview of the activities and resources required is provided by looking at examples of existing national implementation strategies and projects on women, peace and security framed under resolution 1325.

Next steps of this initiative include the presentation of the paper at the 54th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) for input and feedback from a number of stakeholders; the solicitation of more information from the country level; and expert reviews. It is expected that the paper will be ready for circulation at the tenth anniversary of resolution 1325 in October 2010 and then wider distribution.

¹ An example of the questionnaire can be found in Annex I.

2. Outlining the Normative Framework

Resolution 1325 was the first resolution of the Security Council addressing women, peace and security issues. Even though issues such as sexual and gender-based violence had previously been addressed by international criminal law through the tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)² and Rwanda (ICTR)³ and the International Criminal Court (ICC) (2000), this resolution represents a political breakthrough as it emphasizes the importance of women at peace negotiation tables and their inclusion in debates about public and private as well as international security. The resolution's scope has been formulated as embracing the "three Ps":

- **Participation** of women in peace processes;
- Mainstreaming a gender perspective into all conflict **prevention** activities and strategies; and
- **Protection** of women in war and peace.

International conferences and dialogues⁴ as well as NAPs⁵ have developed additional dimensions of the resolution, including 'prosecution of sexual and gender-based violence' and the 'promotion of women rights', inspiring related legal instruments. Moreover, building on a fine-webbed net of legal provisions and political commitments to gender, peace and security, three additional women, peace and security resolutions have been adopted in the past two years.

Resolution **1820** (adopted on 19 June 2008) specifically focuses on the protection and response to sexual violence committed against not only women but civilians in general. Its wording is more explicit and demanding than the recommending tone of resolution 1325. 1820 *urges* and *requests* responses by the UN system, especially the Secretary-General and Member States.

Resolutions **1888** (on 30 September) and **1889** (on 5 October) were adopted just days apart in 2009. Resolution 1888 reinforces the provisions of its predecessors, emphasizing the different roles and responsibilities of different international and national actors. One of its key features is the demand for high-level leadership in the form of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General on sexual violence in conflict. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon responded promptly by establishing this post and appointing Margot Wallstrom of Sweden.

Resolution **1889** stresses the importance of seeing women not just as victims of armed conflict but also as agents of peace, recognizing their crucial role in peacebuilding initiatives. The language is again more demanding and concrete, and it contains a component that calls for comprehensive assessment and monitoring and evaluation (M&E) mechanisms when it comes to the implementation of women, peace and security

² See, for example, International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (1999).

³ See, for example, International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) (1998).

⁴ See, for example, OSAGI, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) and Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) (2008).

⁵ See, for example, Liberia, Ministry of Gender and Development (2009).

provisions. In addition, it

... “requests the Secretary-General to ensure that relevant United Nations bodies, in cooperation with Member States and civil society, collect data on, analyze and systematically assess particular needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations, including, inter alia, information on their needs for physical security and participation in decision-making and post-conflict planning, in order to improve system-wide response to those needs. (para. 6)

While the United Nations interagency taskforce on women, peace and security under the lead of the Office of the Special Advisor to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women (OSAGI) has so far monitored the implementation of resolution 1325 among the UN entities,⁶ resolution 1889 goes further and

[r]equests the Secretary-General to submit to the Security Council within 6 months, for consideration, a set of indicators for use at the global level to track implementation of its resolution 1325 (2000), which could serve as a common basis for reporting by relevant United Nations entities, other international and regional organizations, and Member States, on the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) in 2010 and beyond.” (para. 17)

A common set of global indicators is therefore being developed and the needed data collection requirements discussed. Related to these indicators, the number and content of NAPs, as well as the resources needed to support the action planning processes, will surely play a key role in meeting the requirements of this particular resolution. 1889 makes further coordinated and participatory research and data collection on the ground increasingly necessary.

The women, peace and security resolutions do not stand alone but are supported by international treaties and agreements. **The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)** adopted in 1979, is a strong legal instrument for the promotion of women rights when ratified by a Member State, and there are several links between the Convention and the resolutions. For example, the CEDAW Committee in its 19th general recommendation provided a definition of gender-based violence, calling it “a form of discrimination that seriously inhibits women’s ability to enjoy rights and freedoms on a basis of equality with men” (para. 1). Sexual harassment, exploitation and sexual, physical and mental harm fall under this definition. In reference to Article 6 of the Convention, the Committee has asserted that: “Wars, armed conflicts and the occupation of territories often lead to increased prostitution, trafficking in women and sexual assault of women, which require specific protective and punitive measures” (para. 16).

The importance of connecting CEDAW with resolution 1325 and its supporting resolutions has been highlighted and emphasized by the United Nations and advocates for women’s rights. Different entry points to interlink these international legal instruments for a common agenda have been suggested, such as:

⁶ See: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ianwge/taskforces/wps/actionplan20082009/pdfs/OCHA%202008-2009%201325.pdf>

- *“the ways that each set of standards can expand the reach of the other;*
 - *the application of the standards to the situation of women in the various stages of conflict and post-conflict reconstruction;*
 - *The significance and legal authority embodied in each set of standards;*
 - *And monitoring processes connected to SC resolution 1325 and CEDAW.”*
- (Inglis et al., 2006)

Looking at implementation strategies, and remembering the importance of comprehensive and coordinated data collection and monitoring of implementation efforts as mentioned in resolution 1889, it becomes clear that different gender policies are most efficient when connected to each other – not only CEDAW and the resolutions, but also broader political commitments. For example, the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995) was also part of the dialogue on including a gender dimension in ongoing security policies and political debates. Section E of the **Beijing Platform for Action** on Women and Armed Conflict contains a relatively detailed programme with suggested measures to promote and protect women’s rights during conflicts (United Nations, 1995).

Poverty reduction strategies and the efforts to achieve the **Millennium Development Goals** (MDGs) are also key when looking at the development of new gender policies. MDG 3, which calls for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women, is especially important. When there are projects and/or implementation strategies at the national level considering MDG3, further implementation of resolution 1325 can be facilitated. The provision of resources for MDG3 can be related to and used to further the implementation of and support for the resolutions on women, peace and security.

It is also important to note that financing the implementation of resolution 1325, and the political framework of different action planning processes, are not only a matter of internal policy but either depend on external funds or involve funds allocated for external women, peace and security activities. Some countries emerging from conflict – Côte D’Ivoire, Liberia and Uganda – have received and hope to continue to receive funding for the development and most importantly the implementation of their NAPs. However, of the 16 countries that have developed NAPs to date that aim to implement the resolution,⁷ the majority are not countries where conflict is taking place. These circumstances create the need to look not only at women and peace policies but also at international development aid policies. The importance of linking diplomacy, defence and development policies is increasingly recognized and demanded in this area.

It has become clear that development aid needs better coordination in order to be effective. In 2003, for example, **The Monterrey Consensus** states that *“in the increasingly globalizing interdependent world economy, a holistic approach to the interconnected national, international and systemic challenges of financing for development – sustainable, gender-sensitive, people-centred development – in all parts of the globe is essential”* (International Conference on Financing for Development, 2003:

⁷ Austria, Belgium, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Liberia, Portugal, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Uganda and the United Kingdom. The Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Sierra Leone have developed national action plans but not publicly launched them yet.

para. 8). It calls for gender-sensitive investment, social services, gender budgeting and the empowerment of women. It furthermore encourages governments to “*mainstream the gender perspective into development policies at all levels and in all sectors*” (ibid: para. 64).

In 2005 the **Paris Declaration** – which emphasizes the alignment between donor and recipient countries using local structures, needs and capacities – called for:

Ownership – developing countries set their own strategies for poverty reduction, improve their institutions and tackle corruption.

Alignment – donor countries align behind these objectives and use local systems.

Harmonization – donor countries coordinate, simplify procedures and share information to avoid duplication.

Results – developing countries and donors shift their focus to development results, and results get measured.

Mutual accountability – donors and partners are accountable for development results.

The Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD-DAC) has stated that “*Gender equality and women’s empowerment are fundamental cornerstones for achieving development results and the ultimate goals of the Paris Declaration, namely to increase the impact of aid on reducing poverty and inequality, increase growth, build capacity and accelerate achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Moreover, gender inequalities are costly and undermine development effectiveness*” (2008a). Yet, the Paris Declaration fails to include gender-sensitive indicators and a specific link to resolution 1325 or gendered security.

Furthermore, there are challenges that result from the joint programme approach the Declaration encourages: “*Many civil society groups, including women’s groups, may not have the absorptive capacity to deal with large amounts of funding. In addition, because the amounts were small, individuals within a donor organization also had a greater degree of flexibility to support work in unconventional areas promoting new ideas such as gender mainstreaming, violence against women, time allocation studies, trafficking and migrant workers that are now regarded as mainstream*” (Muteshi, 2008). The danger is that such an approach results in referencing exclusively big NGOs and reduces grassroots organizations’ access to funding. However, it is anticipated that encouraging recipient countries to develop their own country strategies will ensure that planning for action on resolution 1325 becomes one of the priorities.

The **Accra Agenda of Action** builds on these guidelines by reaffirming the following three years after the Paris Declaration:

Predictability – donors will provide 3–5 year forward information on their planned aid to partner countries.

Country systems – partner country systems will be used to deliver aid as the first option, rather than donor systems.

Conditionality – donors will switch from reliance on prescriptive conditions about how and when aid money is spent to conditions based on the recipient country’s own development objectives.

Untying – donors will relax restrictions that prevent developing countries from buying the goods and services they need from whomever and wherever they can get the best quality at the lowest price.⁸

Moreover, this policy document refers to gender equality as a guiding principle: *“Gender equality, respect for human rights, and environmental sustainability are cornerstones for achieving enduring impact on the lives and potential of poor women, men, and children. It is vital that all our policies address these issues in a more systematic and coherent way”* (Third High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, 2008).

All the listed legal obligations and guidelines are to be considered when discussing the cost and financing framework for women, peace and security. The normative framework within which support for the implementation moves is therefore multidimensional and it binds different perspectives and actors to each other.

Within the normative framework, countries and organizations committed to these declarations and agreements need to *“put the money where their mouth is”* (Riordan, 2000) and not only invest in women’s organizations and policies but also develop gender-sensitive indicators, objectives and activities within funded programmes that address issues such as peacebuilding, security sector reform (SSR), reintegration of former combatants and local governance. There is a strong need to support and fund the participation of women in peace processes, the prevention of armed conflict and the protection of women from gender-based violence, as well as the prosecution of gender crimes and the promotion of women rights in an effective and harmonized way.

⁸ See OECD DCD-DAC website:
http://www.oecd.org/document/18/0,2340,en_2649_3236398_35401554_1_1_1_1,00.html

3. Implementing Resolution 1325

Even though the normative framework is comprehensive, the transformation of policy into practice and words into reality is a long and complex process. In terms of resolution 1325 in particular, very different actors need to collaborate, often in contexts such as armed conflict and violent situations that are already extremely challenging.

The **United Nations** has developed a System Wide Action Plan⁹ on resolutions 1325 that aims to coordinate the different initiatives implemented by the various UN agencies such as the respective peacekeeping missions, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), among others. This Action Plan is updated on an ongoing basis, and performance indicators as well as result-based management tools were included in 2007 in order to make it more transparent, coordinated and effective.

At the **regional level**, the most visible initiatives may be the continuous efforts to implement resolution 1325 by institutions working with or inside the European Union (EU). The most recent and wide-ranging document is the *EU Comprehensive Approach for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security* (2008) (Barnes, 2009). In addition, the European Council's (2008) document entitled *Implementation of UNSCR 1325 as reinforced by UNSCR 1820* focuses specifically on EU peacekeeping missions. Building on a long series of documents prior to these two specific policies, the EU now tries to mainstream gender in its policies and activities, as well as integrating women, peace and security issues in its policy and political dialogues with partner governments (European Union, 2008). Concrete funding by donor countries has also been realized through international and regional organizations. For example "*within the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Belgium supports the various initiatives set up for and by women as well as gender mainstreaming in policies, recruitment and general activities. Emphasis is put on strengthening local capacities as well as increasing gender expertise. The OSCE Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality (2004) stipulates that the OSCE structures must duly promote Resolution 1325. This Action Plan needs further implementation*" (Belgium, Federal Public Service Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, 2009).

In other regions, no specific regional strategy has been developed for resolution 1325. Existing regional documents – such as the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women (Convention of Belem Do Para) or the Gender Policy of the African Union (2009) and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa – contain related

⁹ See: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ianwge/taskforces/wps/actionplan20082009/pdfs/OCHA%202008-2009%201325.pdf>

provisions and provide space for further 1325 implementation strategies. Furthermore, the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa, adopted by the African Union in 2004, has a specific provision that reads: *Ensure the full and effective participation and representation of women in peace processes including the prevention, resolution, management of conflicts and post-conflict reconstruction in Africa as stipulated in UN Resolution 1325 (2000)*. Under this, member States are expected to report on a regular basis regarding implementation. However, as with other regional/international policies, not all States have been diligent in reporting.

Different **national level** strategies to implement the resolution have been adopted in the past 10 years. Israel, for example, legislated Amendment 4 of its Women's Equality Act in 2005, which requests mainstreaming gender in foreign and domestic policy and the participation of women in decision-making positions. Some countries, such as Germany, have argued for addressing women, peace and security issues through already existing national plans.¹⁰ Others, such as Colombia, have realized a large variety of women, peace and security projects through different actors such as UN entities, CSOs and the Government itself without having a comprehensive national policy framework. African countries that have been pioneers in creating a NAP on resolution 1325 in post-conflict contexts, such as Côte D'Ivoire, Liberia and Uganda, have had fruitful experiences through the support of international organizations and by building on existing initiatives.

While the integration of women, peace and security issues into existing policies seems effective as well as time and cost saving, still the development of NAPs specifically on resolution 1325 have significantly increased within the past five years. This is because specifically focused activities and collaboration mechanisms have been considered to promote transparency, effectiveness and comprehensiveness. The focus on participation, prevention and protection allows governments to emphasize women's integration and recognition in peace and security activities. Further arguments for the development of a specific NAP on resolution 1325 may be increased coherence and coordination between government agencies, improved monitoring and evaluation, enhanced accountability and increased ownership and awareness (Kristin, 2006).

In the opinion of participants in a virtual discussion on good practices concerning implementation of resolution 1325, organized by INSTRAW in 2008, due **public awareness** and **political will** must come first (INSTRAW, 2008). To develop a useful policy document, complete information must be provided and the potential implementing institutions and organizations need to be on board. Assessing the circumstances and country-specific gendered security issues as well as key stakeholders is essential before starting the implementation process. Upholding political will and the continuous coordination of actors is essential but requires extra effort in order to make it effective and comprehensive

As the government will be the main implementing body, its role and the **division of responsibility** needs to be clarified. The contents of the NAPs will differ as well as the

¹⁰ National Action Plan, "Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Peace-Building" Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin: 2004, available at: <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/de/Aussenpolitik/Themen/Krisenpraevention/Downloads/Aktionsplan-En.pdf> (last visited: 9 September 2009), page 19 ff.

distribution of responsibilities among various Ministries. *“Once all relevant ministries have been effectively informed and convinced of the relevance of women, peace and security issues to their sector, there must be a process of internal organization among government offices to determine how the planning process will be undertaken”* (Popovic et al., forthcoming). Traditionally, the initiative to develop a NAP emerges from one particular Ministry or government agency. In European countries such as Norway or the United Kingdom, this has mainly been the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In Belgium, the Federal Public Service for Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation has integrated the NAP in the Belgian development strategy. Interagency Taskforces or working groups that bring together the various actors and Ministries and help coordinate the different ideas and activities have been established in Iceland and the Netherlands. Countries in other regions have taken different approaches. In Chile, for example, the NAP has been jointly developed by the Ministry of Defence, the National Women’s Service (SERNAM) and the Ministry of Foreign Relations.

Once key priorities have been set and activities shared among the various implementing agencies, monitoring of the implementation of the outlined activities begins. Benchmarks and key objectives that show where the action plan is headed also indicate where funding is going to be used. Future costs depend greatly on which benchmarks have been set and what the plan is intended to achieve.

Adequate indicators as well as practical monitoring tools are essential for successful oversight.¹¹ Although almost all NAPs recognize the need for adequate M&E mechanisms, only a few include specific indicators, among them Austria, Liberia and Uganda. *“Today there is an urgent need to identify specific impact indicators beyond the hours of gender training provided, the number of women involved in peace operations, or the amount of money dedicated to implementing Resolution 1325. In order to fully know which initiatives successfully respond to the different dimensions of preventing sexual and gender-based violence, putting an end to impunity, and making peace-keeping operations more gender-responsive, it is essential to measure their impact and effect on the local population”* (Beetham and Popovic, 2009: 16).

With knowledge about the concrete impact of actions taken, updated versions of NAPs – such as the one recently published by Sweden – can be made even more effective and useful for the people they aim to reach. *“In the US we are trying to determine how extensive and ambitious of an action plan to create. Something based on guidelines already developed by entities such as the Millennium Challenge Corporation could be effective and still cost efficient. However, a larger more expansive action plan that calls for specific indicators in development, diplomatic, as well a defense sectors, may be more costly, but will be more effective long term as it would include performance monitoring and evaluation procedures.”*¹²

The **active involvement of civil society organizations** is also needed. While the three African countries with NAPs have a focus on mainly internal issues, European NAPs often focus on providing funds for women, peace and security initiatives externally.

¹¹ See, for example, Uganda, Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (2008: 12).

¹² Evelyn A. Thornton, Deputy Director, Management and Partnerships, The Institute for Inclusive Security, responding to the questionnaire for this study jointly commissioned by Cordaid and GNWP, January 2010.

Those funds are then transferred through bilateral agreements but also channelled through local civil society or international organizations. The Liberian NAP, for example, has been mainly funded by the Italian Government, but supporting initiatives implemented by the United Nations and international NGOs such as International Alert have been funded by the Governments of Austria, Denmark and Norway, countries that have NAPs. The OECD declares that *“funding the work of CSOs that provide support and services to women affected by conflict and that promote women’s voices at all levels of decision-making is crucial to the promotion of Resolution 1325. It is particularly important to support the work of grassroots and community-based initiatives, which are often the only providers of services and support but which also often have very limited capacity and access to funding”* (Popovic et al., forthcoming).

4. Financing women, peace and security

There has been a shift from a state-centred understanding of security, where outside aggressors are considered the major threat to the nation state, to a focus on human security – the importance of the individual and her or his ability and freedom to decide and act (Commission on Human Security, 2003: 4). This has led to a number of debates around national and international policy. Development aid as well as national public spending have become much more subject to wider public scrutiny than they were in the last century, when general economic systems were the focus of an elite academic discourse. The involvement of different actors has become part of development strategies and international aid as *“Broad based, democratic ownership requires participation by all stakeholders, including civil society, the media, communities, service providers, parliament, line ministries and local level governance structures”* (OECD-DAC, 2008a).

People’s dignity, freedom and political participation have become part of the security debate to an extent that military interventions now carry the mandate to observe elections and rebuild local infrastructure. Peacekeeping operations, or humanitarian interventions such as in Haiti, have new funding provisions that include not only space for gender focal points and gender advisors in missions, but also gender training for troop-contributing countries as well as for the troops in missions.

While military spending may have opened its doors for more gender sensitivity, military interventions as well as military budgets remain controversial from a pacifist and feminist perspective. As Lwaye Aye Nang, Presidium Board Member of the Women’s League of Burma, has highlighted: *“there are a total of over 500 battalions in Burma. The regime spends under 1% of GDP on the health and education sectors combined, while spending over 40% of the national budget on its army”* (2007). This is especially upsetting, as she further argues, when the military is connected to the violation of women’s human rights.

Other areas of public policy have also undergone change towards more gender-sensitive and participatory approaches. Gender budget analysis has become a tool to measure state expenditure in accordance with its gender responsiveness, meaning its capacity to respond to the different needs of women, men, boys and girls. Specific gender action plans, looking at issues such as pay gaps and violence against women and girls, have increasingly been put in place in a number of countries in the global South as well as the global North. Nonetheless, no country has yet been able to eliminate gender-based violence or reach a state of complete human security and the elimination of unequal power relations.

There are clear differences in the capacities, infrastructures and human and financial resources of countries as well as in the individual priorities of governments. These differences are reflected in their specific gender policies and responses to gender inequalities as well as in the protection and promotion of the individual and of different social and ethnic groups. Government budgets are often not available to or clearly understood by the public. The sources of funding – especially in the area of women, peace and security – are multiple and often lie outside state borders, such as

international development aid money from international organizations. Resources are also provided by governments and the private sector:

“1. Domestic resources:

- *Tax revenues from income taxes, sales taxes, customs revenues, property taxes, corporate taxes, etc;*
- *Privatization and sale of public assets; and*
- *User fees for health and education services, highway tolls, administrative fees and other charges for public services.*

2. External resources:

- *Official development assistance (ODA), although not all amounts go directly to public budgets;*
- *Loans from the World Bank and regional development banks, the IMF [International Monetary Fund] and commercial banks; and*
- *Tax revenues from trade and private capital flows, including foreign direct investment (FDI).” (UNIFEM and NGLS, 2008: 6)*

The resources and funds that are part of the terms of reference of the government, and more specifically the Ministry of Finance, should undergo the analysis of gender-responsive budgeting, which has been successfully used for over 30 years in more than 40 countries.

a. National gender budgeting

The way that the funds in public budgets are allotted affects citizens directly and indirectly, in their access to public services as well as employment opportunities and social interactions. All these areas are highly gendered. Regulated by international and also national normative frameworks, public budgets determine the redistribution of funds, where effect and impact highly depend on each cultural context.

It is not only normative provisions, as outlined above, that require public spending to be fair, participatory and transparent. There is also a need to include a gender perspective in budget planning and spending when promoting human development and economic growth. *“Financing gender is financing development, as development depends on the equal participation of both, men and women” (UNIFEM, 2008).* Identifying discriminatory funding practices increases the accountability of the government. UNIFEM argues that *“at least 25 percent of the national income should go towards public expenditures, out of which 40 percent should be spent on social services. The share of human priority concerns, such as basic education and primary health care, should be at least 50 percent of social sector expenditures and 5 percent of gross national product (GNP)” (UNIFEM and NGLS, 2008).*

Analysing the government budget from a gender perspective is known to be an effective tool for more participatory, transparent and fair expenditure and for advancing gender equality. *“Gender budget analyses examine any form of public expenditure or method of raising revenues and link national policies and their outcomes to the gendered distribution, use, and generation of public resources. By identifying the implications on women relative to men gender budget analyses can highlight gaps between reaching*

policy goals and the resources committed for their implementation" (Tanzarn, 2003). Gender budgeting does not mean creating a separate budget for women but rather mainstreaming gender in the budgeting process (European Parliament, 2003).

Case Study: The Philippines –Gender budgeting as a potential source of funding for 1325 implementation

Although the Philippines is not on the international peace and security agenda – primarily due to the fact that the disputes there are regarded as localized – there are ongoing armed conflicts in several different parts of the country. Moreover, activities of certain non-state armed groups have extended to the neighbouring countries of Indonesia and Malaysia.). Recognizing the negative impact of the armed conflicts on the country's overall development, various efforts on peace negotiation between the Philippine government *and* non-state armed groups have been going on for a number of years.

The country is also known for taking decisive steps towards policies that promote gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment. Among them, gender budgeting which has become a tool quite successfully applied to planning the use of national funds and resources. Debbie Budlender concludes that *"the Philippines ... is probably the most institutionalized [gender budget] initiative outside that of Australia. Like Australia's, [which started applying gender budget analysis in 1984] the initiative is centred inside government and led by the gender machinery in the form of the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW). But, unlike initiatives elsewhere, the [Gender and Development] GAD budget as introduced in 1996 is very specific as to what is required – it states that every government-related agency must allocate at least five per cent of their budget for gender and development. ...The GAD budget was seen as a strategic way of ensuring funding for the Philippine Development Plan for Women (PDPW)"* (2001: 19–21). As UNIFEM adds: *"In 1999, the government introduced a performance based budgeting policy that reduced the budget of agencies not in compliance by a minimum of 5 per cent. Between 1995 and 1998, the number of reporting agencies rose from 19 to 69 (out of a total of 349) and the allocations to women tripled. Yet even with this three-fold increase, the report concluded that, during the same period, the gender and development budget was still less than 1%; far below the 5% target."*¹³

The country adopted provisions of CEDAW into national law as Republic Act No. 9710 in August 2009 (UNIFEM, 2009), and its NAP on resolution 1325 only awaits the signature of the President to be launched. The provision of resources for such action plans is also the result of the previous gender-sensitive budgeting. Jasmin Nario Galace, Associate Director of the Centre for Peace Education (CPE), describes the efforts by the Philippine Government as well coordinated. *"Through a preparatory committee led by the Office of the Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process and the Philippine Commission on Women different consultations and workshops have already been funded. Furthermore, 5% of the total budget of each government agency is allocated to Gender and Development (GAD) which can be one of the main sources for the national action planning process on resolution 1325."*¹⁴ Training workshops, advocacy activities and awareness-raising campaigns have been initiated by civil society to support the action

¹³ See UNIFEM gender budgeting website: <http://www.gender-budgets.org/content/view/46/112/>

¹⁴ Responding to the questionnaire for this study, January 2010.

planning process. However, funding is still lacking for specific activities such as the collection of sex-disaggregated data – especially in the area of sexual and gender-based violence – as well as the gendered impact of small arms and light weapons.

Nenita Quilenderino from the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP), adds: *“Specifically for 1325/related resolutions, agencies whose mandates include the concerns/issues under said resolutions can mobilize part/majority of their mandatory 5% GAD budget to promote and implement provisions of said resolutions. On external sources, similarly as provided for in RA 7192, up to 30% of external development aid is to be allocated for GAD purposes. Hence, where foreign aid is used, say for example in post/conflict communities, part of or all the 30% is along 1325 and 1820 and related resolutions. The problem lies, however, in the effective implementation of such policy.”*¹⁵

According to Ms Quilenderino, the division of cost and funds for the Philippine NAP are as follows:

Activity	Funds/resources
Drafting of a National Action Plan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preparatory Committee Meetings • Series of consultations to generate inputs for the NAP and validate it • Writeshop 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OPAPP • Philippine Commission on Women (PCW) • NGO/CSO partners including one international NGO
Advocacy activities for the implementation of the NAP <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National launching of NAP, including printing copies • NAP Implementation Workshop • Regional launching/advocacy workshops and planning (harmonized with NAP) • Local advocacy workshops/planning in pilot priority areas (conflict and conflict-prone areas) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OPAPP • PCW • Other government agencies • Local Government Units (LGUs) • CSO/NGO/community partners
Actual implementation of the five-year NAP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OPAPP • PCW • Other government agencies/LGUs (accessed through their mandatory 5% GAD budget) • CSO/NGO/community partners

While most of the budget will come from the 5 per cent gender and development pot, specific projects on women, peace and security with an estimated cost of up to 5 million pesos (US\$2,152,389) will be made available for access by CSO partners to be used

¹⁵ Responding to the questionnaire for this study, January 2010.

directly for initiatives/projects based on the provisions of 1325 and 1820.¹⁶

b. Involving the Private Sector

It is important to look not only at public budgets but also at the private sector, as private investment regulations can provide an important entry point for gender equality. New investments in the markets of post-crisis and post-conflict countries can help provide opportunities to empower vulnerable groups.

With respect to the African region, Bola Akanji raises gender concerns in terms of the different capacities and skills of men and women due to their traditional roles in various country contexts. Some of these are "... related to underlying differentials in skills, access to markets, information especially e-commerce, stock markets and so on between men and women. Others are the gender impact of expanded trade and FDI on female labour force participation. In agriculture, apart from shrinking the benefits of trade for poor countries farmers, the dampening effect of low export prices on export crop reduction also affects food crop output through increased competition for resources between men and women and conflict in the management of resources such as land, labour and credit" (Akanji, 2007: 3). The resulting need for capacity-building activities for women and men in order to adapt to new requirements of the economic situation in each country can be supported by the state, through its education sector, as well as by civil society and international actors.

In post-conflict contexts targeted capacity-building activities can form part of the activities and projects related to resolution 1325. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, for example, reintegration programmes for survivors of sexual and gender-based violence assist women to build their own business and economic activity through the NGO Medica Zenica.¹⁷ Among the donors are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway, Save the Children Norway, Medica Mondiale (the umbrella organization), UNIFEM and a variety of faith-based and national and local organizations and public institutions. Funding for such initiatives can also come from the private sector, as stated at the international conference *Putting policy into practice: Monitoring the implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security*, held in Oslo from 11-13 November 2009. For example, Rachel Gogoua said that in Côte D'Ivoire they have been able to mobilize funds for women, peace and security work from the private sector (FOKUS, INSTRAW and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, forthcoming: 19).

Involving the private sector relates not only to improving women's capacities to engage in existing economic opportunities but also to observing or even regulating new and upcoming markets and their gendered impact, especially in environments where peace and security are fragile. *"Trade in conflict resources such as oil, diamonds and timber also requires urgent action, not only to keep peace but to look deeper into the constraints of down-stream sector investment of these sub-sectors. The informal sector enterprises that emerge around the exploration of these resources is critical to the*

¹⁶ Nenita Quilenderino responding to the questionnaire for this study, January 2010.

¹⁷ See: http://medicazenica.org/uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=46&Itemid=28

livelihood of poor homes, often supported by women. The poverty-impacting nature of conflicts especially on informal sector workers, most of whom are women, constitute 'hidden issues' behind the obvious" (Akanji, 2007: 8).

In Oslo in 2009, suggestions were made to use private sector funding not only for reintegration mechanisms or to gain individual access to new opportunities but also for women, peace and security-related research. A working group formed during the conference discussed the idea that incoming businesses in post-conflict contexts such as telecommunication companies could assist in post-conflict contexts by providing data disaggregated by sex when doing their market research and consumer profiling. (FOKUS, INSTRAW and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, forthcoming).

c. International Development Aid and Funding

One of the main means of external provision of funding is official development assistance (ODA), mostly in direct funding from donor governments to developing country governments. According to the OECD-DAC, ODA involves loans or grants that are: *"(a) undertaken by the official sector; (b) with promotion of economic development and welfare as the main objective; (c) at concessional financial terms (if a loan, having a grant element of at least 25 per cent). In addition to financial flows, technical co-operation is included in aid."*¹⁸

The balance between donor objectives and ownership by the recipient country is delicate. Local ownership as well as transparent and participatory funding provisions are needed in order for the recipient country to plan and programme its work. Donors cannot exclusively evaluate their provision of support as an altruistic gift but have a responsibility for collective and global development. Funding as well as any other provision of support needs to be reliable and predictable (OECD-DAC, 2009a).

Support through either bilateral fund transfers or the involvement of local or international actors in the recipient country can be entry points for the promotion of gender equality. The Department for International Development (DFID) of the United Kingdom, for example, states that *"[r]ecent changes in the way we work, including supporting nationally-owned development strategies and delivering more of our aid through government budgets, have presented new challenges for our work on gender equality"* (DFID, 2006: iii).

Overall, the planning and monitoring of spending of public resources and budgets lack transparency and democratic oversight and especially the needed gender dimension. *"Current accountability mechanisms in development aid planning and management are blind to the goals of gender equality and women's rights. Promises and targets set in the Beijing Platform for Action, for example, are not being put into practice. The lack of sex-disaggregated data and gender-sensitive indicators remains a major weakness"* (Women's Working Group on Financing for Development, 2009). Donors as well as recipient countries need to apply improved tracking and monitoring systems as well as a more coordinated and collaborative approach if human security, gender equality and sustainable peace are to be an honest priority of their agenda.

¹⁸ See OECD-DAC glossary:

http://www.oecd.org/document/32/0,3343,en_2649_33721_42632800_1_1_1_1,00.html#ODA

Aid effectiveness, development and gender equality are tightly connected, and for these reasons a Gender Equality Policy Marker¹⁹ has been developed by the OECD-DAC. *“However, several countries do not report on the Gender Equality Policy Marker, or their marker coverage is too low, meaning that significant contributions to spending in post-conflict and fragile states are missing from this data”* (Beetham and Popovic, 2009).

When funding gender equality, different approaches have been chosen: supporting projects and programmes related to gender, supporting more specific women, peace and security projects or mainstreaming gender into a security programme or project. In general, gender-sensitive data are missing, as are performance and impact indicators for projects and programmes in order to grasp the gender dimension of development aid. The facility to develop such indicators, collect gender-sensitive data and conduct gender analysis and research depends on the specific conditions in a country. *“While most donors, particularly the EC, have clearly articulated gender equality policies and guidelines on programming for gender equality, these are often ignored at country level, particularly with regard to budget allocations. Moreover, even using the OECD-DAC Gender Marker as a preliminary indicator, the mapping studies found it difficult to determine expenditures specifically targeted to gender equality due to inadequate data”* (Muteshi, 2008: 15).

Throughout the literature, the approach taken by the Paris Declaration is seen as critical. *“In practice national priorities may be problematic in terms of addressing gender concerns, as the attention to internationally recognized gender equality goals varies widely by national government. Further, even when national governments recognise gender equality goals rhetorically, these policy statements often are not backed up with sufficient funding or allocation of responsibility”* (Beetham, forthcoming). Therefore, some women’s organizations from developing countries have even argued for funding to be conditional on mainstreaming gender in all projects, policies and programmes (FOKUS, INSTRAW and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, forthcoming).

While on the one hand gender mainstreaming has been promoted as the tool to include a gender perspective into all levels of policies and projects, a lot of institutions do not know how to include gender perspectives in the different levels of their project and programme planning, including the implementation and M&E phases. Often the gender dimension has suffered due to the lack of targeted action for the most vulnerable populations. Some even argue that *“because it has lacked a women’s empowerment focus, mainstreaming became a depoliticized technical instrument with few returns for women on the ground”* (AWID, 2008b).

It has therefore been suggested that poverty reduction strategies provide a good opportunity for collaborative and coordinated investment in development. This support can be either delivered individually or through a collective of donors. *“PRBS [poverty reduction budget support] is typically provided through a joint and multi donor*

¹⁹ The Gender Marker is tracked through the OECD-DAC Creditor Reporting System database. Member States mark their activities according to the extent to which these are intended to advance gender equality and women’s empowerment. The OECD-DAC Network on Gender Equality (GENDERNET) regularly publishes findings from countries reporting on the Marker. See OECD-DAC, 2009b.

arrangement, normally referred to as Partnership General Budget Support. [...] Furthermore, given the nature of budget support (where funds are fungible) and the emphasis given to partner country ownership, it is virtually impossible to attribute and track the particular effect and impact on gender equality and women's empowerment of any particular donor's budget support contributions" (DFID, 2006: 5). Especially in situations of post conflict and transition, "the climate for foreign direct investment is also threatened by continued conflict and aggression. In an atmosphere of conflict, intense competition is brought about by limited private investment; gender gaps in opportunities to engage in trade will continue to widen" (Akanji, 2007: 7). Therefore, a gender perspective needs to be included, on both the donor and recipient side, when transferring funds.

The OECD-DAC highlights that ODA can embrace women, peace and security provisions through:

1. Management of security expenditure through improved civilian oversight and democratic control of budgeting, management, accountability and auditing of security expenditure.
2. Enhancing civil society's role in the security system to help ensure that it is managed in accordance with democratic norms and principles of accountability, transparency and good governance.
3. Supporting legislation for preventing the recruitment of child soldiers.
4. Security system reform to improve democratic governance and civilian control.
5. Civilian activities for peacebuilding, conflict prevention and conflict resolution.
6. Controlling, preventing and reducing the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. (OECD, 2005)

While within the past five years a number of development agencies – such as DFID, the Spanish Agency for Development Cooperation (AECID), the Australian Government's Overseas Aid Program (AusAID) and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DMFA) – have reassessed their spending on gender and increased their budgets, the funding of local women's organizations on the ground seems to have decreased significantly (AWID, 2008b). Financial support has shifted its focus towards governmental programming and action planning. On the one hand, this means increased support at the national level for governmental action planning for the implementation of resolution 1325. To the extent that it strengthens the nation state to fulfil its duties and keep its promises, such a shift cannot be evaluated as exclusively negative. On the other hand, however, it may weaken CSOs, whose inclusion in women, peace and security activities is irreplaceable.

i. Donor Perspectives

Donors can be governments from a country with sufficient funds to support women, peace and security issues outside its territory or scope of responsibility, private foundations or international organizations. The United Nations Peacebuilding Fund (PBF), for example, currently funds 12 projects designed specifically for women affected by conflict in Burundi, Central African Republic, Comoros, Guinea, Liberia, Nepal and Sierra Leone. *"The Fund works through in-country UN agencies as the recipient agencies, and government entities and civil society organizations as their implementing partners. A 'gender marker' system has recently been adopted under the new PBF*

*guidelines to track funds flowing to address women's needs.*²⁰ The Fund is also involved in developing indicators to track funds provided for the implementation of resolution 1325 as well as leading the consultation and drafting of the UN Secretary-General's report on recommendations to improve responses to the needs of women and girls in post-conflict planning, financing and recovery processes – taking into account the views of the Peacebuilding Commission. The Fund is supported by donor countries.

Different roles, responsibilities and perspectives have been outlined by NAPs on resolution 1325 not only by the specific implementing ministries and institutions but also by and through the government as a whole. Action plans from the global North have a perspective on women, peace and security issues that focuses mainly on activities outside their own state borders under the lead of Foreign Ministries determining activities being carried out by development agencies. In countries of the global South – especially those emerging from armed conflict such as Côte D'Ivoire, Liberia and Uganda – the gender ministries took the lead to develop the NAPs and the activities outlined focus mainly on national concerns.

Countries such as the Netherlands, Norway and the United Kingdom – and more recently Spain – act as core donors for 1325 activities around the globe. Norway, for example, not only expresses its general commitment to women, peace and security issues, but also financially supports a number of concrete projects related to the empowerment of women, most of which revolve around women's political participation at national and international levels. The majority of projects supported by Norway are in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka.²¹ In addition, 60 women in Sudan annually receive financial support to advance within the area of peace negotiations and peacebuilding.

Spain interlinks the initiatives outlined in their NAP with an already existing development strategy, as the Gender Ambassador Aurora Mejía explains: *"Financial contributions come from each participating Ministry. Each one has foreseen many concrete activities and tasks. We understand that a large part of it will correspond to the area of cooperation for development, which at the same time prepares the Action Plan on Women and Peacebuilding of the Spanish Cooperation Agency"* (Mejía, 2008). In 2008–2009 the Spanish Development Agency spent nearly 17 million Euros supporting women's organizations as well as governments – mainly in Latin America – in developing gender-sensitive policies. For example, the Philippine Government's Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) received around 500,000 Euro for its pilot project on gender-based violence.²²

Although Canada prepared a NAP in 2006, its adoption is still on hold. Nonetheless the country has provided funds for women, peace and security issues in different countries. As Kate McInturff, Coordinator of the Gender and Peacebuilding Working Group, reports *"Canada's implementation of 1325 would generally happen in conflict settings – i.e. outside of Canada. Canada's foreign policy priorities include Afghanistan, Sudan and*

²⁰ Willemijn van Lelyveld, United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, responding to the questionnaire for this study, 28 January 2010.

²¹ For details of the country projects, see Norway, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2007).

²² See the Spanish Agency for Development Cooperation (AECID) website:
<http://www.aecid.es/web/es/subvenciones/>

Haiti. There is also increasing pressure to include DRC in that list. Afghanistan is far and away the most significant recipient of Canadian military, humanitarian and development resources. ... My impression is that the Government of Canada is moving increasingly to commit funds via multi-lateral and international organizations – the vast majority of funds committed to Afghanistan, for example, are committed through the World Bank and UN organizations. Although this practice increases harmonization and decreases transactional costs, it also leaves very little venue for Canadian civil society to influence policy and programming priorities.²³

Another example is Australia: through AusAID the country spent around 2.5 million Australian dollars (US\$2.2 million) in 2007–2009 on supporting women, peace and security initiatives outside the national state borders, as shown in the table.²⁴

Project Name	Recipient	Funds
<i>Inventory of Responses by Peacekeeping Personnel to War-related Violence against Women</i>	UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict	200,000 AUD (2008–09) (US\$176,803)
<i>Addressing Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)</i>	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to implement a comprehensive strategy on addressing sexual violence for internally displaced communities in the DRC	2 million AUD (2008–09) (US\$1.7 million)
<i>Research project – Sexual and Gender-based Violence in Papua New Guinea (PNG) and Solomon Islands</i>	UNIFEM Pacific and the UNDP Pacific Centre on Sexual and Gender-based Violence in PNG and Solomon Islands	200,000 AUD (2007–08) (US\$176,803)

With the provision of funds come conditions on spending. Donors will ask for performance indicators as well as specific data that prove the implementation and the impact of the initiatives and projects funded. *“While donor countries in the global North often set standards and indicators for the implementation of women, peace and security issues, local organizations and governmental entities find themselves responsible for the implementation of outlined activities and for the data collection to feed these indicators. The expectation of what data is needed often conflicts with the realities on the ground and most importantly with the availability of such data”* (FOKUS, INSTRAW and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, forthcoming: 18).

Countries in the North and South will obviously have different indicators. For example, some of the differences between the indicators of the NAPs of Austria and Liberia can be seen in the chart below. Implementing institutions will be confronted with different

²³ In questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

²⁴ Barbara D'Owyer, Gender Advisor of the Gender Policy and Coordination Section of AusAID, in questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

possibilities but also challenges to collect the data needed in order to feed these indicators. Austria has been one of the key donors of the Liberian NAP.

Country	Indicator
Austria	<i>The representation of women in foreign peace operations of the police force, Federal Armed Forces, judiciary, administration of justice and among prison officers has increased.</i>
	<i>Increasing the representation of women in leading positions in all OSCE dimensions. Increasing the representation of Austrian women in OSCE operations, including election monitoring missions.</i>
Liberia	<i>Strategic Indicator 3: Degree of participation of women in individual Security Sector Institutions and Security Oversight Bodies at the decision-making levels increasing at least to 20% within 2 years</i>
	<i>Strategic Indicator 15: Number of girls from rural areas of the counties who participate in the youth parliament</i>

Ireland has also supported the Liberian action planning process. An initiative called ‘twinning’ was begun by Mary Robinson,²⁵ but it unfortunately has not yet been fully explored (McKay, 2009). While there is no ready-made format for such a twinning process, some criteria have been developed by Dutch civil society and include being an inclusive and participatory process that involves CSOs, women’s organizations and women directly affected by armed conflict.

At the moment such twinning is in the process of being implemented between Finland and Kenya. This innovative strategy was also discussed at the conference in Oslo in November 2009: *“Participants stressed that such a process should not take the form of a donor country leading and guiding the NAP development and implementation processes, but should rather be a mutually beneficial partnership where the process in the country in the global South also helps to feed into the plan and process in the global North. Catherine Mabobori from the Collectif des Associations et ONGs Feminines du Burundi (CAFOB) suggested that ‘twinning’ or partnerships could take place between countries in the global South as well as between countries in the global North”* (FOKUS, INSTRAW and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, forthcoming: 11).

Twinning processes as well as other collaborative funding relations are often embedded in a variety of related initiatives. Elina Hatakka from the 1325 Network Finland highlights

²⁵ First female President of Ireland, former United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and President of Realizing Rights: The Ethical Globalization Initiative.

different activities supported through the Finish NAP, including *“financing a gender adviser for the UN Department for Peacekeeping Operations for 2 years, co-financing the Monrovia Women’s Colloquium spring 2009, an evaluation by an international research group on how 1325 is applied in the Finnish development policies and doing preparation work to start the twinning process including collaborating for the writing of the Kenyan NAP.”*²⁶

Case Study: The Netherlands – Government and CSO partnership as a means to facilitate funding for 1325 implementation

After a six-month planning process, the Government and a number of CSOs signed the Dutch NAP in December 2007. Bert Koenders, Minister for Development Cooperation of the Netherlands, recalls that *“when conducting assessment of the existing implementation of SCR 1325 as part of the process of drafting the action plan, the Dutch Government examined the existing action plans from other countries and took stock of their own programmes on gender in conflict and post-conflict situations. The drafting process itself was analytical and consultative, due to the inclusion of a wide variety of actors. The outcome is a set of quantitative action points, which enables the Dutch Government to monitor the implementation of its commitments and those of all the national action plan signatories”* (2008).

What is noticeable about the Dutch NAP is the cooperation between the Government and CSOs. This cooperation had already been announced in the Schokland Accord on Women, Peace and Security, signed in June 2007, in which all those involved stressed their intention to make sure an action plan for 1325 would be developed. The government agencies involved – among them the Ministries of Defence, Foreign Affairs, and the Interior and Kingdom Affairs – made an effort to consult with civil society and assess existing initiatives and actors prior to starting the action planning process. CSOs, led by the Dutch Gender Platform WO=MEN, formed Working Group 1325 (WG 1325). *“The group met regularly in order to formulate recommendations and feedback on the draft. The working group provided an inventory of its activities and issued an initial set of recommendations to be considered in the formulation of a Dutch National Action Plan”* (Popovic et al., forthcoming).

CSOs also provide funding. The Dutch NGO **Cordaid** has been an important donor to women, peace and security issues. Its budget is distributed as follows: *“Via Women and Violence Programme in Colombia, DRC, Guatemala, Ghana, Indonesia, Sierra Leone and international partners: 6.2 million Euro; via Reconciliation and Reconstruction Programme in Afghanistan, Burundi, DRC, Rwanda, Sudan and International Partners: 1 million Euro; via Minorities Programme in India, Philippines and Sri Lanka: 1,500,000 Euro”*.²⁷ Co-signing both the Dutch NAP and the Schokland Accord has increased

²⁶ In questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

²⁷ Dewi Suralaga, Policy Adviser/Programme Officer, Women and Violence Programme, Sector Participation, responding to the questionnaire for this study.

Cordaid's commitment to women, peace and security through the allocation of more financial and human resources for these issues.

The Women Peacemakers Program of the **International Fellowship of Reconciliation** (IFOR/WPP) has a budget line of around US\$700,000 per year. ___percent of this is allocated for implementing projects in _____. *“However, we constantly find ourselves stretched as staff – trying to do a lot with at the end limited funding – to have more impact and ‘room’ we would need to work with 700,000 – 1,000,000 Euro a year. Our main focus would be to be an activist Northern partner, supporting women and gender-sensitive men in their non-violent peacebuilding, and working together for global, regional and national lobby and advocacy.”*²⁸

The Government itself has prioritized gender issues inside and outside the Netherlands. Mr Koenders (2008) emphasizes that: *“Gender is one of my four development priorities. I ve reserved an additional €75 million for the next three years to contribute to achieving MDG 3. This money will be spent primarily on combating violence against women, ending impunity, striving for gender equality and, of course, implementing the NAP action points. In addition, the Government has launched Project 2015 to make up the arrears in achieving the eight MDGs. I have also set up a fund to which I have allocated extra resources for DDR [disarmament, demobilization and reintegration] and SSR.”*

The Netherlands’ experience demonstrates that partnership between civil society and governments could also facilitate funding for 1325 implementation and other gender-based projects globally.

From a donor perspective, the tracking of the funds provided can offer obstacles and difficulties. It is essential for donors to know what actions have been supported through their engagement and what impacts the intervention had on the women, men, girls and boys on the ground. Only by tracking where the funds have gone will donors be able to follow the impact of their assistance and know whether the intent and objective of the support has been achieved. Earmarking funds that come into a country for women, peace and security issues would significantly help to identify sources and coordinate capacities on the ground. Donating entities and governments have great power in what wheels will be moved on the ground as well as which groups and activities will be supported and which will not. This responsibility has to be taken on with great respect for the local population and with thoughtful care.

ii. Recipient Perspectives

Recipient countries, for the purpose of this study, are the countries that have received funds for the implementation of resolution 1325 either directly for the development of the NAP through their governments or for supporting activities through CSOs. Donors can either be countries’ development agencies or international and national NGOs that have received funding themselves in order to support women, peace and security initiatives.

²⁸ Isabelle Geusken, IFOR/WPP, responding to the questionnaire for this study January 2010.

The relationship between donor and recipient as well as collaborating partners is key. Ida Kigonya, Principal Women in Development Officer for the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development of Uganda, stated that the financial support for their NAP was *“jointly determined between the Ministry [of Gender, Labour and Social Development] and the donor”*.²⁹ Furthermore, she mentioned the activities of UNIFEM in the country supporting the Uganda Action Plan on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 & 1820 and the Goma Declaration, which was launched in December 2008.

Providing support to a country in the early stages of the development of a NAP can provide the government with important impulses towards a women, peace and security implementation strategy. The Afghan Deputy Minister of Women’s Affairs, Palwasha Kakar, outlines the activities in her country on women, peace and security issues: *“Our country is trying to consider the provision of the resolution in all its draft plans in different fields; the women issue has been considered in ANDS (Afghanistan National Development Strategy). Secondly, the MOWA has made the NAPWA (National Action Plan for Women) in order to ensure the rights of the Afghan women in light of all national and international provisions for women. In addition to that, the MoWA is working closely with civil society and NGOs working for women’s rights, in order to support their activities.”*³⁰ Furthermore, she names the amount of US\$400,000 in the development budget being used exclusively for capacity-building purposes.

Continuous support for the implementation of the NAP is as essential as the action planning process. An action plan that loses the attention and political will of the parties involved is in danger of becoming a policy document that remains on the bookshelf. Countries such as Liberia depend on further external funding to put the action plan into practice and monitor and evaluate its impact. Dorothy Onny, Deputy Director of the Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs of Ghana, describes the funding situation in her Ministry regarding the implementation of the resolution. US\$6,566,445 has been allocated for training, advocacy and awareness creation on the protection of women and children’s rights, peace and security, enforcement of the domestic violence act (Act 732) and the economic and political empowerment of women.³¹ The development of a NAP on resolution 1325 was also supported by the United Nations in Ghana.

As mentioned above, international organizations such as the United Nations as well as local NGOs provide essential input, data and new perspectives that a government can profit from when developing its NAP.

d. Tracking Funds of Civil Society Organizations

While the United Nations has an internal reporting mechanism and M&E formats, donors often require specific indicators and tracking methods. The potential donors for CSOs can be a variety of institutions. The Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID) lists the top donors to women’s organizations based on research conducted through its numerous members. While individual donors (US\$7,325,103 in 2005) are the largest contributors to women rights organizations, international organizations,

²⁹ In questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

³⁰ In questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

³¹ In questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

governments and foundations are a major source of funding as well. As AWID states *“The majority of organizations have been getting their biggest funding since 1995 from bilateral/ multilateral agencies, large private foundations, international NGOs, individuals, and local governments”* (AWID, 2008a).

Ranking per actor:	Government	Civil Society Organization	International Organization	Foundation
1.	Dutch Government: US\$4,122,910	Oxfam International members: US\$3,195,872	European Commission: US\$1,673,875	Ford Foundation: US\$4,031,399
2.	Swedish Government: US\$1,980,736	HIVOS: US\$2,600,000	UNIFEM: US\$1,186,237	Local foundations: US\$3,198,628
3.	Norwegian Government: US\$1,482,246	Cordaid: US\$885,910		Global Fund for Women: US\$2,674,955
4.	Denmark through DANIDA: US\$1,235,768	Churches: US\$852,361		MacArthur Foundation: US\$1,079,000
5.	United States through USAID: US\$725,322	Mama Cash: US\$730,851		Packard Foundation: US\$916,541
6.				Open Society Institute: US\$657,300

Data adopted from Redfern Research in AWID (2008) *FundHer Factsheet #1*.

However, the funding listed above is not exclusively dedicated to women, peace and security issues but rather to women’s organizations in general. How they then divide the money received and what specific resources are going towards the implementation of resolution 1325 depends on the positioning and internal structure of each recipient organization.

Ana Lukatela, Coordinator of the Regional Women’s Lobby (RWL) in South-East Europe, reported that *“100% of RWL’s budget is dedicated to women, peace and security issues. The main donor of RWL has thus far been UNIFEM CEE [UNIFEM Regional Office for Central and Eastern Europe]. UNIFEM funded a 2009 Strategic Meeting, the 2008 Regional Conference and the 2008 Strategic Planning Conference of RWL.”*³² She lists Albania, Bosnia, Kosovo and Serbia as places where UNIFEM funds initiatives on gender mainstreaming in the police and security forces. She also mentions the Swedish development agency Sida as a core donor for the governments in the region on women, peace and security.

Kishwar Sultana, Director of the INSAN Foundation Trust, shares the budget of this Pakistani foundation by saying: *“We have US\$99,615 for developing a programme on*

³² In questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009 .

awareness-raising and advocacy around women, peace and security especially in the SCR 1325 context, as well as organizing women's and youth groups around these issues."³³ Indicators and external as well as internal and project evaluations help to track funds and measure the impact of the implemented activities. Monitoring and evaluation activities need to be included right from the planning phase of a specific initiative, programme, project or policy.

Extracting where all these different funds come from and with what impact they are used and implemented requires a complex and detailed global analysis. Recognizing the complexity of tracking funds on women, peace and security issues, Elina Hatakka, Coordinator of the 1325 Network in Finland, states: "All the responsible ministries should earmark in their budgets specific 1325 money and list projects achieved by it. Especially the MoFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] should list the ongoing and planned projects that fit in the 1325 category and evaluate if the total number is in accordance with the Finnish NAP."³⁴

Case Study: Colombia –what is unique in funding for 1325 implementation in Colombia –multisectoral collaboration?

Known for its guerrillas and drug cartels, Colombia has been suffering not only external stigmatization but also internal displacement and insecurity. Armed violence and forced migration have been part of its history throughout the 20th century.

Although the beginning of a national action planning process was announced through its Permanent Mission to the United Nations in 2006, Colombia's NAP on 1325 has not yet come to realization. That does not mean, however, that the Government as well as international and local civil society organizations do not implement projects on women, peace and security issues. A variety of security projects and programmes have included a gender perspective or even specifically focused on issues outlined in the resolution.

The private US-based Hunt Alternatives Fund, for example, supported women involved in the Colombian peace process: "The Institute for Inclusive Security traveled to Bogotá from May 25-30, 2008 to support the Colombian congressional women's caucus, seek donor commitments for several projects, and document our work in the country. Inclusive Security met with Network members Senators Marta Lucía Ramírez and Gina Parody and Senate President Nancy Patricia Gutiérrez to encourage them to push for the institutionalization of the Congressional Women's Caucus. As a result, on June 13, President Gutiérrez announced a bill to make the caucus one of the three permanent commissions of the Colombian Congress. In addition, Inclusive Security met with representatives of several major international donors... [and] secured commitments to continue supporting activities we or our Network members initiated."³⁵

The table below demonstrates the projects financed by different donors in Colombia.³⁶

³³ In questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

³⁴ In questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

³⁵ See: http://www.huntalternatives.org/pages/7653_colombia.cfm

³⁶ Sources are a variety of websites providing project information:

This does not aim to be a comprehensive list but rather an example of the variety of projects in one specific country context with a low-intensity armed conflict.

Organization	Financing	Specific Project	Purpose
Global Fund	US\$900,000	Supported 60 women's groups with 90 grants (since 1990)	Empower marginalized women and girls facing the impact of the internal conflict, including indigenous women, rural women, and Afro-Colombians, among others.
US Congress, UNHCR, the World Food Programme, the Spanish Government, the Ford Foundation, the Global Fund for Women and other public and private organizations	US\$500,000 to League of Displaced Women	City of Women (2003)	Empower women
Global Justice Center	unknown	Special Initiative on Gender, Non-Impunity and International Law (SIGNAL)	Ensure that the Justice and Peace Law (JPL), or law 975 of 2005, and other transitional justice processes in Colombia are implemented in conformance with international law requiring gender equality and set standards on gender crimes and inclusive participation
US Department of Labor (USDOL)	US\$7,000,000 to International Labour Organization-International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC) (among them Colombia)	Global Child Soldiers Project	Target former child soldiers and other war-affected youth, with a special emphasis on girls (trafficking of children for the purposes of serving in armies and/or armed groups is a crosscutting issue)
US Department of State Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking (USDOS/G/TIP)	US\$263,285 to International Organization for Migration (IOM): Colombia (Tier 1) and Dominican Republic (Tier 2)	Combating Trafficking in Persons through Training and Multi-State Cooperation.	Improve law-enforcement efforts by learning from US legislation and law enforcement initiatives and improving cooperation between source and destination countries for international sex trafficking, through a series of technical capacity-building workshops
UN Trust Fund to End Violence against Women	One of the projects under a US\$5.1 million grant	The Centro de Apoyo Popular (CENTRAP)'s project: Towards a Municipality Free of Violence: Soacha for Women.	Create safe spaces for women to talk about violent experiences, develop the information collected into a comprehensive mapping of the risks women face in the city, and persuade the municipal government to incorporate changes in its municipal development plan
The UNIFEM-managed	One of the	Corporación	Catalyse support for measures to prevent

<http://www.peacewomen.org/resources/Colombia/colombiaindex.html>

<http://www.globaljusticecenter.net/projects/colombia/>

<http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/rpt/34182.htm#latin>

http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/violence_against_women/trust_fund_grantees.php?year=2007

<http://www.poa-iss.org/CountryProfiles/CountryProfileInfo.aspx?Acc=M&Col=186>

<http://www.sida.se/English/Countries-and-regions/Latin-America/Colombia/Programmes-and-Projects/Steps-towards-reconciliation>

Fund for Gender Equality	projects under a US\$9 million grant	Sisma Mujer's project: Political Empowerment for Women Displaced by War to Hold the Government Accountable	further internal displacement and to generate better provisioning for existing internally displaced persons
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5. Calculating the Cost of Women, Peace and Security Implementation

Estimating the cost and financing of implementing resolution 1325 is as difficult and complex as estimating the cost of realizing the MDGs – for example, ending hunger and poverty or combating HIV/AIDS. Country-specific variables such as local infrastructure, needs and social understanding, as well as related policies already in place, make it impossible to calculate a figure that represents the cost of a NAP on resolution 1325 applicable for every country. This study aims rather to provide examples of the resources different initiatives have used to support the implementation process. Components that have indicated the successful adoption of NAPs will be highlighted. The circumstances in which those initiatives have taken place are all unique, and it remains hard to generalize. Nonetheless, they should serve as an orientation for future initiatives.

a. National Actions Review

i. Governments

Most NAPs do not specify the budget they will dedicate for development and implementation, and Nordic countries in particular do not have their budget lines made public. Moreover, most NAPs in **Northern** countries do not have a specially allocated budget. Petra Toetterman Andorff, Secretary General of WILPF Sweden, reports: *“The [Swedish] NAP does not outline any specific budget for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Women’s security and equal participation in peace-building are given priority in Swedish policies for security and international development cooperation. The actions mentioned in the plan are to be financed within existing [national] budget lines.”*³⁷ Anna Sundén, Coordinator of Operation 1325 in Sweden, confirms: *“The actions mentioned in the plan are to be financed within existing budget lines. Operation 1325 has received financial support from the Foreign Ministry, Sida, Folke Bernadotte Academy and the Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs for our projects aiming at the implementation of 1325 nationally, regionally and internationally. These funds are, however, not specified within the budget line since it is absent in the NAP.”*³⁸

In Ireland also calculations for women, peace and security funds are not exact and not earmarked. Deirdre Ní Cheallaigh, HIV and Gender Policy Officer at the Irish NGO Trócaire, states: *“As we do not have a baseline in terms of what exactly is being done to implement UNSR 1325, it is not clear what resources (financial and human) are currently being made available to support the implementation of UN SCR 1325. Anecdotally, as it is felt that more could be done to systematically implement UNSCR 1325 (through the development and comprehensive implementation of an Irish NAP on Women, Peace and Security), it can also be assumed that more human and financial resources are needed to systematize implementation.”*³⁹

On the other hand, in the **African** countries that have developed a NAP, the outlining of the national and foreign budget invested in the development of the plan is much more

³⁷ In questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

³⁸ In questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

³⁹ Responding to the questionnaire for this study, 28 January 2010.

transparent. Maybe due to the fact that plans such as in Côte D'Ivoire, Liberia and Uganda are financed by outside donors, the funding of the different areas and activities are publicly accessible.

The overall budget for the action plan in Côte D'Ivoire, for example, is 3,694,400,000 F CFA (US\$8,784,439), for the three years of implementation. The general coordination of these funds is the responsibility of the Ministry of Family, Women and Social Affairs.⁴⁰ The Ministry of Administrative Affairs and Finance nonetheless has the authority of approval and conducts an annual auditing process.

Area of action	Annual Budget	Responsible actor
Protection of women and girls from sexual violence	US\$517,840	Ministry of Justice and Human Rights in collaboration with Ministries of Interior, Defence and Security, Health and Public Hygiene and Ministry of Family, Women and Social Affairs
Inclusion of the gender question in political and development programmes	US\$197,209	Ministry of Family, Women and Social Affairs in collaboration with units from Ministry of Development and Planning and Ministry of Economics and Finance
Participation of women and men in reconstruction and reintegration processes	US\$438,735	Ministry of Education in collaboration with Ministry of Security, Health and Public Hygiene, Ministry of Solidarity of War Victims, Ministry of National Reconstruction and Reintegration and National Agency to Support Rural Development
Reinforcement of the participation of women in decision-making positions	US\$97,497	Coordination of Women for the Election Process and Post-conflict Reconstruction (COFEMCI REPC) in collaboration with Ministry of Family, Women and Social Affairs
Putting in place a monitoring system	US\$53,180	Ministry of Family, Women and Social Affairs in collaboration with the monitoring and evaluation committee
Management of the implementation of the plan (staff, vehicles and functioning)	US\$254,821	Ministry of Family, Women and Social Affairs in collaboration with other institutions
Other costs (5%)	US\$77,953	Ministry of Family, Women and Social Affairs

ii. What International Organizations and Civil Society Can Contribute

⁴⁰ Euphrasie Hortense Yao Kouassi, Directrice de L'Egalite et de la Promocion de la Femme du Ministère de la Famille, de la Femme et des Affaires Sociales. "Pour les fonds provenant de l'Etat de Côte d'Ivoire, la gestion est assurée par le Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances et la Direction des Affaires Administratives et Financières (DAAF) du Ministère de la Famille, de la Femme et des Affaires Sociales. A la fin de chaque année, un audit financier est réalisé par l'Agence partenaire." In questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

In different action plans the help and contribution of UN entities has been specifically mentioned.⁴¹ UNIFEM is one of the important actors when it comes to supporting the development of NAPs and women, peace and security projects.

Bilquis Tahira from UNIFEM Pakistan, for example, reports a budget of US\$2.2 million provided by the Norwegian and Dutch Governments for the area of women, peace and security, which includes the development of an action plan, support to NGOs and women's groups for conflict-affected women and girls, research, Afghani and Pakistani women peace activists as well as parliamentarians' dialogue on the issue, and advocacy for the inclusion of women in decision-making, among other issues. She continues that *"currently an Action Plan does not exist; however, the Ministry of Women Development is taking the lead on gender and peacekeeping as well as initiating a process of development of an Action Plan with UNIFEM support."*⁴² UNIFEM Georgia counts on US\$136,288 over a three-year period, which is given by Norway, for its Women for Equality, Peace and Development project in the country. The gender advisor for Georgia, Tamar Sabedashvili, reports that *"The project implementation will start in November 2009 and among other activities it foresees bringing national policies and laws in compliance with UNSCR 1325 and 1820, through provision of support for the elaboration and approval of a National Action Plan and Implementation Strategy on SCR 1325 and 1820 to protect and promote IDPs [internally displaced person] and conflict-affected women's rights. The programme also aims to support integration of the National Action Plan and Implementation Strategy on SCR 1325 and 1820 into the relevant national policies and laws."*⁴³

There exists an essential difference between the budgets accessed by international and local CSOs involved in the implementation of resolution 1325. International CSOs such as International Alert or foundations have greater access to funds than local women's organizations. The Austrian NGO CARE, for example, is *"involved around the world in programs and projects for implementing UN SCR 1325; with the focus on empowering women in post-conflict. CARE Österreich has a programming focus on implementing UN SCR 1325 in Uganda, Nepal and Burundi, as well as in the Caucasus region."*⁴⁴ The budget for this is currently 4.3 million Euro.

How the money is spent and which region or country benefits often depends not only on the size of the organization but also on the donor country's priorities. The Norwegian Church Council, for example, has a regional project on the implementation of resolution 1325 in Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine and Syria. For this project a total of US\$300,000 is provided for regional implementation of the resolution, and another US\$105,000 goes to regional partners collaborating in this process.⁴⁵

⁴¹ See, for example, Liberia, Ministry of Gender and Development (2009); Uganda, Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (2008).

⁴² In questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

⁴³ In questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

⁴⁴ Barbara Kuenhas, Gender Advisor, CARE Österreich, in questionnaire conducted by FOKUS in preparation of Oslo conference, November 2009.

⁴⁵ Maria Ardaji, Programme Officer of the Norwegian Church Aid, in questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

When CSOs are funded, several supporting activities can be realized such as building capacity, raising awareness and creating political will towards a potential action-planning process. Marie-Claire Faray-Kele, WILPF (UK section) COMMON CAUSE UK/ Platform of Congolese Women in the UK, reports the following activities in preparation of the action plan in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC): *“Women’s rights activists have organized modules for trainings on gender, peace and security, and have translated the UNSCR 1325 into four national languages: Lingala, Kikongo, Swahili and Tshiluba. Workshops were organized in major administrative cities across all provinces to commemorate the seventh anniversary of UNSCR 1325. In 2002 Women as Partners for Peace in Africa (WOPPA-DRC) organized a training workshop in Nairobi, Kenya to develop Congolese women’s negotiation techniques and build capacity in preparation for the Inter-Congolese Dialogue in Sun City, South Africa. The workshop also enabled coordination of women from all sides and the distribution of UNSCR 1325 in pamphlet form (15-19 February 2002). [Other activities included circulating a newsletter covering the text of UNSCR 1325 and detailing the work of CSOs on the resolution; awareness-raising on TV; and coordinating a women’s national congress to raise awareness about UNSCR 1325 amongst women from the grassroots movement.”*⁴⁶

Case Study: Liberia - what is unique in funding for 1325 implementation in Liberia –In-kind and monetary contributions through multisectoral collaboration?

After years of civil armed conflict (1989–2003) and widespread sexual and gender-based violence, Liberia has undergone a process of recovery, reform and conflict resolution. The implementation of Resolution 1325 tries to respond to the gendered security concerns still emerging from the times of violence.

Under the presidency of the first female African Head of State, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the Ministry of Gender and Development initiated the action planning with the support of International Alert and the United Nations Mission to Liberia (UNMIL) in August 2007. In August 2008, INSTRAW and the Office of the Gender Advisor of UNMIL established an inter-agency team supporting the Liberian Ministry of Gender and Development to lead the process of developing a NAP. A Steering Committee composed of representatives from other government institutions, UN agencies and CSOs was established in order to guide the drafting of the plan. Community chiefs and organizations working outside of Monrovia were also involved in the process (Adrian-Paul and Popovic, forthcoming).

A wide range of CSOs were funded to support the implementation of the resolution and the development of the NAP, including Women’s NGOs of Liberia (WONGOSOL), Women in Peace Network (WIPNET), Society of Women in AIDS Awareness, Save the Children (UK), OXFAM GB, National Democratic Institute, Mano River Women’s Peace Network (MARWOPNET), International Rescue Committee, International Republican Institute, International Federation for Election Studies, International Centre for Transitional Justice, Foundation for International Dignity, Community Empowerment Programme, Carter Centre, American Bar Association, Association of Female Lawyers of Liberia, American Refugee Committee, Action Aid and the Danish Refugee Council.

⁴⁶ In questionnaire in preparation of Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

The budget lines of these organizations and individual projects available for the development of the NAP is not known in detail, but some donors and costs have been identified.

The Liberian NAP has an overall budget of over US\$2 million given by the Danish and Italian Governments (Foster, 2009). It is hoped to find additional sources over the three years of implementation in order to meet all the ambitious objectives outlined in the plan. INSTRAW's project on Building Capacity for the Implementation of 1325 in Liberia was supported by the Austrian Government with US\$146,240. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and UNDP were also active supporters during the process. UNIFEM contributed through a workshop held on the developed indicators in order to prioritize them and identify adequate sources and data to measure them.

When the action plan was launched, the platform of an International Colloquium on Women's Empowerment, Leadership Development, International Peace and Security, held on 7–8 March 2009 in Monrovia, brought a large quantity of international donors to one table. Unfortunately, the opportunity to launch the action plan publicly and to use the colloquium as an occasion to raise further funds for its implementation was not fully explored. The implementation and M&E of the action plan that is outlined for the full three years will require additional resources in order to meet the ambitious goals outlined in the NAP.

As underlined by the Minister of Gender and Development, Vabbah Gayflor, it is important to build on existing policies and structures as well as on the local infrastructure: *"At our own level, we will see how we can make it a working tool. We already have a National Women's Conference Action Plan, we already have the Poverty Reduction Strategy, and the implementation of 1325 is part of all that. It is about taking up those issues and just prioritizing them and then we can see how we can move forward, but I think that we are well situated for the implementation of 1325"* (2008).

b. Calculating the Cost of a 1325 Action Plan

In order to estimate how much the development and implementation of a NAP on resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889 will cost in a specific country, the country context, existing infrastructure, policies in practice and capacities need to be examined against the objectives and goals. A comprehensive women, peace and security assessment as well as a mapping of actors and internal auditing initiatives will provide the implementing parties and the government in question with an overview of what resources – whether financial or human resources as well as capacities – are needed in order to achieve the most suitable implementation strategy.

Also two accounts must be made, one looking at the costs of the development of a NAP and another identifying the costs of implementation. Either of these may be covered by internal or external funds. *"While the provision of outside funding is often crucial for the development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of NAPs as well as other women, peace and security activities, Pamela Villalobos of the Ministry of Defence,*

Chile, reminded participants that rather than focusing on the provision of funding, we should be focusing on building the political will of governments to undertake women, peace and security initiatives, saying, that this will translate into a budget for these activities” (FOKUS, INSTRAW and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (forthcoming). Several governments have included the development of their 1325 NAPs in their regular budget and ongoing activities. Depending on the existing structures and capacities, assuming such tasks is easier in some countries than in others. Even in countries where the allocation of resources and infrastructure is challenging, however, women, peace and security issues remain key to recovery and building peace.

In order to develop a NAP, certain pre-conditions need to be satisfied, such as sufficient awareness and knowledge among the government and the implementing parties, political will, capacity to implement the desired activities, good coordination and collaboration mechanisms that help avoid duplication and gaps on women, peace and security initiatives, and data to support M&E. The following are some useful questions to ask.

Questions to Ask Prior to Developing a National Action Plan on Resolution 1325

1. Which ministries or other government departments are involved in drafting policies to guide the raising, planning and spending of public resources?
2. Do they have technical specialists equipped to conduct women, peace and security assessments? Is this taking place?
3. Is there sufficient awareness and political will among policy makers and implementing Ministries? Which department/ organization could benefit from a capacity-building activity prior to the action planning process?
4. How will the different actors and Ministries coordinate their initiatives? Will a taskforce or working group be established? What do we need in order to create such a platform?
5. What resources exist in the security budget for gender expenses and in the gender/development budget for initiatives around peace and security?
 - a. Internal budget?
 - b. External budget including the assistance of external actors such as bilateral agencies, CSOs or other international organizations?
6. What issues need to be addressed? What activities are needed to address them? How much funds do these require? What activities already exist?
 - a. What public services already address gendered security issues (shelters, health-care institutions, access to justice, etc.)? What is still needed?
7. How can the private sector support the implementation of the resolution?
 - a. What other related policies exist (CEDAW implementation initiatives, PRS, MDGs)?
8. How are different action plans and development strategies interlinked?
9. Are there any opportunities for local CSOs to review the budget? How have they been involved in the action planning process? What activities do they conduct related to women, peace and security?
10. Who will be responsible for monitoring and evaluating the action plan? What data do we need to feed the indicators outlined in the NAP? Will an external evaluation be planned? (adapted from UNIFEM and NGLS, 2008)

A core component to hold implementing parties accountable is knowledge of the international and national women, peace and security provisions by the local population. **Awareness-raising campaigns** can help to create this knowledge and the needed political will.

The Women's International League of Peace and Freedom (WILPF), with the objective of raising awareness about resolution 1325 and stipulating its implementation in the United States, implements comprehensive outreach projects. *"The outreach and publicity, as well as the actual programs undertaken, will raise the profile of SCR 1325, increase public awareness of women's role in conflict transformation and prevention, and clarify the legacy of Jane Addams and other women Nobel Peace Prize winners for students of all ages. For maximum impact, this ambitious plan began its roll-out in early October 2009, and requires the WILPF U.S. Section to raise \$128,000 beyond its operating budgets for 2009 and 2010. ... An initial \$20,000 has been raised, so implementation of the project is proceeding with the distribution of outreach materials for two '2010 Practica in Advocacy at the United Nations' and the contracting of a grant writer; a contract web designer will also be hired. Once an additional \$40,000 has been raised, the JA1325 Working Group in collaboration with the WILPF Personnel Committee will begin recruiting for the Educational Program Director position."*⁴⁷

Capacity-building activities can be held by CSOs or UN entities. Kate McInturff, Coordinator of the Gender and Peacebuilding Working Group, informs that a workshop on resolution 1820 in Canada cost US\$18,000 (without including staff costs). The donor was the International Development Research Centre (IDRC).⁴⁸ She further states that the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (DFAIT) was previously a donor, but that these funds have been withdrawn as specific women, peace and security funds have been folded into a general envelope for 'human rights policy'.⁴⁹

Key to a lot of policy implementation initiatives as well as programming on women, peace and security is effective **collaboration and coordination** among different actors working on similar topics. Senior Gender Adviser of the United Nations Mission in the Congo (MONUC), Elsie Effange-Mbella, highlights, *"we know that there are several actors on the ground both national and international stakeholders and therefore there is need for there to be a centralized coordinating mechanism to streamline implementation of activities, monitoring and evaluation of progress based on existing capacities. A good coordinating mechanism will aim at an integrated approach which seeks to draw on existing strengths in resolving issues based on complementing capacities."*⁵⁰

Monitoring and evaluation as well as the needed **data collection** in each country seem challenging, and a lot of steps are still needed in order to gain comparative data. Especially in conflict and post-conflict settings data collection may be extremely difficult due to the lack of official records and the lack of infrastructure. *"The conference report from the international conference on monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of*

⁴⁷ See: <http://www.wilpf.org/2009NovAdvancingWomenAsPeacemakers> (last visited: 13.01.2010).

⁴⁸ In questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Answers to the questionnaire in preparation for Oslo conference for FOKUS, November 2009

Resolution 1325 and 1820 underlines the fact that governmental actors and CSOs often do not have the capacity or technical know-how to carry out monitoring and evaluation activities on women, peace and security issues, including the collection of data for this purpose. Particular areas of difficulty include measuring the impact of activities and data analysis. For this reason, participants stressed the need for capacity-building activities” (FOKUS, INSTRAW and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (forthcoming).

c. Components for Action Planning

The following table summarizes the above-mentioned activities and tries to separate the different components of potential costs needed to develop a NAP. The calculation of the cost and financing of implementation activities is even more country-specific and depends mainly on the chosen activities and the existing infrastructure, capacities and related policies and projects. The table is simplistic and non-comprehensive, but is intended to provide an outline of the needed resources in the action planning process and at the same time demonstrate how different these costs can be depending on each country context. The columns on the right are left in blank in order to be reflected on in each scenario depending on the specific needs and already existing capacity.

Component	Individual / Institution Responsible	Cost
Awareness-raising and creation of political will		
Staff		
Transport (buses, taxi, driver)		
Communication (Internet, phone, fax, radio, TV, etc.)		
Facilities (rooms, electricity, water supply)		
Office supply (printing, paper, computer, etc.)		
Inclusion of civil society		
Inclusion of women directly affected by armed conflict		
Capacity-building		
Staff		
Transport (buses, taxi, driver)		
Communication (Internet, phone, fax, radio, TV, etc.)		
Facilities (rooms, electricity, water supply)		
Office supply (printing, paper, computer, etc.)		
Inclusion of civil society		
Inclusion of women directly affected by armed conflict		
Coordination and collaboration		
Staff		
Transport (buses, taxi, driver)		
Communication (Internet, phone, fax, radio, TV, etc.)		
Facilities (rooms, electricity, water supply)		
Office supply (printing, paper, computer, etc.)		
Inclusion of civil society		
Inclusion of women directly affected by armed conflict		
Monitoring and evaluation (data collection)		
Staff		
Capacity building activities		
Transport (buses, taxi, driver)		

Communication (Internet, phone, fax, radio, TV, etc.)		
Facilities (rooms, electricity, water supply)		
Office supply (printing, paper, computer, etc.)		
Inclusion of civil society		
Inclusion of women directly affected by armed conflict		
TOTAL		

6. Concluding Thoughts

Resolution 1325 and the other women, peace and security resolutions – 1820, 1888 and 1889 – touch on various policy areas that demand a multifaceted approach to implementation. The thematic scope of this field is as multidimensional as are its potential funding sources.

International and regional organizations as well as countries have made efforts to implement women, peace and security policies. Strategies range from the integration of resolution 1325 into existing policies to the development of specific NAPs. Looking back on the 10-year existence of the resolution, it can be seen that important progress has been made. To date 16 countries have adopted NAPs, including in the last two years countries in post-conflict contexts such as Côte D'Ivoire, Liberia and Uganda. Other countries, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Philippines and Sierra Leone, are about to launch their action plan in the next months.

While European countries as well as Chile have developed their NAPs using existing internal budgets, developing countries rely on external resources to develop and implement their plans. The required resources depend on the specific country context. While Liberia reports having been allocated U\$2 million for the implementation of its NAP, the neighbouring country of Sierra Leone hopes to raise US\$15 million for adoption and implementation. While the general allocation of funds towards 1325 implementation needs to be increased, already existing resources should be fully explored as well to make the funding of the implementation as effective as possible. Resources have been mainly made available by countries in the global North that already have a NAP, and they dedicate funds to support women, peace and security implementation strategies in countries in the geographic region of interest of the donor country. In order to provide comprehensive support for action planning processes, collaboration mechanisms such as 'twinning' aim to provide the recipient governments with increased ownership of the agenda and content of their NAPs.

CSOs, international actors and the private sector are not only sources of financial support but can also provide additional knowledge, data and new perspectives on women, peace and security. Local NGOs as well as UN agencies have been involved in nearly all existing NAPs on resolution 1325 and provided support by raising awareness, building capacity and evaluating the progress and impact such action plans can have.

Evaluation and monitoring of the NAPs and other forms of implementation of the resolution are essential to improve and manage the impact and effect of existing and past initiatives and activities. Proper accounting for the funds dedicated to them is equally important. The recommendation to earmark funds and resources provided for the implementation of resolution 1325 has already been mentioned and aims to facilitate more effective, more transparent and more comprehensive implementation of the resolution. The tenth anniversary of 1325 together with the newly adopted resolutions offer an opportunity to not only raise more funds for women, peace and security issues but also to improve implementation strategies and coordinate the different initiatives and

actors active around this topic.

Key recommendations resulting from this paper are addressed to donors and implementing governments as well as international organizations and civil society:

Donors:

- Increase funds as well as their effectiveness and harmonization on the implementation of women, peace and security resolutions;
- Improve the coordination of support and earmark resources for the implementation of women, peace and security issues;
- Include impact indicators and evaluations in the outline of supported projects and programmes.

Implementing governments:

- Assess the local needs and circumstances from a perspective on women, peace and security issues and actors prior to starting the implementation process;
- Include CSOs and international actors to ensure an inclusive and transparent action planning process;
- Include monitoring and evaluation mechanisms as well as realistic budget and time lines in the programming of the implementation;
- Integrate the budget for 1325 implementation into the national budget.

External actors (local NGOs, civil society, international organizations):

- Collect and share data on women, peace and security issues;
- Coordinate with other actors;
- Raise awareness and support accountability and political will;
- Conduct external evaluations of the implementation of women, peace and security initiatives.

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Annex

Draft Questions for Stakeholders on (Costs of) Implementing Resolution 1325

For Government Representatives [example]

1. How have women, peace and security issues been implemented in your country context?
 - a. What activities have been put in place in order to implement resolution 1325? Who is carrying these out (the government, civil society, international organizations)?

2. What resources are needed on order to comprehensively implement resolution 1325 and related international provisions in your country? Where do these resources come from?
 - a. How much is collected through internal funds, how much through external resources?
 - b. How can the private sector get involved in supporting the implementation of resolution 1325? Are there any examples from the past?
 - c. Does your government support/ fund a specific project on women, peace and security issues inside or outside state borders?

3. What are the ideal conditions necessary to develop a NAP on women, peace and security issues?
 - a. What activities, human resources, infrastructure and capacities are needed in order to create these conditions? How much does each of these activities cost in your country?
 - b. Have you been involved in so called 'twinning processes' – a bilateral collaboration strategy between two countries to develop their NAPs in parallel? How can countries benefit from such processes?
 - c. How much support is provided by / given to civil society organizations and United Nations entities?