

POLICY PAPER SEPTEMBER 2012

INTEGRATING GENDER INTO THE NEW DEAL FOR ENGAGEMENT IN FRAGILE STATES

The New Deal offers an important opportunity to advance women, peace and security issues. This policy paper has identified entry points for integrating a gender perspective into the various aspects of the New Deal as well as its implementation in the pilot countries. The case studies from Afghanistan and South Sudan demonstrate that much work has already been done by women's organisations to identify, prioritise and advocate around key issues of concern, and there is great interest among civil society to play a more active role in supporting the implementation of the New Deal. The paper highlights key recommendations and possible actions that could be taken to integrate a gender perspective as the New Deal piloting continues in the coming months.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Prioritise women's voices and strengthen engagement with civil society around implementation of the New Deal
- Link the implementation of the New Deal to existing in-country activities around the implementation of UNSCR 1325, and vice versa
- Apply a gender perspective to all analytical frameworks and approaches used to implement the New Deal
- Integrate gender issues into fragility assessments
- Allocate adequate financing to women's needs and gender-related priorities
- Ensure that any indicators developed to monitor the PSGs reflect a gender perspective and are sex-disaggregated
- Increase communication and collaboration across government ministries to ensure a more coordinated approach to addressing gender issues in FCAS



“Gender equality, and women’s participation, is critical to the realisation of the central aims of the New Deal.”

Dewi Suralaga

Expert Women's Leadership for Peace and Security

COLOPHON

The policy paper Integrating Gender into the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States is produced by Cordaid's programme on Women's Leadership for Peace and Security (WLPS). The programme aims to increase capacities of women's networks and voice of women at the local level in processes of peace and security. Cordaid assists women to improve their practical situation and that of their communities. This results in improved safety, cooperative relationships and a better access to basic services at the local level. Cordaid mobilises and strengthens local women's networks in conflict areas, increases their voice and promotes their agenda in national and global arenas, and influences policies to reflect their concerns and needs. Creative Commons: you are free to use the materials in this publication for research and educational purposes. Please credit Cordaid

Researcher/Writer: Karen Barnes Robinson
Project Leader: Dewi Suralaga
Cover photo: Ton Koene/Hollandse Hoogte
Design: Haagsblauw

O2-2013-WLPS

ABOUT CORDAID

Cordaid is the Catholic Organisation for Relief & Development Aid, with its headquarters in The Hague, the Netherlands. We have been fighting poverty and exclusion in the world's most fragile societies and conflict-stricken areas for almost a century. Cordaid is founding member of Caritas Internationalis and Cidse. Our network consists of 890 partner organizations in 28 countries in Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America. As social entrepreneurs we work together with organizations, enterprises, local, national and international authorities and other parties who want to participate in development and cooperation. Cordaid is one of the largest development organizations in the Netherlands. With almost 400,000 private donors we enjoy broad public support and are deeply rooted in Dutch society.

We strive for a fair and sustainable society in which every individual counts; a society in which people share the Global Common Goods and respect diversity. We support people in vulnerable regions and areas of conflict to build flourishing communities. We do this by enhancing safety, by creating opportunities and bringing out the best in people.

Care. Act. Share. Like Cordaid.

Contact information:

Dewi Suralaga, Policy Advisor
dewi.suralaga@cordaid.nl
P.O. Box 16440
2500 BK The Hague
The Netherlands
Tel.: + 31 (0)70 31363000
www.cordaid.org

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Cordaid initiated and funded this research as part of its commitment to contribute to the advancement of the women, peace and security agenda. The findings reflect Cordaid's policy advocacy objective to highlight synergies between development and women, peace and security policies and practice to ensure the full and effective implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. Drawing on local women's direct experiences and perspectives as a barometer for development, peace and security is of particular importance to Cordaid, and is a cornerstone of this research. This policy paper was researched and written by Karen Barnes Robinson. Dewi Suralaga (Cordaid) managed the project and her support and contributions to the research were invaluable throughout the preparation of this policy paper.

Section 6 of the policy paper is based on two validation workshops held in Afghanistan and South Sudan in August 2012. The workshop in Kabul was organised by the Afghan Women's Network with the support of Cordaid, and was attended by AWN member organisations, female MPs and the CSO focal point for the International Dialogue on Statebuilding and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan. The workshop in Juba was organised by Cordaid South Sudan

and was facilitated by Stephen Pande, and was attended by women's organisations, civil society organisations working on peacebuilding and development issues, representatives from the African Union and the IDPS focal point for South Sudan. We would like to extend our thanks and appreciation to the women and men who participated in the validation workshops, shared their views and experiences, and contributed to the country-specific priority issues and recommendations that are highlighted in this report.

The author and Cordaid would also jointly like to thank the following individuals who have contributed valuable comments and input throughout the drafting of this report: Larry Attree (Saferworld), Afifa Azim (AWN), Melanie Greenberg (Alliance for Peacebuilding), Erin McCandless (Journal of Peacebuilding and Development), Giulia Pasquinelli and Antonia Potter (EPLO), Jennifer Salahub (North-South Institute) and Phil Vernon (International Alert). We would finally like to thank the following colleagues from Cordaid who have been involved in this project and have supported it in various ways: Paul van den Berg, Frederique van Drumpt, Jain Holsheimer, François Lenfant, Bonnie Noorman, Frederica Ordelman, Akinyi Walender and Erica Zwaan.

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	5
ACRONYMS	7
1. INTRODUCTION	8
2. FROM PARIS TO BUSAN: THE BACKGROUND TO THE NEW DEAL	9
3. A GENDER PERSPECTIVE ON THE NEW DEAL	11
3.1 Gender and the PSGs	12
3.2 Gender and FOCUS	12
3.3 Gender and TRUST	14
4. INTEGRATING GENDER INTO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW DEAL	16
4.1 Carrying out fragility assessments and developing the fragility spectrum	16
4.2 Developing indicators for the PSGs	18
5. VOICES FROM CIVIL SOCIETY ON GENDER AND THE NEW DEAL: CASE STUDIES FROM AFGHANISTAN AND SOUTH SUDAN	21
5.1 Afghanistan	21
5.2 South Sudan	24
5.3 Implications of the case study findings for implementation of the New Deal	26
6. RECOMMENDATIONS	28
BIBLIOGRAPHY	30

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The New Deal builds on previous international commitments such as the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2008) and the Accra Agenda for Action (2008), and provides new momentum to efforts to support countries making the transition to peace. However, to date, gender issues have been largely absent despite their status as a ‘cross-cutting’ theme, and more political will, guidance and resources are needed to ensure that they are incorporated into the implementation of this important new global agenda. The emphasis the New Deal places on country leadership, local ownership and multi-stakeholder collaboration make it particularly important that women’s voices are heard, and create the space to drive forward a more inclusive agenda. As the New Deal evolves and is put into practice, it also represents a significant opportunity to advance the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and other commitments on gender equality where only limited progress has been made throughout the past couple of years.

Gender equality, and women’s participation, is therefore critical to the realisation of some of the central aims of the New Deal, and gender analysis is a valuable tool for unpacking some of the key concepts of inclusion, state-society relations and the power dynamics that are present in these contexts and that feature strongly in the New Deal. The three main components of the New Deal are the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs), FOCUS which addresses new ways of engaging, emphasising and supporting transitions that are country-led and country-owned, and TRUST which outlines how resources and aid will be managed more effectively and transparently and how funding will be streamlined to ensure better results. While all of these components reflect issues that women’s organisations have been advocating around over the past decade and that are important in the context of the women, peace and security agenda, they do not currently adequately reflect a gender perspective (see Tables 1, 2 and 3).

The New Deal and the existing work to support implementation of UNSCR 1325 cover very similar ground, and complement each other in both substance and process very closely. Despite the fact that UNSCR 1325 was adopted nearly twelve years ago, progress has been limited. On the other hand, the New Deal which has been in existence for less than a year has already generated fairly significant momentum and political support and therefore offers an important opportunity to advance priorities linked to women, peace and security issues. As the piloting of the New Deal gets underway, it is timely to identify entry points to not only ensure that the piloting is done in an inclusive and participatory manner, but also to ensure that any overlaps with existing processes to implement UNSCR

1325 are identified and capitalised on. Over the coming months there are two aspects of implementation linked to the PSGs that will be moving forward quickly, and where it will be especially important to ensure that gender issues are integrated at the earliest stages. These are fragility assessments led by the G7+ governments in their countries to identify the causes and consequences of fragility, and further development of the fragility spectrum tool, and the identification of selected country-specific indicators for each of the PSGs that will feed into an eventual global menu of indicators for the PSGs

The draft analytical framework that has been developed for the fragility assessment and spectrum highlights a few guiding questions that relate to women’s needs and vulnerabilities, and any final guidance or methodology should ensure to take these into account, including in any workshops and consultation processes. However, it is not clear that gender dynamics are recognised by the fragility assessment framework as one of the drivers of conflict, fragility or resilience. If this were the case, that may lead to a different assessment of fragility and more importantly may offer up new avenues towards resilience. Ensuring that all relevant issues, including those relevant to gender equality, are identified in the assessment report and lessons learned documents during the pilot phase is critical so that there will be a greater likelihood that they will be taken up in national planning processes (see Table 4).

The second entry point for integrating gender into the New Deal is through the development of indicators at the country level which will then feed into a menu of indicators at the global level. It is vitally important that the current processes to define indicators for each of the PSGs both engage women, and also that every effort is made to include gender-specific issues under each goal to ensure that these issues are taken on board as measures of success of peacebuilding and statebuilding. As part of the efforts to implement UNSCR 1325, global indicators on women, peace and security issues have been drafted by the UN and the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, and many countries have also developed country-level indicators for their National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325. These existing indicators cover a range of areas of relevance to the five PSGs, and as such could be directly incorporated into the New Deal framework, which would not only strengthen that process but would also accelerate monitoring of their implementation in relation to UNSCR 1325 (see Table 5).

The paper also presents two case studies from Afghanistan and South Sudan that present the voices and opinions of civil society organisations around gender issues and the New Deal. The two case studies provide useful insight into

what a gender perspective on the New Deal would entail in practice, and they draw attention to some of the key issues that the IDPS and other actors should focus on in the coming months as the New Deal piloting unfolds (see Tables 6 and 7).

The paper highlights key recommendations and possible actions that could be taken to integrate a gender perspective as the New Deal piloting continues in the coming months. In summary:

- Apply a gender perspective to all analytical frameworks and approaches used to implement the New Deal
- Integrate gender issues into fragility assessments (page 16-18)
- Allocate adequate financing to women's needs and gender-related priorities (page 14)
- Ensure that any indicators developed to monitor the PSGs reflect a gender perspective and are sex-disaggregated (page 18-20)
- Prioritise women's voices and strengthen engagement with civil society around implementation of the New Deal (page 26)
- Link the implementation of the New Deal to existing in-country activities around the implementation of UNSCR 1325, and vice versa
- Increase communication and collaboration across government ministries to ensure a more coordinated approach to addressing gender issues in FCAS
- Ensure high-level commitment and political will to address gender issues in all aspects of the New Deal

Finally, it is important to recognise that for the international community, and gender equality in fragile and conflict-affected states in particular, 2015 represents a particularly pivotal and critical moment when the MDGs, the 15th anniversary of UNSCR 1325 and Beijing +20 will all be taking place. The New Deal is an important mechanism for building the evidence, generating the knowledge and bringing practice in line with policy commitments to ensure a gender-sensitive approach to peacebuilding and statebuilding, the empowerment of women in fragile and conflict-affected states and the realisation of these important global commitments.

ACRONYMS

AWN	Afghan Women's Network
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women
FCAS	Fragile and conflict-affected states
FSP	Fragile States Principles
IDPS	International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding
GNWP	Global Network of Women Peacebuilders
HLF	High Level Forum
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOWA	Ministry of Women's Affairs (Afghanistan)
NAP	National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325
NAPWA	National Action Plan for Women of Afghanistan
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OECD-INCAF	OECD International Network on Conflict and Fragility
PSGs	Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals
UNSCR 1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security
VAW	Violence against women

1. INTRODUCTION

With the adoption of the New Deal for International Engagement in Fragile States at the Fourth High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan last year, the international community has agreed on the need for new goals, approaches and partnerships to meet the development challenges facing fragile and conflict-affected states (FCAS). The New Deal is the culmination of several years of dialogue and consultation, and hopes are high that it will bring about a shift in the way that aid is delivered and managed, supporting a process of inclusive peacebuilding and statebuilding that will eventually lead to sustainable development in these countries. However, despite the growing body of evidence and policy commitments around the need to integrate gender equality into these processes, the New Deal falls short in offering guidance or new ideas in this area, representing a major gap.

With the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in October 2000, the international community recognised that women have the right to be involved and engaged in peace and security processes, as well as acknowledging the diverse roles and contributions that they can make. Along with other important commitments such as CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action and the Millennium Development Goals, there is now an established international normative framework on gender equality. Over the past decade, increased efforts have been made by international organisations, governments and civil society to support women's voices, build their capacity and address the

many obstacles they face in countries at risk of or emerging from conflict. However, these issues are often not taken into account and significant inequalities remain, with UNSCR 1325 remaining weak and largely unimplemented. This policy paper is intended to address the lack of guidance in this area and will provide insights into how, as the New Deal evolves and is put into practice, it could also be a mechanism through which to advance the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and other commitments on gender equality.

This policy paper is aimed primarily at policy-makers involved in the development of the New Deal from both g7+ and partner governments, as well as practitioners involved in the country-level implementation. It is also relevant for civil society organisations who wish to engage with and support implementation of the New Deal in donor and fragile and conflict-affected countries. Finally, it will be provide advocates of the women, peace and security agenda with new tools and entry points to implement UNSCR 1325 as well as inform them on how to link their efforts with the work of the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (IDPS).

The paper will provide a short background to the development of the New Deal, before providing a gender analysis of the three main components, and highlighting linkages with the SCR 1325 agenda. The paper also includes two case studies of implementation of the New Deal in Afghanistan and South Sudan from civil society.

2. FROM PARIS TO BUSAN: THE BACKGROUND TO THE NEW DEAL

Over the past decade, the international community has begun to recognise the need to address the specific development challenges affecting fragile and conflict-affected states (FCAS). An estimated 1.5 billion people live in countries where violence, instability and weak governance threaten their security and livelihoods. These countries also receive 30% of the global overseas development aid budget, but according to the World Development Report 2011 on *Conflict, Security and Development*, no fragile or conflict-affected countries will achieve a single Millennium Development Goal (MDG).¹ The New Deal gives substance to the discussions that have taken place as part of the IDPS since 2008, and was the culmination of several years of negotiation, dialogue and consensus-building. Whilst this policy brief focuses on the New Deal, it should be seen as part of a broader process or reorienting international approaches to development aid that includes the Paris Declaration and the work of the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, and even has its roots as far back as the Millennium Declaration of 2000.

In 2005, the international community held the 2nd High Level Forum (HLF) on Aid Effectiveness where the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness was adopted. The Paris Declaration was negotiated between donor and recipient governments, and it identified some core principles to guide the delivery and management of development aid. The need to adapt these approaches to accommodate the different context facing fragile states was recognised, but was not a main element of the Declaration.² By 2007, it was becoming increasingly evident that FCAS were lagging in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and that the principles outlined in the Paris Declaration were in fact difficult to apply in these contexts. To address the need for new guidelines on delivering aid in FCAS that accommodated the often limited capacity and legitimacy of these governments, the Principles for Good Engagement in Fragile States and Situations of Conflict, or Fragile States Principles (FSPs), were endorsed by the OECD countries in 2007. The FSPs recognise the specific challenges that FCAS face and the need for context-specificity, and are focused on minimising any unintentional harm or exclusion and ensuring flexible responses that can permit the longer-term engagement that can be necessary in these countries.

These issues gained further attention during the 3rd HLF on Aid Effectiveness, held in Accra in 2008 with the adoption of the Accra Agenda for Action.³ This agenda builds on the Paris Declaration and in particular sets out additional actions that will be taken in fragile states, including joint assessments of governance and capacity, support for capacity development of core state functions, the development of flexible aid modalities, and the monitoring of implementation of the FSPs. However, despite the references to fragile states in the outcome documents of the HLFs and the separately endorsed FSPs, the process up to this point was criticised for being mainly driven by the donor countries, leaving little space for the governments of fragile and conflict-affected countries to influence what these documents looked like or how they would inform development aid. This critique led to the launching of the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (IDPS) in Paris in December 2008.

The IDPS brings together governments from donor countries as well as fragile states, providing an equal platform for dialogue, coordination and partnership. The first IDPS meeting was held in Dili in April 2010 following a series of multi-stakeholder consultations, and resulted in the Dili Declaration, which outlined a shared vision for preventing conflict and some of the challenges that FCAS face. A further key outcome of this meeting was the establishment of the g7+ as a formal forum for dialogue and the development of shared approaches.⁴ The g7+, a network for fragile and conflict-affected states, has three key aims which are to present a united global voice for fragile states, forge better partnerships and ownership in development cooperation, and provide policy advice.⁵ Along with the members of the OECD-DAC's International Network on Conflict and Fragility (OECD-INCAF), these governments constitute the main members of the IDPS, although other actors such as civil society and the non-traditional donors are also engaged in various ways in the work of the IDPS.

The second meeting of the IDPS took place in Monrovia, Liberia, in June 2011. This meeting resulted in the "Monrovia Roadmap", which laid the groundwork for the commitments that the IDPS sought to have endorsed in Busan, most notably the five Monrovia objectives intended

¹ World Bank (2011) *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security and Development*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

² Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, 2nd High Level Forum, Paris, February 28-March 2, 2005. <http://www.oecd.org/development/evaluationofdevelopmentprogrammes/dcdndep/38245246.pdf>

³ Accra Agenda for Action, 3rd High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, Accra, 2-4 September, 2008. <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/ACCRAEXT/Resources/4700790-1217425866038/AAA-4-SEPTEMBER-FINAL-16h00.pdf>

⁴ More information on the g7+ can be found on its website at www.g7plus.org.

⁵ See Wim Naudé, 2012. *What is the (New) Deal with Fragile States?* Policy Brief No. 1. Helsinki: UNU Wider.

to lay the foundations for meeting the MDGs at the country level and for guiding international action.⁶ Along with the Dili Declaration, this fed directly into the theme of conflict and fragility that was a central part of the discussions at the 4th HLF on Aid Effectiveness in Busan in December 2011, resulting in the adoption of the New Deal.

The New Deal aims to help fragile states move towards sustainable peace and development, and represents the culmination of a multi-year process of reformulating the approach to development assistance in fragile and conflict-affected states. The New Deal is ambitious in its aims and goals, and combines three main elements, which are intended to focus on the “what, who and how” of a new approach to international engagement in fragile states.⁷ These are the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs), FOCUS and TRUST. Over forty countries and organisations have now signed up to the New Deal, predominantly members of the g7+ and OECD-INCAF, but civil society organisations also engage with the process through a network coordinated by Cordaid.⁸

Even in the relatively short timeframe of a few years, the IDPS and the culmination of its dialogue to date represented in the substance of the New Deal, have achieved a number of important successes.⁹ Violence and conflict are now part of the mainstream discourse among development partners, and this has gained momentum with the interest in the post-MDG debate.¹⁰ The establishment of the g7+ has been an important step towards facilitating and providing a platform for those countries to develop a shared voice and consensus on the key challenges facing them. Importantly, it has injected politics back into a discussion that has, to date, been largely technocratic. This is particularly true with reference to the prominence that legitimate politics and state-society relations are given throughout the New Deal. The challenge will now be to turn these commitments into concrete action, particularly during the pilot period from 2012-2015.¹¹ Exactly what implementation of the New Deal means is still not entirely clear, but the

current piloting of different processes in some countries presents an important opportunity to test the assumptions and frameworks that are being developed.

However, one of the key oversights of the New Deal process to date has been the failure to fully incorporate a gender perspective in the PSGs, FOCUS and TRUST or to ensure that women's needs, priorities and participation are emphasised. The exclusion of gender issues does not necessarily come as a surprise, since they do not feature strongly in the Paris Declaration (only one passing reference of gender as a cross-cutting issue) or the FSPs (one mention in the context of non-discrimination). Furthermore, according to a recent overview of findings from the gender equality module of the 2011 Monitoring Survey of the Paris Declaration, donors and recipient countries are failing to allocate sufficient resources to enable implementation of their policies and commitments on gender equality. If the New Deal really is to represent a change in the way the development, peacebuilding and statebuilding play out then one of the most significant strategies could be to place gender issues at the front and centre of the process, rather than as an add-on at a later stage. This really would represent a new way of doing things, and would have the potential of offering a New Deal not just for women, but for society as a whole. The remainder of the policy briefing will explore why this matters and what this would entail.

⁶ The Monrovia Roadmap on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, Monrovia, July 2011. <http://www.oecd.org/site/dacpbsbdialogue/documentupload/48345560.pdf>. The Monrovia Objectives cover legitimate politics, security, justice, economic foundations, and revenues and services, and are the pre-cursors to the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals that will be discussed later in the paper.

⁷ Rachel Locke, 2012. *Busan and Beyond: Implementing the “New Deal” for Fragile States*, Issue Brief. New York: International Peace Institute, pp.3-4.

⁸ For an up to date list of signatories to the New Deal, see: <http://www.newdeal4peace.org/map/>

⁹ These successes have been adapted from Interpeace, 2012. *The International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding. In Brief*.

¹⁰ See, for example Saferworld, 2012. *Approaching post-2015 from a peace perspective*. London Saferworld. <http://www.saferworld.org.uk/downloads/pubdocs/1208%20Saferworld%20brief%20-%20Approaching%20Post-2015%20From%20A%20Peace%20Perspective.pdf>; International Alert, 2010. *Working with the grain to change the grain: Moving beyond the Millennium Development Goals*. London: International Alert. <http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/publications/MDG.pdf>

¹¹ At Busan, a number of g7+ governments committed to pilot the New Deal, and as of February 2012, 7 countries have agreed to do so by 2015: www.newdeal4peace.org.

3. A GENDER PERSPECTIVE ON THE NEW DEAL

A brief review of the key documents and outputs of the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding mentioned above reveals that gender issues do not feature strongly, despite some token mentions in the Dili Declaration, Monrovia Roadmap and the New Deal itself (see Box 1). This is all the more surprising since women's rights are placed quite centrally in the Accra Agenda for Action, where it is proposed that “at country level, donors and development countries will work and agree on a set of realistic peace- and state-building objectives that address the root causes of conflict and fragility and help ensure the protection and participation of women.”¹²

Although the three main documents issued by the IDPS also contain some language relating to gender equality and women's rights the IDPS has failed to engage with these issues in a systematic way as suggested in the Accra Agenda, or to offer any concrete recommendations on how women's protection and participation can be addressed. Similarly, although civil society has been engaging with the IDPS and has inputted several position papers and recommendations to the process, a focus on women's rights and a gender perspective is not reflected in their published reports and briefings.¹³ In cases where gender issues have been raised in civil society meetings, it has been to point out that not enough is being done, or that there is a lack of women's organisations with the network rather than to advance any solutions or concrete recommendations. While these oversights are not necessarily surprising given the limited integration of gender issues into discussions on aid effectiveness in general,¹⁴ it is a missed opportunity for making the New Deal a truly new way of engaging in fragile states.

A key linchpin of the success of the New Deal will therefore be how effectively the commitments around inclusion, participation and equality are integrated into its three main components. The emphasis the New Deal places on country leadership, local ownership and multi-stakeholder collaboration also make it particularly important that women's voices are heard, and space is created to drive forward a more inclusive agenda. Gender equality, and women's participation, is therefore critical to the realisation of some of the central aims of the New Deal, and

gender analysis is a valuable tool for unpacking some of the key concepts of inclusion, state-society relations and the power dynamics that are present in these contexts and that feature strongly in the New Deal. If the New Deal is to live up to the expectations that it represents a new way of delivering aid and supporting development in FCAS, then it will need to address the problems and challenges of previous strategies.

Box 1 Excerpts of gender-related language in key IDPS documents

DILI DECLARATION: A NEW VISION FOR PEACEBUILDING AND STATEBUILDING:

- “Our collective vision is to end and prevent conflict and to contribute to the development of capable, accountable states that respond to the expectations and needs of their population, in particular the needs of vulnerable and excluded groups, women, youth and children”
- “[There is] insufficient attention to the protection of women and children from armed conflict and to the participation of women in peacebuilding and statebuilding.”
- “Particular attention will be given to the issue of gender equality and the role of women, and the potential of youth in all of the areas above [capacity development, aid instruments, planning processes and political dialogue].”

MONROVIA ROADMAP:

- “Particular attention needs to be paid to [the security of] vulnerable groups, especially women and children”
- “Attention to women and youth and their participation in peacebuilding and statebuilding is essential to enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of interventions”

NEW DEAL ON INTERNATIONAL ENGAGEMENT IN FRAGILE STATES:

- “Constructive state-society relations, and the empowerment of women, youth and marginalised groups, as key actors for peace, are at the heart of successful peacebuilding and statebuilding.”
- “We will ensure that specific support is targeted to promote youth and women's participation in political dialogue and leadership initiatives”

¹² Accra Agenda for Action, 2008: p 5.

¹³ For links to the full range of briefing papers that have been prepared by Interpeace on behalf of the CSO Platform engaging with the IDPS, see <http://www.interpeace.org/policy/international-dialogue>.

¹⁴ Letty Chiwara and Maria Karadenizli, 2008. *Mapping Aid Effectiveness and Gender Equality: Global Findings and Key Messages*. New York: UNIFEM.

The fact that gender issues have been excluded from statebuilding and peacebuilding has been well documented¹⁵, and there is a growing body of practical tools and evidence around integrating gender issues into different aspects of peacebuilding and statebuilding. It is important that all of these lessons should be taken on board by the implementers of the New Deal. The following sections provide some insight and guidance on how a gender perspective can be integrated into each of the three components of the New Deal, and gives examples of where existing activities could be drawn on to bolster these efforts.

3.1 GENDER AND THE PSGS

The first, and most important, component outlined in the New Deal is the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs). The PSGs were first alluded to in the Dili Declaration, then further developed in the Monrovia Roadmap and reached their final iteration in the New Deal. The PSGs are intended to enable progress towards achieving the MDGs, and provide a framework for prioritisation of key issues in FCAS. The five PSGs outlined in the New Deal are as follows:

- **LEGITIMATE POLITICS:** foster inclusive political settlements and conflict resolution
- **SECURITY:** establish and strengthen people's security
- **JUSTICE:** address injustices and increase people's access to justice
- **ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS:** generate employment and improve livelihoods
- **REVENUES AND SERVICES:** manage revenue and build capacity for accountable and fair service delivery

Just as conflict affects men and women differently, peacebuilding and statebuilding processes also have a gendered impact. The issues outlined in the PSGs are similar to those that women's organisations have been advocating around over the past decade and they are also important in the context of the women, peace and security agenda, yet the current PSGs do not adequately reflect a gender perspective. It is important to note that there are gender-specific issues that should be dealt with under each of the PSGs, but all of the issues that are addressed by the goals also have different implications and opportunities for men and women and these need to be acknowledged in the articulation of the PSGs. Table 1 (page 13) provides guidance on what the PSGs would look like from a gender perspective.

3.2 GENDER AND FOCUS

Complementing the PSGs, the next component of the New Deal focuses on the "who" of peacebuilding and

statebuilding. The emphasis of "FOCUS" is on developing new ways of engaging, emphasising and supporting transitions that are country-led and country-owned rather than imposed by donor countries' own development agendas. One of the first and most important elements of FOCUS is the fragility assessment, a tool that the g7+ and OECD-INCAF have been jointly developing that will assist governments in identifying the causes of conflict and fragility and sources of resilience. These assessments are intended to lead into the development of one country vision and plan that will be implemented through a compact that will enhance harmonisation and help to align donor resources to the country priorities. Another key part of FOCUS is supporting inclusive political dialogue processes, where all members of society, including government and civil society, are able to have a voice and play a role in leading national peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts.

The exclusion of women from formal spaces means that even where processes are "country-led and country-owned" it is mainly elite men who are leading and owning the processes, and a narrow group of actors are able to influence the agenda. Transforming these spaces to make them more inclusive is a long-term and challenging process directly linked to the full implementation of UNSCR 1325, but as an interim step as part of the implementation of the New Deal there are separate initiatives that could be drawn on. For example, for the past two years UN Women, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, the Department for Political Affairs and the UN Development Program have supported the "1325 Open Days" that annually bring women together with senior decision-makers from peacekeeping operations and peacebuilding support missions around the world to share priorities and emphasise the roles that women can play in peace processes, security sector reform, legal reform and other aspects of peacebuilding and statebuilding.¹⁶ While the Open Days are valuable for identifying and raising awareness about women's needs and demands, they have not been integrated into broader national planning or necessarily taken on board by the governments in those countries. There has also been little to no feedback or follow-up with participants about how the issues they raised are being addressed by the UN and other actors, and the failure to support sustained engagement, as opposed to one-off events, affects the impact that these events could have.

Another potential resource for identifying national priorities in the context of the New Deal is the development of National Action Plans (NAPs) on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in several of the pilot countries. As part of the NAP process, many countries have also held wide consultations and carried out scoping exercises to identify key

¹⁵ See for example: Castillejo, C. (2011) *Building a state that works for women: Integrating gender into post-conflict state-building*. Working Paper no. 107, Madrid: FRIDE; Cordaid (2010) *Gender-responsive Peace and State-building: Changing the Culture of Power in Fragile States*. Policy Brief, Cordaid; O'Connell, H. (2011) "What are the opportunities to promote gender equity and equality in conflict-affected and fragile states? Insights from a review of evidence", *Gender & Development*, 19 (3): 455-466.

¹⁶ See UN Women and UNDP, 2011. *Women Count for Peace: the 2011 Open Days on Women, Peace and Security*. New York: UN. <http://www.unwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/UN-Women-Open-Days-2011-Report.pdf> and UNIFEM, DPKO, DPA and UNDP 2010. *Women Count for Peace: the 2010 Open Days on Women, Peace and Security*. New York: UN. http://www.unifem.org/attachments/products/WomenCount4Peace_OpenDays_Report_en.pdf

Table 1 A gender perspective on the PSGs *

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

* This table builds on the issues highlighted under each of the five Monrovia Objectives for Peacebuilding and Statebuilding in Annex A of the Monrovia Roadmap on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding.

priorities in relation to political participation, jobs, security and justice and service provision. For example, in South Sudan, a National Gender Assessment was carried out by the Uganda Women's Network on behalf of the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Welfare in late 2011, and the Joint Donor Team also recently supported a scoping study on the implementation of UNSCR 1325. These studies are both valuable sources of information and baseline data that could be used to support and inform the fragility assessment that has been carried out in South Sudan, as well as identify priority areas and indicators for inclusion in the fragility spectrum. Similar processes have also been undertaken in other countries and a priority in the coming months will be to ensure that these efforts are fully linked up with broader discussions around statebuilding and implementation of the New Deal.

Indeed, given that the New Deal emphasises the importance of having one vision and one plan, building on the plans and strategies that already exist will be important and the various national, regional and international efforts to develop Action Plans and policies on implementing UNSCR 1325 could be a valuable resource in this regard. Much work has already been done within the area of women, peace and security to create strategic plans, foster networks and partnerships of key stakeholders, monitoring mechanisms and identified areas for data collection that could readily be incorporated into the activities that constitute the FOCUS pillar of the New Deal. These are important resources that can be built on, and governments and donors do not need to start the process of dialogue or developing key national priorities from scratch. Table 2 below suggests some entry points for integrating gender into the different parts of FOCUS.

Table 2 A gender perspective on FOCUS

ELEMENTS OF FOCUS	WHAT IT MEANS FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE
Fragility assessment	■ Ensure that all assessments are informed by gender analysis and done in consultation with civil society, including women's organisations
One vision, one plan	■ Support the collection of sex-disaggregated statistical and survey data
Compact	■ Ensure that gender-related priorities inform any national plan and vision
Use PSGs to monitor	■ Foster legitimate and inclusive spaces for peaceful dialogue, as well as separate opportunities for women to share ideas and discuss priorities for feeding into these spaces, at the local and national levels
Support political dialogue	■ Build capacity for conflict management among women's organisations
	■ Build and strengthen inclusive, transparent and legitimate institutions for governance
	■ Ensure that civil society, including women's groups, are able to engage in and monitor formal and informal political dialogue methods

3.3 GENDER AND TRUST

The final element of the New Deal is summarised under "TRUST". This element outlines how resources and aid will be managed more effectively and transparently, and how funding will be streamlined to ensure better results, and is linked more clearly to the aid effectiveness agenda. Trust between the government and its people and trust between the government and the international community are both critical elements of the New Deal and will be important for its success. Supporting peacebuilding and statebuilding can be high risk for the international community, and the New Deal recognises that specific management systems and a reduction in aid volatility are essential to mitigate these risks. At the same time, building the capacities of government and civil society is also critical to strengthening the transparency, accountability and responsiveness of state structures. Of all the components of the New Deal, there is the least clarity about what TRUST will look like in practice, given that the priority is currently on developing the indicators for the PSGs and the framework for fragility assessments.

Transition compacts are being proposed as new mechanisms for financing post-conflict recovery, and are linked to the New Deal.¹⁷ These compacts are intended to enhance the identification of realistic priorities, mutual accountability and more effective management of pooled funding. In order for gender equality and women's rights to receive funding through any compact, it will first be necessary that relevant issues are identified and prioritised in the fragility assessments and national strategy process, as argued under the section on FOCUS above.

The lack of funding available for women's organizations and community-level or grassroots organizations working for women's empowerment and gender equality is consistently raised as a challenge.¹⁸ UN Women has carried out detailed research that confirms that most types of

planning and results frameworks fail to include indicators and activities that include women or gender issues, and where they are included they are not matched with adequate budget allocations.¹⁹ Issues such as fiduciary risk, limited infrastructure or weak governance structures may create an even more difficult operating environment for women's organizations than that which exists in peaceful contexts. The lack of sustained and reliable funding, particularly core support for overhead and staffing costs, is consistently cited by women's organisations as an obstacle to their ability to engage effectively in peacebuilding and statebuilding. Some governments and organisations have responded by creating innovative funding mechanisms such as the Dutch MDG 3 Fund, and the UN Secretary-General called for at least 15% of UN-managed funds to support peacebuilding to be allocated to programmes that have women's empowerment or gender equality as their central objective.²⁰ These efforts have yet to have any sustained impact, but integrating gender equality and women's rights issues into the transition compacts could help to avoid the poor resourcing of women, peace and security issues, by ensuring that appropriate costing and financing of these issues is included at the earliest stages of post-conflict recovery.

Recent research carried out by the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP) and Cordaid is groundbreaking in its focus on the resource gaps and needs that lie behind the lack of implementation of UNSCR 1325, and proposes a number of possible solutions to this resource gap.²¹ Along with the Ministry of National Solidarity, Human Rights and Gender of Burundi, Burundian civil society organizations, international NGOs, donor agencies and private sector, GNWP and Cordaid have led the piloting of an innovative multi-stakeholder financing mechanism in Burundi to support the implementation of its NAP on

¹⁷ See, for example, OECD (2011) *Supporting coherent and sustainable transition from conflict to peace*, Draft Guidance. DCD/DAC(2011)41, 4 November. Paris: OECD.

¹⁸ Clark, Cindy and Ellen Sprenger (2006) *Where is the money for women's rights?* AWID.

¹⁹ Hanny Cueva-Beteta, et al., 2010. *What Women Want: Planning and Financing for Gender-Responsive Peacebuilding*. New York: UN, p. 14.

²⁰ United Nations, 2010. "Report of the Secretary-General on Women's Participation in Peacebuilding," A/65/354-S/2010/466, October 2010.

²¹ Mavic Cabrera-Balleza and Nicola Popovic, 2011. *Costing and financing 1325: examining the resources needed to implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325 at the national level as well as the gains, gaps and glitches on financing the women, peace and security agenda*. Cabrera-Balleza M. and D. Suralaga, eds. New York/The Hague: GNWP/Cordaid.

UNSCR 1325. The UN Peacebuilding Fund has also adopted a gender marker with a target of 10% of all funding to support implementation of UNSCR 1325 set for October 2012.²² While these processes are both so new it is too early to assess their impact, they do highlight the need to ensure that any aid and other resources are allocated in a gender-sensitive manner.

It is also important to note that much of the burden of gender-related planning, analysis and programming falls on under-resourced and marginalised national women's machineries in FCAS. The implementation of the New Deal, on the other hand, seems to be led mostly by Ministries of

Finance in those countries, which tend to have more power and financial resources at their disposal. It is important that both ministries are engaged in the dialogue around aid allocations, management and delivery and that any capacity gaps are addressed. In particular, adequate financial and human resources and technical support should be allocated to national women's machineries and governments should commit to ensuring that the Minister for Gender or Women's Affairs is represented at discussions relating to the implementation of the New Deal. Table 3 below highlights some entry points for integrating gender into the different parts of TRUST.

Table 3 A gender perspective on TRUST

ELEMENTS OF TRUST	WHAT IT MEANS FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE
Transparency	■ Aid is allocated transparently and aligned with country priorities, using a gender budgeting approach
Risk-sharing	■ Risks associated with aid delivery in fragile states are managed, and joint oversight of funds ensures aid addresses women's needs
Use and strengthen country systems	■ Country-level mechanisms are supported, including partnerships with women's organisations, to strengthen mutual accountability and alignment of resources
Strengthen capacity	■ The capacity of all national actors, including women's organisations and national women's machineries, is strengthened
Timely and predictable aid	■ Adequate resources are allocated to women-focused and gender-related activities and indicators in national planning frameworks
	■ Capacity for gender budgeting is strengthened

²² Cabrera-Balleza and Popovic, 2011: p. 48.

4. INTEGRATING GENDER INTO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW DEAL

The New Deal and the existing work to support implementation of UNSCR 1325 cover very similar ground, and complement each other in both substance and process very closely. Despite the fact that UNSCR 1325 was adopted nearly twelve years ago, progress has been limited and although an active and vibrant women's movement has pursued the implementation of the resolution²³ and there has been a proliferation of international commitments and plans, too little has changed for women on the ground.²⁴ On the other hand, the New Deal which has been in existence for less than a year has already generated fairly significant momentum and political support. Given the similarities between the two agendas, the New Deal offers an important opportunity to advance priorities linked to women, peace and security issues. Also, by paying adequate attention to gender issues the New Deal itself would be strengthened, and a merging of these two processes therefore represents a win-win situation.

Now that the piloting of the New Deal is getting underway, it is timely to identify entry points to not only ensure that the piloting is done in an inclusive and participatory manner, but also to ensure that any overlaps with existing processes to implement UNSCR 1325 are identified and capitalised on. Over the coming months there are two aspects of implementation linked to the PSGs that will be moving forward quickly, and where it will be especially important to ensure that gender issues are integrated at the earliest stages. These are:

- **Fragility assessments** led by the g7+ governments in their countries to identify the causes and consequences of fragility, and further development of the fragility spectrum tool
- Identification of selected **country-specific indicators** for each of the PSGs that will feed into an eventual global menu of indicators for the PSGs

4.1 CARRYING OUT FRAGILITY ASSESSMENTS AND DEVELOPING THE FRAGILITY SPECTRUM

Fragility assessments are intended as a tool that can be used by governments to foster a constructive dialogue across different ministries and civil society, and with some input from donor representatives. The assessments are

intended to inform subsequent strategic planning processes and the identification of national priorities. According to the guidance developed by the New Deal implementation working group of the IDPS, countries that are piloting the New Deal should produce a fragility assessment, complete the fragility spectrum and draft a lessons learned document to inform future roll-out of the assessments.

The draft analytical framework for the fragility assessment and spectrum highlights a few guiding questions that relate to women's needs and vulnerabilities, and any final guidance or methodology should ensure to take these into account, including in any workshops and consultation processes.²⁵ However, it is not clear that gender dynamics are recognised by the fragility assessment framework as one of the drivers of conflict, fragility or resilience. If this were the case, that may lead to a different assessment of fragility and more importantly may offer up new avenues towards resilience. Ensuring that all relevant issues, including those relevant to gender equality, are identified in the assessment report and lessons learned documents during the pilot phase is critical so that there will be a greater likelihood that they will be taken up in national planning processes. Table 4 (page 17) suggests some areas that the fragility assessments could address, and more specific examples can be found in the case study section on Afghanistan and South Sudan.

The development of the fragility spectrum is also linked to the PSGs, and requires governments in consultation with national stakeholders to score their countries on a scale of 1 to 5 according to the different sub-dimensions of the PSGs. The spectrum is not intended to be a blueprint with fixed criteria that can be applied across all contexts, but rather is a tool that can be used by countries to track their progress towards more sustainable peacebuilding and development. Steps towards gender equality could be used as important milestones for measuring progress in each of the PSGs, for example the drafting and then actual implementation of laws relating to women's land or inheritance rights or the increased capacity of the security services to respond to sexual violence could be important indications that a government is moving away from the fragile end of the spectrum towards greater resilience. Indeed, according to recent research, an important predictor of state instability is how it's women are treated, and in particular the level of violence against women in those societies which supports the need for these factors to be included in any measure of

²³ For example, see the work of organisations such as PeaceWomen (www.peacewomen.org), the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (www.gnwp.org) and WO=MEN, the Dutch Gender Platform (<http://www.women.nl/>).

²⁴ For example, 37 countries have adopted National Action Plans to guide their implementation of UNSCR 1325 and several UN agencies, NATO, the EU and other organisations have also developed policies and guidelines on a wide array of issues relating to women, peace and security.

²⁵ See *Piloting the Fragility Spectrum and identifying country-specific peacebuilding and statebuilding indicators*, Interim Guidance Note, July 2012.

Table 4 Suggestions of gender-related issues to explore in a fragility assessment

PSGS	EXAMPLES OF ISSUES TO EXPLORE IN FRAGILITY ASSESSMENTS
Legitimate politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ How are women represented in different decision-making structures, including in informal and customary institutions? ■ What mechanisms exist to support women's political participation in governance structures at local, sub-national and national levels? ■ How are gender issues addressed in peace agreements or constitutions? ■ How inclusive is the political dialogue process? ■ Are there any gender dimensions to the drivers of conflict and violence? ■ What kinds of grassroots peacebuilding and reconciliation activities are being carried out by women's organisations?
Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ What are the gender-specific security concerns and priorities of women, men, girls and boys? ■ How does the security sector respond to violence against women? ■ Does the security have any codes of conduct and operate with respect for women's rights and human rights? ■ What are women and men's perceptions about security and how do they differ? ■ Are women represented in meaningful ways in the security services?
Justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ What is the nature and type of gender laws and to what extent are they implemented? ■ How are women represented on human rights bodies, TRCs, etc, and how do these bodies address gender issues? ■ What are the gender-related barriers to access to justice? ■ What is the role of customary law in adjudicating over domestic and family-related matters, including in relation to marriage and inheritance?
Economic foundations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ How much access to land and credit do women have? ■ What is the balance of employment in the formal and informal sectors for men and women? ■ What are the gender-based barriers to infrastructure? ■ What role do women play in cross-border trade? ■ How does youth unemployment affect girls and boys?
Revenues and services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ What are the gender-related barriers to access to services? ■ How do women and men's priorities in relation to service delivery differ? ■ How do women and men's tax contributions differ? ■ How does corruption affect women and men? ■ Are women meaningfully represented in the public service and do they have any specific capacity-building needs?

fragility that is developed as part of the New Deal.²⁶

Although the draft report of the South Sudan fragility assessment makes a few passing references to gender inequalities, for example in the context of specific insecurities facing women or in the need to enforce laws to protect women's human rights, they are notably absent from much of the discussion around inclusive politics or the economic foundations for South Sudan.²⁷ This may be a reflection of the actors who were engaged in the assessment, but indicates the need to ensure that women's voices are heard and that a real effort is made to unpack and understand how gender inequalities can drive conflict at the level of the household and community, and that this can feed into exclusionary patterns or resource and power allocation at the formal and national levels.

Broad consultation and dialogue is critical to the success

²⁶ Valerie M. Hudson, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Mary Caprioli, and Chad F. Emmett, 2012. *Sex and World Peace*. New York: Columbia University Press.

²⁷ See Republic of South Sudan, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2012. *New Deal Fragility Assessment*, draft 0, August 2012. For more on how some of these weaknesses could be addressed, see section 6.2 of the paper.

of the fragility assessments, The Global Network of Women Peacebuilders have supported workshops and training sessions in Nepal, Sierra Leone, the Philippines and other countries to raise awareness around priorities and commitments in relation to women, peace and security and build the capacity of civil society organisations to monitor and hold their governments to account for implementation of UNSCR 1325. Processes such as these should be capitalised on and integrated into any plans for implementation of the New Deal, and these organisations could be valuable participants in national dialogue processes.

In order to use the fragility assessment process as an entry point for integrating a gender perspective into the New Deal, the following are some recommended steps that can be taken:

- Ensure that female political leaders, women's organisations and networks are invited to, attend and actively participate in any fragility assessment workshops
- Raise awareness about the New Deal among civil society organisations, including through the use of media that are accessible to women

- Identify and draw on the outcomes of any mappings or consultations that have already been carried out with women's groups on their priorities in relation to peacebuilding, statebuilding and gender equality, and ensure sustained engagement and follow-up with participating women
- Ensure that any guidance documents include specific questions in relation to women's rights and gender equality and that facilitators have the necessary skills to elicit discussion on these issues during the workshops
- Include gender inequalities and discrimination against women as criteria of fragility across the sub-dimensions of the fragility spectrum

4.2 DEVELOPING INDICATORS FOR THE PSGS

The PSGs themselves are important goals or objectives, but in order for them to be useful benchmarks against which FCAS can measure progress, the g7+ has been working with the other members of the IDPS to develop a set of indicators. The intention is to develop indicators at the country level which will then feed into a menu of indicators at the global level, and which can also be used by other countries as they carry out their fragility assessments and fragility spectrums in the future. If women's rights and gender equality are not perceived to be important measures of success of the PSGs and integrated into the indicators as they are being developed, then it is unlikely that they will be taken into account in the coming years or reflected in any national development plans and strategies. The overview of the gender equality module of the 2011 Monitoring Survey of the Paris Declaration recommends that, "any monitoring framework on aid and development effectiveness after Busan should fully integrate gender equality dimensions in the key monitoring indicators".²⁸ It is important that the key actors in the implementation of the New Deal heed this recommendation as the indicators are being finalised in the working group meetings over the coming months.

It is therefore vitally important that the current processes to define indicators for each of the PSGs both engage women, and also that every effort is made to include gender-specific issues under each goal. It is promising that one of the parameters for indicator selection is that they should, where possible, be disaggregated by gender.²⁹ In many cases the capacity to do this will be limited since few countries have effective systems established to collect sex-disaggregated data, and so close monitoring of this will be essential. Where the information needed to measure against the indicators does not exist at the national level, it should be called for in any guidelines or templates as this will help to build up the case for investing greater resources in the collection and analysis of sex-disaggregated data.

²⁸ OECD, 2011. *Findings from the Gender Equality Module of the 2011 Paris Declaration Monitoring Survey: Overview*. Paris: OECD, p1. <http://www.oecd.org/dac/genderequalityanddevelopment/49035956.pdf>

²⁹ *Draft Parameters for Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Indicators*, Final draft, July 2012.

It will clearly be challenging to develop a set of indicators that can capture the complexities of measuring progress against the PSGs, which are relevant across a range of different countries and contexts as well as the added dimension of gender equality. However, this is a challenge that has already been encountered in terms of the implementation of UNSCR 1325, and there are several proposals for indicators in relation to women, peace and security issues that could be drawn on.

In 2009, UNSCR 1889 called on the UN Secretary-General to deliver a set of indicators for use at the global level to track implementation of UNSCR 1325.³⁰ The development of these indicators was led by the Technical Working Group on Global Indicators for UNSCR 1325, and a final set of 26 indicators was presented in draft form in April 2010.³¹ The Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP) has also developed a set of indicators based on extensive consultations with partner organisations across a range of FCAS, which they are using to monitor implementation of UNSCR 1325 at the national level. Both these sets of indicators overlap with different elements of the PSGs, and offer many useful suggestions that could be adopted and included in the process to identify country-specific and global level indicators. The European Union has also established a set of indicators to monitor implementation of its Comprehensive Approach to UNSCR 1325, and many of these are relevant to donor countries in particular.³² Given the challenges in generating the political will and resources needed for monitoring UNSCR 1325, folding these indicators into the New Deal process could be an effective way to ensure that collection of data against these indicators begins. Table 5 (page 19) provides an overview of the relevant indicators according to each PSG.

It is important to recognise that developing indicators for the PSGs is not purely a technical exercise, but is a political one as well.³³ This can make it even more difficult to ensure that gender issues are reflected in the final set of indicators, since in situations where political trade-offs have to be made we have seen that gender issues often fall to the bottom of the pile. At the national level, as of August 2012, 37 countries have developed National Action Plans for the implementation of UNSCR 1325, and many of these contain some kind of indicators on priority areas in relation to the promotion of women's rights and gender equality in peace and security processes.

³⁰ United Nations Security Council, 2009. *Women, Peace and Security*, S/RES/1889, 5 October 2009. <http://womenpeaceandsecurity.org/media/pdf-scr1889.pdf>

³¹ The list of indicators can be found at: United Nations Security Council, 2010. *Women, Peace and Security: Report of the Secretary-General*, S/2010/173. http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Indicators/sg_report_on_1889-op17.pdf

³² Council of the European Union, 2010. *Indicators for the Comprehensive approach to the EU implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security*, 11948/10. Brussels, 14 July 2010. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/hr/news272.pdf

³³ Jamil Chade, 2012. *The Conflict and Fragility Agenda post-Busan: Directions, Opportunities, Challenges*, Geneva Peacebuilding Platform, Brief No. 2, p3.

Table 5 Applying indicators on UNSCR 1325 to the PSGs

PSGS	GLOBAL INDICATORS ON UNSCR 1325	GNWP INDICATORS ON UNSCR 1325*
Inclusive politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Indicator 8: Percentage of peace agreements with specific provisions to improve the security and status of women and girls ■ Indicator 11a: Representation of women among mediators, negotiators and technical experts in formal peace negotiations ■ Indicator 11b: Women's participation in official observer status, at the beginning and the end of formal peace Negotiations ■ Indicator 12a: Women's political participation in parliaments and ministerial positions ■ Indicator 12b: Women's political participation as voters and candidates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Indicator 1: Index of women's participation in governance (percentage of women in senior positions in cabinet/council of ministers, parliament, local governance) ■ Indicator 12: Detailed breakdown of gender issues addressed in peace agreements
Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Indicator 1a: Prevalence of sexual violence ■ Indicator 1b: Patterns of sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations ■ Indicator 5b: Extent to which measures to protect women's and girls' human rights are included in national security policy frameworks ■ Indicator 14: Index of women's and girls' physical security ■ Indicator 16: Level of women's participation in the justice, security and foreign service sectors ■ Indicator 17: Existence of national mechanisms for control of illicit small arms and light weapons ■ Indicator 20: Hours of training per capita of decision-making personnel in security and justice sector institutions to address cases of sexual and gender-based violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Indicator 3: Index of Women's Participation in the Justice & Security Sector (percentage of women in the military, police, judiciary, at all levels) ■ Indicator 7: Number of SGBV cases reported, & percentage of cases investigated, referred, prosecuted, & penalized (out of total reported)
Justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Indicator 3a: Extent to which violations of women's and girls' human rights are reported, referred and investigated by human rights bodies ■ Indicator 3b: Number and percentage share of women in governance bodies of national human right bodies ■ Indicator 15: Extent to which national laws to protect women's and girls' human rights are in line with international standards ■ Indicator 16: Level of women's participation in the justice, security and foreign service sectors ■ Indicator 19: Percentage of referred cases of sexual and gender-based violence against women and girls that are reported, investigated and sentenced ■ Indicator 20: Hours of training per capita of decision-making personnel in security and justice sector institutions to address cases of sexual and gender-based violence ■ Indicator 25: Extent to which Truth and Reconciliation Commissions include provisions to address the rights and participation of women and girls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Indicator 3: Index of Women's Participation in the Justice & Security Sector (percentage of women in the military, police, judiciary, at all levels) ■ Indicator 5: Number and percentage of women participating in each type of constitutional or legislative review ■ Indicator 8: Number and quality of gender-responsive laws and policies ■ Indicator 9: Number and nature of provisions/recommendations in the TRC and other transitional justice reports on women's rights
Economic foundations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Indicator 18: Percentage of benefits from temporary employment in the context of early economic recovery programs received by women and girls ■ Indicator 26a: Percentage of benefits from reparation programmes received by women and girls ■ Indicator 26b: Percentage of benefits from DDR programmes received by women and girls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Indicator 11: Percentage of women (versus men) who receive economic packages in conflict resolution and reconstruction processes
Revenues and services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Indicator 21a: Maternal mortality rate ■ Indicator 21b: Net primary and secondary education enrolment rates, by sex 	

* For a list of the core indicators on UNSCR 1325 developed by GNWP, see: <http://www.gnwp.org/what-we-do/policy-advocacy/in-country-and-global-monitoring-of-united-nations-security-council-resolution-1325/selected-core-indicators>.

In the case of FCAS, the majority of these indicators have been developed through consultative and participatory processes, increasing legitimacy and ownership. For example, throughout 2009 and 2010, UN Women held workshops with government, donor and civil society representatives in countries such as Liberia and Sierra Leone to identify the priority indicators in those contexts to feed into their National Action Plans, refining the list from hundreds down to a more manageable number. This information is therefore a vital resource for the IDPS as it proceeds with deliberations around the possible indicators for the PSGs, and wherever possible indicators that are in an existing NAP should also be included in that country's indicators for the PSGs. This will not only help to streamline data collection and reporting on progress in peace and security, but it will also ensure that the IDPS process is more inclusive and is taking on board the views of a wider range of stakeholders.

In order to ensure that any indicators developed to monitor the PSGs reflect a gender perspective and are sex-disaggregated, the following are some recommended steps that can be taken:

- Involve women's organisations and networks in ongoing discussions around indicator development, and ensure that civil society organisations are aware and informed about the process.
- Gender advisors on both the donor and g7+ sides should be engaged in, or at the very least consulted by, the indicator working group and throughout any country-level consultations.
- Review the indicators that have already been developed to monitor implementation of UNSCR 1325 and, where possible, integrate these indicators into the PSG process.
- Support capacity building of statistical and gender ministries to enable more extensive collection and analysis of sex-disaggregated data at the national and local levels.

5. VOICES FROM CIVIL SOCIETY ON GENDER AND THE NEW DEAL: CASE STUDIES FROM AFGHANISTAN AND SOUTH SUDAN

This section of the policy paper will present the key issues and recommendations that have been identified by women's networks and civil society organisations in Afghanistan and South Sudan, building on previous statements and policy papers on women's rights and gender equality. The issues and recommendations have been synthesised and divided according to the five PSGs outlined in the New Deal as well as the additional elements of FOCUS and TRUST, and provide important insight into some of the gender-related issues that should be addressed in the statebuilding and peacebuilding process in these two countries.

While the context in both Afghanistan and South Sudan is constantly evolving, many of the issues and recommendations that local women's organisations have identified in previous consultations and reports remain the same.³⁴ Clear priorities have already been identified by women's rights activists and civil society organisations on gender equality in relation to the transition, any possible peace negotiation, and the building of a sustainable peace in both Afghanistan and South Sudan, and therefore any process to gender-sensitise the New Deal is not starting from scratch. It is particularly important that the international community, governments and civil society in fragile states ensure that the issues identified by the participants in these validation workshops are addressed and the recommendations taken on board in future efforts to implement and pilot the New Deal over the coming months, particularly given the emphasis that is being placed on country-owned processes.

Cordaid believes that achieving peace and security for women depends on listening to, prioritising and acting on local women's perspectives and voices. It is essential for the partners to the New Deal to understand what peace, security and development mean and look like for women and their communities, rather than taking a top-down approach that defines these issues at the national level. For this reason, Cordaid has supported partner organisations in Afghanistan and South Sudan to shape the analysis and

recommendation put forward in this policy paper.

The following case studies on Afghanistan and South Sudan present the outcomes of the validation workshops held in Kabul and Juba in August 2012, and as such, reflect the voices and opinions of the participants. In advance of the workshops, a synthesis document was prepared for each country, outlining key priorities and recommendations taken from existing statements and research by women's activists and organisations in the two countries. These syntheses were the basis for the discussions, where participants had the opportunity to debate and validate these statements as well as arrive at their own list of priorities and recommendations under each of the PSGs.

The workshops were organised by Cordaid's offices and partners in the two countries, and prioritised the input and participation of women's organisations and networks, although other stakeholders were also invited to attend. Expert facilitators led the discussions, and the workshops also became an opportunity to raise awareness among women's organisations about the New Deal and the current plans for implementation.³⁵ The two case studies provide useful insight into what a gender perspective on the New Deal would entail in practice, and they draw attention to some of the key issues that the IDPS and other actors should focus on in the coming months as the New Deal piloting unfolds.

5.1 AFGHANISTAN

Decades of conflict have had many negative impacts on women, including displacement, poverty, the loss of male bread-winners, lack of access to employment and education, and ongoing high levels of physical insecurity. Women are also affected by negative cultural practices such as *bad* and *badal*, child marriage and early child-bearing that have a major impact on their health, welfare and ability to engage in and participate fully in community and public life. Perceived as bearers of male and community honour, women also frequently face violence and abuse if they cross accepted boundaries and gender roles, and have little ability to challenge their status in society.

³⁴ Please see the bibliography for a comprehensive list of resources that were used to inform the validation workshops in Afghanistan and South Sudan. The priority issues and recommendations put forward in these documents were synthesised and edited into the PSG framework which was presented to workshop participants for validation and, where relevant, for further additions or amendment.

³⁵ The workshop in Juba, South Sudan was facilitated by Stephen Pande, and the workshop in Kabul, Afghanistan was facilitated by the Afghan Women's Network.

Despite these challenges, some important gains in women's rights have been made over the past decade. A gender equality provision was included in the new Constitution, and women now have the right to vote in elections. There is a 25% quota for women in the lower house of parliament and a 17% quota in the upper house, which have both succeeded in increasing the level of women's political representation. However, it is not always the case that such quotas lead to increased and more effective participation for women, given the discriminatory attitudes and informal networks and patterns of power that can persist and continue to exclude women. A Ministry of Women's Affairs (MOWA) and an independent Human Rights Commission have been created, and the government has adopted a National Action Plan for Women of Afghanistan and (NAPWA) and has signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). However, according to many observers, this progress on women's rights is fragile and largely rhetorical, and the track record of implementation of concrete measures to improve the position and status of women is poor. Structural, cultural and institutional barriers remain, and women and girls face a long road to equality.

Although 66% of women feel safer than 10 years ago, according to a survey carried out by the Asia Foundation in 2011, support for women's rights is slipping.³⁶ There

³⁶ Asia Foundation, 2011. *Afghanistan in 2011: A Survey of the Afghan People*.

is also a lack of confidence that the Afghan government will actively protect women's rights and the progress that has been made, with many women fearful that women's rights could be sacrificed to appease religious extremists or for reasons of political expediency. Indeed, while there has been some progress for women in the public sphere, their status in the private sphere has remained largely unchanged and has at times been worsened by a backlash against the growing women's rights discourse. In particular, women are particularly concerned about the ongoing physical insecurity that affects their mobility, and the limited opportunities they have to work outside the home and access education.

Attention in Afghanistan is now on the transition as foreign forces begin to leave the country, and the ongoing efforts to reach a negotiated settlement with the Taliban are also a focus of domestic and international actors. The transition brings a number of potential risks such as increased violence and the decreased influence of the central government, and there are fears about whether gains for women will be protected. It will be important to ensure the benchmarks of a successful transition are defined using a gender lens, and that the focus is not just on military and security issues but also addresses governance, rule of law and women's rights. While most men and women in Afghanistan are supportive of a political solution to the conflict, certain preconditions such as renouncing violence, severing ties with Al Qaeda and respecting the

Table 6 Outcomes of the validation workshop in Kabul, Afghanistan

GOALS	PRIORITY ISSUES	RECOMMENDATIONS
Legitimate politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Lack of clear laws and policies to ensure women's political participation and leadership ■ Lack of political will to ensure recruitment of 30% of women within various structures of the government ■ Low level of awareness around women's participation and the importance of their role in the public sphere 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Following the Afghan Constitution, establish a system for women's political participation, for example ensuring that women hold 25% of decision-making positions within different levels and positions in government ■ Review relevant laws to ensure women's roles in peacebuilding and statebuilding are identified and supported ■ Legitimize and put into action Civil Service policies for recruitment and inclusion of 30% women within government institutions such as the High Peace Council, Justice sector, and independent commissions such as the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission, Elections Commission and Civil Service Commission
Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Limited action to end violence against women and lack of political will to increase awareness and implementation of the Violence against Women Law by the relevant government institutions ■ Sexual harassment and discrimination against women present serious challenges for women's participation and security, and there is a lack of policies or awareness-raising to address these issues, including with religious leaders. ■ The media should be used more effectively to support women's empowerment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Increase and empower the Violence against Women Special Attorney Units to ensure at-risk women are provided with the security and support they need ■ Build the capacity of the Family Response Units (FRUs) within the Ministry of Interior to provide better services to women victims and women at risk ■ Lobby for a Zero Tolerance Harassment Policy to ensure a secure environment for women working at various levels within the government, non government institutions, schools, universities, and in public areas ■ Carry out public awareness campaigns through media, religious leaders, mosques, other religious platforms around the existence of the Zero Tolerance Harassment Policy, the serious punishments accorded to perpetrators, and the importance of a secure environment for women's social, economic and political participation

GOALS	PRIORITY ISSUES	RECOMMENDATIONS
Justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ No linkages between the formal and informal justice systems in Afghanistan ■ Due to the lack of control over and monitoring of the informal justice system, the majority of cases brought forward are resolved against the interests of women and girls ■ Negative cultural and traditional practices prevent women from being part of jirgas/councils even when these groups are discussing women's issues and concerns 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Introduce Conflict Resolution Units/Cells within the formal justice system to ensure that they have direct control over the informal justice structures such as shuras and councils, reducing the likelihood of injustices against women ■ Lobby for the inclusion of women in informal justice mechanisms such as shura, councils and jirgas ■ Support women's organisations to monitor informal justice mechanisms, particularly where formal justice systems are not functioning. The results of any monitoring should be used to hold the government to account for protecting women's rights
Economic foundations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Women do not have their own income and are dependent on male family members resulting in ongoing economic insecurity for women across the country ■ The lack of a system to identify and address capacity gaps have led to a serious shortage of female employees at the national level ■ Income-generation programmes for women are often small with short-timeframes, which means that women do not acquire the skills and expertise needed to access sustainable economic opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Allocate special training, vocational programmes and capacity building for women to build their skills and increase their employment opportunities in areas such as entrepreneurship, agriculture, marketing, etc ■ Carry out a needs assessment for both women and men to ensure that women have access to the best economic support available to them within the education sector (teachers and university students), government organizations, etc. ■ Invest in specific programs in agriculture, higher education and trade to open up employment and income-generating opportunities for women at various levels
Revenues and services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The government does not use gender budgeting and the majority of plans and programmes designed for women do not get implemented on time ■ There is a lack of effective monitoring mechanisms to measure and assess the impact of women's empowerment programmes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Implement gender budgeting measures to ensure that government revenues benefit both men and women, as and when development budgets are prepared and presented to the Parliament. ■ Enable friendly and comfortable working environments for women. Facilities such as female washrooms, lunchrooms, prayer rooms, and kindergartens are particularly important ■ Support women's organisations to establish a monitoring mechanism to oversee the allocation of grants available to support women's access to basic services such as education, health, employment, etc

constitution are being called for. It is not clear how the international community will respond if the Taliban make demands that require compromise on women's rights. Although women want peace, they also demand justice and do not want or support a peace that comes at the cost of their rights and freedom.

THE PSGS: PRIORITIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS IDENTIFIED BY AFGHAN WOMEN

Table 6 (page 22) summarises the key priorities and recommendations identified by Afghan women and other participants at the validation workshop in Kabul.

INTEGRATING GENDER ISSUES INTO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW DEAL IN AFGHANISTAN

The validation workshop in Kabul was important for not only identifying the priority issues and recommendations of Afghan women and civil society representatives, but also for raising their awareness about the New Deal and the upcoming opportunities and entry points for influencing

this process. Table 6 (page 22) demonstrates the emphasis that participants placed on the need for inclusion and broad-based participation, engagement on specific issues affecting women, and linking peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts to existing structures and processes. Violence against women (VAW) emerged as a critical priority for both the security and justice PSGs, and is also closely linked to women's mobility, participation and livelihoods. However, VAW and indeed other issues highlighted in Table 6 are not new, but have been identified repeatedly by women's organisations such as AWN. If a fragility assessment is carried out in Afghanistan, this will offer an excellent opportunity to ensure that these issues are recognised, prioritised, and integrated into the fragility spectrum and PSG indicators.

In addition to the suggestions around the PSGs, the workshop participants also highlighted a number of recommendations around monitoring, developing a country plan and ensuring inclusive dialogue. Some of these are as follows:

- Support civil society, particularly women-led organisations, to organize campaigns and consultations

at the district and village level for sharing information and updating their communities on progress in implementing the New Deal

- Establish a monitoring mechanism led by civil society members, including women's organisations, to track the implementation and impact of the New Deal at the country level
- Establish a coordination and monitoring committee among the 19 member countries of the g7+ to create opportunities for country delegations, including women leaders, to visit other g7+ countries to share lessons learned around the New Deal
- Allocate special funds to build the capacity and knowledge of women-led organisations on issues such as transparency, accountability, and reporting and monitoring frameworks to empower them to access government funding for their activities
- Establish a monitoring mechanism for women's organisations to identify, track and monitor the impact of government and donor budget allocations for programmes in support of women's empowerment and gender equality

5.2 SOUTH SUDAN

South Sudan is the world's newest country, established following the end of a long civil war and transition process, on 9 July 2011. Since the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, statebuilding has been unfolding on an unprecedented scale with 37 ministries, 20 commissions, 10 state governments, a national parliament and 10 state legislatures being established. However, while the establishment of formal institutions or the 'hardware' of statebuilding proceeds apace, the low levels of development throughout the country combined with ongoing insecurity and conflict, fragile institutions, oil dependency, extremely limited government capacity and infrastructure, and weak basic service provision continue to frustrate efforts to build a peaceful and sustainable state in South Sudan. Within this context, the situation and status of women and girls is particularly dire, and as John Garang once famously said, 'women [in Southern Sudan] are the marginalised of the marginalised'.

In South Sudan, few people have access to or connection with decision-making processes, and unresolved grievances continue to drive conflict in the country (UNMISS 2012: 2). Although women advocated for their interests and priorities to be incorporated into the CPA and during the transition period, ultimately issues related to gender equality and broader political inclusion were not seen as a priority. South Sudan presents an extremely challenging context for peacebuilding and statebuilding, and pervasive gender inequalities across aspects of political, economic and social life throughout the country make building an inclusive and peaceful state and society particularly difficult.

Women and girls are severely under-represented in the political and economic spheres, and discriminatory norms

and practices reflect and reinforce the low status that they are accorded in South Sudanese society. Access to health and education for women and girls is limited; they have little access to decision-making within the home, community or national level; customary practices that discriminate against women such as early marriage and polygamy are widespread; and they are particularly vulnerable to sexual and gender-based violence. One of the key foundations of the household and community economy is the dowry payment, which provides power and status to male family members, but increases the vulnerability and insecurity of girls by reinforcing their role as objects of economic value. The dowry system has been affected by decades of war, with prices increasing at the same time as resources to pay for cattle have decreased, driving further conflict and violence.

However, despite the exclusion and discrimination that they face on a daily basis, women in South Sudan³⁷ have nevertheless played vital roles in their communities throughout the conflict and transition, advocating for peace, democracy and greater gender equality. They have, at times, also contributed to the fighting by encouraging men to participate in fighting or taking on auxiliary roles with the armed forces. Throughout times of both war and peace, women have therefore occupied and negotiated a space for themselves within society, albeit a constrained and limited one. Now that South Sudan has emerged from conflict and the displaced and exiled are returning to and rebuilding their communities, the norms and structures that govern the social order in South Sudan need to be renegotiated, and this has implications for the gender order as well as the statebuilding process more generally.

THE PSGS: PRIORITIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS IDENTIFIED BY SOUTH SUDANESE WOMEN

Table 7 (page 25) summarises the key priorities and recommendations identified by South Sudanese women and other participants at the validation workshop in Juba.

INTEGRATING GENDER ISSUES INTO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW DEAL IN SOUTH SUDAN

Similar to Afghanistan, the validation workshop in South Sudan was an opportunity to raise awareness about the New Deal process, as well as identify priority issues and recommendations relating to gender issues. The validation workshop in Juba demonstrated that civil society in South Sudan has been actively involved in various advocacy and awareness-raising activities around women, peace and security issues and has begun demanding space for women participation in peacebuilding and statebuilding processes, despite the fact that

³⁷ In this paper, South Sudan is used, however this should also be understood to include Southern Sudanese women when referring to the pre-independence period.

Table 7 Outcomes of the validation workshop in Juba, South Sudan

GOALS	PRIORITY ISSUES	KEY RECOMMENDATIONS
Inclusive politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The 25% affirmative action threshold for women's representation in all national institutions and decision-making positions in all public sectors is not yet fully implemented ■ Women, people with disabilities and youth remain marginalised from the government and mainstream decision-making process ■ There is the need for a pro-people constitution that provides the general framework of democracy, good governance, the rule of law and protection of human rights (including women's rights) ■ The entrenched culture of militarism which makes it difficult for women to have a level playing ground with men in society ■ More civic awareness is needed to support greater participation by women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Ensure the establishment of mechanisms and processes that encourage realization of the 25% quota for women based on merit, and discourage political patronage ■ Stronger relationships should be built between the elites and the grassroots to ensure that urban elites are representative of all women ■ Avoid engaging only with a small group of women leaders and open up space for a broader range of women to participate in leadership and decision-making ■ Enhance democratization by supporting the development of mutual trust between and among stakeholders from both state and non-state sectors, and involving the private sector in policy formulation and implementation
Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Determine the North-South border demarcation and address the issue of oil revenues ■ Inter-ethnic skirmishes and communal rivalries, suspicions, misunderstanding that were caused by the war continue to jeopardise development ■ The high proliferation of arms among civilians and ex-combatants results in increased armed violence, robbery and homicides ■ Insecurity and widespread armed violence with minimal protection of civilians and their property in both urban and rural areas, and particularly in relation to violence against women ■ Cattle rustling among pastoralist communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Encourage women's participation in the ongoing security sector reform initiatives ■ Create women-friendly centres in police stations to address women's security needs for protection and support quick intervention strategies ■ Engage men in women's rights campaigns and other initiatives intended to enhance women's security ■ Strengthen the justice system and conduct training for security forces on their roles in protecting citizens, including around women's rights ■ Encourage community policing and regular dialogues between communities and local authorities on security and support citizens to monitor security hot spots
Justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Escalating cases of impunity by security personnel who frequently rape, degrade and commit atrocities against women and are never punished for the crimes they commit ■ Little access to justice, particularly for women and rural populations ■ Lawful application of customary laws involve some provisions that enhance and perpetuate discrimination against women and girls ■ Improper appointment procedure of judges and total neglect of including the 25% quota for women in the judiciary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Ensure a transparent judicial system, where appointments are done in a transparent process and based on merit, and 25% of all judges and magistrates are women ■ Put in place a constitution that ensures separation of powers among the three arms of government and also ensures implementation of the constitution ■ Abolish customary law to end practices that enable and entrench discrimination against women and abuse of their rights ■ Make legal aid available and accessible and ensure funding for legal aid initiatives for women ■ Encourage CSO practitioners, especially women, to be trained as paralegals
Economic foundations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Women, especially in rural areas lack the capital needed for small-scale businesses ■ The playing field for both citizens and foreign investors in accessing business opportunities is not even ■ High interest rates on loans by microfinance institutions and banks are a major hindrance for women ■ Women have limited knowledge on how to identify and manage sustainable businesses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Support the economic empowerment of women through group savings, small loans and training in small business enterprise management ■ Promote private sector development and infrastructure to support entrepreneurship ■ Provide reasonable loans to women under affordable conditions, particularly lower interest rates ■ Create employment opportunities, especially for rural women
Revenues and services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ There is a lack of qualified personnel in service delivery (e.g. teachers, doctors, nurses, etc) ■ Natural disasters, especially floods and drought, exacerbate poverty and reduce or prevent access to basic services like schools and health facilities ■ Continued dependence on traditional social service delivery, e.g. from herbalists and traditional medicine men is a challenge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Monitor the use of revenue, and ensure that services support women ■ Establish an effective revenue authority to ensure effective and efficient management of public funds

South Sudan only achieved its independence in 2011. South Sudan's fragility assessment has already been carried out, and was led by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. Gender issues are not very well integrated into the draft assessment report, although issues around discrimination against women, particularly around customary law, are raised in the context of justice. Participants in the validation workshop have identified a much broader range of issues such as gender-based violence, economic opportunities for women and the need for the inclusion and meaningful participation of women in decision-making as key priorities. Although it may now be too late to reflect these issues in the fragility assessment they could still be incorporated into the development of any future country plan, and efforts should be made to strengthen the use of gender-sensitive indicators in monitoring achievement of the PSGs.

In discussing issues around monitoring, developing a country plan and ensuring inclusive dialogue, participants also identified a number of recommendations and areas where action is needed:

- Women and gender-focused organisations should deepen their engagement with the Ministry of Gender and also with other key ministries implementing the New Deal, such as the Ministry of Finance.
- Women should be facilitated to play a key role in defining key priorities in national initiatives such as the constitution making process, the North-South negotiations and the resolution of persistent inter-ethnic animosities.
- Validate and facilitate the implementation of recommendations made by South Sudanese women, for example during the June 2010 consultations that were supported by UN Women
- Provide sustainable financial and institutional support to women's organisations and networks to enable them to provide oversight on public budgets and expenditure, particularly with regard to oil revenues and taxes
- Government and donors should carry out joint assessments to determine the best programming approaches for involving women in key community-based initiatives and ensuring women's access to basic services
- Develop indicators for assessing the involvement of women in community-based programmes and initiatives
- Support the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Welfare to lead the development of a national gender plan within the framework on the New Deal process

5.3 IMPLICATIONS OF THE CASE STUDY FINDINGS FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW DEAL

The validation workshops not only highlight important issues that should be taken on board as the implementation of the New Deal moves forward, particularly in relation to the elaboration of the PSGs and any future indicators and the carrying out of fragility assessments. However, the workshops have also highlighted a number of issues linked

to implementation which are outlined briefly below.

Women's voices should be prioritised and diverse stakeholders need to be engaged in consultations: It is clear from the validation workshops that women's organisations and networks in both South Sudan and Afghanistan have already done a lot of work to identify key priorities, concerns and recommendations in relation to their respective peacebuilding and statebuilding process. Notably, the priorities and recommendations of women differ quite markedly from those that have informed the peacebuilding and statebuilding processes in those countries to date. In the case of South Sudan, there is a clear difference between the issues raised in the validation workshops that specifically focused on issues relating to gender equality and women's rights and those that emerged as priorities during the fragility assessment workshop. It is therefore important that specific effort is made to ensure that women are actively involved in consultations and that the issues they identify are reflected in the outputs of the New Deal.

Engagement with civil society organisations should be strengthened: One of the challenges facing the IDPS has been how to engage civil society effectively in the process.³⁸ Until mid to late-2011, the terms of participation were not entirely equal, with civil society organisations playing more of an external observer or participant role rather than being key members of the IDPS process. However, since 2012, civil society has been invited to participate on an almost equal footing, which is a welcome development. Time pressures have been another problematic factor, with tight deadlines making it difficult to gain consensus and buy-in from a wide range of actors, and particularly Southern-based CSOs. Civil society organisations have also been poorly resourced and not always representative of a broad constituency, particularly where the timeframe for engagement has been short and time could not always be taken to consult widely.³⁹ The validation workshops in South Sudan and Afghanistan provided an opportunity for civil society organisations to increase their knowledge about the New Deal and reflect on what they could contribute to the process. Some of the suggestions made are as follows:

- Civil society organisations that have established links with the New Deal process should share knowledge and experience with women's organisations who are seeking to be involved with and build capacity in relation to peacebuilding and statebuilding
- Make specific funds available to target capacity building for women-led organisation so that they can be watchdogs for government transparency and accountability

³⁸ Jennifer Erin Salahub, 2012. *Sweetening the Deal: Adding Value to the New Deal for Fragile States through CSO Engagement*, Policy brief. Ottawa: North-South Institute. <http://www.nsi-ins.ca/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/2012-Sweetening-the-Deal-Adding-value-to-the-New-Deal-for-Fragile-States-through-CSO-Engagement.pdf>

³⁹ Interpeace, 2012. *The International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding*. In Brief.

- Women's organisations should be encouraged to speak out about their concerns and to identify initiatives that will encourage more women to participate in decision making
- Provide training to community-based organisations, particularly women's groups, that will enable them to undertake monitoring and awareness-raising at the grassroots level
- Support networking between local and national civil society organisations and international women's networks and other organisations that are actively supporting the implementation of the New Deal and UNSCR 1325
- Develop media campaigns in FCAS to support dissemination of information about the New Deal and advocacy around priority issues such as gender equality issues, including in local languages, and engage local and national role models and champions on these issues

Civil society organisations need more capacity-building support to effectively engage with the New Deal implementation process: The response from participants in the validation workshops was overwhelmingly positive, reflecting a strong desire amongst civil society to have their voices heard, and listened to, as their governments are charting out new paths to peace and development. However, women's organisations in particular face a number of limitations and capacity gaps that require attention, particularly from donors, to enable them to fulfill their vital monitoring and advocacy roles. In carrying out the fragility assessment, ways of working on implementation of the New Deal at the national level will be established, and will likely become formalised as time goes on. It is therefore important to ensure that a broad-based selection of civil society organisations are involved from the beginning, and that women's organisations and networks are adequately represented. Whilst there may be a proliferation of workshops and consultations happening in-country at any one time, as much as possible these events should be linked up and inform each other.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

This policy briefing has identified a number of entry points for integrating a gender perspective into the various aspects of the New Deal as well as its implementation in the pilot countries. The case studies from Afghanistan and South Sudan demonstrate that much work has already been done by women's organisations and the bodies that support them to identify, prioritise and advocate around key issues of concern, and there is great interest among civil society to play a more active role in supporting the implementation of the New Deal. The following table summarises the main recommendations that have been made throughout this paper, and highlights possible actions that could be taken by different stakeholders to address these issues as the New Deal piloting continues in the coming months.

Finally, it is important to recognise that for the international community, and gender equality in fragile and conflict-affected states in particular, 2015 represents a particularly pivotal and critical moment. In 2015, there will be a number of key deadlines and anniversaries which also represent the confluence of many key commitments, some of which will be renewed, and additional new commitments may be made. The most relevant of these for issues

relating to gender and the New Deal are the agreement on and possible adoption of a post-MDG framework, the 15th anniversary of UNSCR 1325, and Beijing +20.⁴⁰ It is important to begin laying the groundwork now if the potential of these opportunities is to be realised, and the implementation of the New Deal is an important mechanism for building the evidence, generating the knowledge and bringing practice in line with policy commitments to ensure a gender-sensitive approach to peacebuilding and statebuilding. If gender issues are integrated into the PSGs and commitments around FOCUS and TRUST then there is a chance that real progress could be made on implementing UNSCR 1325, ensuring broader legitimacy and inclusiveness for these processes and greater gender equality and empowerment of women in fragile and conflict-affected states.

⁴⁰ Beijing +20 refers to the 20th anniversary since the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action (PFA) at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The PFA addresses twelve critical areas of concern for women's empowerment and gender equality, as well as including strategic objectives and recommendations. One of these (Platform E) was dedicated to women and armed conflict, and recommended that a gender perspective be mainstreamed into all policies and programmes relating to ending conflict and building peace. Discussions are now beginning around whether or not there should be a 5th World Conference on Women to mark this important event and accelerate progress on the PFA, but opinions among governments and civil society remain quite divided on the issue.

Table 8 Summary of key recommendations and action points

RECOMMENDATIONS	SUGGESTED ACTION POINTS
Apply a gender perspective to all analytical frameworks and approaches used to implement the New Deal	<p>Draw on indicators for UNSCR 1325 identified by UN Women-led taskforce and GNWP</p> <p>Incorporate suggestions in Tables 1 and 2 into the framework and methodologies for carrying out fragility assessments</p> <p>Consult statements and reports released by women's organisations on issues relating to UNSCR 1325 (see Annex A for suggested sources for Afghanistan and South Sudan)</p> <p>Draw on practical tools and evidence around integrating gender issues into different aspects of peacebuilding and statebuilding</p>
Integrate gender issues into fragility assessments (page 16-18)	<p>Ensure that female political leaders, women's organisations and networks are invited to, attend and actively participate in any fragility assessment workshops</p> <p>Raise awareness about the New Deal among civil society organisations, including through the use of media that are accessible to women</p> <p>Identify and draw on the outcomes of any mappings or consultations that have already been carried out with women's groups on their priorities in relation to peacebuilding, statebuilding and gender equality</p> <p>Ensure that any guidance documents include specific questions in relation to women's rights and gender equality and that facilitators have the necessary skills to elicit discussion on these issues during the workshops</p> <p>Include gender inequalities and discrimination against women as criteria of fragility across the sub-dimensions of the fragility spectrum</p>

RECOMMENDATIONS	SUGGESTED ACTION POINTS
Allocate adequate financing to women's needs and gender-related priorities (page 15)	<p>Ensure that gender analysis and gender budgeting expertise is available to those undertaking planning exercises and implementing programmes in FCAS</p> <p>Allocate a minimum level of expenditure on gender-related projects (e.g. 15% as recommended by the UN Secretary-General) and ensure gender is mainstreamed across the remaining allocations</p> <p>Initiate and resource targeted funding mechanisms to support gender equality in FCAS</p>
Ensure that any indicators developed to monitor the PSGs reflect a gender perspective and are sex-disaggregated (page 19-22)	<p>Involve women's organisations and networks in ongoing discussions around indicator development, and ensure that civil society organisations are aware and informed about the process.</p> <p>Gender advisors on both the donor and g7+ sides should be engaged in, or at the very least consulted by, the indicator working group and throughout any country-level consultations.</p> <p>Review the indicators that have already been developed to monitor implementation of UNSCR 1325 and, where possible, integrate these indicators into the PSG process.</p> <p>Support capacity building of statistical and gender ministries to enable more extensive collection and analysis of sex-disaggregated data at the national and local levels.</p>
Prioritise women's voices and strengthen engagement with civil society around implementation of the New Deal (page 32)	<p>Civil society organisations that have established links with the New Deal process should share knowledge and experience with women's organisations who are seeking to be involved with and build capacity in relation to peacebuilding and statebuilding</p> <p>Make specific funds available to target capacity building for women-led organisation so that they can be watchdogs for government transparency and accountability</p> <p>Women's organisations should be encouraged to speak out about their concerns and to identify initiatives that will encourage more women to participate in decision making</p> <p>Provide training to community-based organisations, particularly women's groups, that will enable them to undertake monitoring and awareness-raising at the grassroots level</p> <p>Support networking between local and national civil society organisations and international women's networks and other organisations that are actively supporting the implementation of the New Deal and UNSCR 1325</p> <p>Develop media campaigns in FCAS to support dissemination of information about the New Deal and advocacy around priority issues such as gender equality issues, including in local languages, and engage local and national role models and champions on these issues</p>
Link the implementation of the New Deal to existing in-country activities around the implementation of UNSCR 1325, and vice versa	<p>Use events around the 12th anniversary of UNSCR 1325 in October 2012 as an opportunity to further elaborate on issues raised in this policy paper</p> <p>Use fragility assessments as a way to integrate women, peace and security issues into the mainstream peacebuilding and statebuilding agenda</p> <p>Use the piloting of the New Deal as an opportunity to accelerate implementation of the women, peace and security agenda, particularly in relation to monitoring progress through indicators that link the PSGs with UNSCR 1325 and through the development of innovative funding mechanisms to support gender-related programmes</p>
Increase communication and collaboration across government ministries to ensure a more coordinated approach to addressing gender issues in FCAS	<p>Build the capacity of national women's machineries and ensure that they are adequately resourced</p> <p>Ensure that ministries of women's affairs or gender are invited to and actively participate in any meetings organised around implementation of the New Deal</p> <p>Engage ministries of finance and planning in the implementation of NAPs, and where possible include specific reference to the New Deal in NAP activities</p>
Ensure high-level commitment and political will to address gender issues in all aspects of the New Deal	<p>The members of the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, including representatives from the g7+ and donor countries, should consider issuing a statement on the prioritisation of gender issues in the Dialogue's work, including through implementation of the New Deal</p>

BIBLIOGRAPHY

GENERAL SOURCES

- Blanchard, Eric, 2006. "Gender, international relations, and the development of feminist international security theory", *Signs*, Vol. 28 (4), pp. 1289–1312.
- Caprioli, Mary, 2005. "Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 2, pp. 161–178
- Castillejo, Clare, 2011. *Building a state that works for women: Integrating gender into post-conflict state building*, Working Paper No. 69. Madrid: FRIDE.
- Cabrera-Balleza, Mavic and Nicola Popovic, (2011) *Costing and financing 1325: examining the resources needed to implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325 at the national level as well as the gains, gaps and glitches on financing the women, peace and security agenda*. Mavic Cabrera-Balleza and Dewi Suralaga, eds. New York/The Hague: GNWP/Cordaid.
- Chade, Jamil, 2012. *The Conflict and Fragility Agenda post-Busan: Directions, Opportunities, Challenges*, Geneva Peacebuilding Platform, Brief No. 2, p3.
- Chapman, Nick and Charlotte Vaillant (ITAD), 2010. *Synthesis of Country Programme Evaluations conducted in fragile states*. Evaluation Report EV709. London, DFID
- Chiwara, Letty and Maria Karadenizli, 2008. *Mapping Aid Effectiveness and Gender Equality: Global Findings and Key Messages*. New York: UNIFEM.
- Clark, Cindy and Ellen Sprenger (2006) *Where is the money for women's rights?* AWID.
- Cordaid and WO=MEN 2010, *Final Policy Brief Gender Responsive Peace and Statebuilding -Transforming the Culture of Power in Fragile States*, Cordaid and WO=MEN.
- El-Bushra, Judy, 2003. *Women building peace: sharing know-how*. London, Gender and Peacebuilding Programme, International Alert
- Falch, A, 2010a. "Women's Political Participation and Influence in Post-Conflict Burundi and Nepal", *PRIO Paper*, Oslo: PRIO.
- Falch, A, 2010b. "Women's Organizations: A Driving Force Behind Women's Participation and Rights", *PRIO Policy Brief 3*, Oslo: PRIO.
- GAPS UK, 2009. *Global Monitoring Checklist on Women, Peace and Security*. London: GAPS.
- Global Network on Women Peacebuilders, 2010 and 2011 *Global and Country-level Monitoring Reports*.
- Harcourt, Wendy, 2009. "Gender and Fragility: Policy responses", Paper prepared for the Conference on *Moving Towards the European Report on Development 2009*, organised by the European Report on Development in Florence, Italy, 21–23 June 2009.
- Hudson, Valerie M., Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Mary Caprioli, and Chad F. Emmett, 2012. *Sex and World Peace*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- International Alert, 2010. *Working with the grain to change the grain: Moving beyond the Millennium Development Goals*. London: International Alert. <http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/publications/MDG.pdf>
- Interpeace policy briefings on the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding. <http://www.interpeace.org/index.php/civil-society>
- Jennings, Kathleen, 2010. *Gender and Post-Conflict Statebuilding* New York, Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz, 2005. "The politics of gender and reconstruction in Afghanistan", *UNRISD Occasional Paper no. 4*
- Naudé, Wim, 2012. *What is the (New) Deal with Fragile States?* Policy Brief No. 1. Helsinki: UNU Wider.
- Locke, Rachel, 2012. *Busan and Beyond: Implementing the "New Deal" for Fragile States*, Issue Brief. New York: International Peace Institute, pp.3–4.
- O'Connell, Helen, 2011. "What are the opportunities to promote gender equity and equality in conflict-affected and fragile states? Insights from a review of evidence", *Gender and Development*, Vol. 19 (3).
- OECD, 2011a. *International Engagement in Fragile States: Can't we do better?* OECD Publishing.
- OECD, 2011b. *Supporting Statebuilding in Situations of Conflict and Fragility: Policy Guidance*, DAC Guidelines and Reference Series, OECD Publishing.
- OECD, 2011c. *Supporting coherent and sustainable transition from conflict to peace*, Draft Guidance. DCD/DAC(2011)41, 4 November. Paris: OECD.

OECD, 2011d. *Findings from the Gender Equality Module of the 2011 Paris Declaration Monitoring Survey: Overview*. Paris: OECD, p1.

OECD, 2010. *Aid in support of gender equality in fragile and conflict-affected states*. Paris, OECD Publishing.

OECD-DAC, 2008. "From Fragility to Resilience: Concepts and Dilemmas of State-Building in Fragile States," research paper for the Fragile States Group of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD DAC), Paris, 2008.

Ononisakin, 'Funmi, Karen Barnes and Eka Ikpe, eds., 2010, *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice*, Routledge, London.

Popovic, Nicola, Minna Lyytikainen, and Corey Barr, 2009, *Planning for Action on Women, Peace and Security - A review of the national-level implementation of Resolutions 1325 and 1820*, report to UN-INSTRAW, New York.

Saferworld, 2012. *Approaching post-2015 from a peace perspective*. London Saferworld. <http://www.saferworld.org.uk/downloads/pubdocs/1208%20Saferworld%20brief%20-%20Approaching%20Post-2015%20From%20A%20Peace%20Perspective.pdf>

Salahub, Jennifer Erin, 2012. *Sweetening the Deal: Adding Value to the New Deal for Fragile States through CSO Engagement*, Policy brief. Ottawa: North-South Institute. http://www.nsi-ins.ca/images/documents/sweetening_the_deal_final_web.pdf

UNIFEM, DPKO, DPA and UNDP 2010. *Women Count for Peace: the 2010 Open Days on Women, Peace and Security*. New York: UN. http://www.unifem.org/attachments/products/WomenCount4Peace_OpenDays_Report_en.pdf

UN Women and UNDP, 2011. *Women Count for Peace: the 2011 Open Days on Women, Peace and Security*. New York: UN. <http://www.unwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/UN-Women-Open-Days-2011-Report.pdf>

Werther-Pietsch, Ursula and Anna-Katharina Roithner, 2011. "Linking peacebuilding and statebuilding – A new paradigm for UN response to fragile situations", *Development Dialogue*, No. 55: 153-182.

Whittington, S., 2011, 'Women, Peace and Security: A gendered approach to aid effectiveness in post-conflict development,' A think piece commissioned by AusAID's Office of Development Effectiveness.

World Bank (2011) *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security and Development*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

SOURCES CONSULTED ON AFGHANISTAN

Actionaid, 2011. *A Just Peace? The legacy of war for the women of Afghanistan*. London: Actionaid.

Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission, 2011. *Afghan People's Dialogue on Peace: Laying the Foundations for an Inclusive Peace Process*. Kabul: AIHRC. <http://www.aihrc.org.af/media/files/People%27s%20Dialogue%20FINAL%20report.pdf>

Asia Foundation, 2011. *Afghanistan in 2011: A Survey of the Afghan People*.

AWN, 2012a. *Women's security and transition in Afghanistan: Measuring the success of transition by lasting protections for women's security*, Position Paper.

AWN, 2012b. *Afghan Women's Position Paper on the Occasion of the July 8, 2012 Ministerial Conference on Afghanistan in Tokyo, Japan*, June 2012.

AWN, 2011a. *Afghan Women: Towards Bonn and Beyond*, Position Paper.

AWN, 2011b. *Afghan Women's Declaration*, International Conference on Afghanistan in Bonn.

CARE International UK, 2012. *Women and Transition in Afghanistan*. CARE International Policy Brief. London: CARE International. http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/CARE_WomenandTransitioninAfghanistan.pdf

CARE International UK, 2010. *From Resolution to Reality: Lessons learned from Afghanistan, Nepal and Uganda on women's participation in peacebuilding and post-conflict governance*. London: CARE International UK.

Cortright, David and Sarah Smiles Persinger, 2010. *Afghan Women Speak: Enhancing Security and Human Rights in Afghanistan*. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame.

Cramer, Sarah, 2012. *Women's perceptions of the Afghan National Police: Gender dynamics of Kabul women and police*. Kabul: Heinrich Böll Stiftung – Afghanistan. http://humansecuritygateway.com/documents/HBS_WomensPerceptionoftheAfghanNationalPolice.pdf

Funder's Network for Afghan Women, 2009. *Getting it right: Security, peace and development for Afghan women*. http://humansecuritygateway.com/documents/FNAW_GettingItRight_SecurityPeaceDevelopment_AfghanWomen.pdf

Hamid, Zarin, 2011a. *Security Council Resolution 1325: Civil Society Monitoring Report on Afghanistan*. New York: GNWP.

Hamid, Zarin, 2011b. *UN SCR 1325 Implementation in Afghanistan*. Kabul: Afghan Women's Network.

Human Rights Watch, 2010. *The 'Ten Dollar Talib' and Women's Rights: Afghan women and the risks of reintegration and reconciliation*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

Human Rights Watch, 2009. "We have the promises of the world": *Women's rights in Afghanistan*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

Institute for Inclusive Security, 2011. *Recommendations on Afghanistan's Reconciliation, Reintegration and Transition Processes*.

Kuehnast, Kathleen, Manal Omar, Steven E. Steiner, and Hodei Sultan, 2012. *Lessons from Women's Programs in Afghanistan and Iraq*. Washington, DC: USIP.

Levine, Corey, 2011. "A woman's place is at the table": An analysis of women's participation in the Afghan peace process", Background brief. Ottawa: Peacebuild. http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/PEACEBUILD_AWomansPlaceisatthePeaceTable.pdf

Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, 2012. *Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Afghanistan*, Summary report. Princeton: Princeton University.

Lough, Oliver et al., 2012. *Equal Rights, Unequal Opportunities: Women's participation in Afghanistan's Parliamentary and Provincial Council Elections*. Kabul: AREU. http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/AREU_EqualRightsUnequalOpportunities_omensParticipationinAfghanistansParliamentaryandProvincialCouncilElections.pdf

Nemat, Orzala Ashraf, 2011. *Afghan Women at the Crossroads: Agents of Peace – or its Victims?*. New York: The Century Foundation.

Nijssen, Stefanie, 2012. *The Peace Process and Afghanistan's Women*, Civil Military Fusion Centre, Afghanistan in Transition.

Oxfam, 2011. *A Place at the Table: Safeguarding Women's Rights in Afghanistan*, 153 Oxfam Briefing Paper. Oxford: Oxfam.

Worden, Scott and Nina Sudhakar, 2012. *Learning from Women's Success in the 2010 Afghan Election*. Washington, DC: USIP.

SOURCES CONSULTED ON SOUTH SUDAN

Accord, 2012. *The Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in South Sudan*, A research report prepared for the Republic of South Sudan. Juba: Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Welfare.

Aldehaib, Amel, 2010. *Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement viewed through the eyes of the Women of South Sudan*. Wynburg: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

Ali, Nada Mustafa, 2011. *Gender and Statebuilding in South Sudan*, Special Report No. 298. Washington, DC: USIP

Cook, Traci D. and Leben Nelson Moro, 2012. *Governing South Sudan: Opinions of South Sudanese on a Government that can meet citizen expectations*, Findings from focus groups with men and women in South Sudan conducted November 3-28, 2011. Washington, DC: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

Cook, Traci D., 2011. *Building a Nation: South Sudanese share their thoughts on the creation of a successful state*, Findings from focus group discussions with citizens in South Sudan conducted March 16-April 6 2011. Washington, DC: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

Faria, Caroline (2011) "Gendering war and peace in South Sudan: The Elision and Emergence of Women", *Association of Concerned Africa Scholars*, Bulletin No. 86.

International Republican Institute and Pechter Polls, 2011. *Survey of South Sudan Public Opinion, September 6-27, 2011*. Available at: <http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/2011%20December%20Survey%20of%20South%20Sudan%20Public%20Opinion%2C%20September%206-27%2C%202011.pdf>

IRC-UK, 2012. *Violence against women and girls in South Sudan*. <http://www.rescue-uk.org/sites/default/files/S%20Sudan%20event.pdf>

Karamé, Kari and Lillian Prestegard, 2005. *Sudanese Women and the Peace Process: Priorities and recommendations for women's inclusion and empowerment*, Conference in Oslo, 13-15 January. Oslo: NUPI.

Mainstreaming Women's Agenda in the Post-Referendum Arrangements, Organised by SSWEN in collaboration with the Institute for Inclusive Security, 17-19 February 2011. http://www.huntalternatives.org/download/2080_conference_communique_february_22_11.pdf

Multi-donor evaluation of support to conflict prevention and peacebuilding activity in Southern Sudan since 2005, Annex 6: Gender. http://www.norad.no/en/tools-and-publications/publications/publication/_attachment/315313?_ts=12f462b284c

NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, 2012. *Women, Peace and Security in South Sudan – June 2012*. New York: NGOWG. http://womenpeacesecurity.org/media/pdfNGOWG_SouthSudan_June2012.pdf

Small Arms Survey, 2012a. *Women's Security in South Sudan: Threat in the Home*. Sudan Human Security Baseline Assessment.

Small Arms Survey, 2012b. *Women and Armed Violence in South Sudan*. Human Security Baseline Assessment. <http://www.smallarmssurveysudan.org/pdfs/facts-figures/women-security/HSBA-women-and-armed-conflict.pdf>

Sommers, Marc and Stephanie Schwartz, 2011. *Dowry and Division: Youth and Statebuilding in South Sudan*. Washington, DC: USIP

South Sudanese Women's Empowerment Network, 2011. "Mainstreaming Women's Agenda in the Post-Referendum Arrangements", Juba. http://www.huntalternatives.org/download/2080_conference_communique_february_22_11.pdf

Robinson, Karen Barnes, forthcoming. *Gender and Statebuilding in South Sudan*, Case Study for an OECD-INCAF paper on Gender and Statebuilding.

USAID, 2010. *Gender Assessment*, USAID/Southern Sudan. http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADT679.pdf

Women's peace and development priorities for South Sudan, South Sudan International Engagement Conference and Gender Symposium. http://www.huntalternatives.org/download/2138_GS_RECOMMENDATIONS.pdf