

Monitoring Progress on the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

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Despite some progress, women's participation and meaningful inclusion in matters of peace and security is still lacking. Governments can and must do better including and empowering women in peace and security institutions and processes. Analyzing nine indicators related to women's representation in peace and security institutions and processes, we highlight progress – and stagnation – to date on the Women, Peace and Security agenda. The data underscore the importance of continued dedication to women's empowerment and the importance of holding governments accountable through monitoring progress. We present the data to call for action and coordination by national governments and the United Nations to continue moving forward.

Introduction

It has been more than two decades since the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) to promote the participation of women, as well as the inclusion of a gender perspective, in all matters of peace and security. Despite efforts to strengthen the WPS Agenda through nine additional resolutions focused on women's greater participation in peacebuilding, protection, and prevention, progress has been uneven.

To advance the WPS Agenda and monitor progress, in 2019 the governments of Finland and Spain initiated Commitment 2025 (C-25). This agreement currently has 13 signatories: Finland, Spain, Norway, Iceland, Germany, Italy, Belgium, United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Namibia, Canada, Uruguay, and Argentina. The member countries agreed to track their efforts to increase the meaningful and substantive participation of women along nine specific commitments related to conflict prevention and resolution, negotiation and mediation processes.

The Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security (GIWPS) has partnered with C-25 members to track progress toward the commitments. To increase transparency and accountability while also providing metrics for progress, we collected and analyzed data on women's representation in political,



governance, diplomatic, and peace and security institutions.¹ We combined data from various sources to generate analysis and insights about the status of progress on C-25 commitments. Findings indicate that concerted efforts are needed to reach targets by 2025.

As the international security landscape grows increasingly complex, there has never been a greater need than now for C-25 members to drive advocacy and coordination on WPS. Coordination is a powerful tool for advancing the WPS Agenda, and there are real opportunities to ensure progress if C-25 members partner together and act collectively. This policy brief provides a snapshot of where C-25 countries currently stand on key commitments and presents five recommendations to accelerate progress.

Women remain largely absent in peace negotiations

The data show that despite 20 years of WPS resolutions, women are virtually absent from conflict negotiation processes. Analysis of data for 17 current conflicts indicates that, on average, women constitute only 14% of the negotiating teams.

This lack of progress is sobering, especially as several studies¹ have shown that women's participation is key to achieving lasting peace. In fact, a 2018 study² found that there is a strong correlation

C-25 members should call on governments involved in peace processes to include women in their delegations,

between peace agreements that were signed by women delegates and lasting peace.

Sustained efforts are needed to ensure women are included in peace negotiations. C-25 members should call on governments involved in peace processes to include women in their delegations and expert teams, and advocate for the inclusion

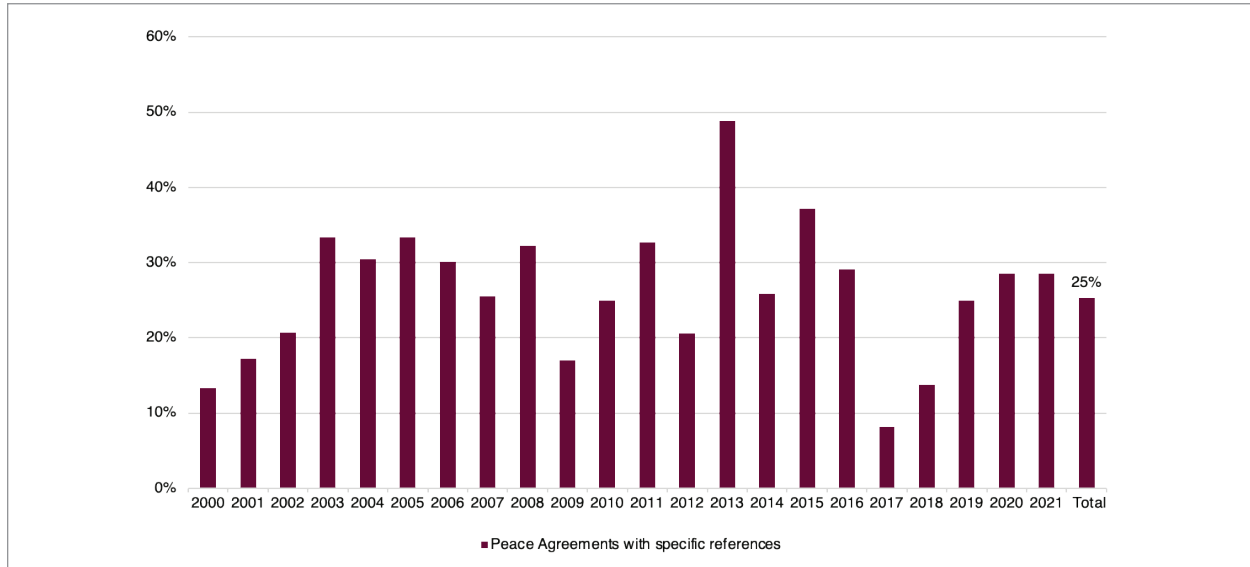
of women and women's civil society organizations. Further, we recommend governments offer women in negotiations technical and financial support.

Few gender provisions in peace agreements

Perhaps one of the most troubling findings from our analysis concerns mentions of women and gender in peace agreements signed to resolve conflicts. Using data from the University of Edinburgh's Peace Agreements Database - PA-X², we find that since 2000, only 25% of peace treaties contain references and provisions specific to women, girls, or gender. Gender provisions in peace agreements are important because gendered security concerns affect the lives of men, women, boys and girls differently. The lack of gender provisions in agreements reflects a lack of attention to the different security risks, a lack of gendered security sector reforms, and a lack of commitment to political reforms that advance gender equality and women's empowerment following an armed conflict.

Unfortunately, there seems to be no clear trend of growth in this area over the last two decades. To ensure progress, we urge C-25 members as well as other countries to encourage governments involved in peace processes to include gender provisions in peace agreements.

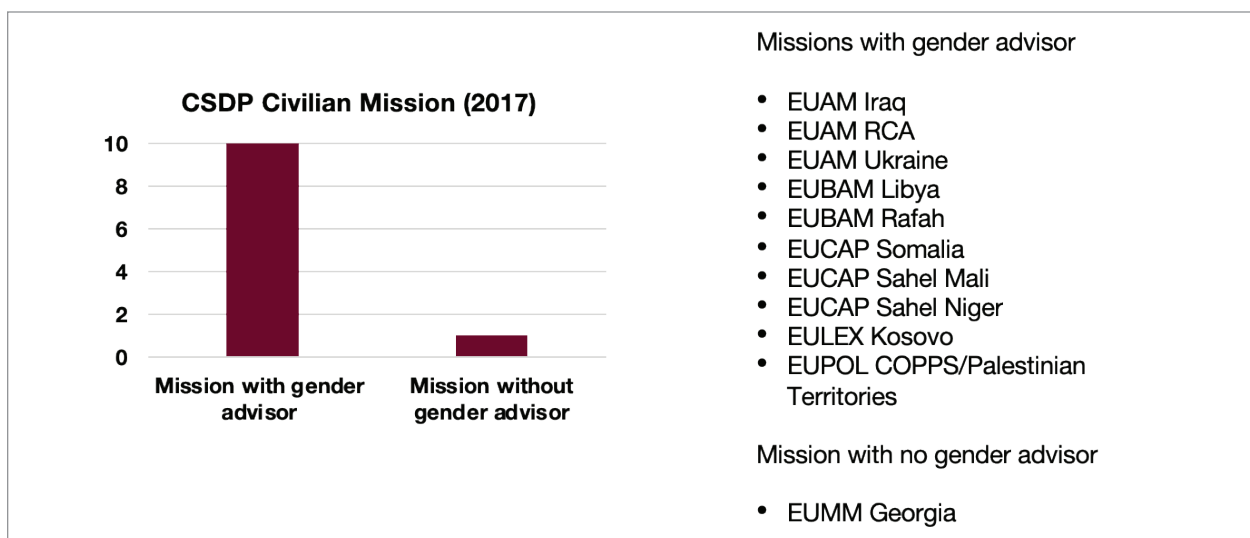
FIGURE 1 Gender provisions in peace agreements



Nearly all CSDP civilian missions have a full-time gender advisor

One area in which we have seen clear progress is the inclusion of gender advisors. Ten of the 11 European Union’s Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) missions, which seek to promote stability by strengthening the rule of law on the strategic and operational levels in fragile environments, currently have a gender advisor.³ We commend this development and encourage sustained investment in gender advisors to ensure they have the resources to succeed.

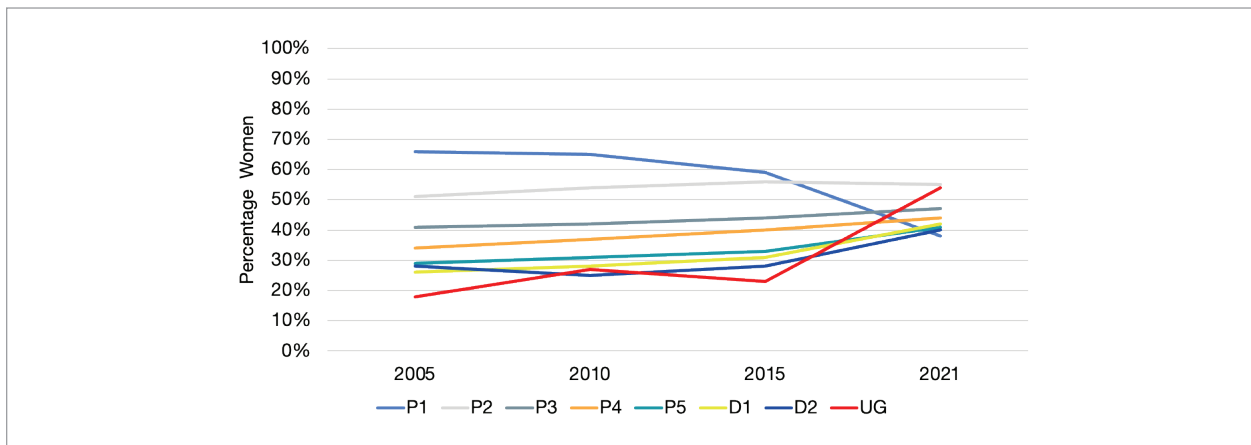
FIGURE 2 CSDP civilian missions with full-time gender advisor



Lack of women’s leadership at the United Nations

The United Nations has sought to promote the inclusion of women among its staff. Our analysis finds that there has been an important increase in women at the senior appointment level (UG), going from nearly 20% in 2005 to reaching parity in 2021.⁴ This is notable because it has coincided with an overall decrease in senior leadership appointments. This indicates that the rise in the number of women is not simply the result of creating new positions. However, the percentage of women at entry-level ranks within the UN Secretariat has not changed. Instead, at the lowest rank (P1), it has declined from about 70% to 40% over the last six years. We urge the UN and Member States to increase their efforts to recruit, retain, and promote parity of women and men across all staff levels.

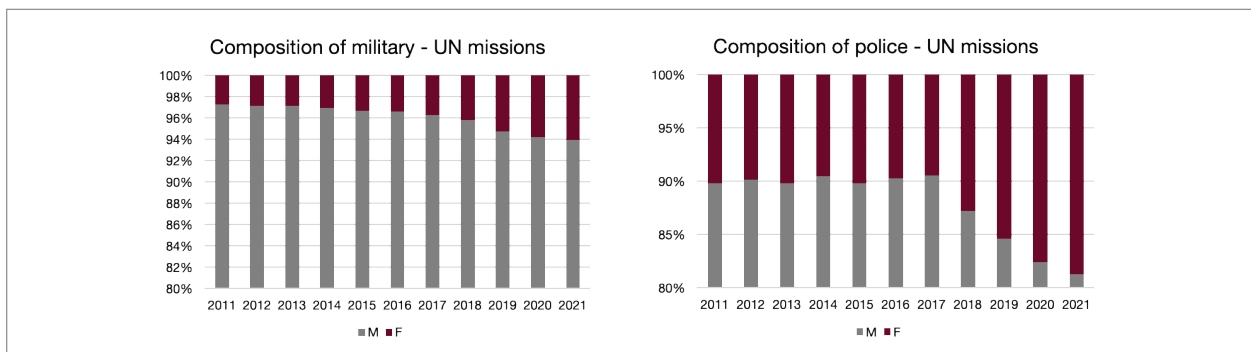
FIGURE 3 Women’s leadership at the United Nations across all staff levels



Slow progress in uniformed women’s participation in UN peacekeeping

The data collected on the gender composition of UN peacekeeping forces show slow improvements over the past three years. For example, the share of women military personnel only increased from three percent in 2011 to six percent in 2021. At this rate, the UN will fall short of its target of 15 percent by 2028. More significant progress was made by UN peace operations to increase the number of women in its police contingents. In the last ten years, the overall share of women in police roles (individual officers and formed police units) in UN missions went from 10% to 18%. We call on the UN and Member States to step up their efforts to increase uniformed women’s participation in peacekeeping.

FIGURE 4 Gender composition of UN peacekeeping

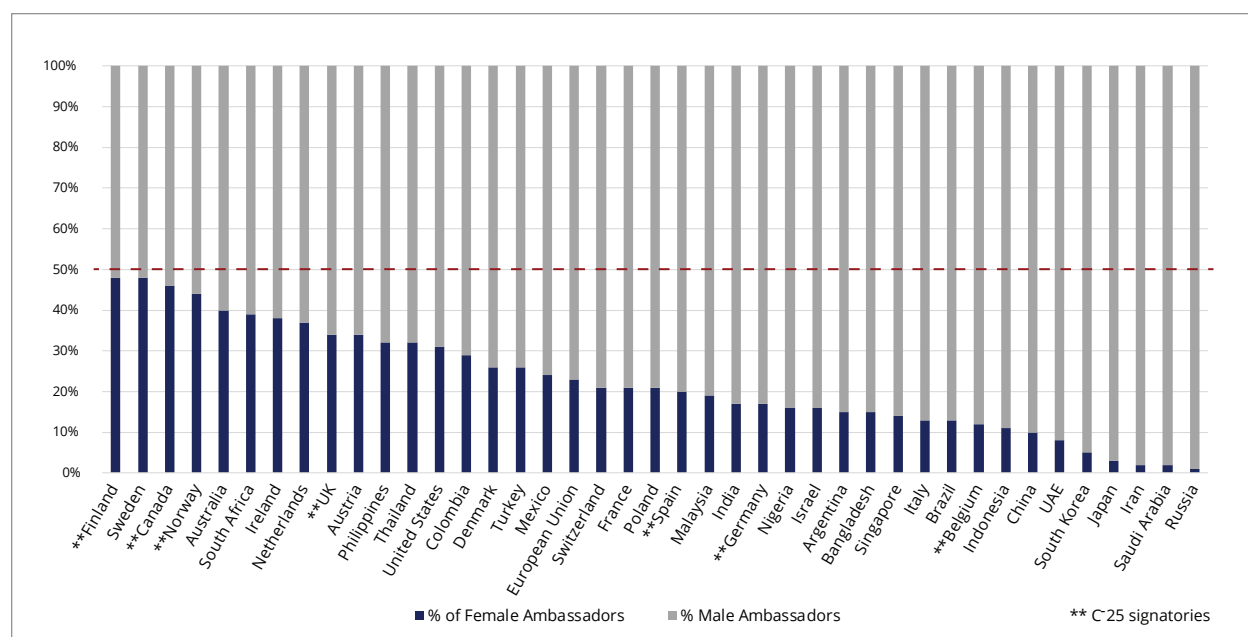


No parity in women’s representation in diplomacy

Outside of the UN, at the government level, progress toward women’s inclusion is not much better. We examined the percentage of women ambassadors within the 20 richest economies and the EU. In 2021, no country had achieved gender parity in foreign representative positions. Amongst the C-25 countries, Finland, Canada, and Norway are closest to reaching parity.

To increase the number of women as ambassadors and build a robust pipeline of future foreign policy leaders, we call on governments to promote, support, and empower women in their national diplomatic corps.

FIGURE 5 Women ambassadors within 20 richest economies and the EU



Funding for gender equality misses its target

The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), made up of the world’s major donors, must direct more resources toward gender equality efforts. Bilateral aid allocations whose primary objective is to promote gender equality and women’s empowerment have failed to reach the target of 15% of total grants.

Despite these shortcomings, there is some encouraging news in terms of funding for women’s groups in conflict contexts, particularly those in fragile and conflict states. According to our analysis, since 2009, DAC funding for organizations in these types of regions has gone from \$4 billion to over \$10 billion, pushed by the efforts of countries like the United Kingdom, Germany, the US, and Canada.

We encourage these governments and all other governments to increase their bilateral aid funding for gender equality measures to meet the 15% target.

FIGURE 6 Bilateral aid allocations to the OECD Development Assistance Committee to promote gender equality, women's empowerment

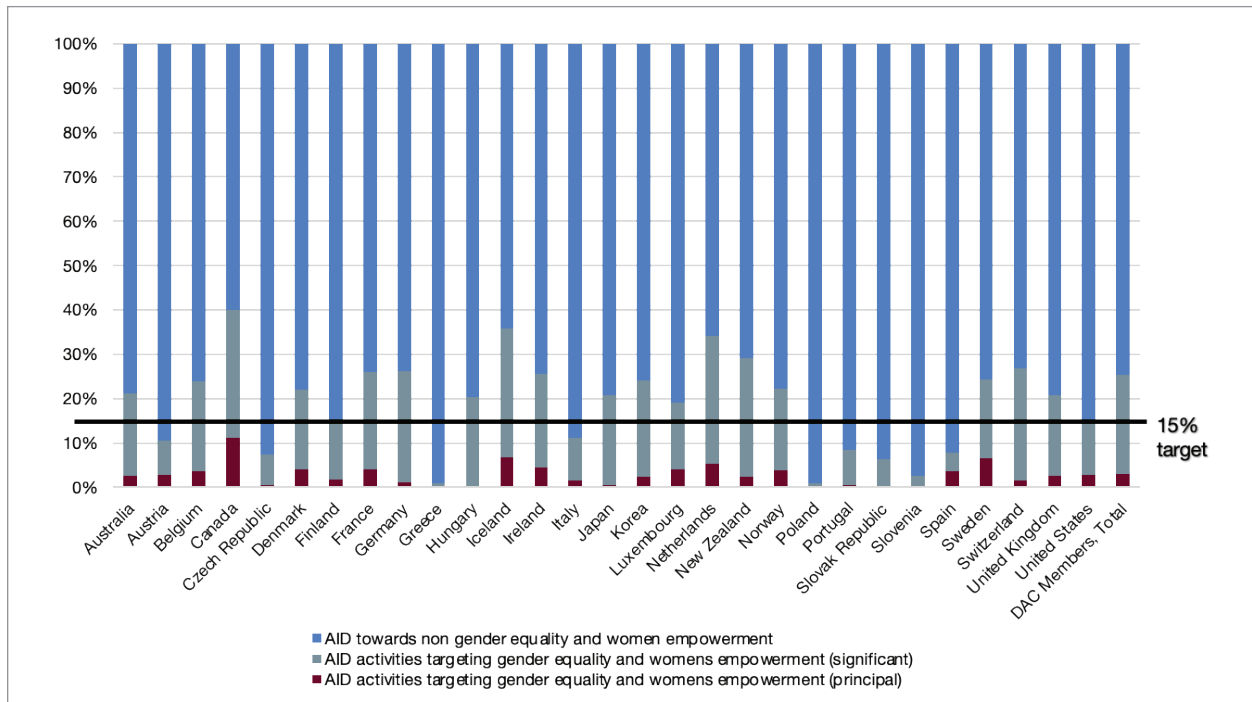
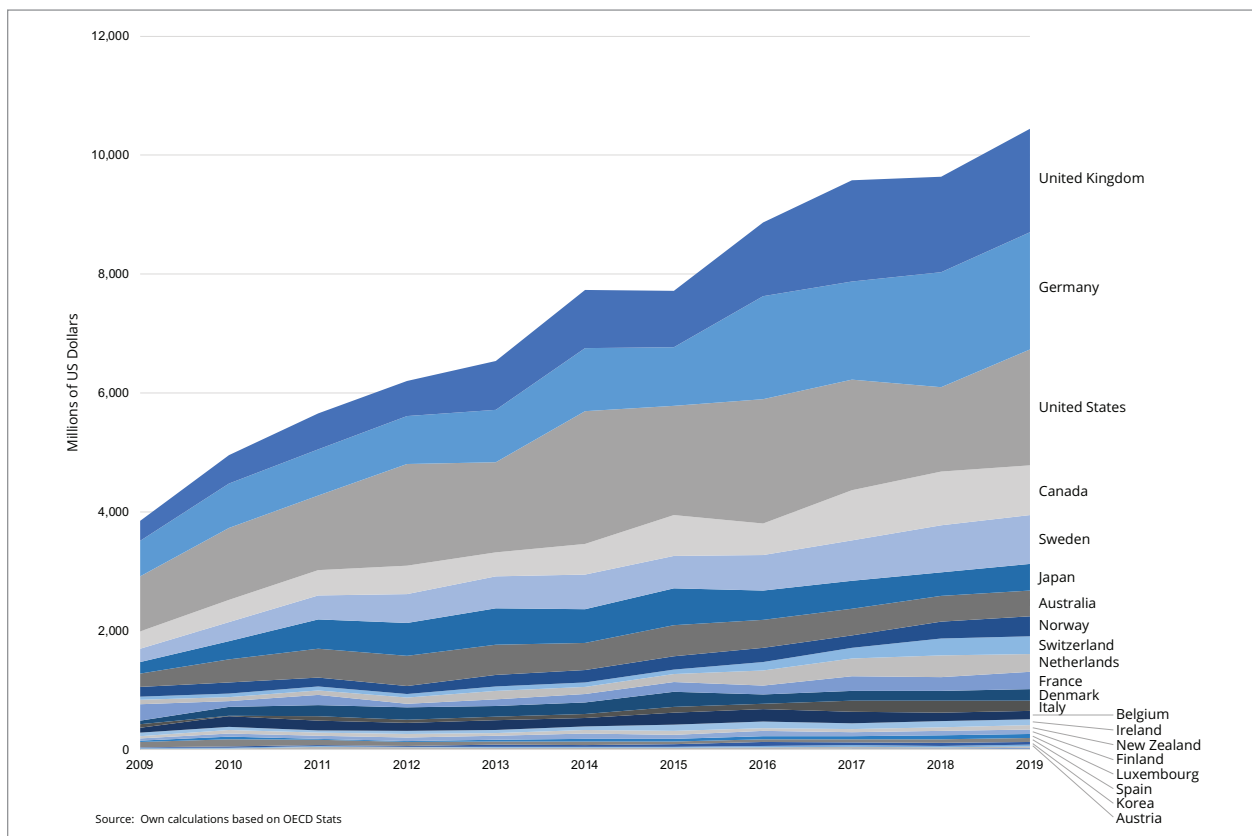


FIGURE 7 OECD Development Assistance Committee funding for women's groups in conflict contexts



Source: Own calculations based on OECD Stats

Ongoing monitoring is needed

We strongly advocate for the continued monitoring and reporting of progress across commitments. There is tremendous value in collecting this data, which is useful for the policy and advocacy efforts of C-25 members and also for country focal points tasked with the implementation of the WPS Agenda. Thus far, our analysis has largely been focused on progress in C-25 countries, but the globalization of this tracking would further enrich our collective understanding of progress on the WPS Agenda.

The time to act is now

Although progress has been slow, we are optimistic that the collective leadership and coordination among C-25 members can still make a meaningful difference by 2025. While the situation seems

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discouraging, efforts to monitor these indicators present an important step to promote transparency, accountability, and action. Having a clear picture of performance across these indicators presents governments with an opportunity to improve their coordination and engage in a concerted effort to advance the WPS Agenda. To make the necessary progress, we offer five concrete recommendations:

1. Governments involved in peace processes should include women in their delegations and expert teams, and advocate for the inclusion of women and women's civil society organizations. Further we recommend governments offer women in negotiations technical and financial support.
2. Governments involved in peace processes should advocate for the inclusion of gender provisions in peace agreements.
3. The UN and Member States should increase their efforts to recruit, retain, and promote women across all staff levels in the UN system.
4. Governments should promote, support, and empower women in their national diplomatic corps to increase the number of women as ambassadors and build a robust pipeline of future foreign policy leaders.
5. Governments should increase their bilateral aid funding for gender equality measures to meet the 15% target.

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1. Besides our work with C-25, Georgetown's Institute for Women, Peace and Security has been tracking different dimensions of women's lives in 167 countries since 2017. The Women, Peace and Security Index examines levels of women's inclusion, access to justice, and security. <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/the-index/>
 2. University of Edinburgh's Peace Agreements Database PA-X (2022). Peace Agreements Database and Access Tool, Version 1. Political Settlements Research Programme, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh. www.peaceagreements.org
 3. Collective work of WIIS (2017). *Study: Women in CSDP missions*, Directorate-General for external policies - Policy department, European Parliament 603.855. doi: 10.2861/021126
 4. United Nations (2022) UN Secretariat Gender Parity Dashboard. <https://www.un.org/gender/content/un-secretariat-gender-parity-dashboardIntroduction>

