



## Report: Women, Peace and Security Financing Workshop

*“Advancing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda:  
Local-to-Global Financing as Mechanisms for Gender Equality and  
Stable and Peaceful Societies”*

7-8 July, 2016

Church Center of the United Nations, New York



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**Cover photo:** Participants on day 1 of the workshop (Photo: Grace Jennings-Edquist, PeaceWomen/WILPF)

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AWID	Association for Women's Rights in Development
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
EU	European Union
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FTF	Feminist Task Force
GAI	Global Acceleration Instrument
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GRB	Gender-Responsive Budget
GPI	Global Peace Index
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MENA	Middle-East and North Africa
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NAP	National Action Plan (for Resolution 1325)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

*“Despite the wealth of evidence highlighting the benefits that investing in women can bring in terms of conflict prevention, crisis response and peace, the failure to allocate sufficient resources and funds has been perhaps the most serious and persistent obstacle to the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda over the past 15 years.”*

– Radhika Coomaraswamy, 2015 Global Study on UNSC U1325

In 2015, there was a global military expenditure of about USD1.6 trillion (SIPRI, 2015). Meanwhile, funding of gender equality and women’s empowerment remains drastically underfunded: Only two percent of aid to peace and security for fragile states in 2012-2013 targeted gender equality, and less than half of countries have initiatives integrating human rights or gender budgeting into national budgets (Global Study, 2015).

Investing trillions in arms and only pennies for peace leads to violence and war. If the international community wants peace, it needs to invest more in gender equality and social justice policies and movements instead. That’s why it’s time to #MoveTheMoney from funding economies of war to economies of gender justice and peace.

However, is this technically possible? Are there mechanisms that exist that can more effectively be leveraged to #MoveTheMoney from a political economy of war to a political economy of peace and gender justice? This was the focus of a two-day workshop<sup>1</sup> with about 40 people co-hosted by WILPF/PeaceWomen on 7-8 June, 2016,<sup>2</sup> which brought together civil society experts from development and security sectors to develop concrete strategies for gender equality and peace.

The need to #MoveTheMoney was also the focus of an 11 July side event<sup>3</sup> that reported the findings and key take-aways back from the workshop to Member States, UN entities, and international civil society attending the High-Level Political Forum for Sustainable Development.

The WPS Financing workshop strengthened common understandings of the constraints of militarism as a way of thought on financing gender equality and peace, and built

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<sup>1</sup> “Advancing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Local to Global Financing as Mechanisms for Gender Equality and Stable and Peaceful Societies,” 7-8 July 2016, <http://www.peacewomen.org/node/94515>

<sup>2</sup> The workshop was co-hosted by WILPF/PeaceWomen and Equidad de Género with the Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID), Cordaid, Feminist Task Force (FTF), Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP), NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (NGOWG), Women’s Environment and Development Organization (WEDO), Women’s Major Group, and the Global Acceleration Instrument (GAI). The event built on focus group discussions and a Women, Peace and Security financing survey carried out by WILPF, as well as the Global Study on Implementation of UNSCR 1325 (“Global Study”) and Civil Society Survey carried out in 2015.

<sup>3</sup> “Ensuring that No One is Left Behind: Financing Gender Equality and Stable and Peaceful Societies for Effective Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda,” 11 July 2016: [www.peacewomen.org/node/94554](http://www.peacewomen.org/node/94554)

momentum to develop worldwide solidarity for strengthened financing of gender equality and peace. It focused not on how to raise new money, but on how to redirect funds from expenditure on military and war to gender equality, conflict prevention and peace. It also provided a space for attendees to meaningfully analyse a broad range of measures to make that possible.

As part of this, the workshop identified four distinct lessons learned for good practice in strengthening WPS financing and accountability:

- 1) finance National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325;
- 2) strengthen Gender Budgeting;
- 3) strengthen accountability on defense and military budgeting; and
- 4) strengthen funding of the feminist movement, including by CSO inclusive funds like the Global Acceleration Instrument.

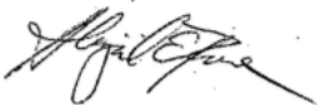
The workshop also included discussions on political entry points for change; tactics to address structural obstacles to gender equality and peace; strategies to inform advocacy through gender-disaggregated data on peace; and feminist financing principles to push for with the next UN Secretary-General.

Although the mapping of financial flows and lessons learned on good practice for financing the WPS Agenda is just one step, this engagement created a critical space for sharing learning and building common understandings for change.

Overall, attendees reported at the end of the workshop that they had appreciated the opportunity to consolidate understanding of tools that can be used to build on lessons learned, strengthen capacity for action, and cultivate communities for change. Workshop participants also expressed that they felt “very energized and inspired” by the workshop, as well as “empowered” by the knowledge they had gained.

Now more than ever, it is clear the international community must move from political economies of war based on militarised masculinities to political economies of gender justice, human security, and peace. The mechanisms are there.

We invite you to join us and call on your government to #MoveTheMoney!



**Abigail Ruane**

Programme Director

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

PeaceWomen Programme

**Speakers:** Abigail Ruane, WILPF/PeaceWomen; Ray Acheson, WILPF/Reaching Critical Will; Cynthia Enloe, Clarke University; Nela Porobic, WILPF/Crisis Response

On 7-8 July 2016, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) co-hosted a two-day workshop entitled "Advancing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Local to Global Financing as Mechanisms for Gender Equality and Stable and Peaceful Societies," at the Church Centre of the United Nations in New York. The workshop brought together feminist activists, women human rights defenders, and peace researchers from the development and security sectors to share good practice and lessons learned on how to join up efforts to move the money from war to peace.



*Attendees at the workshop. (Photo: Grace Jennings-Edquist, WILPF/PeaceWomen)*

The workshop was co-organised by WILPF and Equidad de Género, and was co-sponsored by the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID), Cordaid, Feminist Task Force (FTF), Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP), NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (NGOWG), Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO), Women's Major Group, and the Global Acceleration Instrument (GAI). It built on focus group discussions and a Women, Peace and Security



financing survey carried out by WILPF, as well as the Global Study on Implementation of UNSCR 1325 (“Global Study”) and Civil Society Survey carried out in 2015.

The workshop kicked off with panel that explored how militarism as a way of thought shapes issues of gender equality and peace, and why it is important to connect issues of militarism with financing. “We reject the idea that there is no money for gender justice,” said WILPF/PeaceWomen Director Abigail Ruane, launching the two-day workshop.

Pioneering scholar on gender and militarism from Clarke University, Cynthia Enloe then explored the concept of patriotism and how security has been militarised. “We want to start the conversation of how gender and militarism intersect,” Enloe began. She focused on how the concept of “protector/protected” is a critical foundation for our militarised world, in which the duty of protector is valued above all else. The linkage between masculinity and protector therefore leads society to focus on a man (or boy) as the leader of a family, even if women in the family do most of the work. “The idea of the protector/protected go hand in hand; that’s how patriarchy goes. It is woven into ideas of development,” she added. In societies all over the world, “Feminists are nervous about patriotism and nationalism because they focus so heavily on militarism,” Enloe concluded.

Ray Acheson, Director of WILPF’s Reaching Critical Will programme, expanded on this by providing a feminist analysis of militarisation and arms sales. Although a common tactic for implementing UNSCR 1325 is by increasing the number of female military personnel, Acheson argued that including more women in a patriarchal military structure does not positively impact peace. “Allowing women to kill is not general liberation,” Acheson affirmed. She urged participants to look at our concepts of security and to discuss critically the impact of military funding on women’s human security. She also urged a holistic understanding of security for all people.

Nela Porobic, Coordinator of WILPF’s “Syrian and Bosnian Women Organising for Change” project, spoke to the challenges and opportunities that post-conflict contexts create for building sustainable peace based on gender justice. She shared how feminist peace activists in Bosnia have provided a feminist analysis of the Dayton Peace Agreement 20 years after its creation that analyses how militarism harms society. In Bosnia, there has been a huge human, socio-economic and infrastructural impact of the war in 1990s. During the conflict, 100,000 people were killed and 30,000 went missing; there were numerous cases of human rights violations, sexual violence, displacement and destruction of infrastructure. Even today, women have difficulty accessing services. Porobic highlighted how current challenges are rooted in the gender-exclusive process of



the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement, which excluded women from the peace talks and post-conflict reconstruction. The cursory effort to put women in political positions by including them in political party negotiations had a substantial impact on access to economic and social rights, as they were not recognised as being fundamental to the peace agreement. Porobic highlighted how because peace agreements can freeze power dynamics, this is a critical time: the transition period can either build the foundation for gender equitable and democratic peace, or alternatively can institutionalise unequal and exclusive power relationships that support re-emergence of long-term conflict. Porobic shared activists' calls for a two-pronged approach that both ensures gender equitable reparations and also invests in institutions that ensure women's social and economic rights for sustainable peace.

### **Resources:**

- "Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325." UN Women, 2015. Available: [http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/UNW-GLOBAL-STUDY-1325-2015%20\(1\).pdf](http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/UNW-GLOBAL-STUDY-1325-2015%20(1).pdf)
- Goldberg, D.B. "Global Report: Civil Society Organisation (CSO) Survey for the Global Study on Women, Peace and Security: CSO Perspectives on UNSCR 1325 Implementation 15 Years After Adoption." Cordaid, ICAN, NGO WG on WPS, GNWP, 2015. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/global-report-civil-society-organization-cso-survey-global-study-women-peace-and-security>
- "Feminist (Re)Interpretation of the Dayton Peace Accords: An Intimate Dialogue on how Societies Transit from War to Peace and How Feminist Approach to Peacebuilding Can Help Create Strong and Long-Lasting Peace." Women Organizing for Change in Syria and Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2015. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/feminist-reinterpretation-dayton-peace-accords>
- "Women Organizing For Change In Syria And Bosnia." WILPF, 2013. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/women-organising-change-syria-and-bosnia>
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Maneuvers: The international politics of militarizing women's lives.* University of California Press, 2000. Available: <http://www.peacewomen.org/resource/maneuvers-international-politics-militarizing-womens-lives>
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Globalization and militarism: Feminists make the link.* Rowman & Littlefield, 2016. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/globalization-and-militarism-feminists-make-link>

## 2. MAPPING FINANCIAL FLOWS

**Session:** Where is the Money for Gender, Peace and Security?

**Speakers:** Maria Butler, WILPF; Michelle Breslauer, Institute for Peace and Economics; Sam Perlo-Freeman, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Matti Kohonen, Christian Aid; Rosa Lizarde, Feminist Task Force



*Sam Perlo-Freeman, Maria Butler, Rosa Lizarde and Michelle Breslauer discuss funding for Women, Peace and Security. (Photo: Grace Jennings-Edquist, WILPF/PeaceWomen)*

The next two panels mapped financial flows to explore where funds could be available for Women, Peace, and Security. The first of these panels was entitled, "Mapping Financial Flows: Where is the Money for Gender, Peace and Security?". This session explored possible funding available for policies and programmes on gender equality and peace if budgetary priorities are analysed from a gender and militarism perspective.

Michelle Breslauer of the Institute for Peace and Economics shared data generated by the annual Global Peace Index (GPI) report, which shows how much violence is costing the global economy. The GPI aggregates composite measures of money spent on conflict and the opportunity costs for peace. In doing so, it analyses not only funds spent directly on conflict, but funds lost for sustainable development projects. It does this in order to present an economic reasoning for peace investments and encourage a paradigm shift to imagining peace as a profitable, sustainable industry. According to the 2016 Global Peace Index, the economic impact of violence in 2015 was USD \$13.6 trillion: that is 13.3 percent of the world's economic activity, 11 times the size of foreign direct investment, and about \$1,876 for every person in the world. This number is probably a conservative one, since data collection on gender-based violence is an ongoing challenge.

According to Breslauer, 35 percent to 60 percent of women will endure sexual violence in their lifetimes. Breslauer called for strengthened data on gender-based violence (GBV) to enhance analysis of the costs of violence and planning for peace.

Sam Perlo-Freeman of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute continued the discussion with analysis of military expenditures and their implications for financing peace. According to Perlo-Freeman, approximately 2.3 percent (USD \$176 billion) of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is used to fund militarisation and conflict, rather than being redirected to more fruitful expenditures to mitigate instances of war and encourage conflict prevention. In addition to these direct impacts, there are also indirect economic effects of military expenditure and arms imports on growth, social expenditure, and debt. However, persuading governments to redirect military spending and increase transparency as to how and where funds are spent is an ongoing challenge. Strengthening control on military budgeting and arms procurement requires strengthening transparency, accountability, and anti-corruption efforts.



*Sam Perlo-Freeman, Maria Butler and Rosa Lizarde (Photo: Grace Jennings-Edquist, WILPF/PeaceWomen)*

While urging the importance of moving funds from militarisation to peace, Perlo-Freeman further suggested that determining how and where to do so requires intensive research and verification to ensure military funds are being responsibly redirected to the social sector. Unified security budgets provide a way to accomplish this. These budgets consider the cost of aid, diplomacy, and development in one holistic security apparatus, making it potentially easier to redirect funds from war to peace within one security budget rather than risk funds becoming mired in the bureaucracy of multiple government agencies and initiatives. This way, the military budget can become more accountable to citizens' oversight.

Matti Kohonen of Christian Aid explored how when oversight and transparency fails, illicit financial flows can ensue. According to Kohonen, illicit flows claim nearly two percent of global GDP. When the World Bank and International Monetary Fund assess financial outflows in unstable and fragile countries, they do not categorise those outflows as legal or illegal. As a result, certain countries such as Panama hold money that may be unaccounted for, opening opportunities for illicit investments; laundering; illegal trade of prohibited substances such as ivory and narcotics; or private accounts that perpetuate political systems in developing and fragile states that consolidate funds in the upper echelons of society. When financial and political power are highly concentrated in unstable nations, conflict is more likely to ensue as government funds do not rely on taxpayer support. This reduces citizen participation, voice, and agency in issues of peace and state security. Illicit flows often also lead to illegal activities such as drug trade and guerilla groups, which perpetuate violence and instability. Furthermore, studies have consistently

demonstrated that there is a positive correlation between illicit flows and maternal mortality, while productive gains in educational attainment in both fragile and developed nations result from higher tax revenue. Thus, strengthening tax justice and stemming illicit flows directly impact women and peace in global development and security.

Rosa Lizarde of the Feminist Task Force concluded this panel by discussing how the current rules of international finance contribute to gender inequality, violence, and conflict. She also shared what women are doing to address this. A key challenge is that the global human rights agenda has been diverted in the fight against global terror and paramilitary groups. This has not only diverted global financing and attention from peace and security, but has also often put gender analyses on hold. According to Lizarde, the Financing for Development (FfD) agenda is a key tool to align resource flows and coordinate financial policies with development. It is critical that FfD processes are conducted in a way that strengthens women's human rights. Lizarde encouraged a deeper gender analysis in the follow up to the Addis Ababa meeting in the upcoming Financing for Development forums, focusing on obstacles, gaps, and the inclusion of Northern states and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). By linking FfD priorities to the SDGs - and language directly promoting women's human rights and gender equality - there may be inroads for advancement of financing gender equality and feminist civil society including around the Women, Peace and Security agenda.

### **Resources:**

- "Addis Ababa Action Plan On Transformative Financing for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," UN Women, 2015. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/Action%20Plan%20on%20Transformative%20Financing%20for%20GEWE.pdf>
- Perlo-Freeman, Sam and Perdomo, Catalina, "The developmental impact of military budgeting and procurement – implications for an arms trade treaty, SIPRI, 2008. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/developmental-impact-military-budgeting-and-procurement-%E2%80%93-implications-arms-trade-treaty>
- "The Economic Cost of Violence Containment: A Comprehensive Assessment of the Global Cost of Violence." Institute for Peace and Economics, 2014. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/economic-cost-violence-containment-0>
- "2016 Global Peace Index: Ten Years of Measuring Peace." Institute for Economics and Peace, 2016. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/2016-global-peace-index-ten-years-measuring-peace>

- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. "The opportunity cost of world military spending." SIPRI, 2016.. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/opportunity-cost-world-military-spending>
- "Realizing Women's Human Rights in Development Recommendations on Financing for Sustainable and Equitable Development." Women's Working Group on Financing for Development (WWG on FfD), June, 2015. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/realizing-rights.pdf>
- "Military Expenditure Database." SIPRI, 2016. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/civil-society-organisation/stockholm-international-peace-research-institute>
- "You Get What You Pay For." WILPF, 2009. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/You-Get-What-You-Pay-For%20WILPF%20.pdf>
- Acheson, Ray, Beatrice Fihn. "Factsheet: Military Spending." WILPF/Reaching Critical Will, 2011. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/RCW%20Military%20Spending.pdf>
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**Session:** Where is the Money for the Feminist Movement?

**Speakers:** Eleanor Blomstrom, Women's Environment and Development Organisation; Isabelle Geuskens, Women Peacemakers Programme; Sarah Adamczyk, Duke University; Fareen Walji, Association of Women's Rights in Development





*Fareen Walji, Eleanor Blomstrom, Isabelle Geuskens and Sarah Adamczyk address struggles of funding regulations (Photo: Grace Jennings-Edquist, WILPF/PeaceWomen)*

The second panel on mapping financial flows was entitled, “Mapping Financial Flows: Where is the Money for the Feminist Movement?” This session explored possible funding available for the feminist movement, including women human rights defenders and peace activists. Discussion built on research recognising that the number one predictor of policies reducing violence against women is feminist activism. It also built on the recognition that funding for gender equality policies does not necessarily translate into funding the feminist movement. From this point of entry, the panel discussed challenges faced by women’s organisations, and resources available to strengthen this important work.

Discussion began with Isabelle Geuskens of the Women Peacemakers Programme and Sarah Adamczyk of Duke University, who shared from research on how counterterrorism measures and militarised security approaches have created a shrinking space for women human rights defenders and peace activists. One important actor is the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), which has a mandate to prevent anti-money laundering and terrorism financing. Because it has worked off the concept that civil society is vulnerable - and therefore at risk of becoming abused by terrorists - the FATF has acted to increase NGO regulation worldwide. This has had particular impact on women human rights defenders,



who often work around sensitive topics in high-risk settings with particular security risks. Small grassroots groups have faced difficulty securing funding due to the inability to comply with strict audits and regulatory guidelines demanded by major banks and financial institutions.

Evaluating the impact of counter-terrorism initiatives including financial regulation initiatives through a human rights lens is critical to ensuring regulatory environments support, rather than restrict, the space of diverse civil society. This should include action around UNSCR 2242 to monitor the impact of counterterrorism measures on women's groups through evidence-based data, and action to address issues of non discrimination, freedom of assembly and association, due process and privacy concerns, from a gender and women's rights lens.

**Case study:** The effects of counter-terrorism laws on women's civil society groups

Geuskens and Adamczyk shared how their research has uncovered a range of troubling consequences of counter-terror measures imposed on banks. For example, banks are so reticent to transfer money to organisations in conflict zones that some women's groups have had to resort to creative workarounds - including carrying cash, which increases their personal security risks.

In the face of shrinking spaces for the feminist movement, both understanding structural constraints and developing concrete tools are key. Fareen Walji of the Association of Women's Rights in Development (AWID) shared AWID's "Fund Me" tool, which was created to support women's rights and feminist organisations find potential funders that may support their work. This online database allows activists to search for potential funder by country, region, type of funding (flexible, individual, project, rapid response), and priority issue, and helps bridge the information gap between activists and donors.



*Fareen Walji and Eleanor Blomstrom speak on a panel about new funding regulations  
(Photo: Grace Jennings-Edquist, WILPF/PeaceWomen)*

This tool builds on AWID's tracking of financial flows on women's rights and gender equality since 2005. This work has shown that despite increasing public attention to women and girls, there has been little improvement in the funding situation of most women's organisations who are at the core of women's rights advancement worldwide. For example, in 2010, AWID research found that 740 women's organisations worldwide had a combined income of USD \$106 million - with a median income of \$20,000 - combined. This is still less than Greenpeace Worldwide (\$309 million), Save the Children International (\$1.442 billion), or World Vision International (\$2.611 billion). Although recent trends show increasing (though still limited) input by the private sector, restrictions on traditional funding opportunities and increasing corporate influence are also constraints. Funds are available: However, this discussion affirmed there needs to be a conversation shift to focus on where the funding is channelled and who has the funding power.

#### **Resources:**

- "Watering the Leaves, Starving the Roots." AWID, 2013. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/Watering%20the%20Leaves.pdf>
- "Counterterrorism Measures and their Effects on The Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda." Women Peacemakers Program, 2014. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/WPP%20Counterterrorism%20Document%20.pdf>

- “Factsheet: Exposing Gender Gaps in Financing Climate Change Mitigation - And Proposing Solutions.” WEDO, 2013. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/financial-mitigation-factsheet.pdf>

### 3. GOOD PRACTICE, CHALLENGES AND LESSONS LEARNED

**Session:** Member States and Gender-Responsive Budgeting

**Speakers:** Sharon Hanson-Cooper, WILPF UK; Emilia Reyes, Equidad de Género; Daisy Tourne, Government of Uruguay (Parliamentarian)



*Emilia Reyes and Abigail Ruane at the workshop (Photo: Grace Jennings-Edquist, WILPF/PeaceWomen)*

The next set of panels shared key good practice and lessons learned for feminist financing as well as challenges for these key intervention points. The first panel was entitled, “Good Practice, Challenges, and lessons Learned: Member States and Gender-Responsive Budgeting.” This session explored two different sets of strategies for strengthening

feminist financing for peace: innovative initiatives to 1) strengthen funding for gender equality, and 2) regulate funding for the military.

Emilia Reyes of Equidad de Género started the conversation by sharing what gender budgeting is and how it can be used to strengthen action on gender equality and peace. She based this discussion on her work on gender budgeting from Mexico and global discussions on the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals. According to Reyes, budgets are not just about money: Rather, a budget is a declaration of priorities, and sets out the order in which issues and activities will be addressed. Reyes stressed a need to change the methodology of how budgets are developed and implemented. Traditional budgets are gender-blind: They often do not analyse the impact of policies by gender and women's human rights, or include monitoring, evaluation, and learning mechanisms that promote gender equality rather than reinforcing gender inequality. Gender budgets address this gender blindness by building in gender analysis of how legislation, policies, programmes and schemes meet the socio-economic, political, and other rights of women; by identifying the adequacy of budget allocations to gender sensitive policies; by evaluating the impact of these actions on women, men, girls, and boys in all of their diversity; and by adjusting the action to gender equality in the next phase. Reyes discussed how Equidad de Género has effectively used gender budgeting in the Mexican context in a variety of ways, including to reduce the risk of assault for women on highways through integration of enhanced safety booths and to create more accessible streets for women with children.

Ensuring each government department takes responsibility to conduct a gender analysis within its own department mandate is critical for preventing pink-washing and ensuring that each department addresses gender inequalities within its own area. In addition, analysis of gendered priorities between government departments (i.e., national security versus education) is a key gap area that needs to be addressed. One opportunity for evaluating priorities across departments is through fiscal schemes that earmark funds raised in one area to another area. For example, in the United States, there is a sophisticated fiscal scheme that earmarks money from cigarette taxes to lung cancer research. Exploring related fiscal schemes such as taxing arms sales and re-allocating those funds to address gender based violence is one strategy that could be explored. Implementing gender-responsive budgeting plans across the executive, legislative and judicial branches is also critical to ensure laws are implemented without unnecessary roadblocks.

While gender budgeting has historically been applied within socio-economic contexts, the defense and military sector has not been a priority for this tool. This is, in part, due to gendered assumptions about what count as "women's issues." However, it is also due to

the secrecy and lack of transparency that can surround military budgets due to claims of “national security,” which increase opportunities for corruption and misuse of resources. Uruguayan Parliamentarian Daisy Tourne shared innovative initiatives in the Uruguay context by parliamentarians that addresses (1995) Beijing Declaration’s call for innovative financing including by reducing military spending and redirecting to gender equitable social development. She shared how after the dictatorship in Uruguay, parliamentarians have been able to introduce laws that promote transparency, anti-corruption, and democratic participation around military budgets, and that empower civilians to become involved in political decisions and programmatic work. This can be seen as good practice that other Member States may learn from.

The evolution of the defense budget in Uruguay has decreased over time in relation to the State budget and Gross National Product (GNP). It is with this data that civilian control can be strengthened and military control regulated and held accountable. Using laws to strengthen transparency, anti-corruption, and democratic inclusion can be useful tools in this regard.

### **Resources:**

- Gomez Lopez, Jasmine, Emilia Reyes Zuniga. “Analysis of the national budgets with a gender perspective to detect the level of commitment by the government on gender issues.” Equidad de Género, 2009. Available: <http://www.peacewomen.org/resource/analysis-annex-10-contributions-gender-equality-between-women-and-men-federal-2010-approved>
- Martinez Medina, Maria C., Lucia Perez Fragoso. “Analysis of a program to amplify coverage - an input for the public budgets development from a gender perspective.” Equidad de Género, 2003. Available: <http://www.peacewomen.org/resource/analysis-program-amplify-coverage-input-public-budgets-development-gender-perspective>
- Elson, Diane. “Budgeting for Women's Rights: Monitoring Government Budgets for Compliance with CEDAW.” UNIFEM, 2006. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/budgeting-women%E2%80%99s-rights-monitoring-government-budgets-compliance-cedaw>
- Stotsky, J.G. “Gender Budgeting: Fiscal Context and Current Outcomes.” International Monetary Fund, 2016. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/gender-budgeting-fiscal-context-and-current-outcomes>
- “Handbook on Costing Gender Equality.” UN Women, 2015. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/handbook-costing-gender-equality>



**Session:** National Financing: National Action Plans

**Speakers:** Maria Butler, WILPF; Mavic Cabrera-Balleza, Global Network of Women Peacebuilders



*Maria Butler and Mavic Cabrera-Balleza address challenges at financing National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325. (Photo: Grace Jennings-Edquist, WILPF/PeaceWomen)*

The next panel on good practice interventions was entitled, “National Action Plans and Gendered Aid for Conflict-Affected States.” This session shared about financing UNSCR 1325 National Action Plans (NAPs) as a key tool for financing and implementing the Women, Peace and Security agenda.

According to Mavic Cabrera-Balleza of the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, National Action Plans remain “the most concrete expressions of government commitments to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.” However, of more than 60 NAPs, only 12 have dedicated budgets. In other NAPs, plans are only partially funded or only a meagre portion of the funding requirements for implementation have been met. For example, Burundi’s NAP was costed at USD \$20 million but only USD \$250,000 was

leveraged for the plan; this then created a convenient excuse not to implement the plan's mandate.

Cabrera-Balleza explored how there are different approaches to funding NAPs depending on country situation. In a middle-income country like Chile, NAPs are often funded both internally through taxation and allocations from the ministries of Defence, Foreign Affairs, and Women, as well as externally. This allows for multi-stakeholder participation in the NAP implementation process and increases accountability. In the Philippines, on the other hand, the NAP is completely funded by the national gender and development budget. According to Cabrera-Balleza, the lack of a budget for NAPs serves as a clear indicator that the government has no genuine intention to implement the plan. However, even when NAPs are funded, it is critical that an effective gender analysis is conducted to ensure that funds effectively advance opportunity and security for women and gender equality. Without this analysis, funding can be misused - such as when restrooms were painted pink as a so-called gender empowerment initiative. Therefore, it is crucial for civil society to work with governments to respond to development needs, and to hold governments accountable to making real change for women through the appropriate and strategic use of NAP funds.

Cabrera-Balleza also brought attention to the fact that NAPs alone are insufficient to help states meet the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals when infrastructural capacity remains low and budgets lack appropriate costing mechanisms. Consequently, addressing global obstacles and creating enabling environments for gender equality and peace is critical especially in conflict affected countries. Cabrera-Balleza called for states to finance their NAPs, including by integrating NAP commitments into Local Development Plans to build community engagement and buy-in for strengthened accountability in otherwise often gender-blind and peace-blind contexts.

Overall, this session made clear that NAPs provide a critical opportunity, in part because they bring together departments addressing security, such as defense and foreign affairs, with those that address social and economic issues, such as women's ministries. This creates one important space to develop coordinated efforts for feminist financing for peace that go beyond efforts targeting either social issues - as often occurs with Gender budgets - or security issues - as with efforts to control military sector.

### **Resources:**

- "Costing and Financing 1325" Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, 2011.  
Available:



<http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/Costing%20and%20Financing%201325.pdf>

- “Financing for the Implementation of National Action Plans on UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Critical for Advancing Women’s Human Rights, Peace and Security.” Cordaid and GNWP, 2014. Available: [http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/FinancingUNSCR1325\\_2014\\_15nov.pdf](http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/FinancingUNSCR1325_2014_15nov.pdf)
- “Integrating Gender into the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States.” Cordaid, 2012. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/Cordaid-7247-02-PP-Gender into the New Deal-DEFHR-web.pdf>

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**Session:** The UN, WPS and CSO-Inclusive Financing

**Speakers:** Louise Allen, NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security; Ghita Kyari, UN Women; Sarah Douglas, UN Peacebuilding Commission; Elizabeth Cafferty, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs



*Louise Allen, Ghita Kyari, Sarah Douglas, and Elizabeth Cafferty discuss financing methods that CSOs can access through the UN. (Photo: Grace Jennings-Edquist, WILPF/PeaceWomen)*

The final panel on good practice interventions was entitled, “The UN, WPS, and CSO-Inclusive Financing.” This shared good practice examples in civil society (CSO)-inclusive UN funds that can contribute to bridging the gap on feminist movement financing for gender equality and peace.

As discussed earlier in the day, although feminist activists are critical to creating effective change on gender equality and peace, funding the feminist movement and funding gender equality policies are often disconnected. Furthermore, UN funds are often not made available to civil society. Feminist peace activists have advocated for a dedicated funding mechanism for civil society at the UN for the last decade. In the last year, this demand was realised through the creation of the Global Acceleration Instrument, a new UN pooled funding mechanism that both includes civil society in its funding board and also commits to ensuring at least 50 percent of its funding goes toward civil society.

Ghita Kyari of UN Women began the panel by introducing the GAI as a pioneering good practice example of civil society-inclusive UN funds. According to Kyari, the GAI focuses on bridging funding gap between development and humanitarian funding and includes civil society both in its leadership and funding priorities. Launched in February 2016, the GAI includes six areas of intervention: conflict prevention, NAPs, humanitarian, protection, mediation, and peacebuilding. Kyari encouraged civil society members to include it in their applications for funding, and called for Member States to invest in this new mechanism in recognition of the longstanding call by civil society for its creation and in order to support good practice in funds that both include civil society in the leadership and also in the recipient base of the funds.

### **Case study:** The Global Acceleration Instrument

The Global Acceleration Instrument (GAI) on Women, Peace, Security and Humanitarian Action is a flexible, rapid financing mechanism that supports quality interventions, including to enhance the capacity to prevent conflict. A minimum of 50 percent of all GAI funds is expected to be allocated to civil society organizations. The GAI is a pooled funding mechanism that aims to re-energise action and stimulate a significant shift in the financing of the women’s participation, leadership and empowerment in both humanitarian response and peace and security settings. CSOs can apply for GAI funding directly.

While the GAI is still quite new, it is already having positive knock-on effects in terms of CSO-inclusive funds. Sarah Douglas of UN Peacebuilding Commission shared how the Peacebuilding Fund expanded its Gender Promotion Initiative for the first time in 2016 to

be open to civil society. There has been substantial interest by civil society in this initiative, and continuing to strengthen the inclusiveness of other UN funds is an important area which should be strengthened as part of a broader efforts to finance gender equitable and sustainable peace. Douglas advised potential applicants to go beyond service provision to have an impact on peacebuilding through a “political edge.”



*Ghita Kyari of UN Women and Elizabeth Cafferty of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (Photo: Grace Jennings-Edquist, WILPF/PeaceWomen)*

In addition to sharing about this initiative by the Peacebuilding Fund, Douglas also talked about how gender markers have been used to begin conversations about developing gender-equitable and effectively financed programming for peace in the context of the Peacebuilding Fund. She noted that the 2010 Secretary-General’s report on Women and Peacebuilding defined a Seven-Point Action Plan on Women and Peacebuilding that set a 15 percent target for the fund to be allocated to women’s empowerment and gender equality. However, a UNDP study found that only six percent of budget allocations targeted gender marker as primary objective (gender marker 3) and 15 percent targeted gender equality as a significant objective (gender marker 2). To address this low rates, the Peacebuilding Fund launched its Gender Promotion Initiative in 2011 and has since then substantially increased the numbers of projects targeting women’s empowerment and gender equality.

Gender markers are one tool that can be used to create monitoring, evaluation, and learning systems that promote gender equality and peace rather than reinforcing gender inequality and violence. However, in their current form, the gender marker ratings system has substantial shortcomings: As of 2016, there are no shared gender markers across the full UN system. Markers which do exist are self-applied by managers, and have the potential to limit programs that are actually very effective for women. Additionally, there is no monitoring and evaluation at the culmination of programmes. It is important to note that gender markers are a means rather than an end. As a result, it is important that gender markers are recognised as a means rather than an end in developing gender equality promoting programming.

In addition to facilitating UN funds, the UN can also promote financial commitments on gender equality and peace by convening space for donors meetings. Elizabeth Cafferty of UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs concluded the panel by sharing about commitments from the May 2016 World Humanitarian Summit around financing gender equality and peace. The summit, which convened 9,000 participants from 173 Member States, resulted in five core commitments including on political leadership to prevent and end conflicts, catalyzing action to achieve gender equality, and humanitarian financing. Commitments aimed at addressing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, Addis Ababa Action Agenda, and Paris Agreement on Climate Change. Of the over 3,000 commitments, Cafferty noted that 545 (approximately 18 percent) were on women and gender. Key highlights included member state or organisational commitments to using gender-disaggregated data, to integrate gender markers, to invest in the Global Acceleration Instrument, and to end humanitarian funding for gender-blind programs by 2018. It will be critical to monitor commitments and ensure effective implementation for accountability moving forward.

### **Resources:**

- “World Humanitarian Summit: Core Commitment on Women and Girls: Catalysing Action to Achieve Gender Equality.” World Humanitarian Summit, 2016. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/women-and-girls-catalysing-action-achieve-gender-equality>
- “World Humanitarian Summit: Core Commitments on Financing: Investing in Humanity.” World Humanitarian Summit, 2016. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/financing-investing-humanity>
- Gender Equality and Women's Human Rights are Fundamental to Combating Climate Change. Women & Gender Constituency. Available:



[womensgenderclimate.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/WECF-WGCCOP21.07.12.pdf](http://womensgenderclimate.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/WECF-WGCCOP21.07.12.pdf)

- “Global Acceleration Instrument.” United Nations Development Group, 2016. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/terms-reference-gai-women-peace-security-and-humanitarian-action>
- “The Peacebuilding Fund and Gender Equality.” United Nations, 2015. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/pbf-and-gender-equality>
- “UN Peacebuilding Fund Gender Promotion Initiative III: Call For Concept Notes.” United Nations, 2016. Available: <http://peacewomen.org/resource/un-peacebuilding-fund-gender-promotion-initiative-iii>

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**Session:** In Focus: Gender-Responsive Budgeting Workshop

**Speakers:** Abigail Ruane, WILPF/PeaceWomen; Emilia Reyes, Equidad de Género



*Emilia Reyes focused on lessons learned to achieve gender-responsive budgeting  
(Photo: Grace Jennings-Edquist, WILPF/PeaceWomen)*

On the second day of the workshop - 8 July, 2016 - participants explored more in-depth key good practice opportunities, and strategised together about how to strengthen collaboration and coordination around feminist financing for peace. The morning session included a gender budgeting workshop with Emilia Reyes of Equidad de Género, facilitated by Abigail Ruane of WILPF/PeaceWomen. This was followed in the afternoon by breakout strategy sessions around key areas of action.

In the morning session, Reyes walked attendees through practical steps on how to use gender-responsive budgeting as a transformational tool, by targeting laws and programmatic processes to reallocate money for gender equality. Reyes began the session by explaining the need for and benefits of gender budgeting. “Gender budgets are a tool involving programming and budgeting to modify the negative impacts due to the gendered social order by means of addressing gender inequalities,” she stated. “We must use the structural points of entrance.”

Reyes went on to explain how states and policies reproduce archaic gender roles premised on the sexual division of labour. For this reason, she pointed out, budgeting for gender equality should not be understood as budgeting for women, as the latter can simply reinforce old gender paradigms and inequalities. “If we don’t keep in mind the sexual division of labour, adding policies of women will just contribute to that division and reproduce the unequal paradigm,” she argued. Instead, effective gender budgeting requires recognising the intersectionality of individuals and the diversity of populations at all stages of the gender budgeting process. As such, gender budgeting is a tool that can enable more effective policies and programmes for all people by connecting programme development to monitoring, evaluation, and learning processes that prioritise the needs of their target populations rather than being disconnected, or based on outdated and stereotyped assumptions. As Reyes noted repeatedly, “It’s not about the money, but about the impact.”

Gender budgets have been used both in “social” sectors like education as well as “hard” sectors like transportation, infrastructure and energy. In Mexico, gender budgeting has created more effective programming for target populations including in areas of urban development, roadbuilding and health.

Effective use of gender budgets requires understanding the impact of each policy and programme in terms of its impact on gender equality or inequality, including its differential impact on women, men, LGBTQ people, and other marginalised communities. This requires data disaggregated by sex and other status at the macro and micro level, national,

local, sectoral and in all branches of the government. However, sex-disaggregated data is not enough. Developing a normative gender analysis connected to budgeting is essential to its effectiveness.

Reyes suggested several guidelines to use when addressing gender budget methodology:

1. Carry out gender diagnostics (evaluate programmes and budgets around principles of gender equality and reduction of violence against women using sex-disaggregated data);
2. Commence programmatic revision;
3. Prioritise actions;
4. Re-allocate budgets; and
5. Follow-up

There are both internal and external points of entry for gender budgeting of governments. Reyes argued that engaging multiple entry points creates more effective impact. “The more internalised the tool, and the more equal conditions are in an institution, the more possible it is to promote a comprehensive approach to the institution’s duty towards the outside world,” she stated.

According to Reyes, state departments must integrate gender in their budgets within their own legislative, executive and judicial mandates. It is important to work with and trust the expertise of the people working in each sectors because they are experienced in how their sector reaches target populations including women and men. “Each department has a function,” stated Reyes. “Each decides what they will focus on. Each will analyse their own budget challenges.” Reyes emphasized the need to train legal departments in order to cement gender budgets into the daily life of an institution. Additionally, in the case of a state or a local government, gender budgets must also be adapted to the local budgetary process, since there can be different budgetary cycles.





*Gender budgeting expert Emilia Reyes (Photo: Grace Jennings-Edquist, WILPF/PeaceWomen)*

Reyes recommended building in incentives to strengthen gender budgeting including by making gender programming have principles of: 1) non-transferability (“earmarking”), 2) non-reducibility, and 2) progressivity. Earmarking gender equality supportive programming is important because it ensures that government authorities cannot reduce gender equality funding during emergencies. This also helps governments meet their human rights obligations, which include progressively realising women’s equal human rights, without retrogression, and using maximum available resources. Although ensuring gender programming is non-transferrable is a challenge, it makes such programming desirable especially when budgets are cut, since it requires consistent budgeting between years when achieved.

Although gender budgeting has traditionally been applied within socio-economic sectors, it is also relevant across sectors as well as within sectors related to national security and defense. Within defense or security sectors, gender budgeting has potential to strengthen individual women’s participation, protection and rights within the limited scope of institutions with strong cultures of militarised masculinity and mandates of violent conflict resolution. Within this context, Reyes noted that gender budgeting could provide a tool to analyse and re-prioritise programming around security infrastructure (i.e., promoting equitable accessibility in restrooms, camps, and otherwise), decision-making parity, training, and access to activities. However, the structural impact would be limited and cultures of militarised masculinity provide substantial challenges to creating change.

Between sectors, principles of gender budgeting have more transformative potential. Between sectors, gender budgeting could be applied to ensure funding prioritises overall expenditures that strengthen gender equality and women’s rights, including women’s

socio-economic rights. This would require a comprehensive review on the parts of the legislative branch of government in order to reallocate funds and fiscal schemes that would enable this reallocation to be possible.

As noted previously, one example of a sophisticated fiscal scheme in the United States is one which earmarks tax from tobacco sales to lung cancer research to re-allocate funds from harmful products to stakeholders affected. Similarly, gender budgeting could provide a tool to evaluate the impact of militarised budgets on gender based violence and for example reallocate taxes on arms toward services for survivors of gun violence. In discussion, participants suggested that gender budgeting principles could also support more effective planning for women's human security by encouraging defense policy planning: as one participant noted, assessing the mandate and role of the military as well as other sectors in promoting human rights and human security, and then assessing what tools and training are needed to meet those needs, can provide a grounded basis for budgetary investment and priorities.

**Case study:** Impacts of gender-responsive budgeting in Mexico.

Women's use of Gender-Responsive Budgeting has had an impact! Successful outcomes from Equidad de Género's work in Mexico include:

- The introduction of safety booths, better lighting and panic buttons along deserted highways in Mexico, where women had previously been assaulted;
- The improvement of uneven cobblestone streets in Mexico, where women with strollers faced mobility issues;
- A shift in measures to address the risk of dengue: rather than asking women to clean the backyards where men store their old belongings, to avoid possible nests of mosquitoes, the programme began to address men;
- An expanded vaccination program, calling men to take charge of the health of their children; and
- Differentiated transportation in Mexico City to prevent sexual harassment: different wagons in subway and bus rapid transit system in peak times, buses in specific lines that are women-children-elderly-disabilities only.

Although gender budgets methodology may have immediate results, it is a long-term process. No matter what the sector, Reyes affirmed that the power of gender budgeting lies in its capacity to shift programmatic actions, priorities, and resources through a gendered analysis of the impact of programme outcomes. It promotes both more effective use of money and also greater human rights accountability at the same time.

When participants asked how their CSOs could begin to work towards creating a gender budget in their states, Reyes responded: “When you see a rainbow, it’s really huge: How do you address it? You look for the angle, where is the ray of light, where are the drops of water, where are you standing?” She encouraged all participants to start wherever they were at in creating change. Ultimately, Reyes explained that although trying to engage all sectors in budgeting for gender equality remains a challenge, positive change can be made, “one program and one law at a time.”

## 4. STRATEGISING ON KEY ISSUES: WORKING GROUP DISCUSSIONS

**Facilitators:** Emilia Reyes, Equidad de Género; Isabelle Geuskens, Women Peacemakers Programme; Mavic Cabrera-Balleza, Global Network of Women Peacebuilders; Abigail Ruane, WILPF/PeaceWomen

In the afternoon, workshop participants broke out into four conversation circles on key priority areas to discuss different strategies for creating change, identify priorities and propose plans for collaborative action. Discussions centered around the following priority areas:

1. Gender Budgeting in Militarised Contexts;
2. Financing the Feminist Movement in Shrinking Spaces;
3. Financing National Action Plans; and
4. Feminist Financing Principles for the Next UN Secretary General



*Participants discussing National Action Plan financing. (Photo: Grace Jennings-Edquist, WILPF/PeaceWomen)*

Key highlights from the breakout sessions included commitments to:

- Build coalitions among non-governmental organizations (NGOs), academics, and political actors across security and development/human rights sectors to play a catalytic role in feminist finance that strengthens gender budgets and controls military budgets for peace;
- Strengthen coordination and collaboration to finance and effectively implement NAPs; this includes support for dedicated budgets, direct support for NAP-specific projects, and strengthened civil society inclusion in donor conferences, as well as prioritisation of local community needs, private-public partnerships accountability on women's human rights, and human security over militarised security paradigms;
- Strengthen collaborations to build data, research, and legal precedent for feminist financing; and
- Call for the next UN Secretary General to be a progressive feminist leader who delivers a Feminist Agenda for Peace, including by championing principles of strengthening democratic inclusion, transparency, and equality for accountability to support principles of gender-awareness, de-corporatisation, and demilitarisation for peace.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS AND KEY TAKEAWAYS

Overall, the workshop strengthened common understanding of the constraints of militarism as a way of thought on financing gender equality and peace and built solidarity for strengthened feminist financing.

Moving forward, it will be critical for Member States to recognising and strengthen good practice lessons learned. Participants called for Member States to:

- 1) finance National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325;
- 2) strengthen Gender Budgeting;
- 3) strengthen accountability on defense and military budgeting; and
- 4) strengthen funding of the feminist movement, including by CSO inclusive funds like the Global Acceleration Instrument.

Now more than ever, it is clear the international community must move the money from economies of war to economies of peace. Doing so does not require new funds. It simply requires new priorities, and more effective use of existing funds for programmes to meet the needs of the populations that they are meant to serve.<sup>4</sup>

The time is now.

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<sup>4</sup> To learn more or access WILPF's interactive toolkit on WPS financing, visit: <http://peacewomen.org/WPS-Financing>