Gender equality in Peacebuilding and Statebuilding

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Acronyms

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CGE	Commission on Gender Equality
CSO	Civil-society organisation
DDR	Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EU	European Union
FCAS	Fragile and conflict-affected situations
FTZ	Free Trade Zone
GBV	Gender-based violence
IDP	Internally displaced person
INCAF	International Network on Conflict and Fragility
OECD-DAC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Assistance Committee
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SBV	Sexual-based violence
SRH	Sexual and reproductive health
UNDP	United Nations Development Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
VAW	Violence against Women
VT	Vocational Training
WASH	Water, sanitation and hygiene
WFP	World Food Programme

Executive summary

The aim of this Guidance Paper is to provide practical programming guidance to mainstream gender into international efforts in support of peacebuilding and statebuilding processes. Peacebuilding and statebuilding that is inclusive, responsive and participatory necessarily means that women are included and that discrimination and exclusion based on gender are addressed

Support for peace building and state building has become a key priority for international engagement in fragile and conflict affected situations (FCAS) and there is now wide consensus that these agendas need to be founded on principles of inclusion, participation, responsiveness and accountability (DFID 2010; OECD-DAC 2011; WDR 2011). Such principles form the basis for mutually reinforcing dynamics between state and society, and for building up the resilience and legitimacy of the state.

The international community agrees that **peacebuilding** should include more than achieving the absence of violence, or 'negative peace'. Peacebuilding needs to address the causes of violence and conflict, including through inclusive peace processes and agreements, and supporting the foundations of institutions and systems mechanisms to resolve division and conflict through peaceful means. **Statebuilding** refers to the historically rooted processes by which state institutions develop to administer agreed rules of social, political and economic engagement and the delivery and regulation of core services to society. The international community is concerned with supporting states that are capable, accountable and responsive to citizens' needs (DFID 2010; OECD-DAC 2011; WDR 2011).

Current thinking on the necessary features of state society relations includes the following: making political settlements and political processes more inclusive; strengthening core functions of the state (including security and justice provision, and delivery of basic services, and the regulation of economic activity); creating state capacity and political space to be responsive to public expectations about power and resource allocation and general policy preferences; fostering society's ability to engage actively in public life; and working with locally embedded norms and institutions including outside the state system

The integration of gender into the processes of peacebuilding and statebuilding is important for at least three reasons.

- First there is ***intrinsic value in advancing gender equality goals*** in keeping with international commitments and resolutions on advancing women's rights, participation and voice through for example, CEDAW (1979), the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and subsequent Security Council Resolutions 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106.
- Second, there is ***instrumental value in integrating gender perspectives*** in peacebuilding and statebuilding to increase the effectiveness of these processes more widely. Gender equality has been linked to improved economic, development and peace outcomes (World Bank 2012; Caprioli 2000 and 2005; Hudson 2012).
- Third, tracking how women experience and participate in peacebuilding and statebuilding is in itself a *powerful* ***measure of the principles of inclusivity, participation, responsiveness and accountability in state society relations***. The effectiveness of gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding is therefore also a test of the degree to which these principles fundamentally underpin these efforts.

However, despite growing international and national commitments to integrating a gender perspective in peacebuilding and statebuilding, in practice these have rarely moved beyond declaratory statements. Moreover, the international policy debates on these agendas have been weak in engaging substantively with gender equality and supporting women's role in these processes. The recent publication of OECD-INCAF's policy paper, *Gender and Statebuilding in Fragile and Conflict-affected States* (OECD 2013) is an exception,[1] As are the studies collated in the *UN Women Sourcebook on Women, Peace and Security* (UN Women, 2012) which provide useful policy and practical insights on integrating gender in interventions working in contexts of conflict and post conflict. But for the most part, while peacebuilding and statebuilding processes present opportunities to advance gender equality goals, strengthen women's citizenship and address entrenched gender inequalities, there has been an absence of a clear strategy for achieving this, resulting in missed opportunities for gender justice (Castillejo 2013; Tripp 2012).

[1] The OECD-INCAF Policy Paper on Gender and Statebuilding (OECD-DAC, 2013) was finalised and published after the completion of this Guidance.

A review of the key literature on the linkages between promoting gender equality and advancing peacebuilding and statebuilding goals (Domingo et al. 2013) found that we still know very little about: a) what works to substantively integrate gender in peacebuilding and statebuilding in fragile and conflict affected contexts; and b) how gender responsive approaches specifically contribute to peacebuilding and statebuilding objectives. However, in looking more closely at sector specific experiences (such as support to peace agreements, post-conflict governance, justice and security reform, or service delivery), there *is* an emerging body of evidence that provides insights and lessons on what gender-responsive approaches that work might look like.

The key findings from this review of the evidence include the following:

- There is a more favourable international climate for more coherent support to gender-responsive approaches in FCAS reflected in the cumulative body of international norms and commitments (such as UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and associated resolutions) and policy documents (such as the OECD-DAC Policy Paper *Gender and Statebuilding in Fragile and Conflict Affected states*), (Castillejo 2013; OECD-DAC 2013; UN Women 2012)
- Peacebuilding and statebuilding processes can offer unique opportunities to embed gender-equality goals in emerging political settlements resulting from the redefinition of the rules of social, political and economic engagement. These are important to capitalise on, as often opportunities for gender equality become quickly retrenched, (Castillejo 2011 and 2013; El-Bushra 2012; Justino et al., 2012; Rostami Povey, 2003; Petesch 2011)
- This can result in concrete opportunities to achieve legal change which eliminates gender-based discrimination in formal law, for instance to remove barriers to women's access to political participation, or to ownership of land and other assets, (Tripp 2012; Waylen 2006; Haynes et al 2011; UN Women 2012).
- Working with a range of stakeholders (including gender advocates and decision-makers) at key points and processes of peacebuilding and statebuilding is important to facilitating change towards gender equality and women's empowerment. For this, understanding conduct and attitudes, and working with "resistors" to alter incentives and belief systems is important to promote institutional (formal and informal) and political change (Castillejo 2011; OECD-DAC 2013).
- The experience of conflict can result in a redefinition of gender roles, which can partly contribute to changing attitudes, and enhancing opportunities and capabilities for women's agency and access to decision-making roles. But gender hierarchies are resilient. Patriarchy and discriminatory social norms tend to reassert themselves in post-conflict periods (Wood 2008; Petesch).
- In FCAS the state is often weak, and there are competing institutions and norm systems that order social and political life. Working with non-state actors and informal institutions, including at community-level, may be the most effective entry-point for addressing gender-based inequalities and discriminatory social norms, and renegotiating women's public and private roles (Sieder and Sierra 2010; Isser and Chopra 2011).
- The international community needs to work better *across* sectors and thematic areas to promote gender equality in FCAS and in peace building and state building outcomes. This requires working in a less siloed and technical way, and being explicitly aware of how change in one sector affects outcomes in another from a gender perspective.
- Legal change to eliminate gender-based discriminatory norms and practices tends to be slow to affect the real dynamics of gender relations. The gap between new laws (de jure) and practice (de facto) is a recurrent challenge across the thematic areas, (Ni Aolain et al 2011).
- Addressing gender inequalities is deeply political, but gender-responsive approaches are often dissociated from considerations of how they intersect with wider dynamics of social, political and economic change in transitional settings. Effective support to gender-responsive peace and statebuilding requires a deep understanding of wider context-specific political-economy conditions, (Castillejo 2011 and 2013; El Bushra 2012; OECD-DAC 2013).

Drawing on findings from a review of the evidence, this paper develops practical guidelines for integrating gender into peacebuilding and statebuilding activities. This includes an integrated 'high-level' theory of change (Figure 1, page 3) which sets out the building blocks for supporting gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding. This is premised not on prescriptive *best practice*, but on guiding the elaboration of programmatic theories of change to underpin intervention choices that enable a ***best-fit approach*** **adapted to context-specific conditions**.

This 'high-level' theory of change that can inform programme design, intervention choice and implementation has five components:

[1] The first involves identifying the ***spheres of change*** relevant to peacebuilding and statebuilding activities operate from a gender perspective. This includes dealing with the legacies of conflict, political voice and governance and delivering core state functions (state-society relations). These are not separate spheres but are deeply interconnected – change in one area affects change processes in another.

[2] The second component includes identifying the ***inputs and activities*** necessary to achieve change in peacebuilding and statebuilding that advances gender equality objectives. This involves combining a political economy *and* a gender analysis approach to identify the types of programming activities and policy inputs that are needed to mainstream gender more strategically.

[3] The importance of adapting a theory of change to ***context specific opportunities and constraints*** is critical. There is a need to revisit and test underlying assumptions about entry-point and intervention choices, and how they contribute to intended change processes and outputs during the programme life. This stage of programme design needs to be grounded in *an awareness of changing context conditions and the interconnectedness of change processes across sectors.*

[4] The fourth component describes the ***immediate and intermediate outputs*** that can be reasonably expected, given the concrete programmatic theory of change on which entry-point and intervention choices are made, and the specific realities of context.

[5] This component indicates broader goals of improved gender equality and more inclusive, participatory, equitable and legitimate peaceful states that the preceding stages can contribute to.

There are a number of intersecting and overarching principles that need to be applied at all levels of policy and programming design and implementation (Box 1). Notwithstanding the paucity in the evidence base, such principles are derived from findings in the literature review (Domingo et al 2013). It is important that these overarching principles inform sector specific international support, including in how interventions and entry points are determined, and ways of working with relevant actors and institutions (formal and informal) and with dynamic processes of change and shifting power relations that are specific to country context.

Box 1: **Guiding principles for supporting inclusive and gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding**

- Build political commitment on inclusion of women, through support to lobbying and advocacy at international, national and sub-national levels – including in donor countries to reinforce the visibility and value of supporting gender equality goals as a key priority of inclusive peacebuilding and statebuilding.
- Move away from siloed and technical approaches to sector programming. In SB, what happens in one sphere of political, social or economic engagement affects change processes and opportunities/challenges for gender equality in another - and all affect the quality of state society relations
- Seek to understand how gender inequalities relate to the broader political settlement and distribution of power and resources and therefore how any shift in the political settlement could impact gender relations (including creating a backlash by those whose interests are threatened).
- Promote women's inclusion within the most critical, high stakes foundational moments (peace deals, constitution drafting etc.). These are the moments when the direction of SB is set and where male elites may be most likely to resist women's participation and international actors most reluctant to champion it.
- Pay attention to existing incentives structures and sources of resistance, and opportunities to encourage (predominantly male) elites to accept change. It needs to be recognised that this is a highly sensitive area, that promotion of gender equality threatens deeply entrenched interests and that there will be significant resistance.

- Facilitate legal change that eliminates gender discrimination from all aspects of political, social and economic engagement, including in foundational processes such as constitutional reform, taking advantage of opportunities for renegotiating norms in peacebuilding and statebuilding processes
- Support inclusion and participation of women in all areas of peacebuilding and statebuilding. This includes building up capabilities for political voice and leadership qualities of women and gender equality advocates, and consulting (cross-society) women and men in identifying their needs and contributing to designing and delivering appropriate services and economic opportunities
- Pay attention to the linkages between statebuilding at the national and sub-national levels, and to policy-making and decisions on resource allocation, and service delivery for users/citizens - and what this means for gender equality. This includes moving beyond stereotypes of women's needs in terms of access to justice and focus on SRH to women's roles and inclusion in all aspects of society.
- Pay particular attention to the informal rules of the game as evidence suggests that even where peacebuilding and statebuilding results in significant new formal rights and opportunities for inclusion, these can be undermined by deeply entrenched and highly powerful informal patterns of exclusion.
- Work with relevant informal systems and actors such as local authorities and community leaders and women's organisations to facilitate / implement legal changes during the peace process which benefit women, and in the delivery of services in terms of resources, capacity.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to develop practical programming guidance on gender-responsive interventions in international efforts in support of peacebuilding (PB) and statebuilding (SB) processes, drawing on the DFID paper "Building Peace States and Societies: DFID Practice Paper", (DFID 2010). For this we draw on a review of the literature on the state of knowledge regarding gender perspectives in the different components of peacebuilding and statebuilding (see Domingo et al. 2013), as well as on political economy and gender analysis approaches in order to develop a set of principles and guidance for policy-makers and advisors to better inform programme design in peacebuilding and statebuilding operations from a gender perspective.

The Guidance Paper is structured as follows.

- First, the paper draws attention to the reasons why integrating gender into mainstream peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts has intrinsic value in and also *adds value* to these efforts
- Second the paper presents an overarching theory of change to inform programming for gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding, addressing the different spheres of change and component features of state society relations
- Third, the paper following, the theory of change framework, provide specific practical guidance on how to approach gender-responsive PBSB, combining political economy methods with gender analysis. This analytical approach is useful to develop guidance on the necessary building blocks to integrate gender meaningfully into policy and practice. Given the variability and breadth of peacebuilding and statebuilding in FCAS it is important for programming to be able to respond to the very specific gendered experiences of conflict and fragility which are also context specific.
- And finally, the paper presents sector specific guidance on how to approach programming, taking account of the theory of change framework and lessons learned from the evidence base. This is premised not on building prescriptive blueprints, but on providing a framework for analytical reasoning to guide the choice of decisions about entry points and programme inputs relevant to the particular constellation of political economy factors and gender relations in any given context.

1 Why integrate gender perspectives in peacebuilding and statebuilding?

Support for peace and state building has become a key priority for international engagement in fragile and conflict affected situations (FCAS).

The consensus in the international community is that **peacebuilding** should include more than achieving the absence of violence, or 'negative peace'. Peacebuilding needs to address the causes of violence and conflict, including through inclusive peace processes and agreements, and supporting the foundations of institutions and systems mechanisms to resolve division and conflict through peaceful means, (DFID, 2010; OECD-DAC 2011). **Statebuilding** refers to the long-term and historically rooted processes by which state institutions develop to administer the rules of social, political and economic engagement, and to deliver and regulate core services to society. The international community is concerned with supporting states that are capable, accountable and responsive to citizens' needs (DFID 2010; OECD-DAC 2011; WDR 2011).

Peacebuilding and statebuilding are both complex and multidimensional processes. They are also deeply interconnected, and overlap in important ways. As policy areas, they have evolved towards a growing recognition within the international community that both processes need to be grounded in building up linkages between state and society which are founded on principles of inclusion, participation, responsiveness and accountability. These are the basis for mutually reinforcing dynamics underpinning state society relations that enable resilience and legitimacy of the social contract.

In this spirit different international organisations and donor initiatives, for instance DFID, the OECD DAC's International Network on Conflict and Fragility (INCAF) and the World Bank,[2] have developed policy notes, and frameworks which lay out key areas for support in (re)building peaceful and effective states and societies should be. These share some fundamental features on what are necessary components of state society relations, including to foster legitimacy and resilience. These include: making political settlements and political processes more inclusive; strengthening key core functions of the state (including security and justice provision, and delivery of basic services, and the regulation of economic activity); creating state capacity and political space to be responsive to public expectations and demands of state society relations; fostering society's ability to engage actively in public life.

All of these processes display **two weaknesses regarding gender-responsive approaches to peacebuilding and statebuilding in practice.** First, despite international commitments to integrating gender into peacebuilding and statebuilding – including through such frameworks as UNSCR 1325 – in practice these have not amounted to much more than declaratory statements, and the mainstream policy debates on these agendas are noticeably weak in engaging substantively with either supporting women's role in these processes, or advancing gender equality goals. Second, peacebuilding and statebuilding processes present important opportunities for donors to support the advancement of gender equality goals, of women's citizenship and to address entrenched gender inequalities (Castillejo 2013). But the absence of a clear strategy for addressing gender equality goals substantively in international support efforts means that these opportunities are being missed to the detriment of gender justice specifically, and inclusive statebuilding more generally.

Integrating gender into peacebuilding and statebuilding is important for a number of reasons.

- First the ***intrinsic value*** of advancing gender equality goals from the outset of engaging in international support to such processes cannot be overemphasised. This should include ensuring that from the start international commitments to gender equality and women's rights are at the forefront of such processes. This moreover, is in keeping with international commitments on women's rights through CEDAW and UNSCRs 1325 and related resolutions, which emphasise the importance of ensuring women's participation at every stage of peacebuilding. But the intrinsic value of these normative commitments is rarely sufficient to fundamentally alter the conduct and incentives of UN field workers or programming staff working in challenging contexts in relation to gender equality practices. There is a need therefore for better clarity on why it matters to support gender equality outcomes, and improved practical guidance on how to integrate gender perspectives into peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts.
- Second, there is ***instrumental value in integrating gender perspectives*** in peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts in the degree to which doing so increases the effectiveness of these processes more widely. The evidence shows that gender equality has been linked to improved economic and development and peace outcomes (World Bank 2012; Caprioli 2000 and 2005; Hudson 2012).
- Third, by addressing how women experience and participate in peacebuilding and statebuilding it is possible to ensure that the principles of inclusivity, participation and responsiveness underpin these efforts from the start, in keeping with international commitments. ***Gender-responsiveness in itself sets a benchmark against which donor commitments to inclusivity, participation and responsiveness in statebuilding can be assessed.*** Women – noting the great heterogeneity that this group represents in terms of class, ethnicity and other identities, and therefore interests – provide an observable group against which indicators to address inclusion, participation etc. can be developed to track change over time in the different sectoral and programming areas that feature in SB processes.
- Fourth, and related to this, applying a gender lens to peacebuilding and statebuilding processes has the merit of ***addressing multiple spheres of social and political exchange*** – at the micro, community and national level, and in the public and private spheres. Such a lens provides an analytical focus draws attention to the important linkages between sectors, and provides insights on how international interventions addressing the informal and local spheres, which are major sites of women's exclusion.

[2] See especially the following policy documents of the international agenda (policy and practice guidance notes and statements) OECD-DAC (2011); DFID, (2010); World Bank (2011); and the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (2011).

In practice, there are a number of important challenges to be highlighted.

First, like all agendas seeking to address goals of inclusivity, addressing gender and related inequalities in power and resource allocation requires moving beyond technical approaches to engage with the deeply political nature of PBSB. There is an acknowledgement in policy documents of the need to 'engage politically', but international support to peacebuilding and statebuilding has in practice been dominated by technical approaches. In addition, integrating gender is typically relegated to very siloed and technical programming that is disconnected from analysis of the broader political processes of peacebuilding and statebuilding.

Essentially at stake in peacebuilding and statebuilding is the redefinition of who gets what, where and how, often through renegotiating the underlying ***political settlement*** (that is, the reigning political bargain on how decisions about power and resource allocation are made).[3] These are therefore often deeply political and contested processes, and may be more or less exclusionary. Patterns of gender inequality are closely related to the terms of the broader political settlement, and the interest structures that this serves. Progress on gender equality precisely involves touching on powerful interests that will resist change, for instance on women's access to property. Such forces of resistance cannot be underestimated, and support to gender-responsive SB needs to be fully attuned to how these interest structures are aligned with the political alliances being forged through peacebuilding and statebuilding, including as political settlements get renegotiated and redefined. Hence gender power relations must be analysed in relation to the broader political settlement, and addressed as part of broader patterns of power and resource allocation, rather than as a stand-alone issue. But this gender lens is seldom present in mainstream peacebuilding and statebuilding thinking (Castillejo 2011 and 2013; El-Bushra 2012; Ni Aolain et al., 2011; Nazneen and Mahmud 2012).

Second ***how international actors operate*** in itself is challenging. The pressure for results-focused approaches is in tension with the fact that the change processes intended through peacebuilding and statebuilding require long-term horizons. These are lengthy and mostly domestically driven processes of political change where the role of international actors is limited. At the same time, when they do intervene, failure to understand the political context can lead to 'doing harm' (OECD-DAC 2010 and 2011).

Third, it is important to recall that ***peacebuilding and statebuilding includes multiple objectives within international actors' development and security agendas***. Within this, addressing gender issues and women's experience of conflict and fragility has not *in practice* been at the forefront of donors' priorities. This means that at every stage of programming there are likely to be internal (if not explicit) resistances to raising gender-responsiveness as a matter of priority, especially when this is perceived to conflict with other priorities, such as stabilisation or military security. Afghanistan remains an often-cited example in this respect (Ni Aolain et al. 2011).

Finally, ***what we know about effective ways of integrating gender*** into peacebuilding and statebuilding remains hugely underdeveloped. Existing evidence on 'how to do' gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding is limited and of uneven quality. On the somewhat 'older' analysis of conflict and PB there has emerged a body of policy and academic literature that from different thematic and analytical perspectives engages in a gender analysis of how women experience conflict and post-conflict, and related policy responses from a gender perspective (see among many others, Eade and Haleh, 2004; Ni Aolain et al., 2011; Olonosakin et al., 2010; El Bushra 2012; Justino et al. 2012; Petesch 2011; multiple chapters in UN Women 2012). On gender-responsive SB there is far less (with some exceptions such as Castillejo 2011 and 2013; El Bushra 2012 as notable exceptions). A closer examination of sector specific literature on gender perspectives in FCAS– which mostly makes limited reference to PB or SB – reveals useful insights and lessons that can usefully inform current international support efforts to integrate gender better in peacebuilding and statebuilding processes (Domingo et al 2013).

Thinking about gender therefore needs to be at the forefront of policy engagement and support to what are deeply political processes of renegotiating the terms of the political settlement, and thus the nature of state society relations, if the international community is serious about inclusivity, responsiveness and participation. But doing so requires embracing from the start the need to deal with complexity and the messy realities of socio-political change. It also requires that donors move away from siloed approaches that characterise programmatic work in the different relevant sectors for peacebuilding and statebuilding.

[3] The term 'political settlement' draws on DiJohn and Putzel (2009), to refer to the terms of the elite bargain that determines the rules of political, social and economic exchange. It is, however a bargain that is susceptible to contestation and renegotiation, acquiring over time different levels of inclusiveness (including from a gender perspective) as regards the rules for allocating power and resources, and defining the direction of policy and decision-making at national and sub-national levels.

2 Towards an overarching theory of change: key components of gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding

The starting point for an overarching theory of change on gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding is that:

a) Peacebuilding and statebuilding moments present unique opportunities to embed new rules of the game into the political process that can assure gender equality goals to be included, and;

b) Working towards gender-equality goals is in itself a measure of inclusivity, which is a key intended outcome for the international agenda of peacebuilding and statebuilding that advocates building states which are inclusive, participative, responsive and accountable to its citizens.

In developing sector level theories of change to underpin programming across the key components of gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding there are five cross cutting questions that should inform *all* programming in *all* sectors at *every stage* of design and implementation. These questions respond to distinctive features of FCAS situations and the way in which gender should be incorporated into peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts:

- How can **participation, inclusion and voice** of women be assured, and what value-added does it bring to peacebuilding and statebuilding in all areas of political, social and economic engagement?
- What are the concrete ways in which gender-responsive perspectives can be integrated into peacebuilding and statebuilding that accounts for the specific needs of women and men in the provision of **basic services and core state functions** (including security and justice, and different areas of social policy, as well as the regulation of economic activities to ensure equitable access to livelihoods and assets)?
- How can the challenges of **institutional hybridity** (such as customary institutions co-existing with formal institutions) be addressed from a gender-responsive perspective? What are the most effective ways of working with and supporting relevant non-state actors (including women's organisations and non-state providers of services and decision-makers/policy brokers)?
- How do the **informal rules of the game** (including informal power relations within formal institutions) affect women's participation-inclusion-voice or their access to services? How can gender be integrated into broader work on informal power and institutions?
- What do we know about how **national and sub-national processes** can be bridged, and how might gender-responsive SB efforts ensure that both levels remain connected in mutually reinforcing ways to assure coherence on advancing gender equality goals and women's rights?

It is important to stress that progress towards gender equality goals is neither a given outcome nor will it follow a linear process of change in peacebuilding and statebuilding processes. The objective itself is politically fraught, dynamics of change are multi-dimensional, take place over the long-term and often suffer reversals. The volatility of FCAS, moreover, means that such processes are especially uncertain in these contexts reinforcing the challenging nature of the environment for programming. Such complexities are well recognised in the literature. Thus, international policy and programming needs from the start to embrace the fact that interventions in these contexts need to integrate context-specificity. *Context analysis should not only be a preliminary stage but should be integrated into the life of programming.*

Figure 1 below summarises an overarching theory of change framework for gender-responsive programming in peacebuilding and statebuilding support efforts.

This presents an overarching summary of the change processes that gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding should include. This framework underlines the need for integrated and coordinated approaches *across* sectors, because change in one area affects change in the other. Integral to the analytical approach of this framework is that *an understanding of the political economy conditions and gender realities in each context and each sector (and the relationship between them)* needs to be central to guiding programming

Figure 1.

Including women in Peacebuilding and Statebuilding

[1] Spheres of change and entry-points

Interconnecting spheres of change

Dealing with legacies of conflict/fragility
(1) Transitional justice, DDR

Political voice and governance
(2) Peace agreements/constitutional reform
- Women and peace agreements
- Gender-inclusive constitutional reform

(3) Political participation
- National elections + quotas for women
- Sub-national participation for women
- Access to policy processes
- Women's movements

State-society relations
(4) Justice and security
- *Protection/security/access to justice + rights protection (eg property rights) for women*

(5) Service Provision
- *Basic services and social policy*

(6) Economic recovery
- *Access to livelihoods/engagement in economic life*
- *Access to property and assets*

[2] Inputs

Inputs / support to:
- Normative change (formal and informal)
- Organisational reform and capacities (state and non-state)
- Actor-centred capabilities
- Support to networks and coalitions for reform
- Sensitisation, awareness and advocacy
- Support to women's participation and consultation on sector-specific needs
- Support to access to services, livelihoods, and economic opportunities

Analytical approach to programming
Using political economy and gender analysis to identify relevant entry-points and inputs.

[3] Underlying change assumptions

Importance of testing assumptions:
In each context and sector, assumptions about change processes need to be iteratively revisited and interrogated to ensure ongoing relevance to context *during the life of programmes*

Pay attention to complexity of intended change processes:
Changing norms, building capacity for agency among women, strengthening organisations, and brokering relational change among relevant actors creates positive synergies for transformative change **<u>across</u> all sectors, but realism is important**

[4] Outputs

Outputs (immediate and inter-mediate)

Gender responsive norms (formal and informal)
+
Women and girls' agency →
+
Women's voice and influence in decision-making
+
Equitable gender relations and inclusion of women and men in PBSB
+
Equitable access to services for women and men
+
Change in behaviour, attitudes and wider social norms

[5] OUTCOMES

Gender-responsive PB and SB:

Gender equality outcomes + Inclusive, participative, responsive, equitable and legitimate states

ITERATIVE CHANGE, FEEDBACK LOOPS AND SOME CAVEATS

- *Iterative feedback loops / reinforcing dynamics of women's empowerment across all spheres of change*
- *Requires dynamic re-engagement with shifting opportunities for change overtime*
- *But social transformation requires long time frames, is rarely linear, and synergies across political, social and economic spheres are rarely simple, so linearity, speed and positive spillover effects cannot be assumed*
- *Vulnerabilities to political change, regime instability, state fragility , resilient discriminatory social norms , and the risk of backlash need highlighting*

choices on entry-points and inputs, and to informing the implementation process. Thus, the aim of such a framework is not to provide a blueprint but to offer guidance for the analytical steps that should underpin programme design and implementation in the different thematic areas of programming that form the core of peacebuilding and statebuilding.

Table 1 presents a summary of the ToC framework, with a brief explanation of each column. Each of these is discussed in greater detail in subsequent sections of this Guidance Paper.

Table 1: **Summary explanation of the Theory of Change Framework**

[1]	**[2]**	**[3]**	**[4]**	**[5]**
Spheres of change and entrypoints	Inputs	Testing underlying assumptions about change	Outputs	Outcomes
Refers to key thematic areas of peacebuilding and statebuilding processes, and sites for programming entry points.	Refers to both recommended analytical approach and resulting choice of inputs	Refers to the need to explicitly signal expected change processes and underlying assumptions	Refers to intended short-term and intermediate results	Refers to high level objectives
These mirror potential entry points for donor action/interventions in FCAS (addressing legacies of conflict; supporting inclusive and participative politics; building up provision and regulation of core state functions and services. Crucially it matters that international interventions within these spheres are not siloed, but take account of how change across all three is inter-connected. Coherence and coordination of programming over time and sectors matters for aid effectiveness	Drawing on political economy and gender analysis approaches, the identification of relevant inputs should be based on a reasoned analysis of realistic objectives of change given concrete conditions of existing norms, and actor-specific interests and capabilities, and the realities of power relations. Inputs are likely to include support to: •Normative change (formal and informal) •Organisational reform and capacities (state and non-state) •Actor-centred capabilities •Support to networks and coalitions for reform •Sensitisation, awareness and advocacy •Support to women's participation and consultation on sector-specific needs •Support to access to services, livelihoods, and economic opportunities	In order for intended change processes to rebalance gender relations and enhance, inclusive peacebuilding and statebuilding needs to involve: altering both norm systems and organisations (formal and informal) which inhibit gender equality, and enabling agency among gender advocates and beneficiary groups to, in turn, more effectively participate in driving GE goals. *Underlying assumptions of change* require iterative testing and interrogation to ensure that they remain relevant to context, and to the particular features of sector needs and gaps for women	-Improved norms system (formal and informal), in keeping with gender equality goals and gender justice. -Improved women's experience of state society engagement, including justice and security, and access to basic services -Improved women's empowerment, through enhanced agency and capacity for autonomous decision-making and influence in private and public life, and in political and economic engagement.	Gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding should lead to: • improved gender equality outcomes, and; • better prospects for inclusive, participative, responsive and legitimate states

2.1 Spheres of change and potential entry points for international actors, **[1]**

Peacebuilding and statebuilding are multi-dimensional processes. They include a combination of potentially foundational moments, such as peace agreements being achieved, or new constitutions drafted; and more medium and long term processes of normalising policy making on resource allocation, policy implementation, the provision of security and justice, delivery of basic services and the regulation of economic activity. The resilience and legitimacy of such processes relies on how the political settlement, namely how power and resources and allocated, is redefined or renegotiated *including from the perspective of gender relations* and

whether it leads to the development of inclusive, participative and responsive governments and states, and mutually reinforcing state society relations. Where the state is weak or absent, such inclusiveness needs to be negotiated with existing (often non-state) systems of authority and decision-makers, and service providers.

Column [1] of the theory of change identifies the spheres of action and transformation within which social, political and economic development occurs in peacebuilding and statebuilding processes. Donor interventions are likely to focus on the different components of these spheres of change, and programming requires identifying the relevant entry points.

The first of these spheres involves addressing those challenges related to **legacies of conflict and fragility**. This includes dealing with the goals of stabilisation and immediate post-conflict recovery, including through such processes as disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration, and confronting legacies of violence. The second sphere of change relates to **processes of political change** and how these can ensure greater participation and inclusion of women and gender advocates, with a view to enabling gender positive normative and policy outcomes. The third sphere of change refers to **building the capacity of states** – or other service providers and administrators of resources – to be responsive to the needs and experiences of women and men.

The prospects for gender equality goals to be embedded in peacebuilding and statebuilding are linked to how change occurs within these three spheres of transformation, and who is included. Crucially the three are interlinked in important ways, so that women's experience in one is deeply connected to change processes and outcomes in another sphere of change (for instance, the ability of women to engage in public life is associated with degrees of economic autonomy; or girls access to schooling can be limited by security issues). International support to peacebuilding and statebuilding takes place in different ways across all three. But this support tends to be siloed. And within that, programming that addresses gender issues tends to be technical or peripheral to the mainstream efforts of peacebuilding and statebuilding (El Bushra 2012; Castillejo 2011 and 2013).

Dealing with legacies of conflict and fragility

Conflict and fragility affect men and women differently. As part of the changes that societies undergo during conflict, gender roles and identities may also change. Women may take up fighting directly, or they may take on new economic and social roles in the community. The political economy dynamics of conflict and fragility shapes such processes of change.

Both positive and negative impacts emerge from these changes in roles. On the one hand women's economic empowerment through new income generating opportunities, and opportunities for leadership and decision-making in the household and community can emerge (Justino et al., 2012; Rostami Povey, 2003; Petesch 2011). Potentially these changes can be the basis for enhanced agency of women in the private and public sphere. In some cases, this is expressed through new modes of mobilisational strategies or associative life for women. Indeed, post conflict international support for civil society has frequently enabled women's organisations to develop a public voice that they had not had before, which is particularly critical in fragile contexts where they are often excluded from formal politics. For instance in Afghanistan women formed solidarity groups which became a source of contestation of patriarchy. In some cases women's movements have mobilised to influence peacebuilding processes as these began to take shape, as in Sri Lanka or Sudan (Banderage 2010; Castillejo 2011). Moreover, displacement during conflict can have a profound effect on gender relations, including in some cases (as in Sierra Leone,) where rural women move to the cities and may see examples of more equal gender relations.

On the other hand, the disruption in social order that results from fragility and conflict can exacerbate existing gender inequalities and vulnerabilities - and create new ones. These include: greater time poverty; increased participation in the informal labour market; increased domestic, sexual and physical violence; related stigma and social exclusion (including lack of access to basic services), and a re-assertion of patriarchal orders as conflict subsides. Moreover, the political environment in in FCAS is one where the stakes are high (for instance because the political rules of the game are under review), where violence may remain prevalent, and decision-making occurs in informal and closed door spaces which typically exclude women.

Factors to be considered that affect the prospects and opportunities for gender-positive change in FCAS include: the causes and type of conflict; the features of pre-conflict gender relations; the nature of new gender economic and social roles that women take; women's status in terms of ethnicity, class, religion and how they are positioned in relation to political decision-making; the nature and resilience of social norms of patriarchy; and finally, the direction that the emerging political settlement is likely to take. For this it is important to have a clear understanding about how the wider balance of political, social and economic power

resulting from conflict and the transition process itself and affects gender relations and can in turn be redefined through the advancement of a gender equality agenda.

There remain significant gaps in the knowledge regarding how legacies of conflict and fragility impact on women, men and gender relations. There is only limited evidence that changes in gender roles contribute positively to gender equality post-conflict. Especially little is known about men's roles, attitudes and identities (other than as part of perpetuating gender inequalities). Finally, there is only a limited evidence base on the complex intersections between conflict, how women experience conflict related violence, and the consequences of this for post-conflict reconstruction of societies, the social fabric of community life, and rebuilding trust in state society relations (Wood 2008).

International engagement across the fields of humanitarian response, early recovery and reconstruction, and stabilisation efforts can be more coherent in ensuring that women's particular experiences and needs are reflected in all interventions, and to include women's voice in shaping decisions on how and where to allocate resources and define intervention goals. UN Women has recently created a Humanitarian Unit with the aim of enabling more gender-responsive humanitarian action within the cluster system. The evidence moreover shows that engaging key actors in peacekeeping, such as the military and peacekeeping bodies like the Department of Peace-Keeping Operations (DPKO), through awareness raising and sensitisation on the merits of consulting with women in internally displaced population (IDP) camps, can lead to better decisions on how to provide security for women in these contexts (see Box 2).[4] Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programmes are increasingly more responsive to women's experience of conflict, and to finding ways of better including women as potential beneficiaries of such processes. Likewise the trend in transitional justice (albeit very slowly) is increasingly towards women being more involved in the design of **transitional justice** mechanisms and mandates, and (relatedly) of building in measures to create safer spaces for women to voice their experiences of conflict related violence (Ni Aolain et al 2011; Ni Aolain 2012; O'Rourke 2013; Rubio-Marin 2006; Valji 2012).

Box 2: **Working with all the relevant stakeholders in peacekeeping efforts to address women's concrete experiences**

Drawing on research regarding lessons learned, and engaging with the relevant peacekeeping, military and security sector providers, UNIFEM and DPKO (2008) developed a toolkit for peacekeeping bodies on how to integrate gender-sensitive approaches to ensure better security provision for women in peacekeeping settings.

The toolkit shows that when women are consulted or are involved in outlining the context-specific risks and threats that they face, peacekeeping forces are more likely to be effective in providing relevant measures to reduce their security risks. For example, female United Nations Police (UNPOL) Officers have hosted women's forums in IDP camps, where women exchange views on how best to support their safety in the community.

At the same time, it is important to work with the relevant men at the community level who can constrain women's voice. In cases where community elders are reluctant to allow officers to meet exclusively with women, there has been investment in sustained dialogue with them to obtain the necessary consent. These efforts are resource intensive, but are effective in ensuring more responsive approaches that are sensitive to the specific and immediate security needs of women. These peacekeeping experiences are relevant not least because on-going situations of conflict include similar levels and types of threat in peacebuilding and statebuilding contexts, where conflict may be latent, or may still affect parts of the national territory and population.

UNIFEM and DPKO (2008)

Despite these incipient measures of change in how international actors intervene, it is also important to note that international action has been - and remains – less than consistent in how and where gender equality goals and gender-responsiveness lies in the ranking of priorities in conflict and post-conflict settings.

Political voice and governance in peacebuilding / statebuilding: shaping the political settlement

The situation of flux and change that often characterises FCAS offers a window of opportunity for renegotiating the political settlement – including the gender power balance, and the extent to which women are part of this process both as beneficiaries and as agents of change. Support to women participating in all aspects of peacebuilding is internationally mandated through UNSCR 1325. In addition the implicit premise

[4] *An analytical inventory of peacekeeping practice* (UNIFEM-DPKO 2008) reflects some of these insights. Notably these guidelines are the outcome of a learning process within UNIFEM of engaging the key actors in peacekeeping missions.

of contemporary international agendas of SB is that women need to have voice and representation in all aspects of SB as part of the commitment to inclusive and participative state society relations. Political participation and inclusion of women in peacebuilding and statebuilding has concrete objectives.

First, the participation of women is intended to ensure that the experience of women in conflict and post-conflict is represented and addressed, so that **women's needs are taken account** of - both in addressing legacies of violence (for instance, through transitional justice mechanisms), and in forward planning on service delivery and economic recovery. In transitional justice and in relation to ongoing situations of conflict related VAWG (including as this often escalates in post-conflict) an important concern is that of being able to capture the particular experience of women as victims which often remains invisible, including because of the ongoing discriminatory forms of security and justice provision which exclude women. Or as regards basic service provision, facilitating the participation of women can contribute to a more informed appreciation of gender specific needs and priorities. But at the same time, it is important that women be included not only as victims or beneficiaries but as agents of change (Ni Aolain et al 2011).

Second, therefore, participation and inclusion of women in peacebuilding and statebuilding should also involve strengthening women's role in *shaping the emerging political settlement* and state project. This includes supporting the enabling conditions for **women to take part in decision making** in key moments and processes of institution building and political reform, notably about the rules of the game that constitute the emerging political settlement, and the terms of new state-society relations. This politics of influence is expected to be achieved through support to women's participation in each stage of peacebuilding and statebuilding. However, women's participation in key decision making about peacebuilding and statebuilding is often strongly resisted by male elites whose interests are threatened by improved gender equality. The resistance by key actors in peacebuilding and statebuilding processes has been a reason why international actors have often not in practice been more forceful in pushing for women's participation). International actors must therefore address this resistance and look for incentives to persuade male elites to provide space to women at the negotiating table for peace agreements. It is not as simple as supporting women to be there and participate. While women and gender concerns have increasingly been included in peacebuilding processes – such as ***peace agreements and constitution making*** processes - their inclusion remains marginal/uneven (Bell and O'Rourke 2010, UN Women 2012; Waylen 2006; Haynes et al. 2011)). Peace agreements are important in the degree to which they shape the parameters of subsequent constitutions, and the terms of the emerging political settlement. The crafting of new constitutions represent foundational moments of political negotiations, which are intended to formalise emerging political settlements.

However, the (direct or indirect) presence of women in peace agreements (and the build-up to these) and in constitutional reform makes it more likely that gender equality goals will be included at these early stages of state crafting, (such as embedding rules about participation and inclusion). This is relevant for wider goals of inclusive statebuilding. Experiences in constitution making processes confirm that a key factor in determining how far gender rights are included is the extent to which key feminists – in formal politics where possible, but notably in women's movements - lobby and are active in the process of constitutional design, raising gender concerns and fighting for women's inclusion. In addition it makes a difference what the degree of openness is of the political and institutional context as well as the levels of support or resistance of other key actors to gender concerns and gender rights. Women continue to be mostly formally absent from both peace agreements and constitution writing, but engage in creative and politically strategic ways often through social activism.

Constitutions are also core building-blocks of state-society relations. They embody the rules of social, political and economic engagement, and lay out the terms on which core state functions and basic services are to be provided or regulated. Thus, processes of constitution-writing are especially important opportunities to ensure that gender equality goals are incorporated at the foundations of statebuilding. Moreover, constitutions provide a framework within which women can make claims on the state for inclusion, and the formalisation of women's rights, but the gap between the formal and informal rules often remains an enduring reality. The challenge thus lies also in how to support implementation (including through institutional change for state bodies to fully embrace legal and constitutional change) and women's agency to make claims against newly recognised entitlements. This remains a crucially under-researched area, but academics and policy makers are starting to take constitutional change more seriously as a key opportunity to embed women's rights specifically, and more generally more gender equitable versions of the social contract (Waylen 2006; Haynes et al. 2011; Nussbaum 2003).

Beyond such foundational moments as peace agreements of constitution-writing, following ***the day to day of political decision-making and women's role and action in the political sphere*** is important to track whether and how gender equality goals are being advanced in practice. In FCAS women's formal

participation has increased in post-conflict settings, such as through quota systems in elections and political parties. These formal mechanisms are important, but not sufficient to dismantle legacies of patriarchy and male-dominated spaces and networks of political brokering and decision-making, which prevent women from effectively exercising voice. Moreover there is no guarantee that increased numbers of women *per se* results in gender-positive policy choices (Byrne and McCulloch 2012, Tripp 2012, Castillejo 2011 and 2013, Goetz and Nyamu-Musembi 2008). Over-simplified perceptions of women's role in politics need to be avoided, including to take account of how gender relations are also mediated by identities related to class, ethnicity, religion and ideational/ideological preferences.

Effective political participation of women in FCAS often faces a number of constraints, including the reassertion of patriarchal social norms, and in some cases the intensification of 'backlash' reactions through a return to order in post-conflict settings. There may be challenges associated with the institutionally hybrid character of many FCAS. For instance political decision making typically takes place through informal forms of power brokering. The informal and personalist relationships and networks at the heart of systems based on patronage and patrimonialism are mostly male-dominated, and women typically have limited access to these, inhibiting their ability therefore for effective influence in these spaces. At the community level, customary institutions are often the dominant systems of authority. These are typically spaces that traditionally have excluded women from decision-making (Castillejo, 2013).

Therefore, women's participation in post-conflict governance needs to be supported beyond formal mechanisms and numbers in order to enhance voice and influence of gender advocates in different political and social spaces, including at the national and sub-national levels. This includes investing support in a range of processes that can contribute to reinforcing the habit of including women in all aspects of public life. This can involve facilitating and brokering coalitions of change, such as supporting women activists and decision-makers in politics to work together on legal change that removes gender based discrimination in law. Providing space for these exchanges can advance women's political voice and access to decision making. Donors can also support building up political and leadership capacities among women and gender-equality advocates. Such support should be targeted at the different formal and informal spaces of political activity at the national and sub-national levels. Support to women's inclusion and participation requires investing in efforts to work *with these* systems, to transform them in ways that eliminate barriers of gender-based discrimination.

Box 3: **Working with customary norms and actors: Burundi and the *bashingantahe***

In Burundi there have been efforts supported by UN Women to integrate women into the *bashingantahe* (traditional elders who are responsible for conflict resolution at the community level), which has been a strictly male domain. The *bashingantahe* is important at the community level in terms of sub-national level governance and conflict resolution. Through sensitisation of leaders on women's rights and the amendment of the *bashingantahe* charter, women now take part in decision-making and account for 40% of *bashingantahe* committee members Resulting from this change process, there is a greater awareness of SGBV and of other rights of women, (UN Women 2011)

In particular, support to building up networks and coalitions that better connect women politicians in formal politics with women's civil society movements has been identified as important (Castillejo 2011 and 2013). Coalitions need also to engage with (male) political leaders. This includes engagement in those ministries and executive positions where power is located (president's office, finance, planning etc). It is not sufficient to engage in gender machinery which risks remaining at the periphery of decision-making about power and resource allocation, and remaining gender blind. And in addition at the sub-national level, working with local decision-makers to alter mind-sets and renegotiate local norms should include support to efforts at redefining incentives on the value-added to the community of improved gender equality.

Women's movements and civil society groups continue to be hugely influential at different stages of peacebuilding and statebuilding – and generally transitional contexts - contributing to gains achieved on gender issues during peace negotiations and constitution making processes even when they have been left out of formal processes (such as in Nepal and Burundi, Falch 2010). Civil society creates a space for women to develop leadership roles and promote gender equality agendas, bypassing the obstacles they face within political parties or formal electoral processes – it is also a stepping stone into formal politics. This is true not only for access to political participation, but more broadly to other spaces of awareness-raising, policy design and implementation or regulation of service delivery and economic engagement. Thus, strategically supporting women and feminist activists in all spheres of state-society engagement can result in both shaping emerging rules of the game about how resources are allocated and in overseeing how services are

delivered. The role of women's movements at the national and subnational level remains hugely important in driving gender issues in politics in transitional contexts.

Box 4: **Support to women's movements and CSOs at the national and global level**

Women's movements have been a critical driving force in the pursuit of gender agendas in processes of political change both at the national and subnational level.

In Nepal the national network of grassroots organisations, the National Forum for Women Rights Concerns, was important in bringing together stakeholders in the constituent process, including political parties, members of the Constituent Assembly, intellectual groups and lawyers to discuss gender issues, including with support from Care International in facilitating these exchanges. (OECD-DAC 2013)

At the international level, support to exchange and mobilisation of women's organisations has been critical to shaping the international agenda on women in peacebuilding and statebuilding processes. UNSCR 1325, and subsequent efforts to advance its objectives (despite the constraints of the international system) was made possible, and has benefitted from global social action, (Barnes 2011). This importance of supporting international networks of women's movements and organisations to advance gender justice cannot be underestimated.

State-society relations: delivering on core state functions

How women participate in decision-making at all levels and stages of peacebuilding and statebuilding processes is a reflection of women's voice and influence. This in turn affects the inclusiveness and responsiveness of states (and service providers more generally), and the capacity to address women's needs and experiences in different areas of state-society relations.

An inclusive approach to implementing core state functions such as justice, security and basic services, and the provision of an enabling environment to promote economic recovery are important for restoring state legitimacy and strengthening social cohesion which are weakened during times of violence and conflict[5] (DFID, 2010). The underlying premise is that an inclusive and participatory approach contributes to enhancing citizen's voice and agency. For instance, better educated and healthy women with access to opportunities for autonomous economic engagement are better equipped to exercise voice and agency in the private and public spheres, and at national and sub-national levels. Such capabilities for women can contribute to rebalancing gender relations, and enable women to be more likely to actively contribute to the (re-)building of the state (and economy) and be active participants in strengthening state-society relations (Castillejo, 2011).

Integrating gender in building state-capabilities to deliver on core services is important if the objectives of inclusive state-citizen relations and rebuilding a peaceful and productive society are to be achieved (DFID, 2010). Taking into account and responding to gender is important because men and women not only experience poverty and vulnerability differently, but also *have **different experiences of conflict and violence** and therefore varied needs in relation to service provision and economic opportunities* (El-Bushra, 2012). Biological and social differences between men and women for instance increase vulnerability to health-related issues (differential exposure, differential vulnerability and consequences of disease) (Ranson et al., 2007), to gender-based violence (Wood, 2008) and affects the types and patterns of economic participation in FCAS (Justino et al., 2012; Wood, 2008). Women are often highly represented in informal, insecure, low-skilled work, have differential access to assets and endowments upon which to build their coping strategies, and experience a double burden of increased economic and domestic/unpaid responsibilities (Bandarage, 2010; Justino et al., 2012.).

However, the extent to which these differential needs have been addressed in fragile and post-conflict programming and processes in the context of strengthening state-society relations and supporting the state to deliver core functions has been notably absent: programming has not engaged with existing knowledge about the politics of women's relationship to the state; examined how state building processes impact women and men differently; or asked how women can participate substantively in shaping the statebuilding agenda (Castillejo, 2011). There are a number of reasons for this across the sectors of justice and security, basic services and economic opportunities – and these mirror the types of challenges identified above in relation to

[5] The provision of justice and security are particularly important to (re)build trust in the state's capacity to protect its citizens from the threat of violence, or to resolve disputes. The delivery of basic services at the local level which prioritises interventions, aligns with and builds on existing institutional capacity and ensures the equitable distribution of services between different regions and groups to reduce sources of conflict. And the creation of an enabling environment to support economic recovery at the macro level and at the micro level is critical to ensuring equality of opportunities in productive activities and sustainable livelihoods.

women's political participation and inclusion in governance systems. These include: the overly technical approach to sectoral programming which insufficiently recognises or addresses the politics of power including as this shapes gender inequalities; the siloed approach to sector- specifics which marginalises an integrated gender approach; and the lack of attention to linkages between the micro-level activities of delivering services and economic opportunities for women and the broader processes of peace and statebuilding in FCAS.

There is, however, evidence to suggest that opportunities to enhance the participation and inclusion of women are important to achieve the functions of statebuilding and building legitimate forms of state-society relations (Domingo et al., 2013).

Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000, for instance, there has been a step change in the international discourse on the need to address women's ***security and justice*** needs in FCAS. This has contributed, to some degree, to greater support to legal reform and to the relevant state/formal justice and security bodies, but also to improving voice and access for women to justice and security mechanisms. Interventions that work to alter incentive structures and social norms within the organisations and institutions that are charged with justice and service delivery for instance – whether provided by state or non-state actors – have been relatively successful (Bastick 2007; Bastick and Valasek, 2008; Bott et al., 2005; Saferworld 2010). Moreover, integrated approaches that consider the complete justice and security chain of delivery (as in Liberia – see Box 3), and that engage multiple relevant actors – including at the community level – to ensure their buy-in, seem to be the most effective to ensure that security and justice provision is meaningfully more gender responsive (UNIFEM, 2007). It seems also to be the case that increasing women's participation – in policing or judicial positions, or by having voice on justice and security reform policy, signalling where or how women's needs are best met, or providing oversight for justice and security provision – seems to make a difference to levels of trust that women have in the system, and to ensuring greater awareness of women's concrete security risks and needs (Bastick, 2007; UNIFEM and DPKO, 2008; UN Women 2011).

Box 5: **Holistic approach to justice and security sector reform: the case of Liberia**

Overtime, integrating gender into security sector reform in Liberia has become a holisitic approach. Notwithstanding on going challenges, it is an example of how a multipronged approach to changing the norms, organisations and capacities related to the provision of security, including for women, has begun to change attitudes, incentives and the experience of security for women. Ingredients of this multi-pronged approach include:

- Introducing a gender policy in the Liberia National Police (2004) mandating equal opportunity in recruitment, recommending a target of 20% female participation, encouraging participation of women at decision-making level
- Improving career advancement and promotion opportunities for women within the police through training and capacity development,
- Appointment of women to high level positions – in 2006 the Liberia National Police was led by a female director and female deputy director, serving as important role models
- Improving gender-awareness in the policy, such as through mandatory courses in gender issues for all new recruits
- Creation of a Women and Children Protection Section, charged with dealing with sexual offences, domestic violence cases and family matters, as well as investigating gender-based violence committed by policy officers
- Establishing links to other justice provision bodies, working with the Ministry of Justice, a special court on sexual violence
- Increasingly, involving civil society perspectives.

Notably, however, this multi-dimensional approach has been possible given the particularly supportive political environment in Liberia, and which has been especially favourable and enabling to gender-responsive measures in SSR.

Salahub 2011

The delivery of ***gender-responsive basic services*** has also been given relatively high priority by the international community in terms of aid disbursements by OECD-DAC donors with more than 80% of aid to population policy and reproductive health and over half of donor-funded interventions in the education and health sectors in FCAS targeting gender equality (OECD, 2010c cited in Carpenter et al., 2012). A supportive

macro-policy environment that promotes gender equality and women's empowerment is needed to ensure that funding is targeted to gender equality in service provision (Cueva-Beteta et al., 2012) but gender-responsive service delivery also requires involving women in the planning and delivery of services (Castillejo, 2011; Palmer and Zwi, 1998) and creating institutional alliances, leadership and coordination to deliver *quality* services responsive to women's needs (Jacobstein, 2013; Landegger, 2011). As Box 6 discusses in more detail, the presence of women in providing services at the local level can strongly contribute to gender equitable outcomes, especially in relation to health, education and WASH, but importantly, where combined with both institutional and attitudinal changes, the role of women and the role of basic service provision itself (most prominently the education sector) can capitalise on moments where women act as agents to promote more transformative social change. Important pre-requisites for success include gender-sensitive training, remuneration and a supportive institutional environment (including which recognises women's work and domestic responsibilities), as well as a politicised gender equality strategy from the outset. Moreover, the participation of the community (including men) and the inclusion of informal service providers are also seen as important mechanisms for effectively addressing women's service provision needs.

Box 6: **Supporting women as agents of change**

Women's active role as frontline implementers (as teachers, as health providers for example), help to overcome the barriers that women and girls face in accessing services and can lead to more gender equitable human capital outcomes. In post-conflict contexts where basic service systems have been devastated by conflict girls can be at a heightened disadvantage in enrolling and staying in schools because of family displacement, poverty, lack of accessible schools, and other conflict-related reasons; and the lack of women teachers is often an added disincentive for girls to attend school (Kirk, 2004). Similarly in fragile contexts which are faced with weak state-led institutional service delivery and governance systems, the mobilisation of women to deliver core services is seen as particularly important, especially at the community level. The Lady Health Workers (LHWs) programme in Pakistan which has trained 100,000 women to provide community health services in rural areas for example, is described to have "revitalised the primary health care system" in the country (Khan, 2011: 28). A study from 1997 shows significant improvements in maternal mortality rates where the programme was implemented: an increase from 596 per 100,000 live births to 246 per 100,000 in a year (Barzgar et al., 1997).

The presence of women in delivering services can also act as an important catalyst for women's empowerment and transformational change. Drawing on evidence from paid female teachers and primary health providers from studies conducted in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sierra Leone and South Sudan, research shows that women experience greater decision-making powers in the home (Khan, 2011), enhanced confidence and respect from family members (Mumtaz, 2003) and improvements in their psycho-social well-being (Kirk, 2004). The process of challenging and changing traditional gender identities in the household however occurs slowly and tentatively. But changes are also seen in the community where "beginnings of a movement" in the primary health workers in the Pakistan case, for example, have started to mobilise for collective action around work issues as well as developing into community leaders particularly in rural areas (Khan, 2011). Similarly for teachers, gaining status and respect and contributing positively for the community (Kirk, 2004) is a way of overcoming the gendered division of public and private space that is a major obstacle to women's access to basic services, including education and employment (Khan, 2011; Kirk, 2004). Overcoming such gendered obstacles provides a real opportunity for women to become catalysts for transformative change in gender relations in society.

However, in reality the actual challenges faced in the workplace and in wider society in which empowerment and change can occur are considerable. The institutional, social and governance constraints are keenly articulated by Maclure and Denov (2009) who, in the context of education in Sierra Leone, argues that "there is little evidence that the majority of teachers in Sierra Leone view education as a basis for contesting social inequities and promoting the rights of girls and women" (Maclure and Denov, 2009)). Institutional weaknesses (which reflect gender biases and patriarchal hierarchies) are also key barriers to the transformation of gender relations.

Evidence suggests that the solutions to these challenges need to start with a *vision* to transform power relations and a politicised women's rights *strategy.* The combination of approaches – rather than a singular approach – is vital.

- Support for women's voice - individually and collectively- is seen as critical for transformative change to occur. And here there is an important role of support to be played by the development of structures of wider solidarity, including local, national and international networks and employees' organizations as well as the inclusion of supportive men (Kirk, 2004; Mumtaz, 2003).
- Setting in place changes to organisational culture is also often referred to in order to change institutional ideology to promote a more egalitarian workplace. Recognised as a difficult goal to pursue, this requires a more supportive style of management and enhanced respect among male colleagues – through, for example, gender training, setting gender-sensitive organisational performance criteria and indicators and developing career paths for women (Kirk, 2004; Mumtaz, 2003).
- Innovative and creative mechanisms in the politicised strategy to combine education with specific actions

aimed at challenging the hegemony of patriarchy and gendered violence are highlighted from the Sierra Leone study (Maclure and Denov, 2009). In this respect, grass-roots activism created and spear-headed by civil society organisations using a mix of academic, vocational, and consciousness-raising educational activities which operate to equip women and girls with skills and aptitudes to increase access to resources, to economic opportunities, and to political power (Maclure and Denov, 2009: 618).

Economic recovery requires massive investments, including material resources, skilled labour and social and economic organisation. Both women's and men's roles change in relation to work in conflict and post-conflict contexts (Justino 2006). While women are more likely to see an increase in their economic participation during times of conflict and in the immediate post-conflict period, this is usually in poorly paid, insecure, informal-sector occupations, and men are more likely to face unemployment and the loss of their family-provider role. The inclusion of women in economy recovery processes also requires a multi-pronged approach (see Box 5). Providing meaningful income-generating opportunities for women, including ensuring that gender- and market-sensitive vocational training and supporting access to productive assets, are vital preconditions for economic and broader empowerment (Friedemann-Sanchez, 2006; Justino, 2006; Petesch, 2011). Improving women's access to and control over assets and creating income-generating opportunities for women also means promoting gender-responsive policy and legal changes (combined with implementation of these changes) (El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005; Abdullah and Fofana-Ibrahim, 2010; Abdullah et al., 2010) as well as tackling men's disempowerment and threats to their masculinity (El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005; Petesch, 2013). Working with traditional elites and male partners to shift discriminatory and gendered social norms and secure buy-in to women's economic empowerment efforts needs to be promoted but without reinforcing traditional gendered divisions of labour (Petesch, 2011).

Box 7: **Supporting inclusive economy recovery**

Petesch (2011) identifies 'superstar communities' in four middle-income post-conflict contexts: Colombia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Sri Lanka drawing on the World Bank's empowerment 'Voices of the Poor' and 'Moving Out of Poverty' research programmes. The superstar communities are those with opportunity structures that support inclusive and rapid recovery, including for women. The evidence suggests that 'communities with more empowered women also enjoyed more rapid recovery and poverty reduction in the wake of the conflict. For contexts with deeply exclusionary opportunity structures, women require more extensive investments and external partners who will stand by them, because shifting power structures is difficult to do in the best of circumstances'. What is interesting is that the superstar communities identified in the four countries did not have a uniform set of features. In Indonesia, community-driven development programmes that supported local-recovery initiatives chosen and managed by grassroots groups included women as the key to success. In the Philippines, however, extensive new infrastructure and diverse economic opportunities, including many for women, were the most important ingredients. In Colombia, it was proximity to formal-sector jobs in the city and numerous assistance programmes targeted at women that made the difference, while in Sri Lanka it was factory jobs for women, combined with a nearby army base, that helped to reinforce security.

There are specific challenges in statebuilding processes in FCAS however, that makes it difficult to ensure that *women and girls are able to access and use services*, and that those services that are provided *address women and men's differential needs in FCAS contexts*. Prevailing belief and value systems and discriminatory social norms are key factors which prevent women from accessing even basic services such as education and health (Cueva-Beteta et al., 2012; Sorenson, 1998). These have important implications for the development and implementation of formal laws or governing informal or customary practices, such as inheritance and access and ownership of assets (El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005). Moreover, socio-economic barriers related to poverty, illiteracy, time, transport access; institutional failure to adequately deliver gender-responsive services because of prevailing attitudes of staff, lack of capacity, resources (e.g. McGinn, 2011; Moyi, 2012; Varley, 2010); the fragmentation of multiple actors to effectively deliver services (such as the police, military, judges etc.) (e.g. Horn et al., 2006); as well as limited attention to institutional hybridity or informal providers (e.g. Errico et al., 2013) all contribute to creating barriers to equal access. This results in gender issues being pushed to the periphery of interventions rather than being central to international engagement.

And so it is critical that policymakers and donors think more strategically about how services can be designed and delivered in a way that contributes to gender equality and women's empowerment in the context of building state-society relations. Some of these are relatively straightforward programming and

implementation issues which aim to increase women's and girl's voice and agency, facilitate more equitable gender relations and improved outcomes for women and girls. These include: creating space for women's voice and agency to influence programming (Bastick, 2007; Castillejo, 2011; El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005) working with multiple actors (formal and informal) to provide quality services (Jacobstein, 2013; Landegger, 2011) and to implement legal changes which contribute to challenging discriminatory social norms and practices (Bastick and Valasek, 2008; UNIFEM, 2007), and creating processes of transparency, accountability and participation for women (e.g. Krueger 2011; Mumtaz, 2003;).

However, often underlying these policy design and implementation processes are political issues that also need to be dealt with. The siloed and technical approach to justice and security or to basic service provision means that these are seen as disassociated from political and governance processes of decision-making about policy and resource allocation and as not connected to processes of broader power contestation – including over gender power relations - that statebuilding processes involve. There is somewhat more knowledge on the politics of justice and security provision, but overall we know much less about the pathways to change from a political perspective in basic services and economic recovery from a gender lens. Failure to recognise and address this can lead to missed opportunities to use service delivery as a mechanism for addressing social exclusion and inequality and for ultimately restoring / strengthening state legitimacy and social cohesion.

2.2 Identifying entry points and inputs for gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding **[2]**

Dealing with the past in inclusive ways requires for women's experience of conflict to be taken account of, enabling their ownership over how legacies of violence are addressed in the present and looking forward. This requires creating space for women's political voice to be included in key peacebuilding and statebuilding processes that shape emerging political settlements, such as through peace agreements and new constitutions. But the challenge is also that of sustaining voice over time and at different levels (sub-national and community levels) to have transformative impact and to ensuring that the new rules and institutions become meaningful and hence deliver women's new formal rights.

Support to change is therefore not only about outcomes but also about process and *how* international actors engage. Thus, support to women's engagement needs to occur at all levels of post-conflict governance, service delivery and economic engagement, and to have staying power over time. Interventions need to be able to respond to context specificity to take account of political realities, of the specific needs and experiences of women and men, and to build on concrete opportunities as these arise. At the same time it is important to stress that the intended change processes take a long time, are not linear and are likely to be resisted.

Support to gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding therefore needs to integrate an understanding of the politically contested and multi-dimensional nature of these processes over time and space. Gender responsive approaches need to build on existing lessons and progress based on concrete experiences of change on the ground, to move beyond a checklist approach and create cross-cutting and overarching goals to achieve a better inclusion of women in the re-articulation of state society relations. At the same time, there is a need for realism in the face of resilient forces of resistance to change and gender-discriminatory social norms.

Drawing on the existing knowledge base on the challenges and opportunities of integrating gender-responsive approaches to peacebuilding and statebuilding, the following principles are relevant to guide programming:

1. Build political commitment to inclusion of women and gender advocates, through support to lobbying and advocacy at international, national and sub-national levels – including in donor countries to reinforce the visibility and value of supporting gender equality goals as a key priority of inclusive peacebuilding and statebuilding.
2. Move away from siloed and technical approaches to sector programming. In statebuilding, what happens in one sphere of political, social or economic engagement affects change processes and opportunities/challenges for gender issues in another - and all affect the quality of state society relations
3. Seek to understand how gender inequalities relate to the broader political settlement and distribution of power and resources and therefore how any shift in the political settlement could impact gender relations (including creating a backlash by those whose interests are threatened).

4 Promote women's inclusion within the most critical, high stakes foundational moments (peace deals, constitution drafting etc.). These are the moments when the direction of statebuilding is set and where male-dominated elites may be most likely to resist women's participation and international actors most reluctant to champion it.
5 Pay attention to existing incentive structures and sources of resistance, and to opportunities to encourage male elites to accept change. It needs to be recognised that this is a highly sensitive area, as the promotion of gender equality threatens deeply entrenched interests and that there will be significant resistance.
6 Facilitate legal change that eliminates gender discrimination from all aspects of political, social and economic engagement, including in foundational processes such as constitutional reform, taking advantage of opportunities for renegotiating norms in peacebuilding and statebuilding processes.
7 Support inclusion and participation of women and in all areas of peacebuilding and statebuilding. This includes building up capabilities for political voice and leadership qualities of women and gender advocates, and consulting (cross-society) women and men in identifying their needs and contributing to designing and delivering appropriate services and economic opportunities
8 Pay attention to the linkages between the national and sub-national/local levels of policy-making and decisions on resource allocation, and to implementation and service delivery for users/citizens - and what this means for gender equality. This includes moving beyond stereotypes of women's needs (often as victims) to enhancing women's roles and inclusion in all aspects of society (as agents of change).
9 Pay particular attention to the informal rules of the game as we know that even where significant new formal rights and opportunities for inclusion are achieved, these can be undermined by deeply entrenched and highly powerful informal patterns of exclusion.
10 Work with relevant informal systems and actors such as local authorities and community leaders, and with women's organisations to facilitate / implement legal changes which benefit women, and in the delivery of services in terms of resources, capacity and to changing mindsets.

Drawing on political economy and gender analysis to inform programming design and implementation

Identifying entry-points and inputs for gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding requires that the programmatic decision logic on where resources are targeted and how they are used should be the outcome of a reasoned analytical process that identifies where the challenges and strategic opportunities are for support to be most effective, relevant and politically realistic and plausible.

This process should require that decisions about programme design and implementation ***during the life of the programming and project implementation*** are informed by iterative considerations about the political economy conditions in which change processes are taking place.

Political economy methods of analysis take account of how political and economic processes interact in society, the rules of the game, the incentive structures, the belief systems and ideas that underpin the conduct of different groups and individuals, and how power, capabilities and resources distributed between these evolve over time. Essentially it disaggregates the processes that both sustain and transform these relationships over time, and in relation to specific social, political or economic phenomena/problems (Collinson et al 2003). Political economy analysis can contribute to capturing the balance and change processes of power relations between groups and individuals – including gender relations – and how this is both shaped by, and in turn redefines norm systems and interest and incentive structures over time. This is central to understanding the scope for institutional change (structure), and what different actors can do to change these (agency) (Hudson and Leftwich 2012).

At the core of **political economy approaches** is the possibility of **capturing opportunities for change** at the intersection between structure and agency, as changes and alterations in one – for whatever reason which can be captured by this analysis - can activate change in the other (Harris 2013). This interplay between structure and agency is the site where opportunities for donor interventions might be identified. This is relevant for peacebuilding and statebuilding which involves change processes in norm systems (formal and informal),and opportunities for resource allocation and (gender) power relations to achieve more inclusive and responsive states, and more equitable and participative societies. Different actors (such as gender advocates) can drive such process of change, but are also constrained by existing constellations of power relations, the resilience of discriminatory norm systems (formal and informal), and the resistance of

(patriarchal) interest structures that, moreover, cut across social cleavages such as class, ethnicity and religion.

Disaggregating this dynamic interplay can contribute to informing what change processes might be relevant to support, where there may be opportunities to engage constructively in facilitating this change, and where this is plausible, practical and strategic from a donor's perspective. Combined **with gender analysis**, that takes account of the particular power dynamics that shape gender identities and relations, such an approach can help to identify concrete entry-points and modes of engagement or inputs to advance gender equality goals in peacebuilding and statebuilding processes (Holmes and Jones 2013). This moreover ensures that **context specificity is at the heart of programme design.**

Such an analytical approach involves that the design and implementation of programming from the outset be defined by following a series of analytical reasoning steps that integrate this political economy and gender analysis approach to gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding. Section 3 below develops what this involves in practice for programming.

Importantly, this analytical approach is no magic-bullet, but has the merit of providing programming staff with a sharper awareness of the contextual factors that need to be taken account of, and how this insight in itself maximises the chances that programming choices will be more fit for purpose.

Relevant entry-points and inputs for programming

Drawing on the analytical approach above, and lessons learned from the knowledge base discussed in Section 2.1, potential relevant inputs across the three spheres of change outlined above are likely to include variations and combinations of the following intervention entry-points, as appropriate to the context, sector and specific programming objective (sector specific guidance is presented in section 3):

- ***Support to normative / legal change (formal and informal)****,* including legal reform and gender-sensitive policies – aimed at negotiating and redefining the formal and informal rules of the game of political, social and economic exchange, to eliminate gender barriers. It is to be noted that formal legal change does not automatically translate into a transformation of informal norms or wider social norms:
  - For instance, support processes that ensure that new constitutions are gender-responsive is important, notwithstanding the implementation challenges. Equally, supporting the passage of new laws which criminalise violence against women, or eliminate barriers of discrimination regarding access to property and livelihoods embed gender equality goals cannot be undervalued, although crucially legal change does not guarantee implementation;
  - Support gender-sensitive policy and legal changes especially to address disconnect between traditional/customary and formal laws which discriminate against women, for instance, which prevent women from owning productive assets such as land (this also requires working with local authorities and community leaders to facilitate / implement legal changes during the peace process which benefit women's access and ownership of productive assets, for example, combining awareness raising on the law and facilitating behavioural change.

- ***Support to organisational reform and capacities (state and non-state)*** – aimed at building up the capacities of relevant governance, implementing and service delivery bodies. This should include working with organisations and institutions *that work,* or to eliminate gender biases and discriminatory practices:
  - Building special police units (Liberia) or developing special operation procedures (South Africa) to address gender-based violence cases may contribute to trust building which encourages women reporting on cases;
  - Providing opportunities for women to take advantage of market and income generating opportunities through, for example, culturally-sensitive vocational training, working through female staff in home-based activities;
  - Gender-sensitive budgeting to support and monitor gender-sensitive service delivery;
  - Create an enabling environment for the provision of female service providers at local level, by for example, providing training and remuneration for female service providers; promoting women's personal and professional development including strategies to support women teachers to become agents of change in their societies.

- ***Support to building agency and actor-centred capabilities*****,** such as women's participation and consultation on sector-specific needs, and leadership capabilities among equality advocates in formal politics and in societal organisations. This can include training, capacity development. But these should avoid being generic and should focus on context specific challenges and strategic choices for change and given existing political economy conditions at national and sub-national levels:
  - Providing logistical and organisational support to women's organisations to lobby key decision-makers or peace processes cannot be underestimated, as in the cases of South Africa, Rwanda, Timor Leste, Burundi and Sudan (Haynes et al; Hudson 2009; Castillejo 2011),
  - Building capacity (and opportunity) for the involvement of women in the planning and delivery of services to help consider social relations and gender issues in planning in post-conflict and to design gender-(and cultural)-sensitive service delivery programmes.
  - Supporting oversight and accountability capabilities, including through formalised consultation mechanisms

- ***Support to networks and coalitions for reform*** over time. This includes facilitating dialogue and safe spaces for exchange among relevant stakeholders, to enable and facilitate channel for women's and gender advocates' voice on decisions about resource allocation and practice of service delivery:
  - International actors can broker meetings between leading policy makers and gender advocates to work together on defining the direction of legal change; or provide 'safe' spaces for women activists to have voice with key domestic actors or peacekeeping forces, or build links and networks with transnational actors;
  - Consider partnerships and coordination mechanisms between non-state actors, governments donors *and* informal institutions (such as rotating credit schemes to set up credit groups in post-conflict settings which have proved critical for women's economic empowerment in such settings);
  - Strengthen links between the private sector and labour market opportunities which are vital for women's economic empowerment, as are the role of workplaces in providing on the job training and assessment, and having financial support to undertake the training;
  - Facilitate leadership and co-ordination of actors in planning and delivering services to reduce the gap between women's needs and rights and the actual quality of services;
  - Facilitate the use of, or combination of, traditional service providers to provide local/contextual responses, including promoting further training and integration of traditional health care providers.

- ***Support to sensitisation, awareness and advocacy on gender equality***, including working with male leaders and power holders at all levels. This should also involve working where it is politically feasible, with 'resistors' to change:
  - Working with customary justice systems to include women in decision-making on conflict resolution, such as the *bashinganthe* in Burundi, can contribute to changing attitudes and gender-responsive change processes (UN Women 2011);
  - Support negotiation and bargaining with local authorities, including women's rights to economic participation and independence (e.g. awareness raising, male-sensitisation);
  - supporting opportunities through women's associations which are promoting girls' education as integral to economic and political actions to challenge inequality and vulnerability to gendered violence;

2.3 Intended change process, and underlying assumptions **[3]**

Choices about interventions and inputs are the result of assumptions about intended change processes, namely that a particular action will lead to a corresponding sequence of changes and outcomes. How these choices are made and justified in order to achieve intended objectives is at the core of the overarching theory of change of this Guidance Paper.

In order for intended change processes to rebalance gender relations and enhance inclusive peacebuilding and statebuilding at a broad level there needs to be an altering of both institutions and organisations (formal

and informal) which inhibit gender equality, and an enabling of agency among gender advocates and beneficiary groups to, in turn, more effectively participate in driving a gender agenda. International support can support both institutional change, and/or the capabilities of women and gender advocates (and other stakeholders) to mobilise for institutional and behavioural change.

Where resources are allocated needs to be the result of an analytical process which results in a calculated strategy about what interventions can support most effectively – given the social and political conditions of context and the reality of existing gender relations. This is where using political economy and gender analysis approaches can most guide programming choices.

At the specific level of programming, decisions about inputs need to be interrogated to test the plausibility of intended change processes in the face of existing political economy conditions at the national, sub-national and sector specific level. This requires thinking strategically about where and how programming efforts can most contribute to making a difference. This means investing resources in identifying opportunities for support, but having clarity about what outputs are possible given the political economy conditions of context, and the specific institutions, relationships and interest structures that will be affected by programme interventions.

Prioritising the *relevance* of interventions and identifying outputs and concrete results that respond to context specific norms and stakeholder characteristics is important to ensure that the assumptions about how change will occur remain realistic and in keeping with needs, existing resources and capabilities.

This analysis should not only underpin programme design. Underlying assumptions of change require iterative testing and interrogation to ensure that they remain relevant to context, and to the particular features of sector needs and gaps for women *during the life of programmes and their implementation*. Given the volatility of FCAS such revisiting of decision logics enables, moreover, ensuring the necessary flexibility to allow for changing conditions on the ground, and to adapt to emerging opportunities as these arise.

2.4 Expected results: outputs **[4]**

Intended intermediate results and outputs of gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding include:

- Changed norms system (formal and, where possible, informal), in keeping with gender equality goals and advancing gender justice.
- Enhanced women and girls' agency, including voice and influence in decision-making
- Re-balancing of gender relations and inclusion of women and men in peacebuilding and statebuilding
- Improved access to better and equitably delivered services for women and men, and security and freedom from violence (which in turn, enables agency and capacity for influence)

Of note is that the change processes intended in this agenda of gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding in the main cannot be meaningfully captured in readily quantifiable results or indicators. We know for instance, that the number of women in parliament does not constitute a meaningful measure of voice or influence, or propensity to gender-positive policy. We also know that an increase in reporting of cases on VAW is not necessarily a measure of increased levels of VAW, but may reflect more that there is better data reporting capacity, or that there are increased levels of trust in formal justice systems. Change can be tracked over time, but indicators of progress are mostly likely to require qualitative assessment of progress and where it is meaningfully located, that can capture the multiple levels of change in norms and actors that are likely to be relevant in FCAS.

2.5 Gender equality outcomes: peacebuilding and statebuilding outcomes **[5]**

Gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding should aim to contribute to:

- improved gender equality and gender justice outcomes, and;
- better prospects for inclusive, participative state society relations, and responsive and legitimate states

History tells us that statebuilding is a complex, long-term historical project borne out over decades and centuries, with no clear endpoint. It has variably entailed cyclical bouts of contestation, conflict and redefinition, including as new levels, modes and rules of participation and inclusion in how power and resources are allocated are renegotiated over time. These struggles – including for the achievement of gender equality goals - have involved varying levels of violence and conflict.

The theory of change presented here seemingly signals a linear chain of progress. But this is not the reality of peacebuilding and statebuilding. Thus some caveats need to be stressed:

- This theory of change signals plausible modes of engagement for international actors to support gender equality goals and women's empowerment both *within* and *across* the different relevant spheres of change in political, social and economic life related to peacebuilding and statebuilding processes. Positive synergies across sectors need to be nurtured, and iterative feedback loops over time can lead to reinforcing dynamics of women's empowerment across all spheres of change.
- This requires ongoing and dynamic re-engagement by the multiple relevant actors at multiple levels to tap into shifting opportunities for change that surface over time and place. National and sub-national dynamics may occur at different paces and following different trajectories.
- Clearly social transformation requires long time frames, is rarely linear, and synergies across political, social and economic spheres are rarely simple, so linearity, speed and positive spillover effects cannot be assumed. Efforts to at least ensure 'do no harm' in all programming in peacebuilding and statebuilding from a gender perspective are necessary.
- Finally, FCAS are especially vulnerable to volatile political change, regime instability, state fragility, the retrenchment of resilient discriminatory social norms, and the risk of backlash against women. Programming needs to be able to move flexibly and strategically to respond to such challenges and changes.

Thus international actors can play a meaningful role to support advances in gender equality – and this is confirmed in the knowledge base (Domingo et al 2013). However, the need for realism and capacity for adaptation to the realities of context cannot be overstressed. Achieving gender equality goals, as with all contests over power and resources, is deeply political and this understanding should be at the forefront of all programming efforts involved in this endeavour.

Box 8: **Summary of a Theory of Change Framework for gender responsive programming in peacebuilding and statebuilding**

[1] Spheres of change for gender responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding: summary

- Peacebuilding and statebuilding encompasses a range of change processes across different components of state society relations: dealing with legacies of conflict and violence; shaping the political settlement, and the rules of resource and power allocation and political voice; building up delivering core functions of security and justice provision, basic services and enabling economic recovery
- Gender responsive approaches to each of these spheres of change are deeply political as they affect how resources and power are allocated. This requires politically informed modes of engagement across all the component features of peacebuilding and statebuilding.
- Change in one sphere affects gender and statebuilding outcomes in another. There is therefore a need to move away from siloed and overly technical approaches across these component areas, and to be aware of the intersections within and between the different spheres of changes.

[2] Identifying entry points and inputs for gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding

- There is a need for international actors to focus the process aspect of supporting change in order to maximise prospects for achieving outcomes. This includes drawing on lessons from experiences on the ground
- Taking account of context–specificity to identify entry-points should be central to decisions about programming
- Combining **political economy and gender analysis** approaches can guide programming in all peacebuilding and statebuilding engagement to be gender-responsive.

[3] Intended change processes and underlying assumptions of programming

- Assumptions about the logic of change processes that guide intervention choices need to be adapted to context realities, including on how to support institutional reform or actor-focussed capabilities, beliefs and incentives.
- Assumptions about change need to be revisited and iteratively tested during the life of programming to assure on-going relevance to context and needs.
- FCAS are especially susceptible to rapidly changing social and political conditions and instability, so that the benefits of revisiting the change logic underpinning international support efforts and their relevance are especially critical.

[4] Expected results and outputs

- Strategic international support can contribute to rebalancing gender and power relations in FCAS to enhance inclusivity through support to institutional change (structure) and capabilities of all citizens, women and men, to have voice and influence (agency)
- Measuring intended change outcomes cannot be meaningfully captured only in quantitative terms. Change processes take time, and will require qualitative assessment of progress in the different spheres of change

[5] Gender equality outcomes in peacebuilding and statebuilding

- Gender responsive approaches add value to peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts, in the degree to which they embed inclusivity and participation in both the process and outcomes of these processes
- The need for realism about the role of international actors, and the capacity and skills of donor staff to adapt to context is critical for effectiveness. Technical competence, political judgement and understanding of the broader political economy of context is central for this

3 Sector-specific guidance on gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding

Drawing on the overarching theory of change and the evidence from the literature review, Tables 1-6 in Annex I present practical guidance for programming design and implementation in peacebuilding and statebuilding which is gender-responsive. This guidance does not offer blue-print solutions. Rather it lays out the different analytical steps that need to underpin decisions about programming design, choice of intervention types and implementation issues.

The stages include:

1) Diagnostic phase:
    - Identifying the sector-specific objective (such as support to gender-responsive constitutional reform, or health provision, or support to women's access to livelihoods)
    - Working through a series of political economy and gender analysis questions which have the purpose of identifying the particular opportunity structures that are present in relation to a concrete PB or SB objective. In order ensure that programming does not result in siloed sector specific approaches, this analysis needs to take account of wider political economy conditions
    - On the basis of political economy and gender analysis questions noted in the relevant sector specific table, plausible and relevant opportunity structures can be identified which can signal where and how support best be provided. This analysis will signal what structure and agency issues can be best supported given context specific conditions, that is, whether resources should focus on technical support to new laws, or to supporting capacity building of different relevant stakeholders, or to facilitating coalitions for change or brokering networks and key relations between key actors, and which ones. This includes working with men and women.
    - It is important to ensure that this analysis should not result in a one off report that takes place at the start of programming which then gets put to one side. Rather, this analytical process should remain central to the implementation process for the ***whole of the life of the programme.*** This is especially important in FCAS, as conditions on the ground are likely to be in a state of flux.
    - It is also important that programming staff and **staff involved in implementation have *ownership* and *understanding* of this analytical process,** to ensure that it informs choices about inputs and intervention activities, and underpins the underlying assumptions of change that accompany these choices. Lack of commitment among international actors to integrating gender into peacebuilding and statebuilding is a major barrier, but not mentioned before. Would it be useful to discuss this earlier on?
2) Implementation phase
    - This involves tracking that programming inputs (identified in the diagnostic phase) result in intended outputs. The choice of inputs implicitly involves assumptions about change processes which constitute the underlying theory of change about how change is expected to happen – in this case to ensure gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding. To ensure a 'best-fit' approach, that is, one that is suited to the political economy conditions, the implementation processes should be underpinned by an explicit theory of change. This involves having a clear narrative about how concrete inputs will result in intended outputs.
    - Interrogating and testing the theory of change, including through a revisiting of the political economy questions noted in the diagnostics phase will contribute to ensuring that programming remains relevant and fit for purpose.

Staff skills and risks associated with donor organisational constraints

Such an approach to programming design and implementation requires donor and implementing organisations to invest in key staff skills, beyond those related to sector specific expertise.

- Deep knowledge of context. Given the realities of donor organisations where staff remain for limited periods of time in country, this should at least ensure that context analysis is reviewed by country-specific experts.
- Analytical skills on using political economy ***and*** gender analysis that can facilitate a deep understanding of the relevant changes in power relations that programming should contribute to. Gender responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding (as with all peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts) is deeply political, and such skills will contribute to avoiding over-technical and siloed programming.
- Political skills to be able to work with the relevant stakeholders, and identify opportunities to facilitate dialogue and exchange among key actors, as well as broker relations which can constitute coalitions for change. For instance, facilitating dialogue between grass-roots women's organisations and community (male) elders can contribute to providing enabling conditions for new dynamics of gender relations in the community. Being able to move flexibly among different types of interest groups can contribute to the types of innovative modes of engagement identified in the literature and noted above.

Mitigating risks associated with the 'political economy' of donor organisations.

- Donor staff frequently remain for short periods of time in-country. This is especially so in FCAS, so that understanding of country context risks remaining underdeveloped. Measures to ensure coordinated hand-over, including to ensure that the institutional memory of programming is assured can be integrated into how country offices operate.
- Sector specific expertise is often very specific, risking the siloed and over technical approach noted above. Donor organisation-wide capacity development to ensure that *all* donor staff is versed in political economy and gender analysis skills can contribute to reducing this risk. This will also enable staff who do not see themselves as 'working on gender' to acquire the necessary competencies for all programming to be more gender-responsive
- Programming is often 'outsourced' to implementing organisations (either NGOs or consultancy firms) which may also lack the skills noted above as desirable. This can be addressed through procurement processes that explicitly request that such skills and organisational culture be demonstrated.
- Donor organisations investing in peacebuilding and statebuilding work across a range of development and security agendas. In order to ensure that gender-responsiveness remains a priority, the political commitment to this objective needs to be assured. This is a political issue for all relevant government departments involved in peacebuilding and statebuilding to resolve.

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Annex I

Sector specific guidance to gender-responsive programming in peacebuilding and statebuilding

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Sector specific tables

(1) (2) Gender responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding: Transitional Justice					
The nature of the challenge	In FCAS there is a need to better integrate a gender-lens in PB and SB in order to contribute to enhancing inclusive, participative and legitimate state-society relations that enables resilience and sustainability.				
Diagnostic framework →			**Identifying entry points and working with ongoing operational challenges *And* Ongoing analysis during project life**		
What is the programming objective: • To support women's participation and access to decision making in the negotiation and design of transitional justice processes • To address the particular experiences of women's experience of conflict related violence and injustice			**Underlying assumptions :** • Women participating negotiation and design of transitional justice mechanisms can enhance likelihood that women's experience of conflict related violence is heard and addressed, • Gender-responsive TJ mechanisms can contribute to gender-responsive security and justice and rule of law construction, and reduce space for impunity		
Political economy and gender analysis	**Wider political economy conditions**	**Sector specific political economy conditions**	***Inputs / intervention area entry points:***	**Outputs**	**Outcomes**

What are structural and institutional conditions	• Long-standing structural legacies of gender relations in state-formation and political regime
	• Nature of conflict and related grievances and any gender related articulation or impact of these
	• Nature of relevant institutional realities (formal and informal), including institutional hybridity
	• Prevailing belief
		• Terms of the peace agreements and political pacts relating to the end of conflict/transition process
		• Nature of justice system
		• Nature of customary/community justice system (eg *gacaca* in Rwanda)
			There are no uniform policies / programming interventions. The design evolution of TJ mechanisms are deeply political processes, shaped by the political economy of peace and regime transition processes.
			
			Support to institutional and organisational issues: (design and procedures of TJ)
			• Technical support on TJ mechanisms and processes, as relevant to context, eg
			  ○ Creating special gender units in truth commissions
			  ○ Creating organizational provisions such as *in camera* or closed hearings to assure confidentiality
			• On DDR, ensure that provisions are made for women combatants, and women victims to be included
			• Create mechanisms/ opportunities to address questions of gender-based inequalities and discrimination related to conflict/fragility, but addressing continuities of violence- through special hearings, and concrete recommendations
			• Support to reparations programmes to ensure that legacies of gender-based violence and exclusion – including as they persist into the post-conflict period – are considered and addressed, including on social and economic issues.
			• Content needs to factor in, as relevant, issues of institutional
				Legacies of conflict-related and gender-based violence are addressed
				
				Women's voice is present in reconstructing inclusive narratives of memory about conflict related grievances
				
				Improved mechanisms of accountability, in justice and security provision.
				
				Public discourse on gender based violence is stimulated and norms are shifted
					Gender-responsive PB and SB
					
					Improved accountability and safer environment for women and men

	and value systems, and social norms		hybridity including to ensure that these do not harbor spaces for stigmatizing women's experience of conflict related violence	(for instance TJ processes often generate broader awareness and discussion on VAW)	
Who are the key actors/ stakeholders	Key actors at national level include donors, government; at sub-national/local level include international NGOs, local NGOs, CSOs, and community members	• International peacebuilding bodies and mediation teams • International human rights organisations and thinktanks; • International Criminal Court • Relevant regional organisations (such as the Inter-american Commission and Court of human rights • Conflict parties and armed groups engaging in negotiations, and all relevant actors in peacebuilding • Government actors • Where relevant, special courts, truth commissions • Security and justice sector bodies (including courts and prosecution) • National human rights ombudsman institutions • National human rights NGOs, legal aid organisations, victim's associations, • Women's movements and CSOs at the national and sub-national level	***Support to relevant actors: on women's and gender-advocates' participation in negotiating and designing TJ mechanisms/processes and participation in these:*** • Consultation with women's CSOs and women's victim's associations, and support to their' capacity to mobilise and strategically take part in shaping TJ mechanisms. In addition, this • Support to and consultation with human rights organisations at the national and international level to ensure that all relevant a • Capacity building for staff of TJ mechanisms on gender (in truth commissions, court processes at the national and international levels, informal mechanisms at the local level – as relevant to context). Pay attention to ensuring that skills include ability to work with context, including understanding issues around gender equality/discrimination and experience of conflict related violence and exclusion; issues of safety for victims' and confidentiality, including to prevent stigmatization; training on statement taking • Support to remove access barriers, including logistical support (childcare; transport, language) to providing in psychosocial support and securing conditions of safety and security to victims and witnesses • Support the appointment of women staff in TJ mechanisms		
What are the dynamics of change resulting from how *structure* and *agency* intersect?	Take account of: • Balance of power resulting from post-conflict/peace process, and how PB dilemma's are being articulated, including in order to contest these (peace vs justice/ truth vs justice) • The political sequencing and priorities of PB has consequences for how TJ unfolds, and how gender-responsiveness is integrated • Understand the existing interests' structure and the nature of the forces of resistance, to calibrate political feasibility of support efforts • How disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is negotiated, and where international actors may have leverage • Existing opportunities to support mobilization for gender-responsive TJ at the global, regional, national and sub-national levels • Degree of altered gender roles resulting from conflict, and resulting opportunities and spaces for women to take part and leadership roles in relevant negotiations.		***Engaging with dynamic (incremental) processes of change*** • Be attentive to timing –this changes overtime as the balance of power shifts, or international events shape new opportunities • Work with all relevant national gender equality activists and human rights organisations • Ensure that engagement with national actors **ensures crossing ethnic, class, religious divides, and awareness of 'do no harm'** • Be attentive, therefore, to how gender issues intersect with other cleavages of class, ethnicity, rural/urban divide, etc, custom to enable a culture and context sensitive approach to all interventions • Be attentive to particular barriers arising from customary norms/institutional hybridity		

(2) Gender responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding: Peace agreements and constitutional reform

The nature of the challenge	In FCAS there is a need to better integrate a gender-lens in PB and SB in order to contribute to enhancing inclusive, participative and legitimate state-society relations that enables resilience and sustainability.

Diagnostic framework →	**Identifying entry points and working with ongoing operational challenges *And* Ongoing analysis during project life**
What is the programming objective: • To support women's participation and access to decision making in peace processes, peace agreements and constitution writing • Ensuring women's participation in all aspects of peacebuilding • Ensuring that gender equality goals and women's rights are integrated in peace agreements and constitutional texts • Support to participation and leadership of all gender equality advocates (men and women) in peace agreements and in constitutional reform processes	**Underlying assumptions :** • Women participating in peace agreements and constitutional reform processes can enhance likelihood that women's rights, and gender-equality goals will be integrated from the start into the emerging political settlement • Ensuring gender equality principles are present from the start of PB and SB enhances the prospects for inclusivity in PBSB, and in the emerging political settlement. • Support to enabling conditions for women's participation in early processes of peace agreements and constitution writing can embed practices of gender-equal access to political voice and decision-making • Women's presence is not enough, and efforts should include targeted support to gender equality advocates (men and women). • Support may need to focus on women's movements, where context conditions limit formal presence

Political economy and gender analysis	**Wider political economy conditions**	**Sector specific political economy conditions**	***Inputs / intervention area entry points:***	**Outputs**	**Outcomes**
What are structural and institutional conditions	• Long-standing structural legacies of gender relations in state-formation and political regime • Evolution of political settlement and corresponding rules of power and resource allocation as related to gender relations. • Nature of conflict and related grievances • Nature of relevant institutional realities (formal and informal),	• Nature of disconnect in legal sphere: i) are there formal legal barriers to women's participations in PB and constitutional reform? Ii) how does this disconnect manifest itself in institutionally hybrid contexts? iii) what is the disconnect between legal and policy reforms and implementation practice which impede implementation of new gender-positive formal norms? • Nature of social norms, and their impact on opportunities for women taking part in peace agreements; • If women's formal participation is guaranteed, what are the selection rules, how are quotas defined? • What are the points of resistance: whose interests are threatened by women's participation and how will they respond? • How does the current political settlement (including as articulated in distribution of political power and resources, formally or informally) relate to gender inequalities?	There are no uniform policies / programming interventions. These are deeply political processes where the rules of social political and economic engagement are being redefined. This will shape outcomes in all aspects of statebuilding moving forward. ***Supporting relevant actors: on access to, participation in decision-making on peace agreements and constitutional reform:*** • Capacity building for women's movements and CSOs that mobilise/have access to lobbying key actors in the peace process, peace agreement or constitutional reform processes. Skills include: political brokering and lobbying; understanding of issues around gender equality, including to ensure that these are adapted to national narratives of inclusion and equality. Training must be in keeping with country contexts and political realities • Support to women in formal political roles to develop leadership capacities • Logistical and organizational support for women organisations, and emerging women political leaders and gender equality advocates. This includes providing safe spaces and protection for women activists from the risk of backlash responses, and also support for basic travel needs to ensure women activists are present at key peace agreement processes/meetings • Support to brokering networks and relationships between key actors/decision-makers and gender-equality advocates (men and	Gender equality goals and women's rights are included at the outset of PB and SB processes Enhanced women's political participation opportunities More inclusive and equitable state institutions resulting from new rules of the game Improved gender relations and inclusion of women and men in PBSB Improved women and girls' agency - and women's voice and	Gender-responsive PB and SB: Improved gender equality outcomes + Inclusive political participation in the context of a participative, responsive, equitable and legitimate state

	including institutional hybridity • Prevailing belief and value systems, and social norms		women), to ensure effective access. • Capacity development for all stakeholders involved in peace-processes and constitutional reform on gender-responsive approaches • Advocacy with male leaders to promote women's inclusion (both local male leaders and male leaders in international agencies – UN missions are a key example)	influence in decision-making	
Who are the key actors/ stakeholders (and how these change over time)	Key actors at national level include donors, government; at sub-national/local level include international NGOs, local NGOs, CSOs, and community members	• International peacebuilding bodies and mediation teams • Conflict parties and armed groups engaging in negotiations, and interests in peacebuilding • Political parties where these are key actors in peace agreements • Women's movements and CSOs at the national and sub-national level lobbying for either a direct role in peace agreements or constitutional reform	***Support on content issues: changing the rules of the game*** • Technical support on textual content for peace agreements and constitutional reform to relevant stakeholders. This includes ensuring that such technical support is not bottom up, or perceived as imported, but that national actors have ownership • Content needs to factor in, as relevant, issues of institutional hybridity ***Support on implementation*** • In order to reduce the gap between new legal norms and resilient (discriminatory) social norms, supporting the implementation of peace agreements and constitutional reform requires ongoing engagement *after* such agreements have been reached. • For new constitutions, this includes building up institutional and organizational capacities within state bodies to advance socialization and instruction of the new norms for relevant public officials and authorities at national and sub-national level. This can include capacity development; further regulatory norms; development of clear guidance on the implementation of new rules of the game. It can also include strengthening oversight bodies (ombudsman and judiciaries) on the new gender norms • New constitutions also require support to build public awareness and acceptance of new rules. This can involve challenging social norms, for instance through support to civil society actors, or relevant implementing actors, including in the state but not only. ***Engaging with dynamic (incremental) processes of change and shifting balance of power.*** • Be attentive to timing • Work with local gender equality activists • Ensure that engagement with national actors **ensures crossing ethnic, class, religious divides** • Be attentive, therefore, to how gender issues intersect with other cleavages of class, ethnicity, rural/urban divide, etc, custom to enable a culture and context sensitive approach to all interventions • Be attentive to particular barriers arising from customary norms/institutional hybridity		
What are the dynamics of change resulting from how *structure* and *agency* intersect?		• Timing is critical in peace agreements and constitutional reform. Donors need to be especially attentive to this, given the foundational nature of these moments • Degree of altered gender roles resulting from conflict, and resulting opportunities and spaces for women to take leadership roles in political processes. • The political sequencing and priorities of PB has consequences for GE • Men and women have different access to political decision-making in peace processes, including as a result of conflict related gender roles • Degree of space for embedding GE goals from the start – who is in charge of the rules, where might alliances for change be supported? • Need to be attentive to shifting balance of power between formal and informal institutions and actors and to changing practices of informality within institutions. These are critical in making women's participation in peace agreements or implementation of constitutional commitments meaningful.			

(3) Gender responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding: Political Participation of women in FCAS

The nature of the challenge	In FCAS there is a need to better integrate a gender-lens in PB and SB in order to contribute to enhancing inclusive, participative and legitimate state-society relations that enables resilience and sustainability.

Diagnostic framework →	**Identifying entry points and working with ongoing operational challenges *And* Ongoing analysis during project life**
What is the programming objective: To support women's participation and access to decision making in the political community at the national and sub-national level • Ensuring women's participation in all aspects of politics and policy • Ensuring that gender equality goals and women's rights are integrated in policy decision-making • Support to participation and leadership of women in different elected and public policy roles	**Underlying assumptions :** • Support to systems which increase the presence of women in political parties, parliaments and key decision-making roles in the political system the likelihood that gender-equality goals will be included in policy making processes and policy implementing bodies • Support to women's and political leadership and technical (on gender equality goals) capabilities (both in formal politics and in civil society) increases the likelihood of women's ability to influence policy outcomes • Women's presence is not enough, and efforts should include targeted support to gender equality advocates (men and women). • Support to facilitating reform coalitions and strategic alliances across different • Support may need to focus on women's movements and civil society, where context conditions limit formal presence

Political economy and gender analysis	**Wider political economy conditions**	**Sector specific political economy conditions**	***Inputs / intervention area entry points:***	**Outputs**	**Outcomes**
What are structural and institutional conditions	• Long-standing structural legacies of gender relations in state-formation and political regime • Evolution of political settlement and corresponding rules of power and resource allocation as related to gender relations. • Nature of conflict and related grievances • Nature of relevant institutional realities (formal and informal), including institutional hybridity • Prevailing belief and value systems,	• What is the nature of the formal political system? • Are there formal legal barriers to women's participations in politics? • If women's formal participation is guaranteed, what are the selection rules, how are quotas defined? • Where there are quotas, how is this integrated into the political system at the national and sub-national levels of governance? • What is the electoral system, and how do quotas for women feature in these? • What are the features of the political party system? Are there formal quotas for women in party lists? • How do the informal norms of patronage and clientelism affect gender-relations in formal politics? How do these norms work at the national and sub-national level, and with what impact on women's access?	There are no uniform policies / programming interventions. The particular political history and features of the political system and governance structures, and how they have been shaped by fragility and conflict are important. ***Supporting relevant actors: access to, participation in decision-making on peace agreements and constitutional reform:*** • Support capacity building for women's movements and CSOs that mobilise/have access to lobbying key actors in the policy-making. Skills include: political brokering and lobbying; understanding of issues around gender equality, including to ensure that these are adapted to national narratives of inclusion and equality. Training must be in keeping with country contexts and political realities • Support to women in all political roles to develop leadership capacities in political parties, in policy-making processes, in parliamentary roles, local council/local governance bodies • Logistical and organizational support for women organisations, and emerging women political leaders and gender equality advocates. This includes providing safe spaces and protection for women activists from the risk of backlash responses, and also support for women candidates to elected posts • Support to brokering networks and relationships between key	Gender equality goals and women's rights feature in decision-making policy and implementation Enhanced women's political participation opportunities More inclusive and equitable state institutions resulting from inclusive political participation Improved gender relations and inclusion of women and men in all aspects of policy design and implementation Improved women and	Gender-responsive PB and SB: Improved gender equality outcomes + Inclusive political participation in the context of a participative, responsive, equitable and legitimate state

	and social norms		actors/decision-makers and gender-equality advocates (men and women), to ensure effective access. • Capacity development for all stakeholders involved in policy-making and policy implementation • Critical in FCAS is the need to work with political parties to help them build up internal democracy and collective decision making/policy setting. Work on women's inclusion within parties should be embedded within this broader agenda. This should include engagement and advocacy with party leaders, support to women within parties, and capacity building for party structures. ***Support to normative/legal change: issues of content*** • Technical support on textual content for legislative reform, policy design. This includes ensuring that such technical support is bottom up, and not perceived as imported, but that national actors have ownership for this. ***Engaging with dynamic (incremental) processes of change and shifting balance of power:*** **Modes of engagement** • Be attentive to timing of key political moments (eg. elections) • Work with local gender equality activists to enable participation and leadership capabilities at all levels • Ensure that engagement with national actors **<u>ensures crossing ethnic, class, religious divides</u>** • Be attentive, therefore, to how gender issues intersect with other cleavages of class, ethnicity, rural/urban divide, etc, custom to enable a culture and context sensitive approach to all interventions • Be attentive to particular barriers arising from customary norms/institutional hybridity	girls' agency - and women's voice and influence in decision-making	
Who are the key actors/ stakeholders	Key actors at national level include donors, government; at sub-national/local level include international NGOs, local NGOs, CSOs, and community members	• International donors; specialized INGOs and think-tanks (like IDEA, or NIMD) • Political parties • Women party caucuses • Women's movements and CSOs at the national and sub-national level • Political decision-makers at the community level			
What are the dynamics of change resulting from how *structure* and *agency* intersect?	Take account of the following: • A holistic focus on the different components of the political system is important. For instance a dominant party system will affect the effectiveness of quota systems to enhance women's access to positions of influence. • Degree of altered gender roles resulting from conflict, and resulting opportunities and spaces for women to take leadership roles in political processes. • Men and women have different access to political decision-making, including as a result of conflict related changed gender roles • Degree of political space for advancing a gender-responsive policy agenda in policy making • Patterns of informality/patronage/ personal relations within political parties and the impact of these on women's ability to participate and influence. Including the effect of conflict and transition processes on these patterns of informality. • How gender relations and women's rights become a cite of contestation in post-conflict politics requires an understanding of how and why political parties take particular positions on gender within the broader political context. The space for gender equality agendas need to be assessed in relation to wider political contestation processes, and the balance of power in how ideas and interests are aligned that favour or constrain progress on gender equality.				

(4) Gender responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding: Security and Justice

The nature of the challenge	In FCAS there is a need to better integrate a gender-lens in PB and SB in order to contribute to enhancing inclusive, participative and legitimate state-society relations that enables resilience and sustainability.

Diagnostic framework → **Identifying entry points and working with ongoing operational challenges *And* Ongoing analysis during project life**

What is the programming objective:	**Underlying assumptions :**
• To improve access to justice for women, and secure more gender equality in how dispute resolution occurs • To provide protection and safety for women and men • To enhance capacity for redress and rights claims on women's rights • To improve women's voice in identifying and defining security and justice aims and objectives	• Women participating in the design and implementation of security and justice provision improves the experience of these services for women, addressing gender-responsive treatment of cases of violence, injustices in resource allocation and resolution of conflict • Gender-responsive security and justice mechanisms improves gender equality in rule of law, and advances women's rights protection • Working with informal systems/actors providing security and justice contributes s necessary to gender-responsive security and justice and rule of law construction,

Political economy and gender analysis	**Wider political economy conditions**	**Sector specific political economy conditions**	***Inputs / intervention area entry points:***	**Outputs**	**Outcomes**
What are structural and institutional conditions	• Long-standing structural legacies of gender relations in state-formation and political regime • Nature of conflict and related grievances • Nature of relevant institutional realities (formal and informal), including institutional hybridity • Prevailing belief and value systems, and social norms on gender relations, justice and resource allocation • Terms of the political settlement on how resources are allocated	• Formal legal codes and procedures on security and justice (criminal justice, conflict resolution, administrative justice) • Features of security and justice bodies (policing, courts, legal aid, human rights ombudsman) • Quality of rule of law (legitimacy, acceptance) • Nature of customary/community and other non-state security and justice provision • Social norms on what constitutes justice (including gender justice)	There are no uniform policies / programming interventions. Security and justice reform sectors are deeply political because they of shape outcomes on power and resource allocation, and serve to protect the political settlement ***Support to institutional and organisational issues:*** • Support legal change to bring formal laws in line with gender equality goals, and international human and women's rights standards, paying attention to eliminating all gender-discrimination (eg on VAW) • Support to reforming institutions and organisations of justice and security provision, such as: o Support to institution/sector wide national policy strategies to enhance gender-responsiveness o Improving internal and external oversight and accountability, including human rights ombudsman bodies, with capacity to address gender issues o Creating dedicated units for gender-based violence, but not in isolation from other organizational and normative changes o Building up procedures to facilitate safe reporting of crimes against women, o Support to work on changing social norms on justice at all formal and informal levels, to reduce discriminatory practices • Support to increase presence of women in security and justice providing bodies. Pay attention to incentives for career enhancement, and supporting appointment of women at high levels and decision making positions. • Pay attention to relevant issues of institutional hybridity and non-state security and justice provision mechanisms, and nature of gender relations at community levels.	Enhanced protection from violence for women and girls Women's voice is present defining security and justice provision requirements for gender-responsive security and justice provision Inclusive mechanisms of accountability, in justice and security provision, across the range of providers Rule of law reform is gender-responsive.	Gender-responsive PB and SB: Gender equality outcomes Women experience greater security and access to responsive justice that meets their needs
Who are the key actors/	Key actors at national level include donors,	• International donors, INGOs human rights organisations and thinktanks;			

stakeholders change overtime	government; at sub-national/local level include international NGOs, local NGOs, CSOs, and community members	• Regional and international justice systems • Security forces • Justice related actors (judges, prosecutors etc) • Human rights ombudsman • Legal aid provider and para-legals • Government • National human rights NGOs, legal aid organisations, victim's associations, • Women's movements and CSOs at the national and sub-national level • Non-state security and justice providers at all levels	***Support to relevant actors:*** • Support to increase women's presence in security and justice provision bodies through quotas, recruitment strategies and incentives for career progression, paying attention to embedded gender hierarchies in security and justice bodies • Consultation with women's movements and CSOs and women's to mobilise and strategically take part in shaping security and justice sectors • Support to legal aid providers, including paralegals, including to ensure that they are attentive to sub-national realities of parallel dispute resolution mechanisms. • Support to and consultation with relevant human rights and legal advice organisations, including to facilitate networks with relevant women's national and grassroots CSOs • Capacity building for staff of all security and justice sector providers on gender, paying attention to context-specific conditions and institutions, and working with informal mechanisms. Skills and knowledge include: understanding of issues around gender equality/discrimination in how security and justice sectors operate; issues of safety for victims' and confidentiality, including to prevent stigmatization; training on statement taking, and protection from backlash; awareness of new legislation, eg on VAW, or property rights, or FGM • Working closely with male security and justice providers on sensitization, to facilitate change in attitudes and conduct • Support to remove access barriers, including logistical support (transport, language) to providing in psychosocial support and securing conditions of safety and security to victims and witnesses • Work with community security and justice providers, including to facilitate engagement with women activists in awareness-raising and sensitization. ***Engaging with dynamic (incremental) processes of change and shifting balance of power.*** • Pay attention to sector wide changes, to avoid siloed approaches between justice and security provision • Pay attention to how these relate to changing norms in other spheres (eg property rights regimes) • Work with all relevant national gender equality activists and human rights organisations • Ensure that engagement with national actors **ensures crossing ethnic, class, religious divides, and awareness of 'do no harm'** • Be attentive to particular barriers arising from customary norms/institutional hybridity		
What are the dynamics of change resulting from how *structure* and *agency* intersect?	Take account of: • Socio-political balance of power resulting from post-conflict/peace process, and legacies of conflict on rule of law, impunity, and the provision of security and justice (including in terms of how TJ has been addressed), and gender relations implications • Opportunities related to how security and justice provision features in statebuilding projects, and who is driving SSJR reform. To what extent is it integrated and holistic? Is it forward looking with an inclusive and participatory approaches, or reactive to political dynamics of impunity and unresolved grievances related to fragility and conflict? • What is the nature of existing interests' structure and the nature of the forces of resistance, to calibrate political feasibility of reform efforts aimed at gender –responsiveness, and at addressing crimes of GBV. • Consider how disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is negotiated, and where international actors may have leverage • Take account of shifting security needs of women, and gendered experiences of change and continuities in post-conflict and transitional settings, (such as distinguishing between more visible conflict related insecurity in public spaces to domestic violence as men are demobilized and return home).				

(5) Gender responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding: Service Delivery

The nature of the challenge	In FCAS there is a need to better integrate a gender-lens in PB and SB in order to contribute to enhancing inclusive, participative and legitimate state-society relations that enables resilience and sustainability.
Diagnostic framework →	**Identifying entry points and working with ongoing operational challenges *And* Ongoing analysis during project life**
What is the programming objective: To ensure state response achieves effective local service delivery responsive to women's and men's differential needs and ensures equitable distribution of services to men and women	**Underlying assumptions:** • Service delivery can help restore state legitimacy and restore/strengthen state legitimacy • Gender-responsive service delivery can contribute to more gender-equitable outcomes in human capital, wellbeing, and justice and security outcomes • Gender-responsive service delivery addresses immediate needs and reduces poverty as well as enhancing the wellbeing of women and enabling agency

PEA	Wider political economy conditions	Sector specific political economy conditions	*Inputs / intervention area entry points:*	Outputs	Outcomes
What are structural and institutional conditions	• Long-standing structural legacies and histories of gender relations in state-formation and political regime • Evolution of political settlement and corresponding rules of power and resource allocation as related to gender relations. • Nature of conflict and related grievances • Nature of relevant theme specific institutional realities (formal and informal), including institutional hybridity and legal pluralism Prevailing belief and value systems, and social norms	• Prevailing belief and value systems, and social norms which prevent women (and men) from accessing services • Institutional failure to adequately deliver services (attitudes of staff, lack of capacity, resources and limited institutional support to institutional hybridity or informal providers) • Biological and social differences increasing vulnerability to health-related issues (differential exposure, differential vulnerability and consequences of disease) • History of inequalities and grievances related to service delivery and the implications of this for different groups of women's service needs and access. These may relate to broader conflict inequalities and grievances (eg exclusion of some populations, regions etc from services). • Possible community level resistance to women's access to services (eg education or healthcare) in context of broader tensions between various populations and state, patterns of distrust and lack of legitimacy etc.	• Support a gender-sensitive policy environment aimed at promoting gender equality and women's empowerment o consider social relations and gender issues in planning in post-conflict o use gender-sensitive budgeting to support and monitor gender-sensitive service delivery o involve women in the planning and delivery of services • Design gender-(and cultural)-sensitive service delivery programme design and implementation to overcome the socio-cultural barriers that prevent women from accessing services o more nuanced understanding of women's needs to deliver responsive services o practitioners to be responsive to the complexity of women's social relationships and to issues relating to the context of women's empowerment in their programmes o need for improved privacy, choice, and information in relation to services o provide services in a way that reduces possibility of future stigma o engaging male partners o strengthen linkages for referrals (to e.g. survivors and their partners to psychosocial support and mental health services) • Reinforce processes of transparency, accountability and participation in service delivery	Effective service delivery responsive to women's and men's differential needs Women have equal access to services More inclusive and responsive services Improved gender relations and inclusion of women and men in PBSB Improved women and girls' agency - and women's voice and influence in decision-making	Gender-responsive PB and SB: Improved gender equality outcomes + Responsive service delivery in the context of a participative, responsive, equitable and legitimate state
Who are the	Key actors at national	• Women and men face	• Facilitate leadership and co-ordination of actors in planning and		

key actors/ stakeholders change overtime	level include donors, government; at sub-national/local level include international NGOs, local NGOs, CSOs, and community members	different needs in relation to service delivery; • Women face more challenges to accessing services; • Differential impact of service provision on men and women (e.g. health, education, consumption) and gender-relations (e.g. reinforcing gender inequalities and discrimination)	delivering services to reduce the gap between women's needs and rights and the actual quality of services • Consider, where appropriate, strong public-private partnerships • Support role of non-governmental actors in delivering services, promoting transparency, accountability and participation • Create an enabling environment for the provision of female service providers at local level o Overcome institutional inequalities and constraints which female workers face (such as abusive hierarchical management structures; disrespect from male colleagues; lack of sensitivity to women's gender-based cultural constraints; conflict between domestic and work responsibilities; and poor infrastructural support o Provide training and remuneration for female service providers o Promote personal and professional development including strategies to support women teachers to become agents of change in their societies o Support opportunities through women's associations which are supporting girls' education as integral to economic and political actions to challenge the hegemony of patriarchy and gendered violence o Support women's roles in establishing security for themselves and their communities in water management structures • Facilitate the use of, or combination of, traditional service providers to provide local/contextual responses, including promoting further training and integration of traditional health care providers • Address community level resistance to women's use of services, including that which comes from conflict related grievances, mistrust of state etc.		
What are the dynamics of change resulting from how *structure* and *agency* intersect?	• Change of economic and social roles likely to occur for women (and men), with women and men facing different types of risks and vulnerabilities, including insecurity, violence, health and education issues, and differential income opportunities • Opportunities for strengthening women's mobilization as agents of change in delivering services • Priority and sequencing of specific services		***Engaging with dynamic (incremental) processes of change and shifting balance of power*** • Ensure forward looking to enable transition to national processes in recovery stages • Be attentive to the need to prioritise specific services (e.g. responses to sexual and gender-based violence) • Be attentive to specific vulnerabilities and opportunities that are created in conflict/post-conflict for men and women • Be attentive to balance of power and interest structures, and shifting coalitions of change • Engage in ongoing context analysis for a dynamic engagement with changing conditions • Ensure flexibility in programming to adapt to changing conditions		

(6) Gender responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding: Economic Empowerment

The nature of the challenge	In FCAS there is a need to better integrate a gender-lens in PB and SB in order to contribute to enhancing inclusive, participative and legitimate state-society relations that enables resilience and sustainability.

Diagnostic framework → **Identifying entry points and working with ongoing operational challenges *And* Ongoing analysis during project life**

What is the programming objective:
To ensure state response supports women's economic empowerment through economic recovery, livelihood support and job creation

- Including women equally and effectively in economic recovery and livelihood / job creation activities in FCAS
- Integrating women into decent work and livelihood opportunities

Underlying assumptions :

- Economic empowerment can support PBSB through reconstruction and promoting inclusive growth
- An enabling environment can increase women's empowerment, enhancing the wellbeing of women and enabling agency
- Economic empowerment through livelihoods and job creation can address immediate needs and reduce poverty

PEA	Wider political economy conditions	Sector specific political economy conditions	*Inputs / intervention area entry points:*	Outputs	Outcomes

What are structural and institutional conditions	• Long-standing structural legacies and histories of gender relations in state-formation and political regime
	• Evolution of political settlement and corresponding rules of power and resource allocation as related to gender relations.
	• Nature of conflict and related grievances
	• Nature of relevant theme specific institutional realities (formal and informal), including institutional hybridity and legal pluralism
		• Disconnect in legal sphere: i) legal barriers slow to change – especially disconnect between traditional/customary and formal laws; ii) disconnect between legal and policy reforms and implementation practice which prevent women from owning productive assets such as land
		• Conservative social norms: traditional gender relations remain deeply rooted, patriarchal relations remain dominant in terms of accepted gender division of roles; changing roles can incite backlash resulting in gender-based violence or stigma
		• Male disempowerment can exacerbate women's vulnerability: men's economic dependence can exacerbate violence against women
		• Especially vulnerable groups: war widows either residing in female-headed households or in subfamilies within larger male-headed households or women affected by forced displacement and distress migration are especially vulnerable, often severely asset and land constrained, and lacking social capital
		• Lack of access to education / financial institutions and women and women constrained to marginalized sectors
		• Institutional bias in workplace and lack of job security; training in stereo-typical
			There are no uniform policies / programming interventions, but policy/programming which include the following features tailored to the context are highlighted as critical in promoting women's empowerment and an inclusive economic recovery environment:
			• The provision of micro-credit is recognised as an important asset for women in post-conflict contexts with positive spill-over effects of participation on women's income generating opportunities and livelihood diversification options
			• Promoting access to land rights are another key economic asset for women
			• Supporting access to social capital facilitates women's economic empowerment
			• Support for women to take advantage of opportunities during and post-conflict of expanded market opportunities, through, for example:
			  ○ Culturally-sensitive vocational training
			  ○ Sensitively designed and implemented programmes which engage with male relatives and partners in order to reduce cultural and religious sensitivities
			  ○ Work through female staff in home-based activities
			  ○ Support gender-sensitive policy and legal changes especially to address disconnect between e.g. between traditional/ customary and formal laws, for instance, which prevent women from owning productive assets such as land
			  ○ Promote inclusive institutions which are quickly repaired after a war to ensure political stability and facilitate the resumption of normal economic activity – e.g. a commitment to maintain primary health and education during the war, and intensive investment in repairing infrastructure in damaged areas mitigate the conflict's
				Improved women's access and control over assets
				
				Enhanced women's income-generating opportunities
				
				More equitable legal and policy changes
				
				More inclusive and equitable institutions
				
				Improved gender relations and inclusion of women and men in PBSB
				
				Improved women and girls' agency - and women's voice and influence in decision-making
					Gender-responsive PB and SB:
					
					Improved gender equality outcomes +
					
					Inclusive economic growth in the context of a participative, responsive, equitable and legitimate state

	Prevailing belief and value systems, and social norms	occupations not linked to viable markets or limited quality training • Domestic and reproductive workload that may prevent women from participating in labour market or other econ activity.	impact.		
Who are the key actors/ stakeholders change overtime	Key actors at national level include donors, government; at sub-national/local level include international NGOs, local NGOs, CSOs, and community members	• Men and women have different types and patterns of economic participation in FCAS – women often highly represented in informal, insecure, low-skilled work; • Men and women have differential access to assets and endowments upon which to build their coping strategies; • Men and women are often targeted or integrated differently into economic programme and policy responses both during and after conflict • Men are likely to face unemployment and a loss	• Consider the role of NGOs, governments donors *and* informal rotating credit schemes to set up credit groups in post-conflict settings which have proved critical for women's economic empowerment in such settings • Strengthen links between the private sector and labour market opportunities which are vital for women's economic empowerment, as are the role of workplaces in providing on the job training and assessment, and having financial support to undertake the training. • Work with local authorities and community leaders to facilitate / implement legal changes during the peace process which benefit women's access and ownership of productive assets		
What are the dynamics of change resulting from how *structure* and *agency* intersect?	• Change of economic and social roles likely to occur for women (and men) during conflict as increased participation in labour market but also increased time poverty • Opportunities for strengthening economic opportunities and women's empowerment on the back of change at transition to post-conflict – but often women revert back to "traditional" roles • Priority and sequencing of specific economic recovery interventions and livelihood opportunities • Changes in family structure brought by conflict (eg as displacement breaks up extended family) can have implications for women's domestic workload and therefore ability to engage in economic activity.		• Be attentive to the fact that economic empowerment manifested in increased self-sufficiency and improved living standards also has a spill-over effect on women's political empowerment as it increases participation in local organisations, awakening their sense of involvement in the economic reconstruction of society • New legal frameworks governing access to assets can be a "clear break from past practices" but must be combined with awareness raising on the law and facilitating behavioural change • Conflict can create new opportunities for women: greater levels of social capital and community engagement for women and other groups who tend to be socially excluded from civic and political life during peacetimes; increase in the participation of women in labour markets and in income generating activities • Peace agreements can open up space for negotiation and bargaining with authorities, including women's rights to economic participation and independence		

Example indicators for gender-responsive programming in peacebuilding and statebuilding agendas

The most relevant indicator set for international action on support to women in FCAS is contained in the UN Strategic Results Framework on Women Peace and Security, which establishes, following UN Security Council Resolution 1889 agreed in 2009, 26 indicators aimed at assessing progress on UNSCR 1325, and subsequent relevant resolutions relating to the UN's Women, Peace and Security agenda .

Indicators have not been developed as part of the research process underpinning this guidance paper. We note that this would require an in-depth assessment of how to integrate measurements of process and outputs relevant to the different components of peacebuilding and statebuilding, and the mix of qualitative and quantitative indicators that might be considered. Drawing on the findings of the literature review, and the UN 26 Indicators on women, peace and security. Table A presents a selection of issues to consider, but are intended only as indicative. In relation to the different sectors it is important especially to highlight issues of attribution at project level. Rather, in constructing theories of change underpinning intervention choices, it will be important to critically reflect on the assumed chain of causality and how any given activity or programme input might plausibly contribute to advancing the intended outcome. Concrete indicators will need to be defined at the concrete programme design phase, including in ways that are in keeping with what the analytical thinking that outlined in Tables 1-6 will unveil. This should include differentiating between process indicators and outcome indicators, and between qualitative and quantitative indicators.

The indicators mentioned here are intended as indicative of the *type* of indicators that might feature in programming design for gender-responsive peacebuilding and statebuilding.

Table 7: Example Indicators for gender-responsive PB and SB

	Examples of possible indicators
Country office capacity	• Proportion of DFID advisors/staff involved in PB and SB programming with gender expertise • Proportion of DFID advisors/staff in PB and SB programming that have undergone gender training • Evidence of gender perspectives integrated in *all* programming areas in FCAS • Evidence of gender-responsive outputs and outcomes featuring systematically in reporting on programme processes and outcomes in each sector
Transitional justice	• Women/gender advocates included in the negotiation and design of transitional justice mechanisms • Special procedures in place to ensure gender-sensitive implementation of transitional justice • Procedures in place to ensure that women are included in DDR • Cases addressing conflict related GBV • Truth- commission findings which address gendered experiences of conflict and violence • Truth commission recommendations which address gender dimension of conflict and violence • Reparations outcomes which explicitly address gender issues

Peace agreements and constitutional reform	• Proportion of women involved in peace agreements • Proportion of women in constitutional reform • Presence of women's organisations in influencing peace processes • Specific provisions in peace agreements that address the security and status of women, and embed gender equality goals • Specific provisions in new constitutions on women's rights, and gender equality • Measures/ mechanisms instituted to facilitate and monitor implementation • Improved capacity for effective participation and monitoring by women's and other relevant stakeholders • Consolidation of networks and coalitions of change
Inclusive governance and political participation	• Numbers and proportion of women in parliament • Numbers and proportion of women in decision-making positions at national and sub-national level in both elective and appointed positions • Numbers and proportion of women in electoral oversight mechanisms/electoral bureaucracies • Numbers and proportion of gender advocates in parliament, and in decision-making positions at national and sub-national level in both elective and appointed positions • Numbers and proportion of women voters • Changes in policy to reflect a more gender-responsive direction in public policy (eg legal change on property rights) • Consolidation of networks and coalitions of change supporting gender equality goals
Security and justice sector reform	• Legal change (for instance on VAW) • GBV reporting indicators (noting that increased levels of reporting may not mean more incidences of GBV, but more effective reporting) • Measures to protect women and girl's rights in implementation of justice and security provision (including in informal mechanisms) • Number and proportion of women in justice and security provision bodies, including at the community and/or informal levels • Measures to improve internal and external oversight of justice and security provision • Presence of women's organisations in monitoring and oversight mechanisms
Basic service delivery	• Proportion of budget that address gender equality issues in strategic planning frameworks • Proportion of total disbursed funding to civil society organizations that is allocated to address gender equality issues • Proportion of total disbursed funding to support gender equality issues that is allocated to civil society organizations • Improved outcomes on gender equality, including maternal mortality rate, net primary and secondary education enrolment rates, by sex • Improved capacity of services to respond to men and women's differential needs (e.g. institutional capacity and structural issues)
Economic empowerment	• Legal change (for instance on gender equality in inheritance laws and land rights) • Use of policy and legal changes (e.g. changes to more equitable inheritance laws, land rights) • Evidence of women's improved access and control over assets and women's income generating opportunities • Percentage and appropriateness of benefits from reparation programmes received by women and girls • Percentage and appropriateness of benefits from DDR programmes received by women and girls