Women, Peace and Security:
An Analysis of the National Action Plans Developed in Response to UN Security Council Resolution 1325

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Abstract
This research analyzes the 11 national action plans that were adopted between June 2005 and October 2008 as a response to the United Nations Security Council’s Resolution 1325. Resolution 1325, one of the most important UN resolutions within the field of peace and security, was adopted unanimously on 31 October 2000. The resolution highlights the consequences of violent conflict on women and girls and the important role of women in peacebuilding and post-conflict processes. In 2002 and again in 2004, UN member states were invited to prepare national action plans in order to take strong steps towards the implementation of UNSCR 1325. This study examines the similarities and differences in the plans and compares the points identified in the plans to the relevant points in UNSCR 1325.

Keywords
UNSCR 1325, women, girls, national action plans, Austria, Côte d’Ivoire, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, UN Security Council, peace, security

Introduction
This research analyzes the national action plans (NAPs) that were adopted between June 2005 and October 2008 as a response to the United Nations Security Council’s Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on women, peace and security. Due, in part, to the lobbying of dozens of women’s organizations...
and UNIFEM\(^2\) and the concerted effort of the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, UNSCR 1325 was adopted unanimously on 31 October 2000.\(^3\) The resolution highlighted the consequences of violent conflict on women and girls and the important role of women in the peacebuilding and post-conflict processes. It is one of the most important UN resolutions within the field of peace and security policy.\(^4\)

In addition to the UN Security Council president’s statement of 31 October 2002, the UN Secretary-General’s report of 13 October 2004 invited the member states to prepare NAPs in order to take strong steps towards the implementation of UNSCR 1325. In the four years following the Secretary-General’s report (October 2004 – October 2008), eleven UN member countries – namely Austria (2007), Côte d’Ivoire (2008), Denmark (2005), Finland (2008), Iceland (2008), the Netherlands (2007), Norway (2006), Spain (2008), Sweden (2008), Switzerland (2007), and the United Kingdom (2006) – published NAPs. This study examines the similarities and differences in the NAPs and, in addition, the points made in the NAPs are compared to the relevant points identified in UNSCR 1325.

There certainly is a need for UNSCR 1325. In contemporary conflicts, soldiers no longer compose the largest number of casualties; instead, “millions of women and children continue to account for the majority of casualties in hostilities, often in flagrant violation of human rights and humanitarian laws.”\(^5\) Mass displacement, use of child soldiers, and violence against ethnic and religious groups, as well as gender-based and sexual violence, are common in certain areas of the world.

As victims, women and girls are particularly vulnerable to threats of violence.\(^6\) They are often seen as “bearers of cultural identity” and, therefore, become major targets subjected to “rape, forced immigration, forced abortion, trafficking, sexual slavery and the intentional spread of sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including… HIV/AIDS”.\(^7\)

Women are both victims of, and participants in, armed conflict. In addition, they can be – and are – involved in the post-conflict phase, acting as agents of change.\(^8\) The participation of women in peacemaking, peacekeep-
ing and peacebuilding assures that their experiences, priorities, and solutions contribute to stability and inclusive governance.\(^9\)

When women have been included in national peace negotiations, they often have brought the views of women and girls to the discussions, for example “by ensuring that peace accords address demands for gender equality in new constitutional, judicial and electoral structures”.\(^10\) It is important to understand the gender dimension of conflict, and take appropriate actions, in order to provide long-term success in peacekeeping and peacebuilding.\(^11\)

Under the charter, the UN Security Council “alone has the power to take decisions which member states are obliged to carry out.”\(^12\) In addition, the Security-Council; the Secretary-General; all parties to armed conflict; all those participating in planning disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR); and all parties involved in negotiating and implementing peace agreements are required to implement UNSCR 1325.\(^13\)

The NAPs are the documents that provide the specific guidelines for the national governments.\(^14\) The enforcement of the country-specific requirements of the resolution mainly depends on activities at the national level. The research presented here examines the NAPs and identifies important aspects of the plans. UNSCR 1325 and the NAPs are not yet well-researched. There are some explanations and discussions about UNSCR 1325\(^15\) and there has been some writing about the NAPs.\(^16\)

Because there is so little scientific information available about the NAPs, this systematic research will be of interest to scientists and policymakers who want to study, implement or improve plans. It also will be of interest to non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations (CBOs) and citizens interested in protecting women and girls (particularly

\(^9\) Heyzer 2005, p. 54.
\(^10\) UN Secretary-General 2002, p. 3.
\(^11\) UN Association of Canada 2007.
\(^12\) UN Security Council 2008.
\(^13\) NGO Working Group 2003.
\(^14\) Hentschel n.d.
\(^15\) For example, Binder et al. 2008; United Nations Secretary-General 2002; Anderlini 2007; Mazurana 2005 and PeaceWoman Project 2004), and there has been some writing about the NAPs (e.g., European Peacebuilding Liaison Office 2008; Válacek 2006; Korneeva and Blessing 2008; and Luciak 2008.
\(^16\) For example, European Peacebuilding Liaison Office 2008; Válacek 2006; Korneeva and Blessing 2008; and Luciak 2008.
in societies that are experiencing violent conflict) and/or expanding the participation of girls and women in their societies. This paper continues with a discussion of the contents of UNSCR 1325 that should be of particular concern to those developing or revising national plans. That section is followed by one about the call for national plans and a section about the methodology used in this study. The NAPs are then analyzed and concluding remarks are provided.

The Specifics of UNSCR 1325

Many of the statements in UNSCR 1325 are related to work within the United Nations such as “urging the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys”\(^\text{17}\). Because this research focuses only on the member states, only those statements that request something should be done by member states are included here. In 13 such statements,\(^\text{18}\) the UN Security Council:

- urges member states to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;
- ...calls on member states to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;
- ...invites member states to incorporate the training guidelines and materials (which will be provided by the Secretary-General) on protection, rights and the particular needs of women as well as the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace building measures, into national training programs for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment;
- ...invites member states to incorporate HIV/AIDS awareness training into member states’ national training programs for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment;
- urges member states to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, those undertaken by relevant funds and programs, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children’s Fund, and by the United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;
- calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including the special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

\(^\text{17}\) UN Security Council 2000.

\(^\text{18}\) UN Security Council 2000.
• calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including measures that support local women’s peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;
• calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary.
• calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;
• emphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes including those relating to sexual violence against women and girls, and in this regard, stresses the need to exclude these war crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;
• calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including their design;
• encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants.

Even though member states are obliged to implement UNSCR 1325, “inconsistent implementation of (the) resolution . . . continues to be a major challenge.”\(^\text{19}\) It should be mentioned that the language of Security Council resolutions such as UNSCR 1325 is consensus language\(^\text{20}\) and is rather gentle. Countries are politely asked to “consider” and are “called upon” or “urged” to undertake actions.

\(^{19}\) UN Secretary-General 2008.
\(^{20}\) Chowdhury 2009.
The Call for National Action Plans

The Security Council president’s statement of 31 October 2002 is the first document that mentions national action plans. It states that “the Security Council encourages member states, civil society and other relevant actors, to develop clear strategies and action plans with goals and timetables, on the integration of gender perspectives in humanitarian operations, rehabilitation and reconstruction programs.”

Two years after the Security Council presidential statement, the Secretary-General’s report of 13 October 2004 on women, peace and security highlighted that “despite significant efforts, there are still many gaps and challenges with respect to the implementation of UNSCR 1325” and invited the states to develop NAPs. The statement of the Secretary-General was reaffirmed in a statement of the Security Council chair on 7 March 2007 and in the Secretary-General’s 2008 report.

The “full… implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) remains the primary responsibility of Member States.” While countries are mandated to do what has been asked in UNSCR 1325, they were not mandated – or even encouraged – in the resolution to have national action plans. National action plans were suggested later because of the slow progress in meeting the goals outlined in the resolution. Some countries – such as Columbia, Serbia, Israel, Fiji and Germany – have not developed national action plans because they think that they are meeting the goals in other ways. National action plans, however, can be a way of coordinating existing initiatives (local, national and international) and adding ones to deal with identified gaps (e.g., monitoring progress, encouraging outreach or training of peacekeepers).

NAPs are enacted by national governments, often with the cooperation of NGOs, as a response to UNSCR 1325. Of the 192 member states, only 11 countries – Austria, Côte d’Ivoire, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, The Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom – had enacted plans by October of 2008.

22) UN Secretary-General 2008.
24) Hentschel n.d.
Methodology

A content analysis\textsuperscript{25} was used to assess the eleven documents (NAPs) that were prepared as a response to UNSCR 1325 and adopted by October 2008. These documents were each systematically analyzed as a whole including their introduction/background, the main text and appendices.\textsuperscript{26} The approach used in this study is important to researchers, but it also is very useful for policymakers who want both detail and comparative analysis to help them in their development of a new plan or a revision of an existing one.

In this research, the national action plans were analyzed regarding 20 criteria: (1) Enactment date; (2) Length; (3) Preparation period: Refers to the amount of time that the national government spent to prepare the NAP; (4) Plan period: The specified period of time that the plan covers; (5) Timeline for implementation: Specific timing of identified actions within the plan period; (6) Agents that were involved in the preparation of the plan: Identifies the office(s) that played a role in the preparation of the plan; (7) Agents that led the process of the preparation of the NAP; (8) Contents in comparison to what is specified in the UNSCR 1325; (9) Level of activities (e.g., local, national, international); (10) Priority areas; (11) Implementation agents; (12) Specificity about the roles of different departments; (13) Communication/cooperation of agents: Identifies the processes that provide coordination between various implementing agents; (14) Performance measurements: Identifies the elements that determine the success of the plan; (15) Reporting and feedback: Refers to the existence and details of the reporting and feedback processes; (16) Financial allocation; (17) Age sensitivity: Does the plan only mention women, both women and girls, or women and children? (18) Level of involvement of civil society; (19) Geographic specificity: Refers to the spatial specificity of the plan; and (20) Advertisement/PR: Includes the tools that will be used to introduce the plan to the society.

\textsuperscript{25} Berg 2007, pp. 303–304; Colorado State University 2008.

\textsuperscript{26} The full Danish national action plan is only available in Danish; only a summary of the NAP is available in English. The Danish NAP was analyzed by using online translation tools with the additional guidance of the English-language summary. The Côte d’Ivoire NAP is available only in French. This document was reviewed with the assistance of a native French speaker. Official English translations of all the other plans were available and used.
The content analysis of the action plans only focused on the points contained in the NAP documents. At times, additional information was collected from other sources to help understand the development or implementation of the plans. This information was kept separate from the content analysis and, when used, it is noted that it comes from other sources.

**Analysis of the Plans**

Comparisons and analyses are made here based on the 20 criteria. The researchers’ concluding points about each criterion are noted in italics and bold.

**Enactment Date:** *As of October 2008, eleven national action plans have been enacted. Denmark was the first to adopt a plan in 2005. Three countries (Norway, the UK and Sweden) followed in 2006 and three more plans (Switzerland, Austria and the Netherlands) were enacted in 2007. Finally, four more countries (Côte d’Ivoire, Iceland, Spain and Finland) enacted their action plans from January 2008 through October 2008.*

Most countries listed their enactment dates in their NAPs; four countries – Denmark, Sweden, Côte d’Ivoire and Spain – did not. *It is useful to include the enactment date in the document.*

**Length:** The length of the plans are as follows: Denmark – 25 pages (with 12 of those pages as an appendix); Norway – 24 pages (with 3 of those pages as an appendix); the United Kingdom – 18 pages; Sweden – 17 pages; Switzerland – 18 pages; Austria – 30 pages (14 of which are in appendices); the Netherlands – 80 pages (15 of which are in appendices); Côte d’Ivoire – 42 pages (23 of which are in appendices); Iceland – 14 pages (4 of which form an appendix); Spain – 14 pages; and Finland – 37 pages (5 of which are in an appendix).

National action plans probably should include introductory information (for example, agents that prepared the plan, the preparation period, and enactment date); background information including national decisions on gender-relevant considerations; clearly stated actions regarding the thirteen statements of UNSCR 1325; specified implementation agents; financial allocation; and clearly identified enforcement, monitoring and feedback processes. Keeping this in mind, a national action plan probably needs 25–30 pages to cover all that is mentioned here.
It should be noted that most of the countries that have action plans already have basic documents regarding gender issues. Therefore, an action plan of a country without such documents probably needs to be longer to comprehensively deal with the issues faced by women and girls.

**Plan period:** Five of the action plans have specified plan periods. These are: Sweden (2006–2008); Switzerland (2007–2009); the Netherlands (2008–2011); Côte d’Ivoire (2008–2012); and Finland (2008–2011).

Although not noted in the plans, the researchers thought there might be a relationship between the plan periods specified by Finland and Côte d’Ivoire and the dates of their general elections. The general elections in Côte d’Ivoire were planned to be held in November 2008 and then in 2012. Similarly in Finland, the general elections were held in March 2007, and the next elections will be in 2011.

Setting a plan period is useful for the enforcement and evaluation of implementation. Also, it can provide very detailed information about current activities (as Finland has done). On the other hand, a specified end date might provide an easy way for a new government not to renew a plan.

**Timeline:** None of the eleven action plans specifies a timeline for actions. One of the important aspects of an action plan is the determination of time frames. Time frames can be part of a more specific approach to implementation.

**Agents that were involved in preparation:** Ministries of foreign affairs, defense, and interior are the most common actors in the preparation of an action plan. Only three countries – Denmark, the Netherlands and Iceland – did not mention agents.

**Mentioning the agents that were involved in the preparation of the plan is important to provide further information to the readers and support for the plan and its specified actions. Knowing the agents also can help make it possible to understand why some specific topics are or are not included in the plan.**

**Agents that led the process:** Inter-ministerial working groups led the preparation process of the Danish, Swiss, Austrian and Finnish NAPs. In the case of Norway, Sweden and Côte d’Ivoire, one ministry led the process. In Norway and Sweden it was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs while in Côte d’Ivoire it was the Ministry of Family, Women and Social Affairs, the Group of Equality and Promotion of Gender. Four countries – the Netherlands, Spain, Iceland and the United Kingdom – did not mention lead agencies.
Contents in comparison to UNSCR 1325: UNSCR 1325 includes calls for action by UN entities and member states about critical issues such as the prevention of gender-based violence toward women, increased representation of women at all decision-making levels, involvement of local women in peace processes, and preventing impunity for war and gender-based crimes. All of the NAPs mention the prevention of gender-based violence and increased representation of women. The points that are not mentioned in some of the action plans are the consideration of a gender perspective in the planning of refugee camps; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration processes and the inclusion of local women in peace processes. Some of the action plans go beyond the specifications of UNSCR 1325 and include other action areas. For example, Finland includes as one objective that it “will call attention to gender-based effects of climate change.”

It is important that countries consider the 13 statements related to member states (included here in the methodology section) that are in UNSCR 1325 when developing their action plans. By doing this, none of the basic areas will be overlooked.

Level of activities: The Côte d’Ivoire NAP specifies only national-level actions. The other countries propose national level actions, in addition to actions regarding entities such as the EU, the UN and other bilateral and multilateral organizations. The Norwegian and Finnish action plans also mention local issues in the international conflict areas where they have peacekeeping operations. As noted previously, the contents of the action plans differ among countries. Based on a review of the action plan of Côte d’Ivoire, it may be more likely that a country that has had recent violent conflict may only focus on national issues rather than also deal with international-level activities.

Priorities: Only the Danish, Swedish and Austrian NAPs set clear priorities. These priorities build on their previous work concerning gender issues. Inclusion of a gender perspective in a society’s policies and programs can require a great deal of work in many nations. A specific implementation process, for what can be a demanding, large-scale task, may move more quickly if priorities are determined.

Specificity about the roles of different agents: The action plans of Austria, the Netherlands, Côte d’Ivoire and Finland each specify the implementation agents for each action/objective while the Danish and Icelandic plans do not have any mention of implementation agents. The other five countries mention implantation agents only in reference to some actions
or mention agents only in a general way. **The action plans should not leave any holes regarding implementation and each agent should be identified.**

**Communication/coordination of agents:** Countries have different approaches to the coordination of implementation agents. The NAPs from Denmark, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Iceland do not mention the coordination of agents. Norway, Sweden, Austria, the Netherlands, Spain and Finland assign inter-ministerial working groups to do the coordination, while Côte d'Ivoire assigns the Ministry of Family, Women and Social Affairs to do this task. **It is important to include specific information about the roles of those involved in the implementation processes; coordinators need to be designated and clear about their responsibilities.**

**Performance measurements:** Only the NAPS from the United Kingdom and Côte d'Ivoire mention key outcomes for each objective. The specified key outcomes in these plans are very general. **Identifying specific outcomes will not only make it easier to measure the success of the plan, but also will provide a framework for identifying problems and modifying the action plan.**

**Reporting and feedback:** The NAPs from Finland, the Netherlands, Spain and the United Kingdom acknowledge a plan is a living document that will be evaluated regularly. However, further details about the evaluation process are not provided. The rest of the plans propose reporting and feedback, and identify the specifics of the process. Switzerland has a section on the further development of the NAP, which clarifies the procedure for individuals as well as government offices to submit requests and opinions. **Reporting and feedback processes should be included in plans as they are important to assess performance and for the further development of plans.**

**Financial allocation:** Among the eleven action plans, Côte d’Ivoire provides a very detailed chart concerning financial allocation. The Swedish, Austrian and Finnish action plans mention that the financing will be arranged within the framework of individual ministries. Other plans have no mention of financial allocation. **Financial allocation is important because implementation depends on adequate financing. At least a general financial framework should be set in relation to the priority of activities and implementation of the plans.**

**Age sensitivity:** UNSCR1325 mentions “women and girls” when listing the statements about gender-based violence and the characteristics of refugee camps. The national action plans were found to mention “women
and girls” only when discussing the prevention of gender-based violence. The NAP from the United Kingdom usually uses the phrase “gender perspective,” but sometimes refers to “women” or “women and girls”. The NAP from the Netherlands includes a footnote mentioning that anytime “women” is mentioned it will include “girls” as well. **Women and girls should be mentioned throughout the national action plan. If this is not done, the intent to include girls might go unnoticed by implementers and others who read the document. Also, there may be instances when ‘older women’ should be mentioned.**

**Involvement of civil society:** The action plans of Denmark, Norway, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, the Netherlands, Spain and Finland mention that there will be some involvement of civil society, but they do not include any further details. Côte d’Ivoire and Iceland have no mention of NGOs. The important role of NGOs in the adoption of Resolution 1325 should not be ignored; it is important to include civil society in the development, implementation, evaluation and revision of NAPs.

**Geographic specificity:** None of the plans mention a special focus on certain states or certain countries. Austria, in an appendix, does provide a list of current and completed international projects. There are 21 projects and 15 of them are concerned with countries or regions in Africa. In the action plans, it might be useful to identify national and/or international geographic priorities or, at least, indicate that priorities will be set.

**Advertisement/PR:** Only the Finnish NAP mentions organizing seminars and training, and issuing announcements in order to inform the general public. As Fritz (2008) mentions, a main challenge to overcome in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 continues to be the lack of knowledge about its existence and content. So, informing the general public about Resolution 1325 supports the implementation and evaluation processes.

**Conclusions and Recommendations**

While all the NAPs will be different, reflecting the countries’ different backgrounds, interests and priorities, it is determined that NAPS should:

- include or refer to all of the basic statements in the UNSCR 1325 (that are directed to member states) when developing the contents of national action plans;
• identify the specifics of the preparation period and the enactment
date, identify implementation agents; specify financial allocations;
and set priorities
• be lengthy enough to be as specific as possible;
• specify girls as well as women throughout the plan;
• provide time frames for implementation;
• specify the enforcement, monitoring, evaluation and feedback pro-
cesses;
• specify the levels of activities (e.g., local, national, international); and
• indicate how NGOs and the broader public will be actively involved
in development, implementation and evaluation.

Countries have a responsibility to inform their citizens about UNSCR
1325. As Fritz (2008) has noted, too frequently even groups working on
issues facing women do not know about the existence and potential of
UNSCR 1325.

Also, it is extremely important that the national plans be fully avail-
able, in a timely way, on a well-publicized UN website and they should
appear in at least several languages. Articles and books evaluating UNSCR
1325 and the national plans should be announced on the site or available
through it. The site also should include up-to-date contact information for
the site manager as well as a person or agency in each country with a
national plan so that information and advice regarding the plans are easily
available.

One of the first interests of a country developing a national plan may be
to identify one or more model plans. One possibility would be to look at
the principles for a model plan that were developed for the 2007 high-level
policy dialogue for government representatives in Latin America. Another
possibility might be to find one of the existing plans to use as a model.
Two possibilities are recent plans – the ones developed by Finland (deals
with most of the 20 criteria and is clear, well-organized and frequently
detailed) and Côte d’Ivoire (gives priorities, provides detail about finances

27 The NAPs and information about them can be found at websites such as UN Women-
Watch http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/wps/national_level_impl.html; the
EPLO (European Peace Liaison Office): http://www.eplo.org/index.php?id=249; UN
and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom http://www.peacewomen.
org/1325inaction/index.html#Pacific.
and implementers). A country that has been in a recent violent conflict might want to begin with the plan developed by Côte d’Ivoire, the only country among the eleven located in the Global South. Côte d’Ivoire recently emerged from a civil war (2002–2007) and, probably because of the country’s recent history, only focuses on national goals.

A country looking to develop a comprehensive plan (one that focuses on national goals as well as international aid and assistance) does not have a model that meets all or almost all of the 20 points identified in this article. It probably would be useful to start with the 20 points mentioned here as an initial list in the development of a plan and look at the specific national plans singled out in this analysis for ideas and suggested language. A country will add additional points – beyond the initial 20 – when they are deemed important.

In addition to model plans, there also can be model countries. The authors noted that Norway, for example, is a model country in terms of assisting the UN and other countries in publicizing UNSCR 1325. In addition to having its own comprehensive plan, it also provides assistance for publications and activities in other countries. The Côte d’Ivoire NAP process, for instance, had technical and financial assistance from Norway. Also, Norway financially supported a policy dialogue for Latin American and Caribbean government representatives held by the UN Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women (OSAGI). Svein Atle Michelsen, the first secretary at Norway’s mission in New York City, has noted that Norway, like the other Scandinavian countries, “has a gender perspective on international development.”

Increasingly countries will be asked about the effectiveness of the NAPs. Civil society expects much more than reports on how much advertising has been done or how many meetings were held. Interested NGOs and the public are looking for specific outcomes such as increased rates of women’s participation, decreased violence against women and girls, increased successful prosecution of those who initiate violence against women and girls, and increased percentages of women involved in leadership positions in government regarding peacemaking and peace building.

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29) E.g., WSSC 2006, UN HABITAT 2008.
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