

RESEARCH PAPER

FINANCING
GENDER-INCLUSIVE PEACE:
GAPS IN IMPLEMENTING
THE WOMEN, PEACE AND
SECURITY AGENDA



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**WOMEN, PEACE AND
SECURITY SECTION**

UN WOMEN

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ACRONYMS

CAB	Comprehensive Agreement on Bangsamoro
CSIVI	Commission for the Monitoring, Promotion, Verification and Implementation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DDR	Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration
FAB	Framework Agreement on Bangsamoro
FARC-EP	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia — Army of the People
MPTF	United Nations Multi-Partner Trust Fund
MTF	Mindanao Trust Fund
ODA	official development assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPAPP	Philippines Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process
UNAMI	UN Assistance Mission for Iraq
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNDG ITF	United Nations Development Group Iraq Trust Fund
UNPBF	UN Peacebuilding Fund
UNSCR	UN Security Council resolution 1325
USD	United States dollars
WPHF	Women’s Peace and Humanitarian Fund
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

For years, UN Women has highlighted the persistent under-investment in gender-inclusive peace in conflict and post-conflict settings and the significant gaps in financing that make the implementation of Women, Peace and Security (WPS) commitments much more difficult. However, there is a dearth of data on the size of this gap, and how exactly the pledges and promises from donor conferences, peace agreements or post-conflict planning frameworks dissipate when it comes to allocating and spending resources on these issues.

The objective of this paper is to measure financing for gender-inclusive peace through the mechanisms of bilateral and multilateral donor investments during peace processes and post-conflict recovery, which support States to finance and sustain peace. Gender-inclusive peace is qualitatively defined as “the combination and result of ‘sensitive’ (theory/design) and ‘responsive’ approaches (operational/practical) that enable and enhance women’s, men’s, boys’, girls’, and sexual and gender minorities’ equal representation and participation in decision-making processes. Post-conflict transitions are widely regarded as gender-inclusive due to the efforts to ground them in women’s analysis and experiences, and on this basis, to reform laws and policies with gender-sensitive principles and to back these efforts with budgeting and implementation plans that are gender-responsive.”¹

The research focuses on three case studies in particular: Colombia, Iraq and the Philippines, exploring the planned investments in gender equality and women’s participation (including for women’s economic participation), set against the ambition of statements of gender-inclusive peace and specific provisions in those countries’ peace agreements or reconstruction planning and programmes. It illuminates the financing gap between plans, aspirations and expenditures, and examines patterns of money and resources and the extent to which they follow and support the life cycles of inclusion and reconstruction.

Peace and reconstruction processes that include specific gender provisions should be translated into targeted assistance and tangible reforms to ensure gender-inclusive and sustainable peace. However, in the cases of post-conflict Colombia, Iraq and the Philippines, gender inclusion in political and economic reconstruction does not seem to benefit from substantially greater financing. Few donor States have committed to the

UN target of 15 per cent of peacebuilding funding to promote gender equality and women’s empowerment. Less than 2 per cent of official development assistance (ODA) is currently targeted principally for this purpose in peace and reconstruction processes in Colombia, Iraq and the Philippines.

The greatest increase in gender-targeted (bilateral) donor assistance occurred in the year following the signing of peace agreements in the Philippines and Colombia (though not in Iraq). But these gender investments have not been sustained in either the Philippines or Colombia, and in fact, have declined significantly from 2016 onwards – in the case of the Comprehensive Agreement on Bangsamoro (CAB) 2014 and Bangsamoro Basic Law, and since 2018 in the case of the 2016 Colombian-FARC Agreements. This decline is despite overall increases in donor assistance to Colombia and the Philippines. In other words, **more aid does not mean more assistance for women’s empowerment and gender equality, except perhaps in the year following peace agreements, where there is greater attention to the achievements of gender provisions.**

In contrast with Colombia and the Philippines, there have been increases in gender-focused bilateral ODA for Iraq. However, **only a small minority of projects financed by billion-dollar plus multi-donor funds since 2004 address women’s empowerment or gender equality specifically in areas of the ‘productive economy’** – such as in infrastructure, rural development, agriculture and water, economic reform and diversification.

Even when a country achieves a gender-sensitive peace agreement, therefore, donors are not scaling up the investment in recognition of this hard-won gain and to achieve meaningful gender inclusion in the post-conflict society. At a minimum, donors are

not being transparent. The CAB in the Philippines included a gender provision in line with the Philippines Magna Carta for Women² with **a five per cent allocation of development funds to support women's return to 'normal life' and participation. Yet, none of the seven programmes funded by the multi-donor Mindanao Trust Fund (MTF) Reconstruction and Development Programme (2013–2017, Phase 1) has reported on the allocation of funds set aside to fund programmes that benefit women.**

Gender provisions in Colombia, Iraq and the Philippines focus strongly on gender equality and women's economic security. Yet the ODA funding and projects approved appear to privilege women's governance participation in community forums and civil society organizations, and in their voluntary capacity without also enabling women's economic participation through innovative financing and support. Women's governance participation is a necessary but insufficient condition for women's economic empowerment and agency.

Overall, it is extremely challenging to 'follow the money' for sustaining gender-inclusive peace.



*Orange the World 2019 - Colombia
Photo: UN Women/Juan Camilo Arias*

But monitoring the financing is imperative with respect to gender equality goals and the implementation of the WPS agenda. International commitments that have supported gender-inclusive peace processes need to be translated into gender-inclusive investments in post-conflict reconstruction. Without funding commitments, gender provisions will remain good intentions rather than transformative actions.

Key strategies for addressing this gap include:

1) Implementation of peace agreement gender provisions should be effectively monitored in all post-conflict countries and include the tracking of gender-responsive investments.³ This tracking is in line with SDG Target 5.c.1, which measures the proportion of countries with systems to track and make public allocations for gender equality and women's empowerment.⁴ A clear methodology, which could be based on the methodology developed in this research paper, needs to be established to follow donor and State investments as part of implementing gender-inclusive peace agreements and their specific gender provisions.

2) Increases in donor bilateral and multilateral funding for the WPS agenda to ensure it is adequately resourced must leverage commensurate or matching post-conflict State funding for gender equality and women's rights as a catalyst for sustaining peace. The percentage of the contribution should be at least in line with the overall proportion of State contributions to post-conflict rebuilding, in accordance with WPS principles, to ensure coherence and sustainability.

3) A 'gender marker' is required for all peace and reconstruction funding, similar to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC)'s screening of bilateral development assistance or the Peacebuilding Fund's criteria of meaningful participation to identify and report on whether gender equality and women's empowerment is a principal and/or a secondary objective of a funding commitment.

4) The UN's 15 per cent target for post-conflict donor and State peace and reconstruction funds needs to be set at the level of project funding for funding activities where women's empowerment and gender equality is a principal and/or significant objective. With this set target, all multilateral (World Bank and UN) peace and reconstruction funds at the project level should publicly report on progress in meeting that target.

INTRODUCTION

During and after violent conflict, women’s vulnerability often increases significantly, yet women’s post-conflict status has not received the attention and investment that it needs in the post-conflict period. Women in conflict, disaster and violent extremism situations have restricted access to productive assets and resources, such as land, agricultural inputs, finance and credit, markets, extension services and technology, which deeply impact their livelihoods. Furthermore, the significant time and energy burden of women’s unpaid work responsibilities further hampers women’s ability to take advantage of employment and market opportunities as well as longer-term social, political and peacebuilding initiatives. Conflict-affected women often face great difficulties in gaining access to public services (including education and functional literacy), social protection, decent employment opportunities and they are often discriminated against during disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR). Additionally, women are often absent from the governance bodies and decision-making processes regarding economic and political reforms, recovery and reconstruction in their respective countries.

The 2015 *Global Study on the Implementation of UN Security Council resolution (UNSCR) 1325* highlighted a ‘persistent failure to adequately finance the WPS agenda’.⁵ The study recommended that States, regional organizations and agencies within the UN system allocate at least 15 per cent of all funding relating to peace and security for programmes

addressing women’s specific needs and advancing gender equality.⁶ International financial institutions have adopted institutional mandates to promote gender-inclusive global development agendas and to prevent situations of ‘fragility, conflict and violence’,⁷ but so far have failed to meet minimum funding levels.⁸



Asia-Pacific Regional Commemoration Of International Women’s Day 2020. Photo: UN Women/Pathumporn Thongking

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This paper examines the financing for gender-inclusive peace through the mechanisms of bilateral and multilateral investments during peace processes and post-conflict recovery. Post-conflict States are responsible for financing to implement peace agreements and the women, peace and security agenda. However, ODA by donor States supports post-conflict States to finance this agenda to sustain peace. Thus, the paper aims to explore investments in gender equality and women's participation (including for women's economic security and empowerment) set against the ambition of gender-sensitive peace agreements within countries and reconstruction planning and programmes since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000. These commitments and their sustainable financing⁹ are crucial elements for the full implementation of the WPS agenda.

The main research questions asked are:

- To what extent has donor funding contributed to the implementation of gender-inclusive peace?
- Is there a financing gap between plans and aspirations, and the expenditures for inclusive peace and reconstruction?

Colombia, Iraq and the Philippines are heuristic 'best cases' for exploring whether gender-inclusive implementation follows gender-inclusive peace processes, as indicated by flows of bilateral and multilateral aid because they have extremely high values on all three criteria.¹⁰



*Courtesy Meeting with PCOL Julius Cesar Gomez Siquijor Provincial Police Department - Philippines.
Photo: UN Women/Ploy Phutpheng*

METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES

This section explains the methodology used to measure financing for gender-inclusive peace processes and reconstruction focused on Colombia, Iraq and the Philippines. The research questions are addressed by consolidating the information for the three countries to capture how much donor funding has contributed to the peace processes in those countries, and to what extent projects financed by donor sources have contributed to supporting the implementation of the gender provisions defined in those peace agreements.

Sources of finance

In both upper and lower middle-income countries – such as Colombia, Iraq and the Philippines – tax revenue, private investment and remittances are the vast majority of sources of finance, according to the

This paper examines the cases of Iraq, Colombia and the Philippines, with the latter two especially noted as examples of gender-inclusive peacebuilding and peace agreements with progressive gender provisions. These countries were selected on the basis of the following four criteria:

1. They have concluded and sustained (to date) peace settlements that contain strong references to gender inclusion
2. They mobilized women to participate in the peace and reconstruction process — from the elite level to local participation and representation
3. They targeted post-conflict economic investment for women
4. They also reflect regional diversity – across three different global regions.

OECD DAC 2018–2019 reporting system.¹¹ While international aid from the public sectors of external actors, both bilateral or multilateral, covers only a small part of sources of finance in these countries, this external aid is particularly important in providing the additional funding required in fragile and conflict-affected countries tasked with implementing peace settlements.¹²

In this paper’s analysis, three main sources of external aid and financing are considered:

1. Bilateral funding, as measured by donor assistance reported to the OECD DAC.¹³
2. UN and World Bank multi-donor trust funds specifically to support peace and reconstruction.
3. Multilateral funding through UN Women, the Women’s Peace and Humanitarian Fund (WPHF)¹⁴ and the UN Peacebuilding Fund (UNPBF), which is sometimes included in source 2 (above).¹⁵

Only the public sector financing of external actors, known as ODA, is analysed in this paper. The authors do not consider private sector foreign investment or domestic State investment, both of which are crucial for peace implementation because data collection is not disaggregated to allow for an assessment of specific post-conflict reconstruction investments. Military commitments are not included, since they are not as relevant to women’s post-conflict social, political and economic recovery. Indeed, increasing military commitments by some States (for counter-narcotics and security) have resulted in lower aid budgets for post-conflict recovery (e.g., US aid to Colombia¹⁶).

All financing information was analysed using data available from open access sources – such as OECD 2020; World Bank n.d; UN Multi-donor Trust Fund database; Colombia Multi-donor Trust Fund; Mindanao Trust Fund, etc.



Orange the World 2019 - Colombia
Photo: UN Women/Juan Camilo Arias

Step 1: Identify gender provisions

In the period 2000–2016, researchers found that of 110 peace agreements, 55 had gender provisions, amounting to 517 separate provisions.¹⁷ Funding is required to support women’s participation and rights across all of these agreements and gender provisions.¹⁸

In this first step, some of the relevant gender provisions, especially those related to women’s economic security and gender-inclusive post-conflict recovery, are identified in each of the three countries.

Step 2: Map bilateral official development assistance (ODA)

Bilateral ODA includes ‘official donors’, consisting of 30 OECD DAC countries, and excludes private sector donors.¹⁹ ODA ‘commitments’ are examined, to measure donors’ intentions and monitor the targeting of resources to specific purposes and recipient countries. They fluctuate as aid policies change and reflect how donors’ political commitments translate into action. They also give an indication about future flows.²⁰

In this step, bilateral ODA is mapped against the years during and since the key peace accord or agreement and its gender provisions. The types of ODA investment are considered by sector: social infrastructure and services, economic infrastructure and services, production sectors and humanitarian Aid.

Step 3: Analyse gender-focused bilateral ODA

Investments in gender equality and women’s equality are increasing in low- and middle-income countries, as well as in fragile and conflict countries. The OECD reports that 42 per cent of DAC country bilateral aid has been invested in gender equality and women’s equality



UN Women Executive Director Visits the Philippines.
Photo: UN Women/Alamid

as a principal and/or significant objective—the highest target yet reached.²¹ Overall, USD 4.6 billion was dedicated to gender equality as the principal objective of the funding, corresponding to 4 per cent of bilateral aid by OECD (DAC) in 2017–2018. There is substantial variation in donor support, however. Aid focused on gender equality *in situations of armed conflict* as a share of total bilateral aid has increased over time, from under 5 per cent in 2002 to close to 45 per cent by 2017.²² This includes the sectors of conflict prevention, peace and security, including security system management, civilian peacebuilding and peacekeeping operations.

In this step, the extent of funding for gender equality and women’s empowerment is ascertained, including the peace agreement provisions related to these goals in bilateral ODA commitments by OECD DAC members. The OECD DAC’s gender equality policy marker tool is used, which requires States to tag their planned investments according to whether they address gender equality as a 1) principal or 2) a significant objective of the funding.²³ The ‘principal’ objective means that gender equality is the dedicated objective and is fundamental to its design and expected results; while the ‘significant’ objective means that gender equality is an important but secondary and mainstreamed objective. It is possible that only a portion of the budget targets gender equality objectives, but the amount recorded in the database relates to the entire budget of the project.²⁴

The gender marker is an estimate rather than an exact quantification of the donor resources committed. The share of bilateral aid that reports gender equality as a principal objective and as a significant objective are thus analysed separately and combined for each country and each year since the adoption of the peace agreement as a percentage of total aid commitments.²⁵ This aims to show the trends across years relating to peace implementation.

Step 4: Identify and analyse multi-donor dedicated peace and reconstruction funds

In this step, all the funds in the UN database relating to peacebuilding are identified for the three countries, with start and end dates coinciding with or after the signing of their respective peace agreement (Colombia since 2016, Iraq 2004 and after, and the Philippines since 2011). The projects within these multi-donor funds for each country were then



UN Women Executive Director meets Minister for Women Affairs of Iraq. Photo: UN Women/Ryan Brown

identified and analysed according to whether they were “gender-sensitive”, not gender-sensitive, or ‘no information provided’, based on the definition in the UN Women Expert Group Meeting report glossary on women’s participation in peace processes, as follows:

The awareness of gender in-equalities, differences and issues affecting women, men, boys, girls, and sexual and gender minorities, and taking these concerns into account within the formal project objectives. Gender-sensitive approaches seek to secure change to achieve gender equality wherever possible.²⁶

This definition of ‘gender-sensitive’ can be compared with the OECD Gender Policy Marker “significant” (secondary) category, where gender is a mainstreamed objective. The definition also includes projects that may have gender equality and women’s empowerment as a principal (primary) objective, but that are not necessarily coded as ‘gender sensitive’. This is the language commonly used by the OECD and UN. It would be possible to go even further to analyse projects in terms of whether or not they are “gender-responsive” or transformative insofar as they enable the “operational and practical capacity to address gender inequalities, exclusions and differences through action or implementation”, which would be an even higher standard for evaluation. However, this was beyond the scope of this report and would require substantial field research.²⁷ Following the former definition, general and specific goals of the project were searched to ascertain if their objectives were gender-sensitive.

For instance, see the example of gender-sensitive objectives below:

1. Support local communities in the establishment of a variety of viable auxiliary income-generating activities in the food processing sector and other cottage agro-industries, thereby strengthening their household economy so they can contribute to their well-being on their own.
2. Raise technology and production levels in targeted communities by providing poor and marginalized communities with the means to process their agricultural products.
3. Improve the technical and business management skills of people in the project area, especially of women, youth and internally displaced persons (IDPs), through appropriate training in the food processing, construction, manufacturing or service sectors.

A further search was undertaken on the information available in the most recent results reports, the contributions and outcomes of the project in terms of gender equality, searching by the following keywords: *Gender, Women, Girls, Female, Maternity, Widow*.²⁸ If these reports did not provide enough information about gender issues, the most recent annual or quarterly report (depending on availability) was examined.

Finally, as well as applying the broad definition of ‘gender-sensitive’, both project objectives and results were assessed as gender-sensitive/not gender-sensitive/no information based on whether they met at least one of the criteria below. While requiring project objectives and results to meet only one criterion to be defined as gender-sensitive is permissive, it is a fairly objective assessment that nonetheless reveals an important pattern.

- Projects with explicit commitments on women and girls
- Projects whose target populations are women and girls. Even if women and girls are not targeted, there is evidence of how and when women and girls could be potential beneficiaries
- Projects disaggregate and discuss their results by sex
- Projects where the participation of women is equal to, or above, 20 per cent

- Projects that show clear and measurable outputs and benefits for women and girls
- Projects that contribute to reducing the gender gap
- Projects that recognize women and girls’ disadvantages and provide solutions to reduce them.

An example of a project that is gender-sensitive, using the results of the project, is as follows:

Gender disaggregation of data is promoted in all information-gathering exercises. The housing policy outcomes have a pro-poor bias, focusing on vulnerable community members, many of whom are women and women-headed households.

From the beginning of the project, 11 female experts were deployed to Iraq. Efforts have been made to hire qualified women as project staff. The team includes four females and two male staff. Efforts were also made to train IRI staff on gender issues... in order to increase the number of female experts deployed and strengthen the role of women in all aspects of the country’s reconstruction and small additional financial incentives for female experts will be allocated; this is based on the fact that several IRI female experts deployed in the current phase travel with their small children. This small allowance will enable them to pay for childcare support while attending their institution without being penalized.

“Gender-neutral” projects or minimally gender-sensitive projects that did not have a plan to seek social change to achieve gender equality were not considered to be “gender-sensitive” projects, nor were projects that did not provide practical actions to reduce inequalities or to expand the roles of women. For example, among the projects not included were projects that described their gender results as follows:

Opportunities were for both men and women to benefit from the project equally through the provision of improved access to water supply... Throughout the implementation process, women were encouraged to seek employment on the project. However, there were limited opportunities to promote gender and equity in the project, as women were not participating directly in construction tasks. UNOPS, on the ground, promoted activities such as women (especially female heads of households) cooking food to sell to construction workers. Such a role was available to a number of women residents within the area of the water treatment plant.

Based on this analysis of project objectives and results, the percentage of gender-sensitive projects relating to peace and reconstruction processes in the designated country was calculated as a percentage of all funded projects and the overall multi-donor investment in \$USD terms.

Step 5: Follow funding for specific gender provisions

In this step, specific funding sources and commitments are investigated further, qualitatively. This is only done to a limited extent, given the focus and scope of this paper and the fact that field work was carried out in Colombia and the Philippines, but not in Iraq. The aim is to ascertain whether the source provided actual funding for implementing a specific gender provision – such as the institutional mechanism for gender mainstreaming and women’s movements in peace implementation in Colombia, and the provision in the Philippines 2014 agreement devoting 5 per cent of funding to women’s return to normal life post-conflict – which is regarded as essential for women’s economic security and post-conflict inclusion.

Limitations

In addition to the already mentioned limitations of the study, the findings are provisional due to the limited years of investment in gender and peace processes. The most up-to-date complete year of published data is 2018, and overall, the time series is short, with high volatility, which may affect the trends observed and analysed.



Orange the World 2019 - Colombia. Photo: UN Women/Luis Ponce

RESEARCH FINDINGS

IRAQ

UNSCR 1546, which authorized the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) in 2004, is the closest decision to an internationally recognized peace agreement that exists in the Iraq context and for the purposes of this paper, it is used as the starting point for analysis. The UNSCR references UNAMI, which contains specific gender programmes related to UNSCR 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security, including responding to gender-based violence and supporting women's participation in peacebuilding and in governance. As well, the 2005 Iraq Constitution, which followed the intervention and UNAMI, has seven main gender provisions. Two of these focus specifically on women's economic security and require funding to be adequately implemented. These are listed below (Table 1).

As shown in Figure 1, below, trends in bilateral ODA to Iraq since 2004 follow a pattern closely linked to the UNAMI mission. Total aid commitments (not including military commitments) were highest in 2005, at USD 23.43 billion, the year following the establishment of UNAMI. However, this assistance declined to 2.2 billion in 2010 and 2.44 billion in 2018.

In terms of gender-focused bilateral ODA, Iraq has seen an increasing proportion of total aid screened for women's empowerment and gender equality. The blue trend line shows the percentage of ODA focused on gender equality as a principal or major objective. There was a peak in 2011, with projects with gender equality as a principal objective worth 9 per cent (USD 145.4 million) of total aid.

Overall, as shown in Figure 1 below, there has been a large increase in the proportion of Iraq's ODA funding for projects with gender equality and women's empowerment as a principal (primary) or a significant (secondary) objective – climbing from 0.4 per cent (94.7 million) in 2005, to 2 per cent (237 million) in 2010, and 38 per cent (881 million) in 2018. However, that increase is largely due to projects that list gender equality as a secondary goal, with a 300 per cent increase in funding from 208 million in 2015 to 836 million in 2018, compared with the 79 per cent increase in projects with gender equality as a primary goal, which went from 25.6 million in 2012 to 46 million in 2018.

TABLE 1
Gender provisions in Iraq

Country	Gender provision	Year
Iraq	United Nations Security Council resolution 1546 "Affirming the importance of the rule of law, national reconciliation, respect for human rights including the rights of women, fundamental freedoms, and democracy including free and fair elections"	2004
	The Iraq Constitution "The state guarantees to the individual and the family -- especially children and women -- social and health security and the basic requirements for leading a free and dignified life. The state also ensures the above a suitable income and appropriate housing."	2005 Section 2/ chapter 1/ Article 30
	"The State guarantees the protection of motherhood, childhood and old age and shall care for children and youth and provides them with the appropriate conditions to further their talents and abilities."	Section 2/ chapter 1/ Article 19 B

Source: UN Peacemaker and Monash GPS n.d.

Post-conflict and reconstruction aid to Iraq from DAC donors has mainly prioritized gender equality and women’s empowerment in humanitarian assistance and social reconstruction and services and to a lesser extent in production sectors, with some aid for economic infrastructure and services screened for gender equality or women’s empowerment objectives, but with only a tiny proportion addressing these objectives. For example, for years where the assistance to economic infrastructure is relatively high, in 2014 and 2017, the rate was only 3.45 per cent (13.8 million) and 2.8 per cent (16.95 million) of this aid, respectively.

With regard to the sectors where the aid expenditures are focused (Figure 2), since 2005, humanitarian aid has increased from no aid (in 2005) to 246 million in 2010 and 1.1 billion in 2018. In contrast, bilateral aid in economic infrastructure has declined since 2005, from 1.5 billion to 654 million in 2010 and 18 million in 2018, with a similar trend in bilateral aid for the productive economy. Assistance for social infrastructure and services has declined since UNAMI but not to the same extent as for economic infrastructure and production, falling from 4.6 billion in 2005 to 1.29 billion in 2018.

FIGURE 1
Total and gender-focused bilateral ODA, 2005–2018

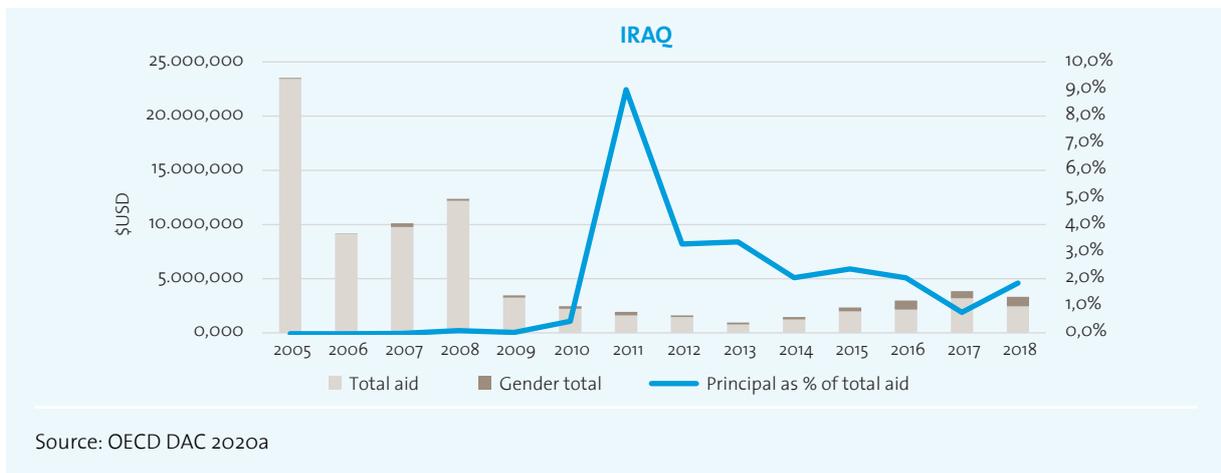


FIGURE 2
Gender-focused bilateral ODA, by principal or secondary objective and by sector

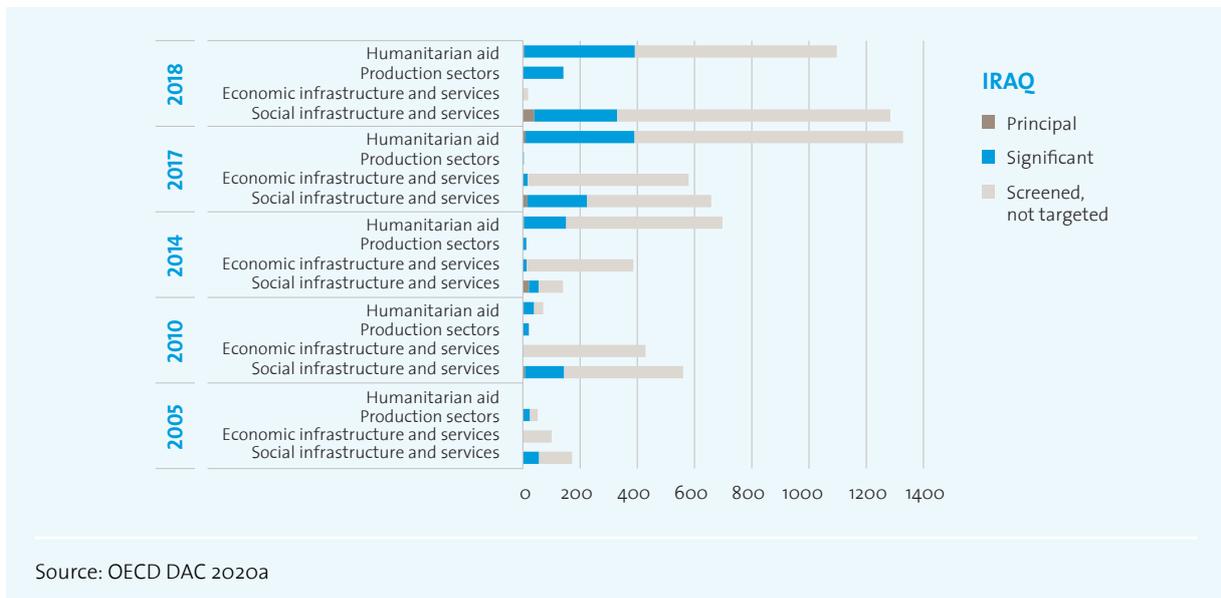


TABLE 2
Multilateral aid and designated funds in Iraq, 2018

Fund ³⁰	Total projects	Approved budget (USD)
The United Nations Development Group Iraq Trust Fund (UNDG ITF)	201	1,390,413,154
Iraq United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) Trust Fund	10	45,293,448
Kurdistan Vision 2020 Facility	13	3,688,817
Women’s Peace and Humanitarian Fund	2	5,070,200
United Nations Fund for Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict	1	396,000
TOTAL PROJECTS	227	1,444 billion (61%)

Source: United Nations. Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office website. <http://mptf.undp.org/tools/query/projects>

In terms of multilateral aid and designated funds for reconstruction in Iraq found on the United Nations’ Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office website, five funds and 227 projects were identified²⁹ between 2004 and 2019, as shown in Table 2. The two latter funds are principally targeted at women’s empowerment and gender equality, or benefiting these.

Based on an analysis of the 227 projects for Iraq funded by UN and World Bank multi-donor trusts, worth over USD 800 million and 1.8 billion, respectively; 63 per cent (142) projects were found to be gender-sensitive; 35 per cent (81) projects were found to be not gender-sensitive, and 2 per cent (4) projects provided no information to assess their gender sensitivity.

With a total approved budget of approximately 1.4 billion, the authors calculated that 877 million (61 per cent) can be deemed to be gender-sensitive funding. Similarly, with 1.37 billion in actual expenditures, 846 million (62 per cent) is calculated as gender-sensitive funding.



16 Days campaign to End Gender Violence, 2014. Photo: UNAMI PIO/Sarmad Al-Safy



UNWomen and Iraq CoR marking International Women’s Day 2016. Photo: UN Women/Christopher Herwig

THE PHILIPPINES

The Framework Agreement on Bangsamoro (FAB) and Comprehensive Agreement on Bangsamoro (CAB) are significant achievements that committed three major combatant groups — the Philippine Army, MILF and MNLF — to a ceasefire. The CAB has been internationally recognized for its comprehensive gender provisions, with two strong gender provisions in particular that relate to women’s economic security and require financing to be implemented. The CAB was adopted as the Bangsamoro Basic Law in 2017, and its indication that 5 per cent of designated development funds should for women is now present in the law as well as in the earlier agreement.

The trends in bilateral ODA to the Philippines since 2012 (under the FAB) follow a pattern closely linked to the peace agreements. Total aid commitments (not including military commitments) rose to 1.33 billion in 2014 in the first year of the CAB, compared with 1 billion in 2010. Overall bilateral assistance increased to just over 2 billion in 2018. It is important to note that given that the conflict and the peace process in the Philippines largely relates to the Mindanao province, not all of this ODA can be considered relevant to peace and reconstruction, especially given the high levels of poverty in other provinces of the Philippines

and its lower-middle-income country status, as categorized by the OECD.

Gender-focused bilateral ODA had its peak the year following the 2014 Bangsamoro agreement, in 2015. It has declined since, not reaching those levels again in subsequent years. Women’s empowerment and gender equality as a principal objective only, as shown in the blue trend line, was highest in 2017 (following the CAB), but that level of funding has not been sustained.

Overall, as shown in Figure 3, there has been considerable fluctuation in gender-focused aid. It went from 15 per cent of total aid (200.7 million) in 2014 to 41 per cent (436 million) in 2017 and 62 per cent (1.2 billion) in 2018. While there is a large increase in gender ‘mainstreamed’ aid from 2014 to 2015 and 2017 to 2018, if we follow the peace process there is a peak in funding in 2012 (the year after the Aquino talks in 2010 and 2011), which led to the longest ceasefire to date; a further peak after CAB (and Typhoon Haiyan) in 2014; and a peak at the same time as the Bangsamoro Basic Law (2015). Thus, there appears to be an interest in funding peace immediately after a key achievement but that funding and interest lasts only for a year.

TABLE 3
Gender provisions in the Philippines

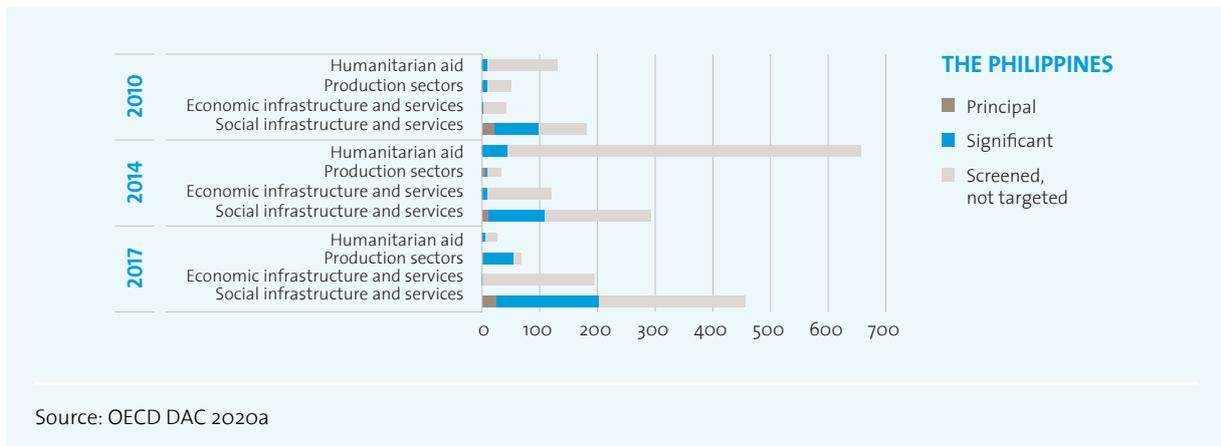
Country	Gender provision	Year
Philippines	The Framework Agreement on Bangsamoro (FAB)	2012
	Comprehensive Agreement on Bangsamoro (CAB) “the adoption of financing schemes that ensure the return to normal life for women”	2014 Section 11
	CAB Annex – Section on Revenue-generation and Wealth-sharing. “there shall be the equal utilisation of public funds to ensure women and men’s needs. At least five per cent of the official development funds are to be set aside for support programs and activities for women” (the Bangsamoro Basic Law in 2017 also sustained this provision)	2014 Annex Article 12

Source: Monash GPS n.d.

FIGURE 3
Total and gender-focused bilateral ODA, 2005–2018



FIGURE 4
Gender-focused bilateral ODA, by principal or secondary objective and by sector, 2010–17



Post-conflict and reconstruction aid to the Philippines from DAC donors has mainly prioritized gender equality and women’s empowerment in the provision of social infrastructure and services. It is concerning to see that just 6 per cent (45 million) of the 673 million in humanitarian assistance received in 2014 was targeted at gender equality, even as a secondary or mainstreamed objective. In production sectors and economic infrastructure and services, most assistance is not even screened for gender equality or women’s empowerment objectives. Only a small amount addresses these objectives in production sectors (11 out of 78 million in 2018) and a tiny proportion with regard to economic infrastructure (1.8 out of 219 million in 2017).

With regard to the sectors where aid expenditures are focused (Figure 4), humanitarian aid has declined from 673 million in 2014 (in part in response to Typhoon Haiyan, which affected conflict areas), to 90 million in 2018. By contrast, assistance for social infrastructure and services increased following the CAB, from 323 million in 2014 to 480 million in 2017, before declining to 266 million in 2018. However, economic infrastructure has increased, from 134 million in 2014 to 1.5 billion in 2018. Aid for production sectors has remained at similar levels across the same period and stood at 78 million in 2018.

TABLE 4

Multilateral funds for peace and reconstruction in the Philippines, 2018

Country	Fund	Total Projects	Budget (USD)
Philippines	Mindanao Trust Fund (Phase 1 only)³²	7	28.9 mil. (total)
	• Community-Driven Development / Community-Driven Reconstruction (2005–15)	1	19.3 mil.
	• Programme for Local Economic Development through Enlightened Governance and Grassroots Empowerment (2013–15)	1	2.4 mil.
	• Operational Support for the Sajahatra Bangsamoro Programme (2013–15)	1	893,000
	• Bangsamoro Development Plan	1	450,000
	• Bangsamoro ADVANCE		3.2 mil.
	• Bangsamoro Solidarity	1	637,000
	• Camps	1	1.9 mil.
	UN Peacebuilding Fund (Immediate Response)	2	5.9 mil.
• Increasing Public Confidence and Participation in Support of Implementation of the Bangsamoro Peace Agreement			
• Building Capacities for Sustaining Peace in Mindanao			

Source: United Nations. Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office website. <http://mptf.undp.org/tools/query/projects>

Multilateral funds for peace and reconstruction for Mindanao in the Philippines include two types of funds sourced from the United Nations Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office website, and nine projects³¹ from 2014 to 2019, as shown in Table 4, below. The WPHF funds are principally targeted at women’s empowerment and gender equality, or benefiting these.

On further analysis of the support for the implementation of gender provisions, there is a significant gap between gender-inclusive commitments in the CAB agreement and the gender-responsive financing to implement them. It is important to note that in addition to the CAB, the Republic Act No. 9710 (2010) or the Magna Carta of Women, stipulates that the “government should ensure that 5% to 30% of ODA it receives should support gender-responsive programs and projects”. It is clear that the neither the Government nor donors have fully maximized the Magna Carta or the CAB to address gender issues in WPS and to monitor how gender budgets are allocated.³³ In the CAB, as noted above, there is a 5 per cent allocation of development funds to support women’s return to ‘normal life’, their participation in political life, and their protection from violence. The total commitment

was PHP 1.4 billion (USD 28.9 million) to the Mindanao Trust Fund for Reconstruction and Development. Yet, **none of the seven programmes funded by the multi-donor Mindanao Trust Fund (MTF) for Reconstruction and Development Programme (2013–2017, Phase 1) reported on the allocation of funds set aside to fund programmes and activities that benefit women.** Step 5 in the methodology therefore could not be carried out. The authors could not even calculate what overall percentage of the Trust Fund was dedicated to specific gender programmes. There is a Phase 2 of funding since 2018 that has yet to provide publicly accessible reports.

Quarterly reports from the Mindanao Trust for Reconstruction, however, do provide substantial detail on women’s empowerment and gender equality objectives achieved, although the financial resources budgeted or spent, or the proportion of the total sum, are not reported on. These reports highlight the number of people who benefited from the project, sometimes disaggregated by gender. The final 2016 quarterly report on the three current Bangsamoro projects notes the total number of beneficiaries per programme and the percentage of



UN Women Executive Director Visits the Philippines. Photo: UN Women/Alamid

women: Bangsamoro ADVANCE = 116,355 (56 per cent), Bangsamoro Solidarity = 26,974 (52 per cent), Camps = 68,527 (51 per cent) totaling = 209,166 (54 per cent). Outcomes with regard to social change in gender relations towards greater equality are not substantively documented or measured in these reports.

Gender sensitivity is a criteria for the quarterly narrative reports. Women’s participation, often as attendees at community meetings and volunteers involved in community planning and implementation, is noted, as are increases in women’s participation and meeting gender-related targets for participation.

The final 2016 quarterly report notes: “Across the four MTF programs, more than 50 percent of beneficiaries are women, with many holding leadership and managerial roles. For instance, in Camps Abubakar and Rajamuda, the POs are composed of women, mostly wives and widows of MILF combatants and/or members of the MILF Social Welfare Committee”.³⁴ However, there is no reference to economic security or programmes focused on securing women’s income and livelihoods.

The two UN Peacebuilding Fund projects worth almost USD 6 million do provide some financial details as well as the substantive content of projects. Approximately 1.5 million is devoted to three subprojects where gender equality and women’s empowerment are major objectives: 400,000 on women’s leadership

and participation in the transition process and new institutions of Bangsamoro; 530,000 on peace-table capacity-building for women, indigenous peoples and youth; and 450,500 for supporting the role of women, youth and faith-based organizations in Bangsamoro. However, all these projects are ‘governance, social and political participation’-related rather than focused on economic security, enterprise or economic decision-making.

With regard to funding for gender provisions that specifically address financing for women’s economic security, the Philippines Government’s Women’s Empowerment, Development and Gender Equality Plan 2013–2016 (Women’s EDGE Plan) was further assessed. However, the authors were unable to identify the percentage of commitment the national government makes to its own priority issues of women’s economic empowerment, women’s social development rights, gender in justice, peace and security, gender in environment and climate change, and gender-responsive governance.

The Philippines was, however, added to the list of priority countries to receive funding under the Women’s Peace and Humanitarian Fund from 2020. As such, this funding may provide assistance with, but not be able to fully implement, the core gender provisions of the CAB: “the adoption of financing schemes that ensure the return to normal life for women.”

COLOMBIA

The final agreement to end the armed conflict and build a stable and lasting peace, signed on 26 November 2016 between the Colombian Government and the guerrillas of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia — Army of the People (FARC-EP) allowed an end to more than 52 years of armed conflict. A major feature of the agreement is the inclusion of over 100 gender provisions across its six points. They recognize and seek to compensate for the disproportionate effects that the war has had on Colombian women through: 1) comprehensive rural reform, 2) political participation, 3) an end of the conflict, 4) a solution to the problem of illicit drugs, 5) assistance for victims of the armed conflict, and 6) the implementation, verification and endorsement of the accord.³⁵

Financing for gender-inclusive peace and recovery and for women’s economic security are specifically addressed in point 1, which deals with comprehensive rural reform, and to a lesser extent in points 4

and 6, which include provisions and implementation mechanisms dedicated to women’s inclusion. Crucial for the implementation of these gender provisions, and which requires financing, are the new implementation entities established by the peace agreement, in particular the Commission for the Monitoring, Promotion, Verification and Implementation of the Final Agreement (CSIVI) and Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP). Both have gender commissions as part of their institutional mandate to ensure that women’s rights are upheld and fully realized in tangible actions, especially for women victims and ex-combatants.

In 2020, Colombia’s Attorney-General reported on the allocation of international cooperation resources for the Colombian agreement implementation by point and pillar for the year 2019. USD 6.6 million was dedicated to gender-based provisions (out of 263.8 million) – **2.5 per cent of total funding, falling well short of the UN-recommended 15 per cent.**³⁶

TABLE 5
Gender provisions in Colombia

Country	Gender provision	Year
Colombia	Colombia-FARC Peace Accord	2012
	Comprehensive Rural Reform Female heads-of-households have the right to access <i>the Land Fund</i> ; a designated subsidy for land purchase and assistance with formal ownership of property.	2016 Point 1
	<i>Solidarity Economy Stimulus</i> , which is obligated to promote gender equality, economic autonomy and organizational capacity, especially for rural women.	2016 Point 1
	<i>Social security system</i> that provides access to health care, including sexual and reproductive health, technical, technological and university education, in order to promote women’s training in non-traditional disciplines.	2016 Point 1
	<i>Creation of Gender Commissions within the Commission for the Monitoring, Promotion, Verification and Implementation of the Peace Agreement (CSIVI)</i> , as well as the <i>Special Jurisdiction for Peace and the Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition Commission</i> . “To guarantee true equality, it is necessary to put forward affirmative measures which respond to the disproportionate impact which the armed conflict has had on women, in particular, sexual violence. With regard to the rights of victims, their protection includes differential treatment which recognizes the causes and the disproportionate effects which the armed conflict has had on women... differential action must be taken to enable women to access the plans and programs contained in this Agreement on equal terms.”	2016 Point 6 p. 205

Source: Monash GPS n.d.

As illustrated in Figure 5, the trends in bilateral ODA to Colombia since 2016 follow a pattern closely linked to the peace agreement signed that year. Since 2016, total aid commitments (excluding military assistance) have been steadily increasing, from 1.1 billion in 2014 to 1.37 in 2017 (the year after the agreement) and 1.5 billion in 2018.

Gender-focused bilateral ODA to Colombia reached its high point in the year following the 2016 peace agreement, in 2017. Overall, 56 per cent of total aid commitments (771 million) reported women’s empowerment and gender equality as objectives. This is a significant increase in the 4 per cent of aid in 2005, 25 per cent in 2010 and 40 per cent in 2014. However, while there has been a positive increase in the overall gender mainstreamed share of total aid, it declined in 2018 to 42 per cent of total aid (638 million).

FIGURE 5
Total and gender-focused bilateral ODA, 2005–2018

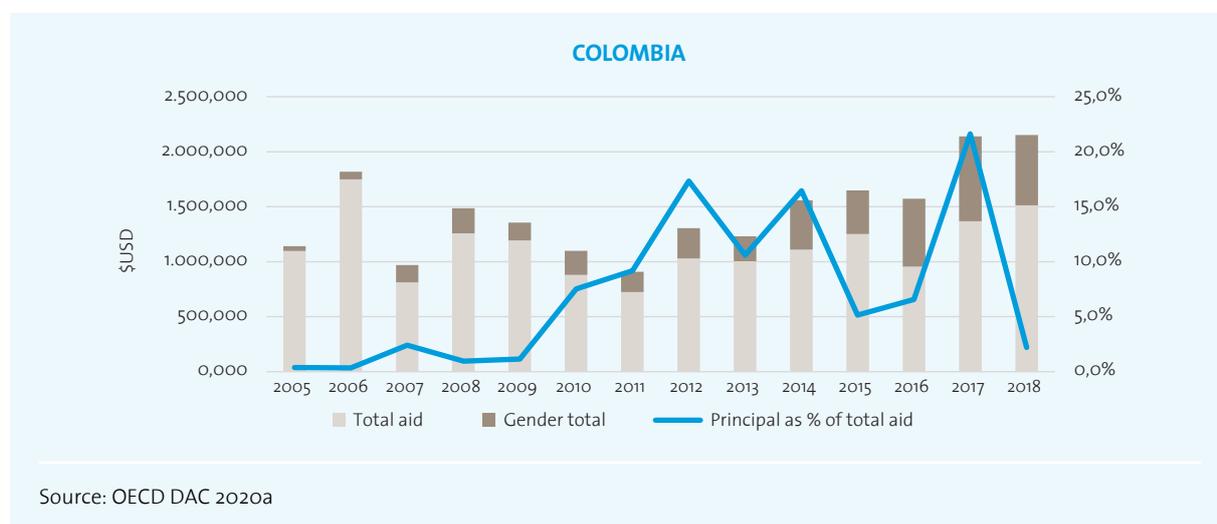


FIGURE 6
Gender-focused bilateral ODA, by principal or secondary objective and by sector, 2010–17

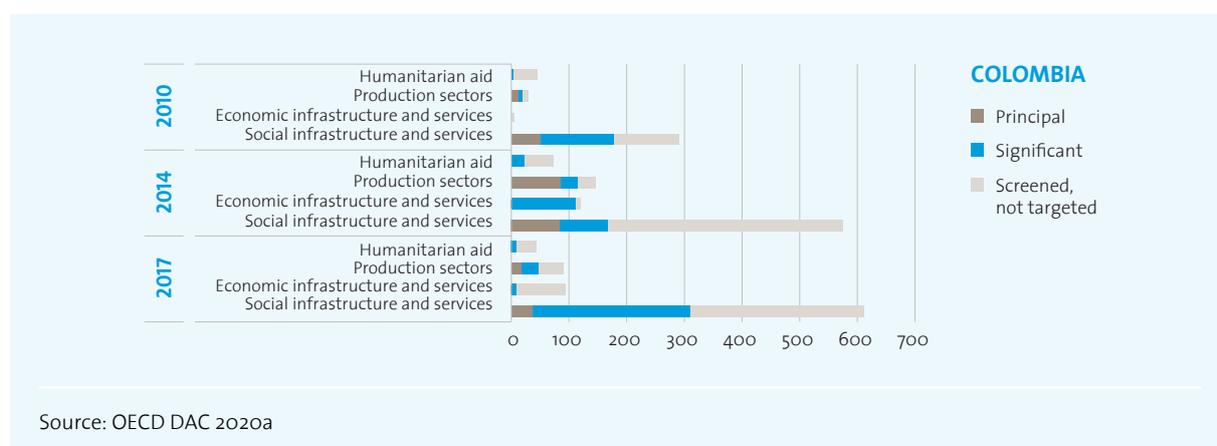


TABLE 6

Multilateral aid and designated funds for reconstruction in Colombia, 2020

Country	Fund	Total Projects	Budget (USD)
Colombia	The United Nations Multi-Partner Trust Fund (MPTF) Phase 1 2016–2018 Phase 2 2018–2020	61	116,367,978 (Phase 1= 89,761,488)
	UN Peacebuilding Fund 2016-	15	29,673,736
	Women’s Peace and Humanitarian Fund (included in & dispersed as part of UN MPTF above)	1 (16)	2 million (included in MPTF)

Source: United Nations. Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office website. <http://mptf.undp.org/tools/query/projects>

Most of the increase in gender-focused ODA until 2017 was in mainstreamed aid, rather than aid principally targeted at financing women’s security and rights. **Assistance for women’s empowerment and gender equality as a principal objective, moreover, dropped off sharply after its 2017 peak, as shown in the blue trend line in Figure 5**, from 295 million to just 33 million in 2018. This decrease is not compensated for by increased multilateral funds either, as the following sections show. These trends indicate that the level of funding needed to implement the peace agreement’s gender provisions has not been sustained by bilateral donors.

As illustrated in Figure 6, with regard to the sectors where bilateral aid expenditures are focused, humanitarian aid has increased to 135 million in 2018, up from 44 million in 2017 and from 78 million in 2014 before the peace accord. By contrast, assistance for social infrastructure and services remained relatively stable from 2014–2018. Economic infrastructure assistance has declined from 125 million in 2014 to 81 million in 2018. Meanwhile, aid for production sectors remained at similar levels across the same period and stood at 109 million in 2018.

Post-conflict and reconstruction aid to Colombia from DAC donors has mainly prioritized gender equality and women’s empowerment in social infrastructure and services and to a lesser extent in production sectors with some funding for humanitarian aid screened for

gender equality or women’s empowerment objectives but only a tiny proportion addressing these objectives.

In terms of multilateral aid and designated funds for reconstruction in Colombia – from the United Nations Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office website, three funds and 77 projects³⁷ were identified between 2016 and 2019, as shown in Table 6 below.³⁸ The WPHF is principally targeted at women’s empowerment and gender equality and is dispersed throughout the UN Multi-Partner Trust Fund (MPTF) though a distinct international funding mechanism coordinated by UN Women.³⁹

For the MPTF, when projects from phase 2 were eliminated (because those projects do not have budget information in the system), the authors found that, overall, 39 per cent of MPTF projects are gender-sensitive, with approved budgets of USD 37,032,552 – representing 41 per cent of the total approved budget. Across both phases 1 and 2, on average, 32 per cent of approved budgets are gender-sensitive.

While “victims’ reparation” is the theme with the highest number of projects (13), only 31 per cent of these projects are gender-sensitive. The approved budget for gender-sensitive projects represents just 18 per cent of the budget defined for this theme. This is concerning, given point 5 of the peace agreement on victims of the armed conflict and substantive gender provisions on women victims of sexual and gender-based violence during the civil conflict.

Institutional capacity (33 per cent) and economic rehabilitation (44 per cent) are the themes with the next-lowest proportion of gender-sensitive projects, while conflict management (75 per cent) and communication (71 per cent) are the themes with the greatest proportion of gender-sensitive projects. With regard to economic rehabilitation, which is the theme most relevant to women's economic security after conflict and the implementation of the gender provisions within point 1 of the peace agreement on comprehensive rural reform and point 4 on solutions to the illicit drugs problem, only 44 per cent of projects and 39 per cent of the approved budget (USD 7.6 million) were judged to be gender-sensitive, with 44 per cent not gender-sensitive and the remaining 12 per cent providing no information to assess.

When looking further into the support for the implementation of gender provisions in the Colombian peace agreements, a significant gap was found between gender-inclusive commitments in the agreement and gender-responsive financing for these commitments.

Specific gender provisions within the comprehensive rural reform in the Colombia agreement are dedicated to women's access to the Land Fund and the Solidarity Economy Stimulus, which is obligated to promote gender equality and rural women's economic security. Specifically, female heads-of-household have the right to access the Land Fund, a designated subsidy for land purchase and assistance with formal ownership of property. The Solidarity Economy Stimulus, for its part, is obligated to promote gender equality, economic autonomy and organizational capacity, especially for rural women. Gender-inclusive financing is needed to reach 6,842,859 people and 3,489,858 women who are included in the 170 municipalities considered to be conflict-affected areas with 'Development Plans with a Territorial Approach' (PDET).⁴⁰ To date, 24,000 women have participated in the construction of development plans in these municipalities to implement the comprehensive rural reform.⁴¹

The Women's Peace and Humanitarian Fund has invested USD 2 million in women's active engagement in economic recovery efforts across 16 subprojects (2017–2019), benefiting 976 women and 204 men through local economic empowerment initiatives.



Colombia - Growing coffee, sowing peace.
Photo: UN Women/Ryan Brown

These investments are crucial, and they are 100 per cent gender sensitive. However, they are meagre in comparison with the opportunity to mainstream women's economic security and rights in the substantial multi-donor peace fund of USD 116 million in commitments. The group of women they have reached so far represents just 4 per cent of the broader conflict-affected female population, so mainstreaming gender inclusion across all post-conflict financing is imperative to fully implement the peace agreement in Colombia.

Financing has also fallen short for the governance mechanism for gender-inclusive peace implementation. The Special Forum for the implementation of the gender perspective is a novel participatory forum internationally enabling the inclusion of women's movements in the implementation of the 2016 agreement.⁴² It is made up of 16 women (8 holders and 8 substitutes) representatives of different national groups of women and civil society organizations who provide inputs and recommendations to the CSIVI and the National Reincorporation Council to mainstream gender into the four-year implementation plans and multi-year investment plans. The workplan of the Forum was intended to be financed by the Colombian Government with support from the MPTF. For the first 19 months of its operation (until February 2020), the Special Forum was funded (USD 395,000) by international donors and coordinated by UN Women.⁴³ It continues to function but not following the gender provisions of the final agreement and there is no sustainability strategy for its operations.⁴⁴

COMPARATIVE TRENDS IN POST-CONFLICT FINANCING

This research paper has examined trends in three countries since 2010 in the amounts and types of external bilateral and multilateral assistance development and financing for peace and reconstruction.

With regard to bilateral assistance, Iraq has overall had far greater assistance coinciding with their international peacebuilding intervention than either Colombia or the Philippines to support their peace processes. The latter were never high recipients of development assistance and the attention lavished on the agreements for their gender inclusivity has not translated into increased or sustained financing necessary for implementation. This is a problem for the two peace agreements as in both cases the conflicts preceding them have been fuelled by a sense of collective social and economic injustice and inequality.

Iraq does not follow the same pattern as Colombia or the Philippines – where the greatest increase in gender-targeted (bilateral) donor assistance occurs in the year following the signing of peace agreements and declines subsequently. That difference can be

explained by noting that Iraq is already an anomaly because there was not an effective two-party peace agreement in that country. The authors' measurement of post-conflict financing is therefore not strictly comparable to that following the agreements in Colombia or the Philippines.

In terms of bilateral ODA principally targeted at women's empowerment and gender equality as a proportion of total aid, Colombia has had significantly more of this aid than either Iraq or the Philippines. However, gender equality-focused bilateral assistance has been increasing overall as a proportion of aid, largely through the mechanism of mainstreaming rather than as dedicated funding for gender equality or women's empowerment as a principal objective.

In all cases, the trends in gender-focused aid do not reflect the trends in total aid funding. **More aid does not mean more assistance for women's empowerment and gender equality, except perhaps in the year following peace agreements where there is a correlation.**

FIGURE 7
Comparison of bilateral total and gender-focused ODA to Colombia, Iraq and the Philippines

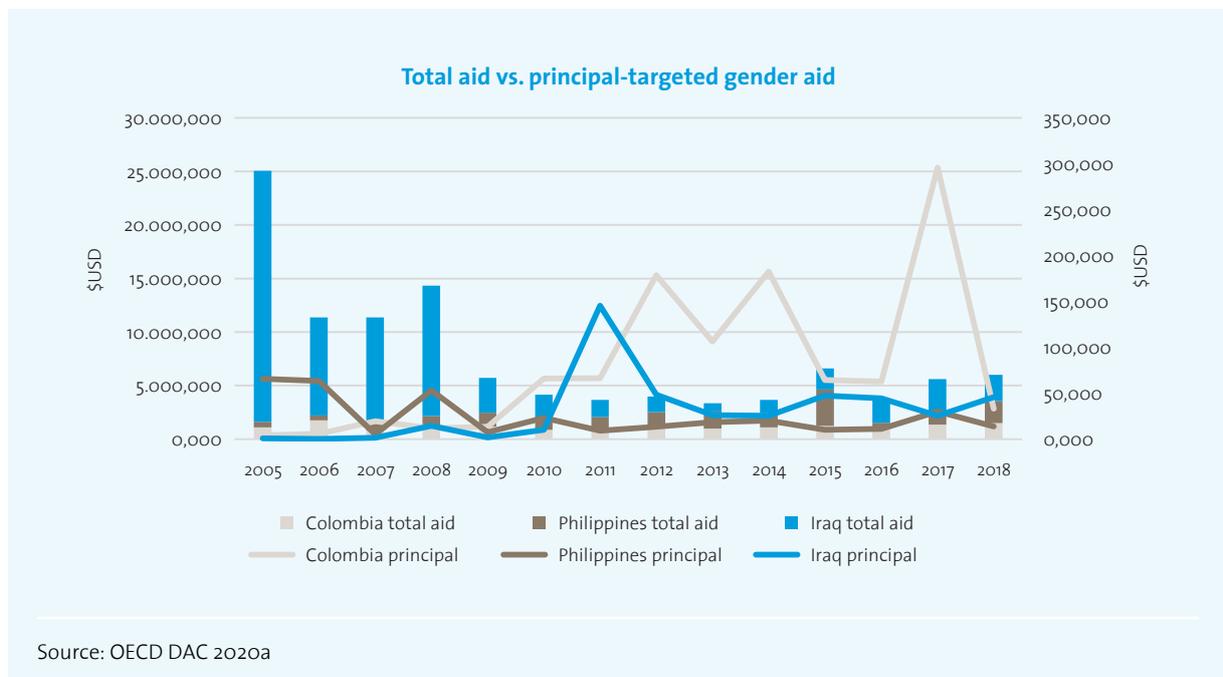
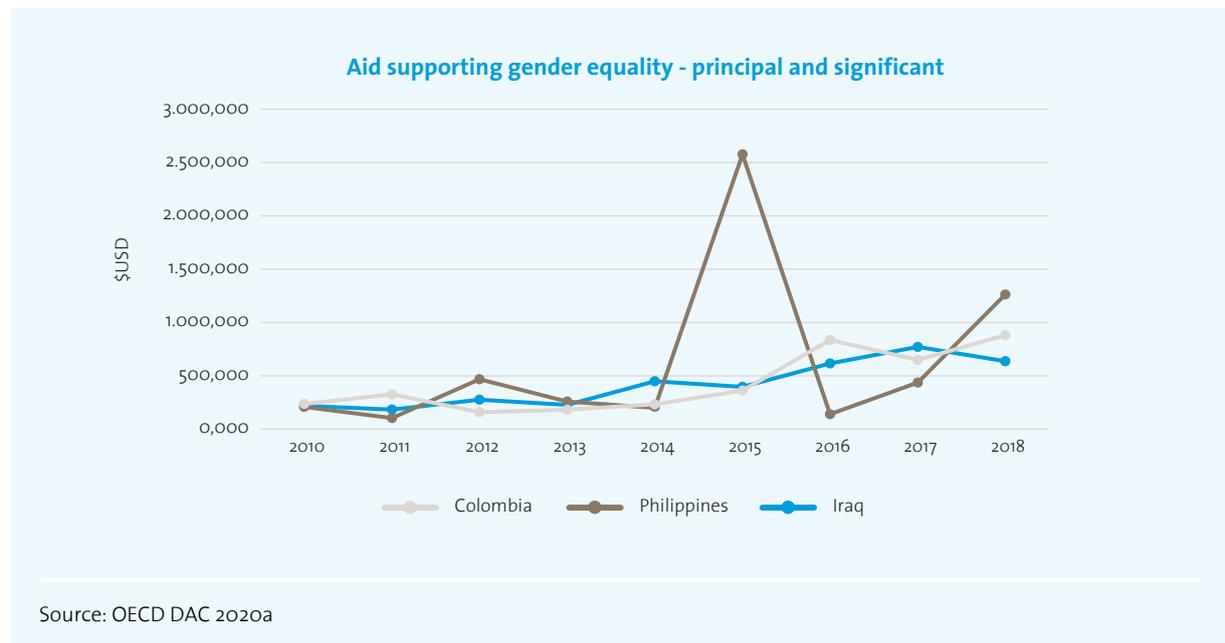


FIGURE 8

Comparison of principal and significant (secondary) gender-focused ODA in Colombia, Iraq and the Philippines



Analysing the trends of external bilateral and multilateral financing over a 15-year time period, from 2004–2018, in each of the three countries, some common patterns emerge. For example:

- Increased flows of gender-targeted aid follow the adoption of gender-inclusive peace agreements in Colombia and the Philippines, followed by a subsequent decline in support appearing to undermine the continued life cycles of inclusive peace processes.
- In all three cases, there is increasing mainstreaming and gender sensitivity of aid objectives but limited outcome reporting on the implementation of actions towards gender equality.
- In Iraq and the Philippines, and to a lesser extent in Colombia, there is no clear method or system of accounting for the resources spent on implementing gender provisions, especially in the multi-donor trust funds for peace and reconstruction.
- In all cases, there are project-level discussion of achievements with regard to ‘logframe’ outcomes but no higher-level funding source benchmarks or measurement of the financing needed to achieve commitments to women’s economic security, participation and gender equality.
- The funding emphasis is on the representation of women in percentage/proportional terms, which is not the same as gender inclusion.
- There is an increase in gender-targeted humanitarian aid but less on inclusion across all sectors.



Colombia - Growing coffee, sowing peace. Photo: UN Women/Ryan Brown

The authors further followed the implementation and funding for specific gender provisions through qualitative research in Colombia and the Philippines. In interviews with women who were part of the decision-making process within the Philippines Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) and the MTF,⁴⁵ there was strong insistence that the 5 percent was allocated to programmes that supported women's empowerment and political participation in local-level elections and small business.⁴⁶ However, it was also acknowledged that investment in schools, health clinics and infrastructure (including access to technology and public transport), was contingent on incoming donor funds, which had been affected by the political transition at the time the Bangsamoro came into law in 2017. In other words, maintaining political momentum at the highest levels (Presidential Office) for the CAB's implementation with the necessary donor support to drive the domestic agenda and investment in gender-inclusive peace implementation has been difficult.

In interviews with members of the Colombia Special Gender Forum in 2019, the authors asked: What were the main barriers to implementation? The response

was: "the lack of financial and technical resources, and full financing of the Forum by the State." The Coordinator of Women's and Gender Affairs, Victims and Ethnicities for the Office of the Presidential Councillor for Stabilization and Consolidation reported that in a following funding period there would only be eight women representatives in the Special Instance and that the other eight substitution roles would no longer be covered by the post-conflict trust fund. She stated that, "the financing of the instance costs more than \$500,000 and that is a very important Quantity ... resources are one of the problems that we must address in the implementation."⁴⁷

All three cases had gender provisions that focused strongly on gender equality and women's economic security. However, the approved ODA funding and projects appear to privilege women's participation in community forums and civil society organizations, in a voluntary capacity, rather than enabling women's economic participation through innovative financing and support. It is worth noting that women's participation in governance is a necessary but insufficient condition for women's economic empowerment and agency.

CONCLUSION

This paper establishes financing gaps in the implementation of gender-inclusive peace. It provides an overview of key patterns in three countries and comparatively – and suggests an important global research agenda to follow the funding and to qualitatively evaluate how investments are being spent to be able to assess and monitor the extent to which financing is progressing gender-inclusive peace.

The authors strongly recommend that all gender provisions of peace agreements be monitored in-country and, together with this, that gender-responsive investments be tracked and evaluated. This effort to “follow the money” is anticipated by SDG Target 5.1, which measures the proportion of countries that track and allocate public investments in gender equality. This could be expanded to measure the tracking and allocation of WPS investments in post-conflict countries.

Considering whether or not funding or projects are gender-sensitive is only the first step in tracking investments, especially if a transformative approach to women, peace and security and ‘building back differently after conflict’ is the goal. To that end, it will be necessary to strengthen the gender marker systems used at the project level and their adoption in multilateral peace and reconstruction trust funds.

While the focus of this paper is on donor State responsibility and financing, domestic State responsibility for gender-inclusive peace in post-conflict countries is also critical. International financing should not only be increased to support gender equality in post-conflict

recovery, which is a catalyst for sustaining peace; but it should be used to leverage matching or commensurate domestic financing for the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda. It is also important to differentiate between the financing of the women, peace and security agenda generally from the financing of economic empowerment initiatives to ensure women’s economic security in fragile and conflict-affected contexts.

More research, however, that qualitatively and quantitatively assesses the financing of WPS implementation and gender-inclusive peace is needed. Increasing funding for the WPS agenda is a first step in making funds available for women’s economic empowerment and economic security, but it is also in itself insufficient for this latter goal, which requires broad-based State commitments to gender equality and political, economic and social recovery. Qualitative analysis of the dynamics and evolution of gender-responsive funding, for instance, can support, nuance and test the broad patterns of gender inclusion and exclusion revealed by quantitative analysis of ODA flows and multilateral investments in post-conflict countries.



Colombia - preserving Afro-Colombian Culture through song. Photo: UN Women/Ryan Brown

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ENDNOTES

- 1 As noted in previous research, gender-inclusive peace goes beyond formal quotas to ensure women's participation and requires the implementation of gender equality provisions that "are more likely to be included in peace agreements when women are represented and involved in the peace process across all levels: the process itself, parliament and civil society. See True and Riveros-Morales 2019; and "Towards inclusive peace: mapping gender provisions in peace agreements workshop report", Nadi, Fiji, October 2019. https://www.monash.edu/data/assets/pdf_file/0003/2088129/MONASH_inclusivepeace_workshop_ART.pdf, as cited in UN Women 2018, p. 44.
- 2 On the Philippines Magna Carta for Women (Republic Act No. 9710), see <https://pcw.gov.ph/republic-act-9710-magna-carta-of-women/>
- 3 Recommendations in the cited study suggest increasing the financial capacities of institutions with key roles in peace institutional infrastructures and tracking gender-responsive investments as part of the monitoring of the implementation of gender provisions.: https://genderandsecurity.org/sites/default/files/KROC_-_Informe_especial.pdf
- 4 See <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/governance-and-national-planning/tracking-investments>
- 5 UN Women 2015a, p. 16.
- 6 In 2015, UN Women drafted a voluntary commitment for Member States, regional organizations and organizations within the UN system to sign the *Addis Ababa Action Plan on Transformative Financing for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment*. The Action Plan reiterated the 15 per cent investment target: "A minimum of 15% of all peacebuilding funds target gender equality as a principal objective" UN Women 2015b.
- 7 UN and World Bank 2018. *Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict*. Washington DC and New York, <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/2837>
- 8 True and Svedberg 2019.
- 9 There is no consistent definition of sustainable financing according to the OECD (2021) – which, similar to the World Bank, defines short-term aid as loans or grants of one year or less; while long-term refers to loans or grants with an extended maturity of over a year.
- 10 George and Bennett 2005, p. 75.
- 11 OECD 2020a.
- 12 As well as external development assistance, other sources of financing for women's empowerment and gender equality in conflict and fragile situations could include public and private flows from civil society, multilateral organizations, private philanthropy, development finance institutes, private businesses and developing countries' public spending. OECD 2018a. See also OECD. 2020d. "Putting finance to work for gender equality and women's empowerment. The way forward".
- 13 The financing landscape is increasingly complex in terms of actors and instruments, with limited data, transparency and accountability. However, the OECD does provide useful data over time for both bilateral donors and many multilateral sources
- 14 The Philippines was not on the list of eligible countries until 2020.
- 15 According to UN Women, in 2019, 14 per cent of all Peacebuilding Fund projects addressed women's specific needs, advance gender equality and/or empower women. See <https://www.unwomen.org/en/executive-board/strategic-plan/outcome-area-5>
- 16 See Perez, Crossette and Sanchez-Garzoli 2019.
- 17 True and Riveros-Morales 2019; and Bell and McNicholl 2019.
- 18 Sixteen out of 99 peace agreements between 2000 and 2016 also had substantive gender provisions focused on women's socioeconomic recovery and economic participation. For example, the Doha Darfur 2011 and Darfur 2006 agreement both included provisions to establish a special financing mechanism for women's economic participation, while the 2012 Tokyo Declaration Partnership for Self-Reliance in Afghanistan: from Transition to Transformation noted "the importance of women's participation in private sector conferences as reinforcing the need for inclusive development and recognition of women's rights" (point 22). See the True and others 2018 data set on gender provisions of peace agreements, including the codebook and supplementary note.
- 19 For OECD DAC membership, see: <http://www.oecd.org/dac/development-assistance-committee/>
- 20 See OECD <http://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-data/faq.htm>
- 21 OECD 2020c.
- 22 Ibid., pp. 6–7.
- 23 OECD 2016.
- 24 In 2016, the DAC Network on Gender Equality (GENDERNET) developed a Handbook on the OECD-DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker, which includes minimum recommended criteria as well as examples for scoring development activities to ensure a common understanding for reporting against the marker. DAC members screen and report nearly all of their ODA against the gender marker.
- 25 See OECD https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=DV_DCD_GENDER [Sector: All sectors Allocable: Bilateral allocable Flow type: Commitments. Year: 2004–2018 Amount type: constant Prices. US Dollar, Millions, 2018.]
- 26 UN Women 2018, p. 44.
- 27 Ibid., p. 45.
- 28 Reports consulted included final reports, annual reports, end of the project reports, or quarterly reports, according to availability.
- 29 Excluding the direct cost budget of the projects.
- 30 See United Nations Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office <http://mptf.undp.org/tools/query/projects> and *World Bank* <https://projects.worldbank.org/>.
- 31 Excluding the direct cost budget of the projects.
- 32 See <https://www.mtf.ph/about-the-mindanao-trust-fund>. There is also Phase II funding (for 2018–2019), but no project detail was available to assess gender sensitivity or the focus of finance.
- 33 Philippines Commission on Women, Office of the President 2010, p. 108.
- 34 Mindanao Trust for Reconstruction 2016.
- 35 Presidencia 2016; UN Women 2017a
- 36 Government of Colombia, Attorney General of the Nation 2020.
- 37 Excluding the direct cost budget of the projects
- 38 United Nations. n.d. Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office website.
- 39 WPHF 2019.
- 40 Government of Colombia 2017.
- 41 Colombian Territorial Renewal Agency 2018.
- 42 Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies 2019.
- 43 Colombia Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office 2018; Government of Colombia 2018, p. 251.
- 44 Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies 2019, p. 29.
- 45 Tisdall 2013.
- 46 Philippines key informant interview 1, 2018.
- 47 Colombia key informant interview 1, 2019. The Coordinator of Women's and Gender Affairs, Victims and Ethnicities, for the Office of the Presidential Councillor for Stabilization and Consolidation, reported that in the next funding period, there will only be eight women representatives in the Special Instance and that the other eight substitution roles will no longer be covered by the post-conflict trust fund. She stated that, "the financing of the instance costs more than \$500,000 and that is a very important quantity... the resources are one of the problems that we must address in the implementation."



UN Women Executive Director Visits the Philippines. Photo: UN Women/Alamid

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