Policy Briefing on the
Third National Action Plan
of the German government

08 June 2020
20 years ago, after continuous pressure by international civil society, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted ground-breaking Resolution 1325, “Women, Peace and Security”. Nine follow-up resolutions expanded the pillars of the Women Peace and Security Agenda: participation of women in peacebuilding, protection of women and girls in armed conflict, prevention of armed conflicts as well as gender-equitable help, reconstruction, and reintegration.

The German government is currently implementing Resolution 1325 in the context of the Second National Action Plan. The Women, Peace and Security Agenda is also a focal point of its current non-permanent membership in the UN Security Council. The German government has made some significant progress especially during the current legislative term under the leadership of Foreign Minister, Heiko Maas. And yet, Germany still has fundamental issues with its national and international implementation. The political will to implement the Agenda as consistently as, for example, demonstrated by Sweden’s feminist foreign policy, is still lacking.

What remains problematic is that the Agenda is still being treated as a tool for the promotion of women and not as a guideline for a transformative policy in Germany and abroad. As long as the German government does not regard gender as a concept that describes gender-inequitable power relations that need to be overcome, such transformative policy will not be possible. How indispensable it is, however, has been demonstrated by the big challenges of our time; be it the Corona pandemic, the climate crisis or globally shrinking democratic spaces that correlate with the fight against sexual self-determination and reproductive justice. They all have gender-based implications and constitute a danger for peace and security. This situation is aggravated by the fact that the German government still does not consistently pursue the concept of Human Security. This is one of the reasons why there are hardly any gender-sensitive conflict analyses and impact assessments of political decisions.

In 2018, Germany was again the fourth biggest weapons exporter in the world.\(^1\) Even the considerable financial increase in humanitarian aid (Germany has become the second biggest donor\(^2\)) cannot obscure this. In order to do justice to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, there is a need for a coherent policy across all ministries.

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Overall, the German government is not using enough of its economic and political leverage to protect human rights within and outside the EU. The suspension of European sea rescue activities, as well as the insufficient commitment to a dignified engagement with people in refugee camps within the European Union and at the EU’s external borders, illustrate that the German government does not adequately prioritise human rights.

One will also find examples within Germany. These include substantial restrictions of the right to asylum; violence of men against women still not being systematically tackled at all levels; and not least, the gender-inequitable distribution of care work and precariously underpaid / unpaid work as well as the subsequently higher risks for women and other marginalized groups which have been exposed by the Corona pandemic. It has repeatedly become obvious that the label “essential” follows patriarchal and oftentimes racist patterns. The objective of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda is to overcome these deficits through a gender-equitable domestic and foreign policy.

For decades, civil society has played a significant role in the advancement and implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. The German government acknowledges this in its Second National Action Plan. Hence, it is pivotal that the development of the Third National Action Plan will also be closely, constructively, and critically monitored by civil society. This implies that the Third National Action Plan recognizes women as a heterogeneous group and that persons with non-binary gender identities, plural affiliations, and multiple discriminations (intersectionality) are given consideration.

German civil society has compiled this policy paper as a contribution to the development of the Third National Action Plan. Based on the four pillars of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, it illustrates the obligations of the German government and the current state of implementation. Furthermore, it contains recommendations for action.

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What are the goals of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda?

The Agenda should be integrated into all relevant political areas in a consistent, cross-cutting, and structural manner. This requires that all institutions develop the necessary know-how and have sufficient human and financial resources available. Furthermore, political support for the implementation is necessary.

What is the current state of implementation in Germany?

In its Second National Action Plan the German government mainly embedded measures that are supposed to promote the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the context of German foreign, development and security policies. However, it only marginally formulates activities which would structurally advance gender mainstreaming within the ministries. While the German government mainly focuses on the increase in the share of women in institutions, it neglects the systematic development of prerequisites for gender-equitable structures. The Women, Peace and Security Agenda is often seen only as an “add-on” to foreign, development and security policy measures.

Control mechanisms, specific deadlines as well as indicators to review the implementation progress towards the intended objectives are missing in the First and Second National Action Plans. The Plans also lack adequate funding that is crucial for strategic implementation. In its 2014 study, the OSCE also recommended to consider these criteria in National Action Plans to guarantee their sustainable effectiveness.4

What has proven valuable in the past four years is to structure and intensify the dialogue between non-governmental organisations and the German government. These efforts are explicitly welcome by the participating civil society organisations.5

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Recommendations

The German government should adopt the following binding priorities in its Third National Action Plan:

- Create the position of a Special Commissioner of the German Government for Women, Peace and Security. This needs to correlate with the creation of 1325-units in all relevant ministries and the increase in human resources within the individual departments.

- Systematically establish and expand the respective knowledge management. The Women, Peace and Security Agenda should, for example, become an integral part in the training of all staff at the Foreign Office. Furthermore, measures should be taken to overcome existing (multiple) discriminations and to also reflect societal diversity institutionally.

- Align the Plan with the impact-oriented OSCE criteria. This requires the formulation of SMART goals and indicators as well as the establishment of an independent monitoring and evaluation procedure. The dialogue with national civil society in the shape of a technical-operative exchange as well as the Consultation Group should be continued and the dialogue with local civil society organisations strengthened.

- Fund civil society activities to accompany the Third National Action Plan and adequately reward civil society experts.

- Flesh out all foreign and development policy funding instruments in a gender-sensitive way and demand dedicated gender analyses for funded projects. For the implementation of the Third National Action Plan there is also the need for a sufficient dedicated budget. Your own reporting system must be transparent, so that the funding gap can be clearly identified and closed.

- Set up high-profile 1325 Focal Points in all German representations abroad. They need to be mandated to promote the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda through embassies and consulates. This must be specifically supported by the management level and reflected by 1325 focal points in the headquarters of the relevant ministries. This applies in practice to both the state and specialist departments such as Department S of the Federal Foreign Office or the unit dealing with crises, transition aid, reconstruction and infrastructure in the context of a crisis at the BMZ.

- Internally and externally realize an intersectional quota of 50% participation of women. This applies both to the equitable filling of posts at all levels and to government negotiations, events, and panel discussions.
Example of good practice

The National Action Plan of Ukraine is presented in a tabular format. It contains a technical overview of the planned measures and targets with parameters and indicators, e.g. the number of implemented gender analyses, events or studies. The planned activities include clear-cut details on total costs as well as the subsequent annual costs. Furthermore, activities and costs are allocated to the implementing or competent ministries which results in a direct distribution of responsibility and greater accountability.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND GIRLS AND SUPPORT FOR SURVIVORS

What are the obligations of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda?

With the Women, Peace and Security Agenda the UN Security Council set the normative framework to protect women and girls in the context of armed conflict – in particular, from sexualised and gender-based violence. Survivors shall get adequate support and perpetrators shall be held accountable\(^6\). Sexualised war violence has been recognized as a war crime.

What is the current state of implementation in Germany?

Despite a number of international initiatives\(^7\) the reality of persons affected by rape, sexual enslavement, forced marriage, and forced sterilisation or other forms of sexualised and gender-based violence in armed conflict has not changed.

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\(^6\) Cf. Resolutions 1325 and 1820 of the UN Security Council.  
\(^7\) Cf. the Preventing Sexual-Violence in Conflict initiative of former British foreign minister William Hague and human rights activist Angelina Jolie
significantly. This, among other things, is the result of a very narrow view of sexualised war violence as a strategic means of warfare. Women and girls, men and boys and, in particular, persons with non-binary gender identities and diverse sexual orientation, experience many forms of sexualised and gender-based violence – during and after armed conflict. This violence is not always part of a military strategy.

To effectively protect and adequately support all affected persons, the continuum of violence in private and public spaces needs to be addressed. This requires a transformative approach which overcomes discriminatory gender relations instead of fighting the symptoms of sexualised and gender-based violence.

In its Second National Action Plan the German government commits itself to “improving the protection from sexualised and gender-based violence at national and international level”. Resolution 2467 presented to the UN Security Council by the German government enshrines a “survivor-centred approach” to support survivors, but with no clearly defined content. The resolution does not explicitly mention the reproductive health and rights of survivors either and thus weakens them politically. How strong and long-lasting the consequences of traumatic experiences of violence are mainly depends on whether the social environment is included into the support of survivors. Coming to terms with the injustice experienced needs to happen at all levels. Only then will violence be overcome in the long-term and trans-generational traumatization neutralised.

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9 Cf. The annual open debates on security
The German government should adopt the following binding priorities in its Third National Action Plan:

- Develop and enshrine the concept of a transformative approach to combat sexualised and gender-based violence in situations of armed conflict and put it into practice through financial support and political action.
- Promote long-term, on-the-ground, trauma-sensitive, holistic support in the form of medical care, psychosocial and legal counselling as well as income-generating measures, and set up sustainable protection structures. This includes all-encompassing legal access to safe abortions, emergency contraceptives, and other services for the sexual and reproductive health of all survivors, irrespective of their sexual orientation and gender identity.
- Financially and politically support local civil society organisations in their role as service providers, watchdog, and advocates of the rights of survivors.
- Counter any weakening of the status quo in sexual and reproductive health and rights. Germany should, among other things, have a clear and detailed legal opinion formulated by internationally recognized experts, stating that resolution 2106 remains fully valid, and work to ensure that this legal opinion is anchored in the UN Security Council.

- Prioritise and strengthen the criminal prosecution of sexualised and gender-based violence through law enforcement agencies in trials in Germany according to the Principle of Universal Jurisdiction. This urgently requires the provision of resources as well as the building of gender competence and trauma expertise in German justice and security authorities. Moreover, persons who have suffered violence and who testify in court must be informed about their right to accessory prosecution and must be able to execute it in practice.
- Make asylum procedures trauma-sensitive so that survivors have the opportunity to invoke sexualised and gender-based violence as grounds for asylum in a protected space. For this, asylum-processing personnel and language mediators must be trained accordingly.
- Fully implement EU-Directive 2013/33/EU on the Reception of Applicants for International Protection. Refugees who belong to any extremely vulnerable group must get support and care in Germany. Their special situation must also be considered when assigning them a place of residence.

12 The Principle of Universal Jurisdiction provides for a state’s jurisdiction over crimes against international law even when the crimes did not occur on that state’s territory, and neither the victim nor perpetrator is a national of that state. The principle allows national courts in third countries to address international crimes occurring abroad, to hold perpetrators criminally liable, and to prevent impunity.
Example of good practice

Legal recognition of survivors as civilian victims of the war in Kosovo

Since 2018, survivors of sexualised war violence in Kosovo can apply for the “Civil War Victim” status. This legally enshrined status entitles them to get monthly financial support of appr. 250 euros. This status was achieved by Kosovan women’s organisations and represents a political recognition of experienced injustice. The Kosovarian Rehabilitation Center for Torture Victims and Medica Gjakova, two civil society organisations, provide assistance to survivors with the application process. Furthermore, they launch public education campaigns to make sure that those affected can enforce their rights. These measures were funded by the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and politically supported by the German embassy in Pristina, including through public statements. The German government has thus helped to raise social awareness and has ensured that the rights of survivors are sustainably embedded at a structural level.

SUSTAINABLE PREVENTION OF VIOLENT CONFLICTS

What are the obligations of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda?

The main goal of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda is to prevent violent conflicts. Hence, it calls for a clear shift in focus of political action for all societal and political areas away from being responsive to structural prevention. Political measures should seek to address structural root causes of conflicts and render active crisis prevention. This includes the demilitarization of security-policy structures, overcoming social and economic injustices, the transformation of patriarchal gender relations as well as determined action against fundamentalist and right-wing extremist violence.

The Agenda does not aim to make conflicts safer for women and persons with non-binary gender identifications and diverse sexual orientation and to integrate political minorities into military structures on equal terms, but to avoid war and violent conflict.
What is the current state of implementation in Germany?

In its Second National Action Plan (2017-2020) the German government commits itself to systematically including “the gender perspective in the context of prevention of conflict, crisis and violence”, as well as expanding “the participation of women in all phases and at all levels of (...) conflict prevention”. The government, however, does not focus on the prevention of violent conflict in the first place. This results in an overly strong focus on the inclusion and participation of women in existing (and often militarized) structures. Due attention has not been given to important prevention measures, such as a restrictive German arms export policy, the commitment to international disarmament, and the demilitarization of national and international security structures. The transformation of patriarchal gender relations, the overcoming of intersectional gender inequalities, and the promotion of positive masculinity images have also not been prioritised. Moreover, the Second National Action Plan does not provide for measures that address the threat to feminist organizations by right-wing, populist and fundamentalist actors at home and abroad, even if the focus is on supporting and protecting civil society.

That said, the German government should use the Third National Action Plan as an opportunity to regard the Women, Peace and Security Agenda as a transformative prevention programme that guides German policymakers. This should be in conjunction with the Preventing Crises, Resolving Conflicts, Building Peace policy guidelines of the German government.

Recommendations

The German government should adopt the following binding priorities in its Third National Action Plan:

- Ensure all ministries and implementing organisations employ a coherent, gender-sensitive conflict and context analysis as a binding basis for all political action.
- Politically upgrade gender-equitable, inclusive, and intersectional civil crisis and conflict prevention through increased funding of research on non-violent conflict resolution and peace as well as through the support of inclusive dialogue and mediation projects.
- Recognize gender injustice as a main reason for violence and violent conflict and increasingly address it. From 2021 on, at least 85 percent of all German foreign and development policy measures should directly or indirectly

13 The term “positive masculinity” describes behaviors and characteristics which are not in line with the stereotypical masculinity images (tough, violent, lacking in emotion) and contribute to the reduction of gender inequalities. Cf. Council of the EU (2018): Women, Peace and Security - Council Conclusions, p. 19.
contribute to the promotion of gender equality, as stipulated in the second EU Gender Action Plan.

- Promote the transformation of gender stereotypes, above all a targeted promotion of positive, non-violent masculinity images through initiatives in Germany and abroad.

- Firmly promote, anchor, and adequately fund the full realisation of human rights of politically marginalized groups in German foreign policy and development cooperation. This includes the commitment to the universal ratification of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) as well as the encouragement of other countries to fully support the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), in particular Article 12 (Discrimination in the field of health care) and Article 16 (Gender equality in marriage and family).

- Implement reproductive rights, including the right to legal and safe abortion, in Germany without restrictions. This includes the elimination of Sections 218 and 219 of the German Criminal Code. Furthermore, abortions must be made a mandatory subject of any medical study programme.

- Recognize the connection between German weapons exports and violent conflicts as well as sexualised and gender-based violence, especially in the “Political Principles of the Federal Government for the Export of War Weapons and Other Armaments” to be explicitly recognized and to work towards a complete cessation of arms exports in the medium-term.

- Commit to international disarmament and (preventive) arms control. This includes the ratification of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and the public commitment to a treaty to ban lethal autonomous weapons systems which is binding under international law and support for a ban on area explosive weapons (EWIPA).

- To protect and support human rights defenders and peace activists at home and abroad. This requires additional programs and resources.

- Fulfil and implement the obligations of the Paris Climate Agreement, take gender-equitable climate protection measures and ensure the participation of women and persons with non-binary gender identifications and diverse sexual orientation in national and international climate protection processes, in accordance with the General Recommendation No. 37 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).
Example of good practice:

In their Third National Action Plan\textsuperscript{14} (2019-2024) the Irish government places the focus on the prevention of crisis and violent conflict, and recognizes the crucial role of disarmament as an important instrument for prevention work, the stabilization of post-conflict contexts, and the reduction of gender-based violence in conflict. The Irish government has pledged to promote disarmament and arms control measures to sustainably avoid violent conflicts.

In its Action Plan, the Irish government also recognizes gender injustice as an important root cause of violent conflicts and commits itself to addressing unequal power relations between genders, discrimination of women and girls as well as destructive masculinities.

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\section*{EQUAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN PEACE PROMOTION}

What are the goals of the \textit{Women, Peace and Security} Agenda?

The \textit{Women, Peace and Security} Agenda (above all, Resolutions 1325, 1889, and 2122) unequivocally recognizes the right of women to equally help shape initiatives and processes on prevention, transformation and post-conflict management, and peace promotion. Furthermore, the Agenda recognizes the necessity of ensuring the participation of women in these areas to sustainably promote peace. The participation of women in peace processes, as well as gender equality in peace agreements, are primary focal points of the Agenda.

Even though the number of female experts participating in official peace negotiations has slightly increased in the past years, women and persons with non-binary gender identifications and diverse sexual orientation are still largely excluded from official negotiations and decision-making processes. Moreover, their participation is oftentimes neither
substantial nor sustainable. From 1990 until 2018, only 19.7% of all peace agreements made reference to women, girls or gender.

What is the current state of implementation in Germany?

The Second National Action Plan prioritizes to “strengthen the involvement of women in all phases and at all levels of prevention and resolution of conflicts, stabilization, peace building, and reconstruction as well as post-conflict rehabilitation and peace consolidation, and to strengthen their leadership role”. It also recognizes that “peace needs to be designed inclusively and supported by everybody” in order for it to be successful.

In practice, the German government focuses on a stronger involvement of women in the military, police forces, and civilian personnel in international organisations, as seconded parties to peace-keeping missions as well as in decision-making processes addressing the issue of flight. Yet, the participation of women in processes supported by the federal government, including ceasefire and peace negotiations, remains poor.

The Peace mediation concept of the German government published in the summer of 2019 mentions neither women nor gender and contains merely one very short article on inclusiveness. The German government provides too little attention and political support for civil society groups that do peace-promoting work during times of crisis and violent conflict. This also applies to the interlinking of dialogue processes at different levels (Tracks 1, 1.5, 2 and 3) as well as the commitment for gender-sensitive peace agreements.

Recommendations

The German government should adopt the following binding priorities in its Third National Action Plan:

- Recognize women’s rights organisations, peace activists, and human rights advocates as indispensable and systematically support them over the long-term.
- Include the expertise of (refugee) women and girls in and from crisis and war regions in the development of political solutions for their countries of origin and consider their competences in all processes for the provision of humanitarian aid and reconstruction.

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- Develop, finance, and implement a dedicated strategy for the involvement of women and persons with non-binary gender identifications and diverse sexual orientation in every peace process that it supports. To this end, feminist peace initiatives must be consulted.

- Ensure that negotiations that it participates in are extended to include topics, approaches, and negotiation methods that are defined and introduced by feminist groups based on their respective field of action.

- Ensure that the make-up of all peace negotiations will not be limited to the conflict parties (including armed groups) but also include a cross-section of the population.

- Systematically encourage dialogue formats which cross conflict lines.

- Ensure that all brokered peace agreements supported by the German government are gender-equitable.

--- Example of good practice

Women’s Initiatives for Peace in Donbas(s) – reflecting on common paths to peace

The German government, through the Normandy Format and the OSCE, makes an important contribution to the official peace process in Eastern Ukraine. At the same time the Foreign Office promotes civil society projects in the region, like the Women’s Initiatives for Peace in Donbas(s), WIPD. Within the WIPD framework, representatives of all conflict parties (Ukraine, Russia, international) jointly analyse the situation on the ground, encourage discussions within the different ethnic groups, and develop recommendations on specific peace policy issues. The platform primarily empowers women from those Donbas regions which are not controlled by Ukraine. WIPD also strives to elevate the concerns of civil society actors (Track 3) to the political decision-making level and into the official peace process (Tracks 1 and 2).

The support of the various formats by the German government, however, is not yet happening in a coordinated fashion. To date, there have been no attempts by the Foreign Office to include civil society actors, above all female actors, and gender-sensitive perspectives into the official negotiation processes.
GENDER-EQUITABLE HUMANITARIAN AID AND RECONSTRUCTION

What are the goals of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda?

With regards to emergency and reconstruction aid, Resolution 1325 (and subsequent) calls for gender-sensitive implementation. The UN Security Council “calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence” and to “consider the particular needs of women and girls” in the design of refugee camps. With a view to humanitarian aid and stabilisation measures both the Foreign Office and the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development have a special responsibility. This includes transitional assistance, the Special Programme ‘Tackling the root causes of flight’ as well as longer-term interventions on gender-equality, sexual and reproductive health, and rights as well as gender-based violence.

The Women, Peace and Security Agenda creates a clear funding obligation for gender-equitable humanitarian aid. Furthermore, it calls for addressing the continuum of violence against women and girls before, during, and after conflict as well as the economic support of women.

In spite of this, the approved funds are lagging far behind the political measures. Between 2016 and 2018, funds to address gender-based violence (GBV) and its implications merely accounted for 0.12% of the humanitarian aid recorded by the Financial Tracking Service (FTS).18 As donors report the funds provided for GBV programmes to the FTS in different ways, it is currently not clear how big the funding gap for this area really is.

What is the current state of implementation in Germany?

In the past years, Germany has grown to become the second largest international donor of humanitarian aid. Hence, Germany has the special responsibility to assume a pioneering role in the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.

Already in the Second National Action Plan, the German government committed itself to “promoting comprehensive measures for the protection and medical, psychosocial and legal support of survivors of sexualised and gender-based violence”. It decided to consider “the protection and special

needs of women and girls – in particular with regard to preventing and fighting sexualised and gender-based violence” when developing humanitarian measures.

By adopting the “Call to Action on Protection from Gender-Based Violence in Emergencies”, Germany also committed itself internationally to addressing gender-based violence in the earliest stages of a crisis.

Yet, gender mainstreaming is still not a prerequisite for project approvals. It is unclear how much money the Foreign Office (i.e. the main provider of humanitarian aid) earmarks for gender-equality and the related areas of sexual and reproductive health and rights, and gender-based violence.

**Recommendations**

The German government should adopt the following binding priorities in its Third National Action Plan:

- Financially and politically promote the capacities of local women’s organisations and networks as well as their political participation in a targeted, transparent, and sustainable manner. The announcement in the Coordination Committee for Humanitarian Aid in January 2020 to expand project volumes with the aim to reduce administrative work is diametrically opposed to this development. This is where the Foreign Office must live up to its international obligations and actively make adjustments.

  - Make gender-sensitive requirement analyses and concepts on addressing gender-based needs obligatory for all financing projects. Gender mainstreaming must be compulsory in all projects funded and approved by the German government. A clearly defined gender-transformative approach would be also desirable.

  - Prominently include in-house gender aspects not only in the Strategy for Humanitarian Aid and the Guidelines for Humanitarian Aid but to also regularly consider them in the annual key issues papers and all financial instruments.

  - Significantly amplify the financial support of programmes in the area of sexual and reproductive health and rights as well as gender-based violence in emergency aid and earmark multiple-year funds to be able to achieve a maximum number of successes and provide the necessary longer-term support to survivors where prevention has failed.

  - Make their own reporting systems transparent and understandable so that the funding gap can be clearly identified and closed. Moreover, it should emphatically commit itself to creating uniform reporting standards.
Example of good practice

Sweden has made gender equality a priority in its feminist foreign and development policy. This also applies to humanitarian aid. According to the OECD-DAC Gender Marker system, about 70 percent of Swedish development aid is gender-sensitive (OECD/DAC-Policy Marker 1) and about 20 percent systematically contribute to gender justice (OECD/DAC-Policy Marker 2). At the same time, in 2018 Sweden was the second largest bilateral donor for programmes that address gender-based violence. Sweden has been implementing these activities in the context of a global strategy for gender equality and rights of women and girls adopted in April 2018 (2018 - 2022). A special focus of the strategy is on the empowerment and protection of women’s rights organisations, feminist movements, and human rights advocates. In humanitarian aid, special needs and possibilities for action of women, men, girls, and boys must be analysed and considered for activities. In addition, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) is allowed to only fund measures that are based on an integrated gender analysis and that integrate gender equality into humanitarian work. Here, preventative action and the protection of gender-based violence take precedence.