

NO WOMEN, NO PEACE

A SNAPSHOT OF OXFAM'S ENGAGEMENT
WITH THE WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY
AGENDA: LESSONS AND OPPORTUNITIES



OXFAM

OXFAM BRIEFING PAPER – JUNE 2025

This briefing note summarizes the important lessons learned since 2018 by Oxfam Denmark and the wider Oxfam confederation while promoting the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda and supporting WPS programming in Burkina Faso, Colombia, Ghana, Kenya, Lebanon, Mali, Niger, the Occupied Palestinian Territory, South Sudan, Syria, Uganda, Ukraine and Yemen, including under the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) strategic partnerships. It contains practical and policy-level recommendations for international actors working on the WPS agenda in various crisis and conflict contexts globally.

At the time of publishing this paper (June 2025), the future of aid and international solidarity, especially work on WPS and gender justice, is at huge risk with donors announcing an unprecedented wave of cuts. The extent and impact of these are still unfolding. In this context it is more important than ever to build consensus on the need for strengthened accountability and accelerated action towards commitments to the WPS agenda.

Oxfam strongly believes that governments have a moral duty to deliver on their promises, and to commit to a future for aid that ensures it meets its objectives of saving lives, eradicating poverty and extreme inequality, and promoting welfare and a more prosperous, peaceful world for all. The briefing note shows that supporting and amplifying locally led feminist action by diverse women-led, women's and LGBTQIA+ rights organizations, networks and groups is a central foundation for peace and justice.

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This briefing paper is a summary of an internal report written for Oxfam by Marie Sophie Pettersson. The present version was drafted by Marie Sophie Pettersson with additional input by Lydia Ayikoru, Souhadou Diasso, Fatma Jaffer, Moath Jamal, Katja Kjar-Levin, Christine Lundambuyu, Robert Okello, Sorro Peter and Everlyne Situma. This briefing note is part of a series of papers written to inform public debate on development and humanitarian policy issues.

For further information on the issues raised in this paper please email advocacy@oxfaminternational.org

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The information in this publication is correct at the time of going to press.

Published by Oxfam GB for Oxfam International under

DOI: 10.21201/2025.000070

Oxfam GB, Oxfam House, John Smith Drive, Cowley, Oxford, OX4 2JY, UK.

Cover photo: Dina Sadia and Rose Juan Nyoma, Vice Chairperson and Chairperson Women Led Fora in Zone 3 Bidibidi Refugee Settlement, West Nile, Uganda, leading a session with women on issues affecting women's leadership. In West Nile, Uganda, Oxfam and partners promote gender-transformative peaceful-coexistence in refugee settlements and host communities, through promoting refugee and host community women's leadership skills and mentorship, forming/strengthening existing women-led fora, and providing community group cash transfer grants for local women's grassroots community groups to lead their own community initiatives. 29th July 2024. Credits: Hannz Records/Oxfam

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1 INTRODUCTION

The women, peace and security agenda advocates ‘for profound and sweeping action on gender justice’ across the humanitarian-peace-development nexus.¹

CONTEXTUAL OVERVIEW

This is a sobering time for the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda. Record levels of armed conflict and militarization, together with increases in military spending, are occurring at a time when there is also a growing backlash against gender justice and the rights and bodily autonomy of women, girls, and LGBTQIA+ people. Moreover, there are funding cuts for conflict prevention, peacebuilding and gender equality; multi-pronged assaults on civil society, human rights and on international humanitarian law, and rule of law ; and crises of forced displacement and closed borders, of protection and hunger.

Women’s and LGBTQIA+ rights organizations, peace activists and human rights defenders are systematically excluded from international decision-making and peacebuilding processes, while there is a shrinking space for their agendas. They continue to face multiple barriers to self-organizing, influencing decision-making, forming and leading local networks, and seeking and receiving funding for their work.

Women’s rights organizations (WROs) receive only 0.13% of total official development assistance (ODA) and only 0.4% of all gender-related aid, despite increased donor commitments.² Yet feminist peace activists, human rights defenders, grassroots networks, and civil society organizations (CSOs) are first responders to the disproportionately gendered impacts of conflicts and crises and are crucial leaders in terms of defining and shaping pathways for peace. Even if there is a military coup or if state-level peace processes are disrupted, women’s peace activism takes place and women lead peacebuilding efforts.

Women’s participation in decision-making and peacebuilding processes remains unacceptably low, and is decreasing, even in UN-supported peace processes.³ Nine out of ten peace negotiations at the national level do not include women as decision-makers, even though extensive research has shown that women’s participation⁴ is a necessity for creating sustainable and lasting peace.⁵ For example, peace agreements are 64% less likely to fail when women participate and their participation increases the durability of peace. When women are actively included, the likelihood of peacebuilding agreements lasting at least two years increases by 20%, and for fifteen years, it rises by 35%.⁶

OXFAM’S APPROACH TO PEACEBUILDING

Oxfam takes a feminist approach to peacebuilding while recognizing that structural inequalities and discriminatory gender and social norms need to be transformed to build peace that is inclusive. Oxfam’s conception of feminist peacebuilding incorporates a decolonial, anti-racist and intersectional lens, and recognizes that gendered and patriarchal policies, practices, social norms, and toxic masculinity affect everyone in society of all genders and diverse identities.

Feminist peacebuilding involves addressing patriarchal gender norms and inequalities as root causes of violence to both prevent and respond to conflict. This in turn allows for the most sustainable, transformative, impactful, relevant, conflict-sensitive approaches to peacebuilding. Feminist peace supports, recognizes and values women’s leadership and their role as agents of change.

ABOUT THIS BRIEFING NOTE

This briefing note informs current policy and programmatic debates on the WPS agenda and promotes gender-transformative changes in crisis and conflict settings through engaging with and supporting women as leaders and change agents. The information in this report builds on relevant global policy frameworks⁷ and is aligned with Oxfam's Gender in Emergencies Strategy⁸ and Standards, Feminist Principles, and Gender Rights and Justice Strategy 2024–2027.

Oxfam Denmark has been promoting the WPS agenda since the agenda was established through United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 in 2000 (see Box 1).⁹

Drawing on this experience, this briefing note summarizes some of the most important lessons learned by Oxfam Denmark and the wider Oxfam confederation supported WPS programming in Burkina Faso, Colombia, Ghana, Kenya, Lebanon, Mali, Niger, the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT), South Sudan, Syria, Uganda, Ukraine and Yemen, including under the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) strategic partnerships. It is further informed by in-country monitoring visits for deep-dive research and the collection of case studies and good practices in Uganda in April 2024, as well as online and in-person consultations with wider Oxfam and partner staff on WPS during 2024.

UNSCR 1325 AND THE WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security was adopted on 30 October 2000. It has been followed by nine supporting UN Security Council resolutions related to the WPS agenda – 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242, 2467 and 2493. The resolution stresses the disproportionate gendered impact of conflict and war on women and girls; calls on all parties to conflict to take special measures to address gender aspects; and reaffirms the crucial role that women should, and already do play in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding. The resolution is based on the following four pillars that underpin the WPS agenda.

- **Participation:** ensuring full, equal, safe and meaningful participation of women at all levels of decision-making (national, regional and international) and in all mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict; in peace negotiations; in electoral processes; in peace operations, as soldiers, police and civilians; in UN positions; and in the broader social-political sphere.
- **Protection:** ensuring that women's and girls' rights are protected and promoted in conflict-affected situations or other humanitarian crises, including protection from sexual and gender-based violence.
- **Prevention:** Focusing on actions to prevent violence and human rights abuses against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations, including conflict-related sexual violence
- **Relief and recovery:** ensuring that women's and girls' specific needs and priorities are met in repatriation and resettlement; in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes; in the design of refugee camps and support to internally displaced persons; and in the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

2 KEY LESSONS

Oxfam's decolonial feminist approaches to implementing the WPS agenda focus on principled aid, local leadership, gender and conflict transformation, peacebuilding, climate justice and local to global advocacy, as well as 'connecting the dots' between national and global policymaking and local actions by women and youth activists. This work has provided numerous lessons in terms of translating theoretical and rhetorical commitments into practice, particularly on protection, prevention, participation, relief and recovery, as summarized in this chapter.

Amplifying women's voices – local to global

Oxfam's engagement on the WPS agenda involves both **policy** and **advocacy work**, as well as providing support for programming activities led by diverse local partners (including those led by women, youth and refugees) at the country, regional and global level.

This multi-layered approach recognizes that, although national and local women's organizations are key agents for implementing the WPS agenda, the full potential of the agenda cannot be reached without the UN Security Council, UN Member States, national duty bearers and international actors stepping up to meet their commitments, implement national action plans (NAPs) and provide resources and support.

The Oxfam briefing paper '*Leading the Way: Women driving peace and security in Afghanistan, the Occupied Palestinian Territory and Yemen*',¹⁰ published in 2021, illustrates this multi-layered approach, by providing recommendations for a range of national and international stakeholders on how to support accelerating the WPS agenda.

Through its office in New York, Oxfam influences WPS policy at the **global** level by targeting its advocacy towards the UN Security Council, UN General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in coordination with the Global NGO Working Group on WPS. Similarly, Oxfam **regional** teams around the world engage with regional political platforms (e.g. the African Union and the EU); while at the **country** level Oxfam country offices and affiliates engage in national and local advocacy to hold authorities accountable on their NAPs on WPS by 'connecting the dots' to enable women and youth activists to influence and engage across peacebuilding initiatives at different levels.

For example, Oxfam Denmark engages actively at the policy level across civil society and government through the Danish WPS CSO Network and the Inter-Ministerial Working Group on the Danish WPS National Action Plan. Similarly, Oxfam GB is an active member of the Gender Action for Peace and Security Network (GAPS) in the United Kingdom,¹¹ in Uganda, Oxfam is a member of the National Technical Committee on the WPS NAP led by the Government of Uganda and in Yemen, Oxfam worked with local civil society partner Sheba Youth Foundation, 12 local women's grassroots organizations



Musa Rose Wani is a leader of a local refugee women's council in Imvepi refugee settlement in Northern Uganda, where women meet and talk about challenges and solutions to their daily problems. 'People here know who I am, they can see that what I do is working. We are able to change things because we do it together.' Photo: Hans Bach/Oxfam.



and 4 community forums of women and youth to strengthen women's leadership in peacebuilding efforts through dialogue and mediation processes with community members and local authorities. These groups led consultations that fed into the policy paper *Speaking Up: The role of women in building peace in Yemen*,¹² which was used in briefings at the international level to advocate for the adoption of its recommendations, including a new and more inclusive WPS NAP and Yemen road map for peace.

Similarly, Oxfam has been supporting the essential yet under-recognized and under-documented roles women play in efforts to achieve peace in South Sudan. The policy paper *Our Search for Peace: Women in South Sudan's National Peace Processes, 2005–2018*, published in 2020,¹³ contributes to raising awareness of these roles by sharing stories from WROs about their roles in peacebuilding, from the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2005) to the Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (2015) and the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (2018). The policy paper compares various participation methods, and discusses factors that have contributed to, and hindered, women's meaningful participation in building peace in South Sudan.



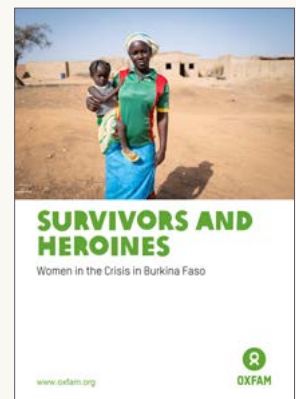
That report was supported by a companion policy paper, *Born to Lead: Recommendations on increasing women's participation in South Sudan's peace process*.¹⁴ Since then, Oxfam has been helping the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in South Sudan to conduct high-level annual national and subnational WPS conferences engaging ministries, parliamentarians, women's CSOs, the UN and NGOs, as a way to take stock of progress on implementing WPS commitments and push for related legal and policy reforms. These events provide an opportunity for women leaders and WROs to raise issues, and Oxfam supports them by consolidating their concerns into position papers for presenting to the relevant authorities.

Oxfam strongly supports women human rights defenders and peace activists and WROs, including their participation in global conferences and events related to peace, security and humanitarian action. For example, in December 2023, youth- and women-led refugee leaders from Uganda were supported to participate in the Global Refugee Forum where they presented recommendations from the policy paper *Oxfam's Engagement with Refugee-led Organisations in West Nile (Uganda): Lessons on opportunities and challenges*.¹⁵ Another example is Oxfam's support for the Yemeni partner Wameedh Shakir, Chairperson of the Itar Foundation for Social Development, who briefed the UN Security Council in April 2024 on the gendered impact of the humanitarian, economic, and climate crises in Yemen.¹⁶

Feminist local leadership and partnerships with women's rights organizations

Oxfam supports locally led peacebuilding with an ambition to go beyond the 'capital elites', the 'usual suspects' and the state-driven NAP processes by supporting existing structures and capacity through an accompanying approach and a convening role. In particular, Oxfam assists in creating local opportunities for participation, such as feminist civil society networks and platforms. For example, since the onset of the war in Ukraine, Oxfam has been working with 43 NGOs in Ukraine, Poland, Romania and Moldova – including local women-led, LGBTQIA+, youth-led and Roma-led organizations and community-based networks – whose core missions are to provide support to the most vulnerable populations, in the form of legal aid, social assistance and integration activities. Lessons from this work are captured in the Oxfam reports *The Ukraine crisis: Adapting to an evolving crisis through partnerships* and *Prioritizing Partnerships: Modelling an alternative international humanitarian response in the Ukraine crisis*.¹⁷

Oxfam's Women's Rights Fund¹⁸ provides flexible multi-year funding to local WROs in crisis- and conflict-affected areas so that they can invest in their own priorities, and operate and grow institutionally. For example, four WROs operating in the OPT; Gaza and the West Bank have been supported through the fund: AISHA, Wefaq Society for Women and Child Care, Bisan Benevolent Association, Family Defence Society, and Aid and Hope. Another organization, the Network of Women of Faith for Peace (Le Réseau des Femmes de Foi pour la Paix au Burkina Faso (REFFOP-BF), has been bringing together women leaders from different religious bodies in Burkina Faso since it was formed following a training initiative organized by Oxfam on 'Women in peacebuilding' in 2018. Since then, Oxfam has supported REFFOP-BF in its establishment and organizational growth, enabling it to expand its WPS programming nationwide across the four pillars of the WPS agenda. This includes supporting efforts with traditional and religious leaders in Burkina Faso to promote gender norm transformation and behavioral change for peaceful coexistence; strengthening women's leadership in local peacebuilding; facilitating income-generating activities for women, including internally displaced persons and host communities; enhancing women's and youth participation in and influence on local councils (Committees for Dialogue and Citizen Watch); and supporting women-led protection committees and mechanisms.



This policy brief, published in 2020, uncovers the impact of the conflict on women and looks at their role in strengthening social cohesion and building peace.





Clement Bhotosa (25) is helping to change men's roles in the home. In his community he has taken it upon himself to be a role model, when it comes to taking part in domestic work, fetching water and firewood. Before Clement would not get up to help women in his own family, even if they were cooking both dinner and taking care of the children. After participating in a workshop by Oxfam and partner organisation CECI (Community Empowerment for Creative Innovators), a refugee-led organisation, Clement has completely changed his way of viewing gender roles and he now happily helps out doing dishes and hanging the laundry. Also in the Photos: Clement's sister Rose Sunday.
Photo credit: Hans Bach/Oxfam Denmark

Feminist survivor-centred community-led response

In situations of crisis and conflict, enabling women and local women's community networks to lead and design their own community interventions for gender justice and peace is key to promoting decolonial feminist humanitarian action and peacebuilding. Oxfam uses innovative financing tools such as community group cash transfer grants to support community-led initiatives by women's community groups in Uganda, Kenya, Niger, and Lebanon, among others. For example, in Uganda, Oxfam promotes gender-transformative peaceful coexistence in refugee settlements and host communities in West Nile, by working with refugee and host community women leaders to transfer skills and provide mentorship, thereby forming or strengthening existing women-led fora and providing community group cash transfer grants for local women's grassroots community groups to lead their own community initiatives. As of December 2024, 11 women's groups have been supported with group cash grants (EUR 2,000–3,000) and have received training on gender-transformative leadership, business skills, financial literacy and savings skills. As a result, four of these women's groups have now grown into registered women's community-based organizations. The mentorship and support through the women-led fora has led to an enhanced sense of empowerment of women leaders with a reported increase in women taking up leadership positions in refugee welfare councils. This work was enabled through partnerships with

local civil society partners including those led by refugees and youth – Community Empowerment for Creative Innovations (CECI), Youth Empowerment to Act (YETA), I CAN South Sudan (ICSS), and Lugbara Kari.

Similarly, in Kenya, Oxfam collaborates closely with the ASAL Humanitarian Network (AHN) and its ‘Women’s Caucus’ of WROs in Kenya’s northern and eastern arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL) that are severely impacted by multiple humanitarian crises caused by droughts and flooding. For example, under a DANIDA strategic partnership, the capacities of two local WROs (the Pastoralist Girls Initiative (PGI) and the Marsabit Women Advocacy and Development Organization (MWADO)) and 11 women’s community-based networks were enhanced to support crisis-affected communities in a gender-responsive survivor-centred manner. This involved supporting local women’s community groups with community group cash transfer grants using the survivor and community-led response (SCLR) approach, and implementing initiatives to address harmful and patriarchal social and gender norms and practices (e.g. gender-based violence, forced and child marriage and female genital mutilation).

More broadly, Oxfam’s work on addressing gendered protection issues in crises and conflicts has always been strongly rooted in community-led action. This approach involves working with crisis-affected people and community groups to build their capacity, including helping them organize into community groups and engage with authorities. Oxfam’s Resource Pack on Community-based Protection,¹⁹ co-created with local partners, provides a strong evidence base for the benefits of using a community-based approach to protection, and highlights the immediate impact that community protection actors can have – whether by negotiating the safety of community members in the face of direct threats or working for longer-term changes. The resource pack also highlights how international actors can support these actions by working in solidarity with communities in crisis with a strong network of national partners.

Feminist humanitarian system

Oxfam works to build a decolonial feminist humanitarian system²⁰ informed by and responsive to the people who are most affected by insecurity, conflict, and displacement. The aim is to raise the power of women’s rights, women-led, feminist and LGBTQIA+-led organizations and movements, as core humanitarian, peacebuilding and climate-justice actors where feasible and within their expertise, thus ensuring integration of the unique needs and experiences of people who have been historically disadvantaged, such as women, girls, and people of diverse sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression and sex characteristics (SOGIESC).

Oxfam partners with women’s rights organizations in Kenya, Lebanon, OPT, Syria and Ukraine to promote and strengthen their alliance-building and collective advocacy to influence gender-responsive humanitarian action, including by strengthening their roles as humanitarian influencers, as well as by engaging them in conducting rapid gender analyses to identify key gender priorities and inform gender-transformative action.



Asha Sode and Uye Women's Group on their way to the field, building community resilience and increasing food security. This project is supported by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD). Marsabit, Kenya. June 2024. Photo credit: Misheck Macharia.

Women's economic justice

Women's economic justice is crucial for addressing harmful gender norms and violence. Engaging women and men from different communities to participate in economic activities can also contribute to social cohesion and peaceful coexistence. Oxfam works with local partners to promote women's economic empowerment in crisis and conflict settings in many countries, including Burkina Faso, Kenya, Mali, OPT, South Sudan, Syria, Uganda and Yemen. This work includes supporting women's access to tools, inputs and markets; strengthening their skills in climate-smart agriculture, livestock rearing, fishing, and technical and vocational education and training; supporting them to form into village savings and loans associations; and enhancing their entrepreneurship, marketing, and financial management and literacy skills. Oxfam adopts the Gender Action Learning System (GALS)²¹ to promote an environment that is geared towards enabling social norms for women's economic empowerment, as well as promoting gender equality within households and communities through community engagement.

In Uganda, Oxfam supports farmer groups of refugees and host women and men to cultivate climate-smart agriculture together, using drought-resistant crops and solar irrigation systems, and developing sustainable livelihoods. The mixed ethnicity and women-dominated nature of the farmer groups has promoted women's leadership and enhanced unity and solidarity within communities. This work was enabled through partnerships with local civil society partners including those led by refugees and youth – Youth Social Advocacy Team and Uganda Refugee Disaster Management Council (URDMC).

Gender transformation: positive masculinities and mediation



David Aungo, a Male Champion facilitating a session with the community members in Zone 1, Imvepi Refugee Settlement, West Nile, Uganda, on peaceful co-existence and Gender Based Violence using one of the tools - Gender Balance Tree in the Oxfam Gender Action Learning system. In West Nile, Uganda, Oxfam and partners promotes gender-transformative peaceful-coexistence by applying the GALS methodology to transform gender norms and promote positive masculinities by engaging youth male gender champions and local cultural/religious-based leaders, along with women leaders, in community-led peace committees/structures. 'Many here put our culture in a box that cannot be touched, but we need a community approach to make changes. We engage with other men who are not treating their wives well, we listen to them and talk to them about the gender-balance tree [part of the Oxfam GALS toolbox] and we now see the community opening up to new ways and men changing their behaviour and mindsets. Our vision is for men to do the cooking, while women are able to work outside and for men and women to make decisions together.' – Male champion. 31st July 2024. Credits: Hannz Records/Oxfam.

Oxfam's feminist approach to both humanitarian action and peacebuilding calls for promoting gender-transformative changes in crisis and conflict settings through addressing patriarchal norms and toxic masculinities as root causes of gender inequality within society.

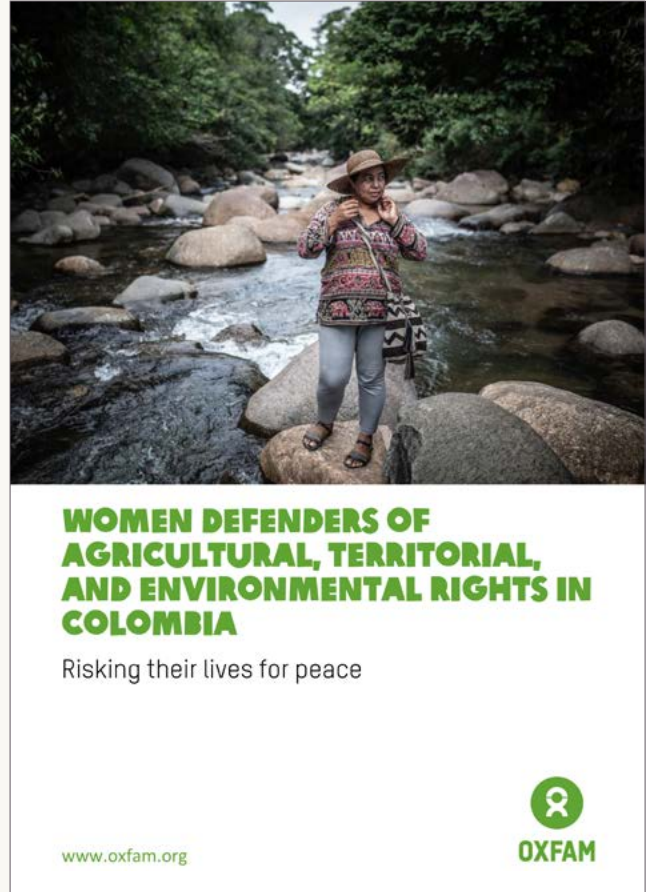
In South Sudan and Uganda, Oxfam promotes gender-transformative peaceful coexistence in conflict-affected areas in Pibor and refugee settlements in West Nile by applying the GALS to improve gender relations within households and communities and to promote positive masculinities by engaging with youth male gender champions and local cultural/religious-based leaders, along with women leaders, in community-led peace committees/structures. The committees have been instrumental in addressing grievances through alternative disputes and conflict resolution mechanisms (i.e. mediation and dialoguing), in their local communities over shared resources, access to firewood, land and water. This work was enabled through the partnerships with local civil society partners including those led by refugees and youth – CECI, YETA, ICAN SSD and Lugbara Kari in Uganda, and SALT, NEC and DARD in South Sudan.

Climate justice and WPS

Oxfam promotes climate justice as an integral part of its work on the WPS agenda to enable feminist climate just conflict transformation and peacebuilding. This involves looking at the interlinkages between gender, conflict/crisis and climate, because climate change-induced disasters can exacerbate pre-existing gender-related conflict grievances and inequalities. Furthermore, many gendered conflict dynamics are driven by disputes over limited natural resources due to climatic shocks (amplified by El Niño or La Nina) or the extraction of natural resources and fossil fuels. The United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP 28) in 2023 issued a declaration on climate, relief, recovery and peace, endorsed by 91 countries,²² which underscores the importance of gender and age-responsive risk assessments and increased financial resources for adaptation, emphasizing the role of women's leadership. However, an analysis by UN-Women²³ shows that less than 0.5% of climate finance addresses the interlinked objectives of gender equality and peace.

Oxfam works holistically to support a variety of feminist, environmental and peace movements, which together call for a feminist economic and political transformation to sustain and care for humanity and the planet.²⁴

Women environmental human rights defenders, many of whom are Indigenous women living in heavily militarized areas, face escalating threats, making it vital to support and protect their work. Lessons from the work of Oxfam and partners on the WPS agenda in Colombia, Mali, South Sudan, Uganda and Yemen, underscore the importance of local action and Indigenous knowledge for effective responses that holistically address climate-related security risks in a gender- and conflict-transformative manner. For example, in Colombia women who are defending their land, their Wayuu community and the environment – in the face of armed groups, extractive economies, illegal businesses and military forces – are being threatened, harassed and sometimes even murdered. Through an initiative called *Mujeres Amigas del Viento* (women friends of the wind), Oxfam has supported Indigenous, Afro-Colombian and marginalized rural women and youth to participate in dialogues with communities and authorities to highlight documented human rights violations by wind energy companies as a form of violence against women, with the aim of seeking strategies that enable the effective participation of the Wayuu people to enhance their own collective welfare and human rights.



3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The vision of peace and equality that is integral to the WPS agenda has never been more important – or more under threat.

Through the following recommendations, Oxfam urges the UN Security Council, UN Member States, National Governments, UN agencies, donors, international NGOs and others to act on the WPS agenda's foundational principles, not only to make conflict safer for women, but to ensure that women drive solutions and to end conflict. Without principled and decisive action to protect women's rights and ensure their full, equal, safe, and meaningful participation in all aspects of peace, security and humanitarian action, we not only risk entrenchment of 'patriarchal norms',²⁵ but jeopardize any chance of sustainable peace.²⁶

FINANCING

- **Align WPS funding with the priorities and objectives of local women-led, and women's rights and LGBTQIA+ organizations** and movements working on WPS.
- **Increase funding to local women-led, women's rights and LGBTQIA+ organizations and movements (formal and informal).** Provide quality, sustained, direct, accessible, core and non-core, flexible, long-term funding to equitable and inclusive partnerships, and promote the co-creation of interventions. Meet the minimum target of 15% of funds being earmarked for programmes that advance gender equality and allocate a minimum of 1% of overseas development assistance for WROs by 2025.²⁷
- **Scale-up the use of innovative financing methods** such as group cash grants to informal community groups, to support survivor-centred initiatives focusing on women- and community-led peacebuilding.
- **Secure financing for the implementation of National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security**, including a dedicated funding stream for supporting women's organizations.
- Financially support initiatives that promote **gender-transformative changes in crisis and conflict situations, including through holistic gender justice humanitarian-peace-development and climate nexus programming**, by using 'root causes power and social norms' analysis to integrate components on women's leadership and participation, women's economic empowerment and the prevention of gender-based violence. Interventions should be implemented in a context-specific and adaptive manner, integrating **gender-responsive, climate-adaptive, conflict-sensitive approaches based on regular assessment**.

PARTICIPATION AND DECISION-MAKING

- Politically support and fully resource the full, equal, meaningful and safe participation and leadership of diverse women at all levels, stages and spaces of

peace, security and humanitarian decision-making, with the target of achieving equal participation by women (i.e. 50% of all participants should be women) in all forums.

- Based on needs identified by women's, LGBTQIA+ and feminist civil society, **provide long-term training opportunities**, as well as mentorship and peer-exchange support. **Support collaboration and coalition-building between different** feminist CSOs and networks at the local, national, regional and global level.
- **Amplify the voices of national and local feminist civil society** and create spaces for their engagement with international stakeholders and authorities – including donors, UN entities and states – to ensure their challenges and priorities are acted upon. Ensure independent women and LGBTQIA+ civil society and human rights defenders continue to regularly brief the UN Security Council during all relevant discussions, including country-specific meetings in line with Resolution 2242 (2015). Ensure that their independent selection and views are fully respected and, most importantly, that their recommendations are acted upon.
- **Promote decolonial feminist narratives and reclaiming of the WPS agenda** to enable localized, inclusive and intersectional approaches that prioritize the leadership and expertise of women of the Global South and SOGIESC diverse people. Ensure that the priorities of women from conflict-affected regions in the Global South are reflected in WPS resolutions, policy, planning (e.g. NAPs), programming and advocacy campaigns, including by recognizing occupation as a form of conflict and violence against women in the OPT, and strengthening the focus on disarmament as essential for gender-responsive conflict prevention.

JUSTICE AND ACCOUNTABILITY

- **Centre women's, girls' and LGBTQIA+ people's rights, in all peace and security discussions, processes and decisions.** Violation of their rights must be recognized as an early warning sign and a root cause

of conflict. The UN Security Council should implement a rights-based approach to addressing all dimensions of the WPS agenda.

- **Ensure justice and accountability for violations of women's and LGBTQIA+ people's rights in a timely manner.** Respect for international humanitarian and international human rights law is paramount for protecting civilians, including people of all genders, ages and diversities. Accountability strategies that centre gender must be pursued, bringing cases against violators of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) at the International Court of Justice.
- **Accelerate the implementation of WPS commitments:** sign and act on the Statement of UN Security Council Shared Commitments on Women and Peace and Security²⁸ and the global Compact on Women, Peace & Security and Humanitarian Action.²⁹ Focus on coordinating and mainstreaming the existing resolutions and norms that make up the WPS agenda across the UN system and the entirety of the Security Council's agenda, rather than developing new WPS resolutions. Ensure that recommendations from the Informal Expert Group on WPS and women civil society briefers are consistently reflected in Security Council outcome documents, including statements by members of the Security Council.
- **Adopt and implement foreign policies** that are feminist ensuring gender justice commitments are integrated in all foreign policy actions and agencies, in bilateral relations and in regional and multilateral organizations. Aim for countries to achieve substantive equality and parity in foreign service staff and that they allocate adequate resources to gender equality as part of their development and humanitarian aid, as well as migration and asylum policies, to pursue a deeper reflection on the gender implications of the militarism-trade nexus and harmful economic or trade policies, including the role of the arms trade and extractive industries.

NOTES

- 1 Chatham House (2023). Gender, Inclusion and Humanitarian Principles in conflict settings.
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About Oxfam

Oxfam is a global movement of people who are fighting inequality to end poverty and injustice. We are working across regions in more than 70 countries, with thousands of partners, and allies, supporting communities to build better lives for themselves, grow resilience and protect lives and livelihoods also in times of crisis. Please write to any of the agencies for further information or visit www.oxfam.org.

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