Women, Peace & Security in the Age of Feminist Foreign Policy:

Reflections on Canada's New National Action Plan

August 2018

**Women, Peace and Security
Network-Canada**

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Acronyms

ANDSF	Afghanistan National Defence and Security Forces
CAF	Canadian Armed Forces
CDS Directive	Chief of the Defence Staff Directive for Integrating UNSCR 1325 and Related Resolutions into CAF Planning and Operations
C-NAP	Canadian National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security DND Department of National Defence, Canada
DOJ	Department of Justice, Canada
FCAS	Fragile and conflict affected states
FIAP	Feminist international assistance policy
GAC	Global Affairs Canada
GBA+	Gender based analysis plus
GENADs	Gender advisors
GFP	Gender focal point
GOC	Government of Canada
IPP	International police peacekeeping and peace operations
IRCC	Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada
MOD	Ministry of Defence, Afghanistan
MOI	Ministry of the Interior, Afghanistan
NAP	National action plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Association
OECD-DAC	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's Development Assistance Committee
PSC	Public Safety Canada
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SAAT	Selection, assistance and assessment team
SEA	Sexual exploitation and abuse
SGBV	Sexual and gender based violence
SRHR	Sexual and reproductive health and rights
SWC	Status of Women Canada
WOG	Whole of government
WPS	Women, peace and security
WRO	Women's rights organization
WPSN-C	Women, Peace and Security Network – Canada
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution

Introduction

Beth Woroniuk

On November 1, 2017 the Government of Canada launched its second National Action Plan (the C-NAP) on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), covering the period 2017-2022.

The contrast with the launch of the 2010 C-NAP could not have been more dramatic. The first C-NAP was launched in New York, with barely a mention in Ottawa.[1] The document itself did not have a formal cover or layout.

This time around, there was a high-profile launch in Ottawa. Five cabinet ministers along with other parliamentarians were present. Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland gave the keynote address. Two civil society representatives were included in the panel. There was a packed audience of diplomats, non-governmental organization (NGO) leaders, activists and academics. The session was broadcast on Facebook live.

The updated C-NAP had been long awaited, as the previous C-NAP expired in March 2016. Since that time, there have been many discussions on women, peace and security – in the International Assistance Review, at the House of Commons Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development, and during the Defence Policy Review. This attention has been part of a broader political trend, with Prime Minister Trudeau's Liberal government raising the profile of feminism (and a feminist approach to policy) in Canada and on the world stage.

Consultations leading up to the new Canadian National Action Plan

In April 2017, Global Affairs Canada and the WPSN-C co-hosted a consultation on Canada's approach to WPS issues. It looked back on progress, outlined challenges, reviewed global good practices, and identified key issues moving forward. Prior to the two-day consultation, WPSN-C members prepared background documents, participated in webinars and produced blog posts.[2]

WPSN-C members recommended key issues and themes for the new C-NAP. Issues included explicit support for women's rights organizations and women peacebuilders; investments in conflict prevention; inclusion of domestic as well as global elements in the NAP; identification of explicit steps to transform the culture of Canadian security institutions; and clear direction to use a feminist approach across all elements of Canada's defence, security, development and diplomacy initiatives.

Key requirements for the new C-NAP identified by Network members were: include a clear feminist approach, establish the NAP as a high-level policy with corresponding

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[1] Unfortunately the press release for the 2010 launch has be taken down from the Global Affairs website.
[2] All of these materials are available at: https://wpsn-canada.org /2017-cnap-consultation/

accountability mechanisms, formalize the government/civil society relationship, invest resources, and focus on results and impact.

The New Canadian National Action Plan (2017-2022)

The new C-NAP has three components:

1. an overview document signed by seven cabinet ministers;

2. implementation plans from Global Affairs Canada (GAC), the Department of National Defence and Canadian Armed Forces (DND/CAF), Public Safety Canada (PSC), the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Status of Women Canada(SWC), Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), and the Department of Justice (DOJ). These plans outline specific priorities, baselines, indicators and activities, with significant variations department to department; and

3. a theory of change.

The C-NAP overview document outlines five objectives:

1. Increase the meaningful participation of women, women's organizations and networks in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict statebuilding.

2. Prevent, respond to and end impunity for sexual and gender-based violence perpetrated in conflict, and for sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers and other international personnel including humanitarian and development staff.

3. Promote and protect women's and girls' human rights, gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls in fragile, conflict and post-conflict settings.

4. Meet the specific needs of women and girls in humanitarian settings, including the upholding of their sexual rights and access to sexual and reproductive health services.

5. Strengthen the capacity of peace operations to advance the WPS agenda, including by deploying more women and fully embedding the WPS agenda into CAF operations and police deployments.

The C-NAP notes that the government ministries and departments will attempt to make progress on these objectives with commitments in three areas: political leadership and diplomacy; programming, and capacity to deliver results. The implementation plans do provide significant detail and each plan could be the subject of its own report with analysis and discussion.

Overall, the new C-NAP is a marked improvement on the previous version. It has a more sophisticated analysis, exploring the links between security, gender inequalities and women's rights. As noted by Sarah Tuckey (a WPSN-C member and contributor to this volume) it draws on academic literature and is more clearly located within the feminist foreign policy discussion. Of note is the clear commitment to sexual and reproductive health and rights. It also includes references to WPS issues in Canada, brings a broader range of government partners into the Plan, contains

> *… the new C-NAP is a marked improvement on the previous version… yet numerous questions remain.*

strengthened references to the importance of civil society (including women's rights

organizations and movements), and makes new commitments relating to monitoring, reporting and accountability.

The Plan includes an innovative mechanism: a new "Action Plan Advisory Group" that is co-chaired by the WPSN-C and includes several civil society representatives. The WPSN-C is very pleased to see the formalization of the relationship with civil society through this new group, and we look forward to helping this body fulfil its potential as both a learning and accountability forum.

Yet numerous questions remain. Authors in this collection raise issues relating to the whole-of-government approach and the definition of gender issues. They point out that despite the new approach, key issues are missing (including government policy on extractive industries in conflict-affected countries) and overall policy coherence remains a challenge. Others look at concrete country contexts and particular issues (such as humanitarian assistance) and find the C-NAP lacking. The issue of budget and investments remains controversial, as the C-NAP does not include costing or financial allocations. Finally, given the reporting challenges in the previous C-NAP, it will be interesting to see if the new reporting framework and commitments deliver improved progress reports.

This Report

This is the third publication of the WPSN-C commenting on Canada's WPS National Action Plans and reports. Our first publication, Worth the Wait?, was issued in 2014. It raised questions regarding the priority given to WPS issues by the government of the day. In 2015 we issued Looking Back, Looking Forward. This second report, while still critical, was slightly more optimistic given the rumblings at the time by the new government that issues surrounding gender equality and women's rights would be given greater focus in Canada's foreign policy. This report comes on the heels of the November 2017 release of the new C-NAP. It aims to provide initial critique and analysis of the second C-NAP in comparison to its predecessor and taking into consideration the political, social, humanitarian and academic context.

As with the first two publications, the editors sent out a call to Network members asking for submissions. We were looking for reflections on the new C-NAP that would advance discussion and analysis. Once again, Network members responded with thought-provoking chapters that touch on varied issues, highlighting the breadth of the WPS agenda. We are grateful to the contributors for their inputs.

The opinions and views in each chapter are those of each author and do not necessarily represent the views of all Network members. Nor do they necessarily represent the views of the author's organizations.

The Women, Peace and Security Network – Canada

The WPSN-C is a volunteer network of over 90 Canadian organizations and individuals committed to:

> 1) promoting and monitoring the efforts of the Government of Canada to implement and support the United Nations Security Council Resolutions on women, peace and security; and,

> 2) providing a forum for exchange and action by Canadian civil society on issues related to women, peace and security.

The Network has its origins in the Gender and Peacebuilding Working Group of Peacebuild (originally the Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee); however, with Peacebuild's reduced presence, the Working Group disbanded in 2011. The WPSN-C was formed in January 2012. We operate with no official funding and rely on the goodwill and volunteer contributions of our members – both individuals and organizations.

More information on the WPSN-C is available on our website: https://wpsn-canada.org/.

The New Women's Work?
A Consideration of the Gender Assumptions Underlying Canada's National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325

Margaret Jenkins

Last year, I wrote a paper arguing that programs and policies to implement United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, even those that may be successful at achieving intended ends, can inadvertently reproduce gender stereotypes and gender pressures.[1] In the paragraphs below, I apply the same analytical lens to Canada's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security for 2017-2022 (called the C-NAP in this document). I consider ways in which the C-NAP might reproduce rather than challenge gender norms, discuss why that's a problem, and suggest ways to address this issue.

The high-level attention given to the C-NAP is itself an achievement, as is Canada's commitment to gender equality and to upholding the rights of women and girls in its feminist foreign policy. The C-NAP gets a lot right, such as the need "to identify the barriers to women's participation and seek the opportunities… to challenge the status quo—to transform harmful gender relations and empower women" (p. 2)[2] in all aspects of conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and post-conflict state-building. Where it falls short, however, is when it comes across as an advocacy document for promoting the increased participation of women in peace and security, and especially when it does this by making essentialist and questionable claims about the expected positive impact of women's participation.

The C-NAP generally depicts women as peacemakers who are especially equipped to solve gender-based violence and create "gender transformative solutions" (p. 2).[3] These claims are

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[1] Jenkins, M. (2017). *Policy Tensions Related to Gender and Peacekeeping: The Need for a Two-Level Game.* Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security.

[2] Global Affairs Canada. (2017). *Gender Equality: A Foundation for Peace, Canada's National Action Plan 2017 – 2022*. Ottawa: Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada. Retrieved from http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/assets/pdfs/cnap-eng.pdf. Henceforth, when this document is referenced, it will be shown as "Global Affairs Canada. (2017). *Gender Equality: A Foundation for Peace*."

[3] Ibid.

not sufficiently corroborated by data[4] and even if they were,[5] we should think carefully about whether these are the gender-related goals we want to achieve through public policy (i.e. with women doing most of the heavy lifting on peace, civilian protection, and gender issues). If national action plans and other efforts to implement the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda rely on these gender norms, they reproduce rather transform them.[6] By creating expectations that women's participation will lead to "gender transformation," we actually frustrate this transformation. It cannot occur if gender issues are considered "women's work;" it will only arise if all stakeholders engaged in peace and security see it as their responsibility, and have the training and capacity to make it happen.

Another problem with the "women as peacemakers"[7] depiction is that it runs the risk of instrumentalizing women's participation—the implication is that women are engaged in peace and security *because* of their distinctive contribution, and if they fail, it is because *they* were not effective. Both of these presuppositions are problematic. Women should be full and equal participants in peace and security because they have a right to the same opportunities as men, not because of what can be potentially gained by their participation. Making claims such as that "women are better able to reach out to all members of the population to understand their concerns and the dangers they face" (p. 3)[8] and "they broaden and deepen the discussion on peace and security beyond the interests of combating parties, they increase community buy-in, and they

> *Women should be full and equal participants in peace and security because they have a right to the same opportunities as men, not because of what can potentially gained by their participation.*

help address the root causes of conflict" (p. 3)[9] create unreasonable expectations for women and low expectations for men (especially in those areas of work that women are thought to be better at, such as communicating with the community and responding to gender-based violence). If women are unsuccessful at bringing forth certain transformations, including those related to gender, it may be more due to gender-related challenges they faced on a particular assignment than a reflection of their capacity or effectiveness. There are many variables that affect the success and impact of female participation and integration, including persistent gender attitudes, and biases, that (as the C-NAP recognizes) are held by both men and women.

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[4] UN Women's empirical study which is cited in the C-NAP to corroborate the C-NAP claim that "women and men alike are more likely to report sexual and gender-based incidents of violence when they can speak to women officers" (3, ff 9) is problematic because it compares data from 2009 (on police representation) with data on sexual violence (year unknown, but the dataset it draws from only has data from year 2000 and earlier). It is not evident that the years match, nor is it clear that the data on representation in the police is from the same countries as the data used for sexual violence reporting. More clarification and substantiation is needed (see UN Women (2011), *Progress of the World's Women: In Pursuit of Justice.* p. 59).

[5] I would not be surprised if these claims could be corroborated given gender socialization and possibly other factors. However, at the current time, the data on this issue is thin, and does not provide a strong enough foundation for justifying public policy (even if we wanted to, which I question above).

[6] In the longer paper I wrote related to this subject, I introduce a "two-level game" analytical approach for drafting policies and programs related to WPS in order to address these pitfalls related to reproducing gender norms. The first level responds to current gender pressures, realities and gendered comparative advantages. The second level goes beyond response, to transform these same gender pressures and norms. I argue that WPS implementation has often focused only on the first level, to the detriment of the second.

[7] Women as Peacemakers is a sub-heading in the C-NAP (p. 3).

[8] Global Affairs Canada. (2017). Gender Equality: A Foundation for Peace.

[9] Ibid.

To Canada's credit, the C-NAP does argue that everyone engaged in peace and security is responsible for making progress on the WPS agenda, and that "men must be equally committed to changing attitudes, behaviours and roles to support gender equality" (p. 1).[10] However, my point is that as long as the C-NAP evokes gender stereotypes, it will frustrate its own efforts to build broader and stronger capacity to address gender issues. In a sense, it is shooting itself in the foot.

Canada should take the goal of full and equal participation of women in all aspects of peace and security as a given, not something that needs to be defended, and the C-NAP should focus more on what Canada is going to do to make this happen both at home and abroad. These steps should be based on solid research concerning what has and hasn't worked, and under what conditions. Canada should also pilot innovative approaches that identify and neutralize harmful gender pressures and norms, and that work to engage women and men in all aspects of peace and security processes and operations, including in roles in which they have typically been under-represented. The gender transformative solutions that Canada hopes to achieve will only happen if the C-NAP is more transformative with its own gender assumptions and narrative.

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[10] Ibid.

Where Does Canada Stand? Feminism, Gender, and the Whole-of-Government Approach of the New C-NAP

Sarah Tuckey

The vision for Canada's second National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (C-NAP) claims to provide "a framework for a cohesive whole-of-government approach to implement this important agenda."[1] Whole-of-government (WOG) has become increasingly popular in Canada and globally as an approach that joins up several government departments on a policy issue of national or international importance.

In this case, the Canadian government aims to connect Global Affairs Canada, the Department of National Defence, the Canadian Armed Forces, Public Safety Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Status of Women Canada, Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, and the Department of Justice together to implement the United Nation's WPS agenda.[2] With the Government of Canada's increased commitment to feminism,[3] the WPS agenda seems a fitting policy target to attempt cohesive WOG operations at both the national and international levels.

The framework for the C-NAP's feminist-informed WOG approach is outlined in the participating departments' implementation plans[4] and the theory of change.[5] In this article, I conduct a critical feminist analysis of these elements to assess how each department understands the concept of gender, the comprehensiveness of each department's plan, and how cohesive the plans are in aggregate.

The analysis highlights that each department understands gender differently, with most departments deferring to a dated understanding of gender as binary and conflating it with sex, or with women alone. This lack of unity on the concept of gender is itself an indicator of the

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[1] Global Affairs Canada. (2017). *Canada's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, The Vision*. Retrieved from http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/gender_equality-egalite_sexes/national_action_plan_wps-plan_national_action_fps.aspx?lang=eng.

[2] A brief description of this agenda can be found at http://www.peacewomen.org/why-WPS/solutions/resolutions.

[3] Tuckey, S. (December 18, 2017). The New Era of Canadian Feminist Foreign Policy. https://thecic.org/the-new-era-of-canadian-feminist-foreign-policy/

[4] Global Affairs Canada. (2017). *Canada's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2017 – 2022: The implementation plans*. Retrieved from http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/assets/pdfs/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/C-NAP_implementation_plans_eng.pdf. Henceforth, when this document is referenced it will be shown as "Global Affairs Canada. (2017). *Canada's National Action Plan: The implementation plans*."

[5] Global Affairs Canada. (2017). Canada's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2017-2022: Theory of change. Retrieved from http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/assets/pdfs/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/Theory_of_Change_eng.pdf. Henceforth, when this document is referenced it will be shown as "Global Affairs Canada. (2017). *Canada's National Action Plan: Theory of change*."

lack of comprehensiveness in some of the departments' plans: despite a marked improvement from the first C-NAP, many departments still do not identify clear baselines or targeted timelines for their approaches. The varying degrees of comprehensiveness reveal that Canada's new C-NAP is still struggling to find its footing: the theory of change, as an overarching guiding tool for the C-NAP departments, remains vague and raises more questions than it answers.

How does each department understand the concept of gender?

How Canada approaches gender equality from a WOG position is revealed in the inter-departmental understandings of gender. If the various implicated departments do not assess gender from a similar standpoint, then the WOG approach will struggle to find cohesiveness. Conversely, the more inclusive the definition of gender is, the greater the impact the C-NAP will have. In feminist terms, we understand gender today to be separate from one's sex, defined by fluid and intersecting characteristics that bear markers of femininity and masculinity (as well as race, class, ability, and age, to name a few), and to be both performed and ascribed: performed by the individual identifying as the gender, and ascribed by individuals to people, objects, places, and institutions.[6] As such, for the WOG approach to be broadly inclusive, the implementation plans should show some understanding of this current view of gender.

For some departmental implementation plans, however, the terminology is limiting: DND/CAF still refers to the input of women, girls, men and boys as the four defining gender dimensions of personhood (p. 6),[7] while the RCMP focuses solely on the empowerment of women (p. 21)[8]–referring to their goal to increase the recruitment of female officers for international deployment–without mention of the role that men play in the production of that

> *There remains a focus on gender parity… rather than transformational gender equality.*

empowerment. PSC's focus on countering violent extremism carves out its space in the WPS agenda, but its plan does not go so far as to address the roles that gender plays in the process of radicalization to violence. The IRCC makes the strongest case for an understanding of the current view of gender: its plan states that "IRCC is committed to integrating Gender-based Analysis Plus (GBA+) to assess the potential impacts of its policies, programs, services and other initiatives on diverse groups of women, men and gender-diverse people, taking into account gender and other identity factors (e.g. race, ethnicity and religion)" (p. 34).[9]

Indeed, the focus by many of these departments on incorporating the use of GBA+, an analytical tool developed by SWC to train public servants on the intersecting elements of gender identity, is redeeming.[10] GAC, DND/CAF, PSC, IRCC, and the RCMP have all highlighted efforts to integrate GBA+ into their policies and programs, with the RCMP focusing on the 'plus' aspect by defining five distinct employment equity national advisory committees, and IRCC demonstrating how it has been used in their programming and policies to date. However, much of IRCC's focus remains geared toward women and girls as

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[6] Gender Spectrum (2017). Dimensions of Gender. Retrieved from https://www.genderspectrum.org/quick-links/understanding-gender/
[7] Global Affairs Canada. (2017). Canada's National Action Plan: The implementation plans.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] For a description of the Government of Canada's GBA+ methodology, see http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/gba-acs/index-en.html.

vulnerable victims rather than as agents for change (p. 32).[11] Across the departmental implementation plans, there remains a focus on gender parity (balance of numbers between women and men) rather than transformational gender equality, and a dated view of gender as related to the binary biological concept of sex.

How comprehensive is each department's plan?

The second element of a strong WOG approach is how comprehensive each department's implementation plan is. The varying definitions of gender indicate that the comprehensiveness of each plan will likely also vary, leading to difficulties of cohesiveness. Yet if the plan includes targets, baselines, actions, and indicators assessed from both qualitative and quantitative markers, it will have a greater chance of success. The most outstanding plans come from GAC, DND/CAF, the

> *…greater cohesiveness on definitions, higher clarity of baselines and firmer targets and timelines are needed.*

RCMP, and IRCC. GAC included a forty-six-page addendum outlining its implementation approach in detail.[12] The SWC's implementation commitments, however, appear vague at best, with timelines on GBA+ related initiatives referring only to "fall 2019" (p. 31),[13] while the DOJ remains at arms-length from the C-NAP as a participant only when invited. Much of this is a marked improvement from the first C-NAP, but for the newer departments on board, greater cohesiveness on definitions, higher clarity of baselines and firmer targets and timelines are needed.

How cohesive are the departmental plans in aggregate?

Finally, the WOG approach will work best when, looking across all the plans and the theory of change as one cohesive implementation program, it is easy to make connections in methodology, terminology, and priority. The lack of unity over the interdepartmental understanding of gender, and the varying degrees of comprehensiveness in each plan, result in greater difficulty identifying connections across all plans. This is reflected in the theory of change; the ultimate outcome of the implementation of the C-NAP is stated as: "Women participate in peace and security efforts, women and girls are empowered, and their human rights are upheld in fragile and conflict-affected states (FCAS)" (p. 1)[14] with the overall impact being: "More inclusive, gender equal and stable societies."[15] Without equally comprehensive plans and a universal understanding of gender that reflects the current state of feminist research and activism, the cognitive and practical leap between women's empowerment and more inclusive, gender equal and stable societies appears wide and empty.

For Canada's new C-NAP to be effective as a feminist-informed framework for the WOG approach, it needs to find its footing: it must clearly define gender, preferably using a contemporary feminist position. Its implementation plans must be uniformly focused, targeted, and rigorous, and the departments engaging with the WPS agenda must be cohesive.

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[11] Global Affairs Canada. (2017). Canada's National Action Plan: The implementation plans.
[12] Global Affairs Canada. (2017). Canada's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2017 – 2022: Global Affairs Canada addendum for the implementation plan. Retrieved from http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/assets/pdfs/C-NAP-ip-ad-eng.pdf. Henceforth, when this document is referenced it will be shown as "Global Affairs Canada. (2017). Canada's National Action Plan: Global Affairs addendum."
[13] Global Affairs Canada. (2017). Canada's National Action Plan: The implementation plans.
[14] Global Affairs Canada. (2017). Canada's National Action Plan: Theory of change.
[15] Ibid.

This new C-NAP is an opportunity for Canada to lead on the WPS agenda on the world stage, but it cannot take the first step if it doesn't know where it stands.

C-NAP Effectiveness and Lessons Learned:
A Focus on Iraq and Afghanistan

Jo-Ann Rodrigues

This paper compares the 2017–2022 Canadian National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security to the 2010–2016 action plan and asks whether the new plan effectively addresses WPS issues.

In the WPSN-C's last publication, [Looking Back, Looking Forward](#) (p.12),[1] I noted how important it is for the Government of Canada (GOC) to report WPS agenda implementation failures and how they occurred. Why? Because a detailed examination of lessons learned matched with actions to address them would allow for impactful progress. The current C-NAP acknowledges gaps and outlines plans to close some of them,[2] but it is incomplete. Actions to close gaps should not be dismissed. Too many countries do not acknowledge such gaps, to the detriment of women and those who provide support to reinforce their rights. However, a closer look at the C-NAP's implementation plan and addendum reveals other problems. While they state an aspiration to support the WPS agenda, they do not identify specific outcomes to measure success. They also do not fully address lessons learned, directly impacting women's security. Will the new C-NAP effectively address WPS issues? In its current form, mistakes could still occur and ineffective actions could result in preventable harm to women and communities.

To better understand these problems, I focus on bilateral engagements in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Missing Outcomes in Iraq

A key priority for Canada in Iraq is to raise WPS issues as part of its diplomatic efforts and to advance the implementation of Iraq's national action plan (NAP).[3] A related progress indicator is the "[number] of reports produced on the WPS-related issues that are raised in meetings with Iraqi and Kurdish government officials, including one report per quarter on the

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[1] Woroniuk, B. and Tuckey, S., eds. (2015). *Looking Back, Looking Forward: Reflections on Canada's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security*. Ottawa: The Women, Peace and Security Network-Canada. p. 12. https://wpsncanada.files.wordpress.com/2015/12/lblf-final.pdf

[2] See pages four and five of Global Affairs Canada. (2017). *Gender Equality: A Foundation for Peace* for an acknowledgement of gender-based violence against Indigenous women in Canada. See pages 13 and 14 for statements on Operation Honour to address sexual harassment and violence in the CAF and stated commitment to implement the 10 recommendations in the Deschamps report on sexual misconduct and sexual harassment in the CAF. See page 16 for information on civil society's inclusion in an action plan advisory group.

[3] Global Affairs Canada. (2017). *Canada's National Action Plan: Global Affairs addendum.* p. 28.

implementation of Iraq's National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325."[4] A quarterly report on the implementation of Iraq's NAP indicates the intent to monitor initiatives, to be accountable and to be transparent. The problem with this indicator is that the *number* of reports raised will not necessarily result in a greater awareness of WPS issues or the urgency required to act on them. A more effective indicator would note approved programming with budgets to advance WPS. This would more clearly demonstrate an increased awareness of the importance of the issues.

The second priority for Iraq is to "[p]rovide a platform for advancing WPS in stabilization efforts."[5] This will involve consulting, among others, women's organizations and civil society groups and Canada hosting events that support discussions on WPS.[6] This is promising and an acknowledgement that these voices matter. With Iraq's NAP due to expire this year, the activity could catalyze change by specifically naming the events Canada supports to include an Iraqi government-led consultation with Iraq's civil society on their new NAP. Canada could also hold meetings to share best practices and lessons learned from its experience with Canadian civil society during the C-NAP consultations in 2017. Not only does it support increasing awareness of WPS, it promotes the inclusion of Iraqi women's voices in a very specific way.

These two priorities for Iraq not only show the possibility for real impact but also highlight missed opportunities because specific outcomes are not named. The benefit of being less specific is that it allows for flexibility in how the priorities are achieved. Without naming the particular intention however, how can the GOC and Canadians measure progress?

Learning No Lessons from Canada to Afghanistan

The C-NAP activities and indicators for Afghanistan further illustrate problems advancing the WPS agenda. The GOC supports the increased representation of women in the Afghanistan National Defence and Security Forces (ANDSF).[7] The activities and indicators state that Canada will lead support for Afghanistan's Ministry of the Interior (MOI) and Ministry of Defence through trust funds and will expect regular reporting from these bodies.[8] Supporting the use of funds for gender equality projects shows commitment. This is offset by an absence of stated intent to ensure that the recruitment of women does not lead to further sexual and gender based violence (SGBV). The experience of women in the Afghanistan National Defence and Security Forces (AFDSF) is known. A 2017 New York Times article reported that the United States' funding to recruit women in the ANDSF puts them at risk.[9] They experience rejection from their families and communities because they work with men and are subjected to abuse from some male officers who, for example,

Supporting the use of funds for greater gender equality shows commitment. This is offset by an absence of intent to ensure that the recruitment of women does not lead to further SGBV.

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[4] Ibid., p. 29
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid. See information under the activities and indicators sections for Iraq.
[7] Ibid., p. 44
[8] Ibid., p. 45
[9] Jones, S. (2017, November 21) The Dangers of Forcing Gender Equality in Afghanistan. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/21/opinion/women-afghanistan-equality.html

"purposely fail female recruits, or refuse to promote women unless they agree to sex."[10] How will regular reporting by the MOI on the recruitment of women indicate progress on the WPS agenda when action is still required to "remov[e] systemic biases that prevent gender parity [from] occurring, and [to] empower women with the necessary authority and autonomy to carry out [their] responsibilities…?"[11]

The activities and indicators for bilateral engagement with Afghanistan lack acknowledgement of the consequences of female recruitment into the ANDSF and the lessons learned and steps taken by the Canadian Department of National Defence (DND) and Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) to address these consequences.

To avoid further insecurity of female ANDSF staff, the activity could also have included their engagement with Afghan women's organizations on how to address these issues. Additional indicators such as: the number of gender equality projects to address SGBV and protect ANDSF female staff; the extent to which meetings are convened to share lessons and to evaluate actions taken by the DND and CAF to address sexual harassment and misconduct;[12] the number of funded programs to end impunity for perpetrators of SGBV and to ensure adequate resources for female staff; and the extent to which a decrease of abuse can be attributed to effective training, would have also strengthened the overall activity in a way that would show change and progress on WPS issues. Without attending to the problem of SGBV within the ANDSF, the implementation of this activity will have dire consequences for recruited women.

Will the C-NAP effectively address WPS issues? Without specifically naming what the C-NAP intends to achieve, it will be difficult to determine how much progress has been made given the money, time and other resources put into its implementation. More concerning is the lack of consistency—applying lessons learned, best practices, and recommendations throughout the plan would make an impactful change to a complex endeavour. The result may be the C-NAP undermining the very agenda it intends to support.

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Murray, T. *Report on the Status of Women in the Afghan National Police*. Ottawa: Canadem. p. 29. *Retrieved from* https://canadem.ca/documents/Tonita_Murray_Survey_Women_in_ANP.pdf

[12] "Responding to Inappropriate Behaviour: Canada's National Action Plan On Women, Peace And Security 2017-2022: The implementation plans." http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/assets/pdfs/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/C-NAP_implementation_plans_eng.pdf p. 8

Canada's New National Action Plan on WPS: What's There and What's Missing?

Diana Sarosi

Canada's long-awaited second National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security for 2017-2022[1] was launched in November 2017 following months of continuous engagement between civil society and GAC, the lead architect of the plan. And it shows. The second iteration of the C-NAP is much more robust, addresses many of the challenges raised by civil society over the past few years and institutionalizes the relationship between government and civil society. In many ways it is ground-breaking, but gaps still remain. This article gives a short overview of the new C-NAP's strengths and weaknesses.

The new C-NAP is closely aligned with the strategic vision of the Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP)[2] by prioritizing the human rights and empowerment of women and girls. It is particularly encouraging that it recognizes the critical connection between gender equality and security and commits to promoting women's rights as a foundation for a more peaceful world. The new C-NAP puts women's groups and movements at the heart of conflict prevention and response. It does so by allocating 15% of peace and security funding to programs that target women and gender by 2021 and an additional 80% to peace and security programming that integrates gender. This is a welcome departure from the past, in which funding for gender equality and women's rights programming made up a small percentage of international assistance. It is now important to develop a consistent gender marking system that aligns with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC) and the rest of the department, and to expedite partnerships with women's rights organizations.

> *The action plan fails to commit dedicated funding for women's organizations in conflict settings*

While the additional funding for gender programming is welcome, it is disappointing that the action plan fails to commit dedicated funding for women's organizations in conflict settings.

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[1] Global Affairs Canada. (2017). *Gender Equality: A Foundation for Peace.*

[2] Government of Canada. (2017). *Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy.* Ottawa. Retrieved on 14 March 2018, from http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/priorities-priorites/policy-politique.aspx?lang=eng

Grassroots women's organizations play a unique and widespread role in conflict prevention and response.[3] It is critical that this important work is supported, politically and financially.

Civil society has played an instrumental role in the development of the new C-NAP over the past year. This is acknowledged in the action plan. The Women, Peace and Security Network Canada (WPSN-C) is highlighted not only as a strong partner in the development of the C-NAP but also in its implementation as co-chair of the action plan's advisory group. The advisory group is tasked with meeting regularly to "exchange experiences and best practices, discuss challenges and develop innovative solutions" for implementing the C-NAP. Given that the WPSN-C is a volunteer network of women, peace and security experts, GAC should commit to resourcing the network. The network will play a key role in building the capacity of government departments to implement the C-NAP and that work should be adequately remunerated.

Civil society has been advocating for a more robust C-NAP[4] and a stronger whole-of-government approach. This has been addressed in the new C-NAP with the inclusion of an unprecedented number of implementing departments. Alongside GAC, DND/CAF and the RCMP, who previously had and will continue to have implementation responsibilities, three additional departments–SWC, IRCC and PCB–have been tasked with C-NAP implementation.

Leadership on the women, peace and security agenda has also been strengthened through the appointment of designated champions within each department, and a cross-department advisory board at the director-general level that will support greater coordination, cohesion and accountability. These additions should increase efficiency and effectiveness. However, it will require substantial leadership to see the plan to success. The appointment of a high level champion on WPS would have helped to further strengthen C-NAP implementation and raise its visibility.

The appointment of a high level champion on WPS would have helped to further strengthen C-NAP implementation

One of civil society's key criticisms has been the fact that the WPS agenda has been fairly siloed within GAC in the past, along with the lack of capacity within the departments.[5] To prevent this moving forward, more effort has to be made to increase the capacity and knowledge of the WPS agenda and Canada's efforts across all departments. It is encouraging to see that the new C-NAP includes a theory of change, and that each department is expected to develop annual implementation plans demonstrating how their actions contribute to the five objectives of theory of change. This should support a greater sense of ownership of the C-NAP among the various implementing departments, as well as empower these departments to identify their own priorities and contributions. The action plan also commits the government to more training and capacity building, to ensure it can deliver on its goals. It is

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[3] O'Reilly, M., Suilleabhain, A. O., and Paffenholz, T. (2015). *Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes.* New York: International Peace Institute.
[4] WPSN-C. (28 April 2016). Brief Presented to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development for their study on Women, Peace and Security. Ottawa. Retrieved on 14 March 2018, from https://wpsncanada.files.wordpress.com/2016/04/wpsn-c-faae-brief.pdf
[5] WPSN-C. (29 July 2016). *Submission by the Women, Peace and Security Network-Canada to the Global Affairs Canada International Assistance Review.* Ottawa. Retrieved on 14 March 2018, from https://wpsncanada.files.wordpress.com/2012/05/wpsn-c-iar-submission.pdf

critical that a robust evaluation and learning mechanism is set up to ensure lessons learned are regularly incorporated and reflected in the implementation plans.

Civil society has also been pointing to the lack of domestic considerations in the previous C-NAP, including addressing women's insecurity in Canada.[6] While the inclusion of the specific security challenges faced by indigenous women in Canada, including SGBV, in the new C-NAP is encouraging, it was hoped that Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development would join as an implementing partner in order to integrate a domestic agenda into the action plan. Moving forward, GAC should continue conversations with Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development in order to integrate the department within the C-NAP and to develop a clear plan to advance the WPS agenda within Canada.

Despite strong progress in some areas, the new C-NAP has some key gaps that should be filled in the coming years. For example, the C-NAP fails to highlight the connection between the WPS agenda and issues such as the role of the extractive industry in conflict settings, the growing displacement and migration crisis and the security dimensions of climate change. The decision to make the new C-NAP an evergreen document, which will allow for further input and modifications, hopefully means that there will be space in the future to address emerging challenges.

The new C-NAP provides a solid framework for Canada to take a leadership role in the advancement of the WPS agenda. Both the C-NAP and the FIAP take a progressive approach to gender equality at a time when women's rights are under threat around the globe. It is therefore disappointing that both the C-NAP and FIAP were announced without any dedicated and additional resources to ensure impact and success. This lack of resources does not bode well for a government that touts itself as a feminist foreign policy champion. Canada's defence policy came with an investment of $60 billion dollars.[7] Increased resourcing of the C-NAP and FIAP would ensure greater impact in tackling the root causes of conflict and violence. An investment in the C-NAP and FIAP will lay the foundation for a more stable and peaceful world.

> *… both the C-NAP and the FIAP were announced without any dedicated and additional resources to ensure impact and success*

Lastly, Canada must do more to ensure coherence across aid, diplomacy, trade and defence. Canadian arms exports to Saudi Arabia have increased by 47% in 2016.[8] The Saudi led coalition against the Houthi in Yemen is causing a humanitarian disaster. Millions of women and children are at the brink of starvation.[9] A key pillar of the WPS agenda is the prevention of conflict, which includes de-militarization, tackling root causes and strengthening non-violent conflict resolution. The focus of the new C-NAP on achieving sustainable peace, by

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[6] WPSN-C. (December 2015). *Looking Back, Looking Forward: Reflections on Canada's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security.* Ottawa. Retrieved on 14 March 2018, from https://wpsncanada.files.wordpress.com/2015/12/lblf-final.pdf

[7] Leblanc, D. and Chase, S. (7 June 2017). *Ottawa lays out $62-billion in new military spending over 20 years.* Toronto: The Globe and Mail. Retrieved on 14 March 2018, from https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/ottawa-lays-out-62-billion-in-new-military-spending-over-20-years/article35231311/

[8] Naumetz, T. (9 November 2017). *Canadian military exports to Saudi Arabia exploded in 2016.* Ottawa: iPolitics. Retrieved on 14 March 2018, from https://ipolitics.ca/2017/11/09/canadian-military-exports-saudi-arabia-exploded-2016/

[9] Erickson, A. (19 November 2017). *Yemen is on the brink of a terrible famine. Here's how things got so bad.* Washington, DC: The Washington Post. Retrieved on 14 March 2018, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/11/19/yemen-is-on-the-brink-of-a-horrible-famine-heres-how-things-got-so-bad/?utm_term=.85ec4b1f5714

eliminating the structural inequalities that lead to conflict and strengthening society's ability to resolve conflict peacefully, needs to be prioritized.

Leaving Humanitarians Behind: C-NAP Silences and WPS in Humanitarian Response

Margaret Capelazo

According to the [Agenda for Humanity](), leaving no one behind in an emergency includes empowering women and girls (p. 8).[1] This is a clear humanitarian call to attend to gender issues in times of crises. Outside of this statement, the system for responding to humanitarian crises remains weak from a gender equality perspective. Gender equality does not have a designated organization to lead the charge. All too often, gender is mainstreamed into oblivion, subsumed under the protection cluster or conflated with SGBV prevention and response. This means that there is no humanitarian home base for the WPS agenda. Similarly, the WPS agenda, an agenda that is an integral part of and not separate from doing good gender transformative work across the relief to development continuum, is often referred to without tailoring to the humanitarian context *per se,* missing important nuance that is required in times of acute crisis.

A national action plan on UNSCR 1325 is an opportunity to bridge the WPS and 'gender in emergencies' silos and to push the international community to leave no woman or girl behind. Does the C-NAP set Canada up to do this? Does the C-NAP describe clear and specific targets and rely on proven high quality gender equality programing to implement the WPS agenda in humanitarian settings?

As noted previously in this compilation, *Gender Equality: A Foundation for Peace* (2017) sets an overall goal of gender transformation, even in humanitarian crisis (p. 2, 3 and 4).[2] It includes an explicit high level goal to "meet the specific needs of women and girls in humanitarian settings, including the upholding of their sexual rights and access to sexual and reproductive health services."[3] This is a triple win, acknowledging the uniqueness of gender issues in times of humanitarian crisis, bringing sexual and reproductive health needs to the front of humanitarian response, and framing WPS work within the broader umbrella of good gender equality programming.

Missing Strong Gender in Humanitarian Targets

Unfortunately, the GAC addendum to the implementation plan does not set up policy makers or program managers to capitalise on this win. It lacks more than one specific target related to

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[1] Annan, K. (2016). *Agenda for Humanity: Annex to the Report of the Secretary General for the World Humanitarian Summit*. New York: United Nations. Retrieved from
https://www.agendaforhumanity.org/sites/default/files/AgendaforHumanity.pdf
[2] Global Affairs Canada. (2017). Gender Equality: A Foundation for Peace.
[3] Ibid., p. 10

humanitarian work and conflates work in development, humanitarian and fragile and conflict affected state (FCAS) settings.

With the goal of having "80% of global humanitarian assistance funding partly or fully [integrating] gender equality by 2021,"[4] target 1.3 is GAC's only result specifically related to humanitarian programming. The target talks about supporting GAC's partners to improve their humanitarian program quality, which is critical, but it does not set results that describe what fully integrating gender equality practically looks like in a humanitarian context. Although more concerned with SGBV and sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), targets 1.5 and 1.6 are more descriptive of good humanitarian work. [5] They call for promoting the use of the Inter-agency Standing Committee guidelines, for supporting partners to provide or improve health and rights services in humanitarian contexts, and for tracking related funding. These are the only two targets to include wording or activity descriptions that clearly distinguish between working in fragile development or in humanitarian contexts.

The remainder of the addendum is either silent regarding WPS activities specific to humanitarian contexts or subsumes these activities under development or fragile and conflict affected states language and programming. For example, with the exception of targets 1.5 and 1.6, none of the targets related to SRHR reference SRHR in humanitarian settings (meaning that there are only two measures of success to one of the key objectives in the C-NAP). Of the five targets related to supporting women's rights organizations (WROs), only the one for Colombia mentions WPS and none of them reference building WRO humanitarian capacity. In terms of country or region specific programming, the Middle East section notes new funding for support to partners doing SRHR in humanitarian settings in the pre-amble but does not provide a related target.[6] Two

The Global Affairs addendum is largely silent regarding WPS activities specific to humanitarian contexts or subsumes these under development or fragile and conflict affected states language and programming.

targets reference strengthening general gender integration and gender equality program management without specific reference to gender equality in humanitarian work. This leaves humanitarians working in one of the most complex crises of our times with no clear and specific directive for addressing the WPS and gender in emergencies nexus. The South Sudan pre-amble does not mention humanitarian crisis, and target and activity descriptions use development language.[7] The Democratic Republic of the Congo pre-amble mentions humanitarian work, but the targets and activities do not include a focus on preventing and responding to SGBV in humanitarian settings.

These examples show that the C-NAP contains a significant gap in clearly describing specific activities or indicators to support humanitarians in designing and managing policy or programming that attends to WPS issues in times of crisis. Doing WPS work in these times is about more than just preventing and responding to SGBV or SRHR needs. It is about meeting women's and girls' peace and security needs in *all* humanitarian sectors and about responding to and challenging deeply rooted gender inequalities that impact peace regardless

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[4] Global Affairs Canada. (2017). Canada's National Action Plan: Global Affairs addendum. p. 4.
[5] Ibid., p. 5-6
[6] Ibid., p. 25
[7] Ibid., p. 32-33

of whether a country is in crisis or not. WPS programming in humanitarian contexts needs to go beyond these two traditional "women's sectors." By conflating development, humanitarian and FCAS work, the C-NAP does not provide clear guidance on how to do this over the next five years. While there is value to taking a relief to development approach to gender equality and WPS work, that approach still needs to clearly delineate targets for gender work in times of acute crisis beyond the health and protection clusters. Furthermore, humanitarian crises and WPS issues are not the exclusive property of FCAS. When humanitarian situations arise in other states, GAC implementers require clear and specific activities and targets to guide their implementation of WPS policy and programs in these circumstances. In sum, the C-NAP has missed an opportunity to meet the World Humanitarian Summit's Agenda for Humanity because it does not clearly identify how WPS activities and agenda items will be addressed in humanitarian settings.

Holding Canada to Account: Steps to Strengthen C-NAP Results Measurement

Sophia Papastavrou

For successful implementation of the C-NAP, monitoring and, more specifically, evidence-based research is at the heart of humanitarian standards - with gender mainstreaming at its core. In order to ensure accountability, specific monitoring and evaluations standards that make all beneficiaries accountable must be outlined. The C-NAP theory of change has partially captured this. In terms of outcomes, however, a clear plan of appropriate evidence-based research with gender integration at its core remains quite elusive and ad-hoc.

Including monitoring into the C-NAP to effectively carry out evidence-based implementation is paramount. For effective change to occur, C-NAP requirements must be in line with international minimum standards for mainstreaming gender equality. Gender sensitive monitoring and evaluation is influential in how the C-NAP will meet the diverse needs of women and girls and the impact it has on their lives. For example, failure to use sex- and age-disaggregated data or to conduct gender analyses can result in misguided interventions that fail vulnerable groups of women and girls or put them at risk. The systematic use of sex-disaggregated data allows for more effective and efficient interventions, affects positive changes in the lives of individuals, and reinforces basic human rights in a situation where these rights are often brushed aside.

A strong emphasis on integrating a gender analysis needs to be made, as does an emphasis on using sex- and age-disaggregated data regularly to assess differences and constraints that different groups may face relative to others. This will allow the C-NAP to adapt as needed and to ensure more equitable participation, access and agency for all by developing gender equality indicators and programs with clearly identified gender equality goals, and performing risk assessments and developing corresponding mitigation and response strategies. Gender equality must be integrated throughout the entire program management cycle, with a special focus on how C-NAP interventions assist in identifying and responding to the needs of the most vulnerable and marginalized women and girls. Collecting sex- and age-disaggregated data, developing compendia of gender sensitive indicators, and performing gender analysis ensures that Canada can maintain international standards for gender mainstreaming in women, peace and security work.

> *Gender sensitive monitoring and evaluation is influential in how the C-NAP will meet the diverse needs of women and girls and the impact it has on their lives.*

Moving forward, a strong design, monitoring and evaluation (DM&E) framework includes:

- establishing monitoring and evaluation mechanisms that include a gender based DM&E protocol to be followed by all beneficiaries;
- developing a compendium of gender sensitive indicators that reflect the WPS agenda and are specific to the C-NAP;
- conducting capacity building programs for effective C-NAP monitoring, evaluation and reporting; and
- incorporating the C-NAP in periodic and sectorial plans, with a specific focus on budgeting for appropriate development of design, monitoring and evaluation frameworks.

International Deployment Commitments in the C-NAP: The Importance of Addressing Impact

Kristine St-Pierre

An important part of Canada's new National Action Plan on WPS is the specific commitments that relate to international deployments of Canadian military and police personnel. International deployments can take many forms ranging from short-term training and individual secondment to peace support training centres, to longer-term deployments as part of bilateral, peacekeeping or other missions. These commitments are primarily undertaken by the DND/CAF and the RCMP, and make up an integral part of Canada's efforts under the C-NAP.

A major commitment by both departments is to increase the number of women deployed to international operations and enhance personnel's ability to take on gender advisor roles and deliver gender-sensitive programming. DND/CAF commits to "promote and increase the number of uniformed women deployed to international operations (NATO, UN, and Coalition)" (p. 17) [1] as well as "identify prospective staff to serve as gender advisors (GENADs) to be able to grow the capability" (p. 18). The RCMP for its part commits to "deploy at least 20% Canadian women police to peace operations/missions under the IPP Program, including in senior and/or influential positions" (p. 28).

Both departments also put important emphasis on enhancing the knowledge and abilities of male and female personnel, calling for continuous education and for revising pre-deployment training as well as finding mechanisms of supporting those deployed. For example, DND/CAF commits to "provide continuous education of gender based issues including education and awareness of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA), as well as sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) reporting mechanisms, to all staff expected to deploy on operations" (p. 13) and to "encourage staff to seek GFP [gender focal point] training and education" (p. 18). The department also commits to updating the Chief of the Defence Staff directive "to ensure that leaders know the requirement to have GENADs and GFPs" (p. 18). The RCMP for its part commits to developing a mechanism to "provide technical support and expertise on gender-based issues and gender-sensitive programming to Canadian police deployed to a peace operation/mission" (p. 27), and to "review pre-deployment training on WPS and gender-based analysis plus (GBA+) to enhance the knowledge and abilities of

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[1] Global Affairs Canada (2017). *Canada's National Action Plan: The implementation plans.* The next nine quotations are derived from the same source.

Canadian police to undertake gender-sensitive programming in mission/deployment abroad" (p. 27).

Another important commitment has to do with building the capacity of other organizations, with DND/CAF committing to "enhance Defence Department knowledge of gender" (p. 13) in peace support training centres and the RCMP to "continue collaboration with the UN, police-contributing countries and other partners to foster the participation of women in peace operations/missions" (p. 29). The chart below provides a summary of DND/CAF and RCMP deployment targets.

C-NAP International Deployments-related Targets

DND/CAF

1. Assess current Gender and GBA+ training and scope any additional training required.
2. Promote and increase the number of uniformed women deployed to international operations (NATO, UN, and Coalition).
3. Support the number of staff employed as Gender Advisors (GENAD).
4. Gender Advisors and /or Gender Focal Points (GFP) are fully integrated in all operations (Domestic and International).

RCMP

1. Enhanced ability of Canadian police officers deployed to peace operations/missions to deliver gender-sensitive programming in fragile and conflict-affected states.
2. Deploy at least 20% Canadian women police to peace operations/missions under the IPP Program, including in senior and/or influential positions.
3. Continued collaboration with the UN, police-contributing countries and other partners to foster the participation of women in peace operations/missions.

With these commitments, the C-NAP has the opportunity to help address important gaps in terms of gender and peacekeeping, as identified in high-level reports such as the [Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on Peacekeeping Operations](#) (2015) and the [Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Security the Peace](#) (2015).[2]

However, what appears to be missing from DND/CAF's and RCMP's implementation plans is the need for ongoing gender and intersectional analyses. One of the recommendations from the April 2017 joint government-civil society consultation on a new C-NAP highlighted the need to take an intersectional feminist approach that seek to understand the gendered dimensions and gendered impacts of conflict as well as address, to the extent possible, "the root causes of insecurity and conflict by using structural and systemic inequalities and power

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[2] For example, the need for more women in peacekeeping and for greater gender expertise to mainstream gender. See: High-Level Panel (2015). *Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (HIPPO)*, New York: United Nations; and Radhika Coomaraswamy (2015). *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325*. New York: UN Women.

relations as a starting point for action" (p. 5)[3,4] Taking such an approach is especially important when implementing gender responsive programming.[5]

Also missing from the plans is the emphasis on a longer-term approach to the C-NAP commitments, including training and skills development, as well as a longer-term assessment of the impacts, both positive and negative, of these commitments.[6] For example, one of the areas where Canadian police officers have made a difference in the last few years - and which is expected to continue under the new C-NAP - is in boosting the number of female police officers in peacekeeping missions by supporting the UN's all-female Selection Assistance and

… missing from the plans is the emphasis on a longer-term approach to the C-NAP commitments, including training and skills development, as well as a longer-term assessment of the impacts

Assessment Team (SAAT) training project. According to one Canadian report, following the training, "[p]ass rates increased from 35 per cent to 80 per cent of candidates in Rwanda and from 36 per cent to 80 per cent in Burkina Faso."[7] But there is no mention of whether these women were actually deployed, and if so, whether they were able to succeed once in mission. There would be tremendous value in pursuing this analysis to ensure a more accurate picture of the initiative's impact, including potential gaps that need to be addressed.

Another example has to do with strengthening gender expertise in peacekeeping missions – a critical aspect of WPS resolutions and a major mechanism in helping missions mainstream gender. The C-NAP's focus on enhancing gender expertise and developing gender advisors is especially relevant given the current vulnerability of gender units and senior gender positions due to budget cuts to missions as a whole.[8] Given the emphasis placed on education and training, and on developing gender expertise within the C-NAP, it would make sense to view the development of technical gender capacity and expertise as a long-term investment in military and police personnel so that they can better perform in mission, but also bring back a new set of skills upon their return. Similarly, DND/CAF and the RCMP should ensure all personnel taking on strategic advisory positions receive additional training prior to departure,

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[3] WPSN-Canada (2017). Looking Back, Looking Forward: Report of the Joint Government-Civil Society Consultation on a New Canadian National Action Plan (C-NAP) for the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, Ottawa: WPSN-Canada. The report defined an intersectional feminist approach as "a broad, transformative, systemic approach, that includes clear gender analysis in terms of programming and policies that go beyond men and women to include identity, age, diversity, accessibility, etc."

[4] The need for gender-sensitive analysis was reiterated in the HIPPO and Global Study, and it was one of the main recommendations from the April 2017 joint government-civil society consultation on a new C-NAP. For elaboration, see WPSN-Canada (2017). *Looking Back, Looking Forward.* p 5.

[5] The HIPPO also stressed the importance of gender-sensitive analysis, which "should be conducted throughout the mission planning, mandate development, implementation, review and mission drawdown processes. This requires that the analysis and planning capacity called for in paragraph 166 and missions have the requisite gender and conflict analysis capability and draw upon expertise from local women leaders, women's organizations, relevant UN entities and other partners" (p. 68).

[6] While these considerations could also apply to the C-NAP as a whole, the specific focus taken here is on actions geared toward international deployments.

[7] Martine Courage (2015). "Making an Impact: Canadian police join unique international partnerships," in *Built on Trust* (Gazette magazine, Vol. 77, No. 1), http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/en/gazette/making-impact.

[8] Aïssata Athie and Sarah Taylor (2017). *UN Peacekeeping: Where is the Gender Expertise*. New York: International Institute for Peace. According to Athie and Taylor, while budget cuts affect missions as a whole, "gender expertise and analysis in peacekeeping missions appear to be particularly vulnerable," as seen with the downgrading of senior gender adviser's role in the mission from the "usual and highest-level of P5" to "a middle-ranked P3 professional level."

in addition to ongoing support throughout their deployment, to ensure their influence and leverage in the mission.

By addressing these gaps, DND/CAF and the RCMP will be able to ensure more accurate results when it comes to the impact of their commitments—by going beyond just counting the number of women deployed or gender advisers trained and by looking at the actual impact of their actions.

Conclusion

Beth Woroniuk

We recognized that to be effective and durable, initiatives addressing peace and security challenges need to support women's equal and meaningful participation at all levels of decision-making processes, address women's and girls' needs and respect their rights, including their security and safety, and facilitate their access to and control of resources and the benefits of peace in line with UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and other relevant resolutions. The G7 members are committed to implementing those resolutions and their respective National Action Plans on women, peace and security. We underscored the strategic importance of enhancing the integration of a gender perspective into policies and initiatives, and we look forward to the contributions of the Gender Equality Advisory Council to this endeavour. We expressed our will to support a concrete and transformative approach and identify policy options accounting for gender mainstreaming and inclusion.

- *G7 Foreign Ministers Communique (April 2018)*

There is no doubt that women, peace and security (WPS) issues now have a higher priority within the Canadian government's foreign policy agenda as compared to five years ago. Canada championed gender equality issues during the G7 presidency which resulted in the agreement noted above and specific WPS commitments: the G7 WPS partnerships initiative and a proposed meeting of women foreign ministers.

There are other examples of new WPS initiatives. In November 2017, Canada announced the Elsie Initiative, aimed at increasing the number of women deployed in peacekeeping missions. Gender issues were highlighted in a briefing on Canada's peacekeeping mission in Mali, and the Government even championed a gender perspective in disarmament discussions. Canada's strong stand on sexual and reproductive rights is also a major step forward.

Women, peace and security issues figure prominently in Canada's move towards a feminist foreign policy. At a panel during the Commission on the Status of Women in March 2018, Chrystia Freeland, Minister of Foreign Affairs noted: "Through our feminist foreign policy, Canada integrates gender equality into diplomacy, into trade, into security and into our development efforts."

Yet there is much debate within Canada and globally on what exactly a feminist foreign policy is and what it involves. Sweden has outlined what it sees as key elements of such a policy, but we have yet to see a similar policy paper or clarity from the Canadian government.

This collection started with a reflection on the dramatic difference between the launch of Canada's first Women, Peace and Security National Action Plan (C-NAP) in 2010 and the updated NAP last November. Contributors highlighted important issues regarding the new NAP including its assumptions, effectiveness and impact, as well as missed opportunities.

We will be monitoring the government's actions and reports to see if and how these issues are addressed.

In addition to the specific questions and points raised by the authors in the preceding chapters, there are broad areas for follow-up and monitoring moving forward – on feminist foreign policy generally and on Canada's National Action Plan on WPS specifically.

> ### *Support and funding for women's rights organizations building peace:*

During the consultations on the new C-NAP, Canadian civil society organizations repeatedly [emphasized] the importance of increasing support to women peacebuilders and women's organizations. The C-NAP does commit Canada to advocating for "the meaningful participation of women, women's organizations and networks in peace processes" and increasing programming to advance the WPS agenda "including support to local women's organizations." (p.12)

In June 2017, as part of the announcement of the Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP), the government committed $150 million to women's rights organizations (Women's Voice and Leadership). Hopefully Canada's investments in women's organizations building peace will be over and above this commitment that predates the C-NAP.

The C-NAP also commits the $150 million Peace and Stabilization Operations Program to dedicate 15% of its funding to initiatives that specifically target WPS issues (and ensuring that 80% 'integrate WPS activities') by 2021-22. Ideally a significant percentage of this $22.5 million will go to women's civil society organizations.

We look forward to the reporting on how this has been carried out and hope to see major, new and ongoing investments in these organizations.

> ### *Investments in non-military solutions and conflict prevention:*

Another key recommendation from Canadian civil society in advance of the launch of the C-NAP was for greater investments in conflict prevention and addressing the root causes of armed conflict. Rachel Vincent of the Nobel Women's Initiative (a WPSN-C member) has [argued] that a feminist approach involves not just adding more women to current military institutions. She notes that Canada's imbalance in military and development spending, arms exports, and policies relating to Canadian mining companies must all be tackled as part of the Canadian WPS agenda.

Canadian organizations have also raised concerns regarding the [lack of Canadian support] for the treaty to ban nuclear weapons and Canada's [approach] to the arms trade treaty.

> ### *Consistency across all areas of foreign and security policy:*

Whilst signature initiatives (such as the Elsie Initiative) are important, more work is required to ensure robust attention to WPS issues across all policy areas. Increased capacity across government is required to ensure that the WPS 'reflex' is well developed and used consistently. It is important to ensure that strong WPS approaches to country situations (for example, the Rohingya crisis, Canada's relations with Ukraine, or addressing the Korean peninsula) as well as major initiatives (such as

border security and radicalization leading to violence) keep pace with general policy pronouncements.

This will require ongoing capacity building and sharing across programs and departments.

➢ *'Integrating gender equality' versus feminist approaches:*

While a detailed dissection and hair-splitting discussion of terms and definitions may more be more profitably located in academic discussions, broad conceptual clarity on the content and goals of gender equality and feminist approaches is important.

Politicians and government officials often talk of 'integrating gender equality into' something (a policy, initiative, etc.). This language tends to focus on technocratic methodologies. This approach is problematic in other ways. There can be numerous interpretations of whether or not 'gender has been integrated'. For some, merely providing sex-disaggregated data and highlighting differences between women and men is sufficient. Others push the analysis further, arguing for attention to power inequalities as well as gender roles and relations, and ensuring that these are actually addressed in interventions (not just taken into account).

The CNAP calls for more than just a 'gender sensitive' approach to peace and security. "Canada's vision for WPS is part of the Government of Canada's feminist agenda, which prioritizes gender equality and the rights of women and girls at its core." (p.8)

While there may not be total agreement on what a [feminist foreign policy](#) involves, locating Canada's approach within a feminist tradition does highlight the need for a more activist (as opposed to merely technocratic) ambition. Ideally feminist analysis is a more overt political act, highlighting power relations, structural inequalities, intersectional issues, the importance of transformation, and a rights-based approach (among other elements). A feminist approach also requires more than analysis. It should include clear and consistent actions (based on this analysis) that lead to specific results.

There is a need to continually monitor program quality and results in order to understand the extent to which participating ministries and departments are truly implementing a feminist approach.

➢ *Domestic elements:*

Civil society organizations have consistently pointed out that the WPS agenda should not just be seen as something that happens internationally. They have highlighted Canada's crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, sexist patterns within our national security institutions, and refugee settlement as issues that should be addressed by Canada's WPS agenda.

The new C-NAP include some of these concerns, but does so inconsistently. While the updated C-NAP does include a broader range of government partners and references to Canada's 'own challenges' (primarily the situation of relations with Indigenous peoples), there are no specific actions to address the security challenges faced by Indigenous women in Canada.

The RCMP implementation plan references diversity and inclusion initiatives, but the focus is on the deployment of officers overseas. On the other hand, the DND/CAF

plan includes significant attention to recruitment and retention that reflects Canada's diverse population (in addition to significant attention to integration of gender perspectives in operational issues).

The Action Plan from Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada does include specific initiatives and discussions on how the WPS agenda relates to the department's use of GBA+ would be fruitful – both for learning across departments and for civil society practitioners.

> ### *Concrete progress:*

A final priority is reporting on results. While Network members do not expect results in the short-term, as the Action Plan is implemented, it will be important to see what is changing and actually achieved. It is vital that reporting go beyond anecdotal lists of statements or initiatives funded to outline how Canadian investments and actions are supporting broad results – and ideally – contributing to a more peace and equal world.

The first report on the C-NAP is expected in September 2018. While this first report will only cover a few months, it set the standard for reporting on the updated National Action Plan.

At the launch last November members of the WPSN-C applauded the new Plan. We welcomed the commitment to prompt annual reporting and the establishment of the Action Plan Advisory Group. We also noted that we would continue to push the Government on key issues and for progress on the priorities identified by our members and by women peacebuilders around the world. We are encouraged by the open dialogue to date on WPS issues at so many levels among civil society, government officials and political actors.

As pointed out by the authors of this collection and others, actual investments in WPS programming are not always clear, inconsistencies continue and there are doubts regarding the current capacity within departments. The updated C-NAP includes a bold political vision. It remains to be seen if this vision will be realized and whether or not implementation will live up to the ideals of a feminist foreign policy.

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