

EVALUATION DEPARTMENT



REPORT 5/2016



Annex 5: Case Study on Norway's Engagement in Women, Peace and Security

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Commissioned by
the Evaluation Department

Carried out by
FCG SIPU International AB (SIPU)
Overseas Development Institute (ODI)

Written by
Johanna Lindström, SIPU
Katie Skagerlind, SIPU

SEPTEMBER 2016

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Norad
Norwegian Agency for
Development Cooperation
www.norad.no
post-eval@norad.no

September 2016

Photo: Wayne Conradie/ picturingafrica.com (cover)
ISBN: 978-82-7548-835-8

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to Janne Horgheim Andresen at Norad, Marita Sørheim-Rensvik at MFA and Ragnhild Simenstad at the Permanent Mission of Norway to the UN for supporting this case study. The author would also like to acknowledge the input and time generously provided by all the interviewees. An earlier draft greatly benefited from comments from Helen Tilley, Pierre Robert and the whole evaluation team. Balbir Singh and his colleagues in the Evaluation Department at Norad provided valuable guidance and support to the team throughout the evaluation.

The evaluation was funded by Norad. All views, errors and omissions are those of the author. For more information, contact johanna.lindstrom@sipu.se

1. Introduction

1.1 BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

This report aims to assess the rationale for and nature of Norway’s engagement in the global women, peace and security (WPS) agenda, the outputs and outcomes of this engagement and the main factors driving the achievement or non-achievement of desired change.

It is part of a broader evaluation of Norway’s advocacy engagement from 2005 to 2014, conducted between July 2015 and March 2016. This evaluation has four main components: 1) a summary of Norway’s main advocacy engagements based on an analysis of the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation’s (Norad’s) Aid Statistics database; 2) thematic overviews of 11 issue areas (both presented in the inception report in October 2015); 3) more detailed case studies of four of these issue areas, of which WPS is one; and 4) an analysis of key trends and patterns across the four areas. The purpose of the case studies is to provide insights into the factors driving the effectiveness and sustainability of the advocacy outcomes and to contribute to

TABLE 1: EVALUATION QUESTIONS

1.	How persuasive was the reasoning behind Norwegian advocacy engagements? - What were Norway’s main engagements? - What was/is the nature of the advocacy engagement? - What were the decision process and information basis underlying the engagement? - To what extent did the policy context influence the timing of engagement? - Was the engagement adaptive to context and Norway’s comparative advantages and priorities?
2.	What were the achievements and challenges?
3.	What were the main drivers and constraining factors?
4.	How has Norway promoted the sustainability of achievements?

answering the four evaluation questions, as presented in Table 1.

The aim is to identify and understand the role of the main factors that determine the achievement of desired advocacy outcomes, with a particular focus on the role and contribution of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), Norad and their external partners in management of the advocacy engagements and the contribution of the decision-making process.

The evaluation will be used as evidence to inform managerial decisions on policy advocacy programming, in particular:

- The timing – that is, at what point in the policy process makes most sense to engage.
- The choice of institutional ‘channel’, or the way Norway could exert its influence.
- The design and management of a portfolio of advocacy activities.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

Each case study was allocated 14 days. Given the purpose of the evaluation and the time available, they are not exhaustive accounts of these very broad issue areas or Norway's engagement. Rather, they seek to take advantage of existing information, supplemented by a select number of interviews with key actors who could provide insights into decisions and processes that have been less well documented.

This report is based on a document review of speeches (Annex 3); grey and academic literature and organisation and initiative websites; and semi-structured phone interviews with 32 key informants (Annex 1). Interviews, lasting approximately one hour, were conducted by in person and by phone and followed a standard guide, which was adapted slightly to each specific case and interviewee. Norway's grant database 2005–2014 has also been examined, mostly as a source of triangulation to verify statements around specific programmes and organisations supported. The database has not been used to verify

funding flows to WPS, given the varying ways this is reported in the database. Annex 2 in this report includes a summary of advocacy grants in the WPS area that was used in the selection of in-depth case studies, but this does not represent the full range of activities.

This case study involved a visit to Norway to meet with key informants, including the Norwegian MFA, Norad, academic institutions and civil society organisations (CSOs), and a visit to New York to engage with key informants within the UN Secretariat, relevant country missions to the UN, UN Women, the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and CSOs. A number of remote interviews with key informants were also undertaken.

We employed a purposive sampling strategy, identifying individuals who were knowledgeable about the issue and evaluation questions and who represented a range of viewpoints. Norad and MFA provided initial suggestions of potential interviewees; this was supplemented by recommendations from others in order to provide a more balanced perspective.

Most respondents were in senior positions – senior advisers, heads of departments and a few heads of organisations. Of the key informants, 15 (63%) were based in Norway, 11 were affiliated with the Norwegian government, five were from other UN member states, six were from the UN, seven were from non-governmental organisations (NGOs), two were from academic institutions and one was from a consultancy firm.

Documents and interviews were hand coded according to the evaluation questions and emergent themes. Individual case studies were reviewed by the Norad/MFA focal point to identify any major gaps or misinterpretations.

Norway's advocacy in the area of WPS is broad and multifaceted. To narrow down this broad engagement, the case study focuses primarily on Norway's advocacy through the UN for increased participation of women in peace processes and peace-building, from 2005

to 2015.¹ It uses the examples of Colombia and South Sudan to show how Norway's longstanding country-level efforts in the area of WPS are linked to this normative agenda at the global and regional levels. Despite this attempt to narrow the scope of the case study, Norway's approach to advocacy is relatively holistic, meaning stakeholders spoke very much in general terms and highlighted engagement over a long period of time.

This is partly because of the long-term nature of Norway's advocacy engagement in the WPS agenda and as such the evaluation period from 2005 is somewhat arbitrary. It was difficult to assess the start of a particular advocacy engagement from this period; rather, the focus was on the continuation of an already mature engagement. Stakeholders also did not have the institutional memory to go back further than a few years, making assessment of the decision-making processes underlying engagements difficult. However, it is a relatively

well-documented engagement, and as such the case study also relies on existing research in this area.

Although an effort was made to focus on the links between the country and the global levels of advocacy efforts, this proved difficult in the time available and without travel to either Colombia or South Sudan. This means there is less focus on the results at country level than was originally intended.

1.3 WHAT IS THE WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA?

The global WPS agenda is a global normative agenda, specifically tied to UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, adopted in 2000, and its subsequent resolutions. The resolution and the overall agenda on WPS reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and post-conflict reconstruction

and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts towards the maintenance and promotion of peace and security.

¹ This case study extended the time period of the analysis to 2015 to capture recent developments.

This area is perhaps more related to foreign policy than development cooperation than the issues in the other case studies, although much of Norway's activities are funded from the official development assistance (ODA) budget. It also represents a juncture between hard (security policy) and soft (gender) politics and is also crosscutting, as it involves a consideration of gender in all aspects of peace and conflict resolution. Although the data on women as victims of conflict and the benefits of women's participation in conflict resolution have been improving over time, particularly in the past few years, this has traditionally been a sector with lack of data. Arguments used in advocacy have been based on norms, values and rights. Within Norway, this is not a contested agenda, but globally the picture is more diverse, with a number of supportive countries and some less supportive – among them countries (affected by conflict and not) that see the agenda as less relevant to their security policy.

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

Section 2 considers the context for the advocacy engagement, in terms of the global normative framework and its development.

Section 3 gives an overview of the development of the WPS agenda in Norway and Norway's global engagement and engagements in Colombia and South Sudan.

Section 4 presents an analysis of the findings by each of the evaluation questions and Section 5 presents the conclusions and lessons.

2. The global women, peace and security agenda

According to Tryggestad (2009), the WPS agenda, with UNSCR 1325 (2000) and its follow-up resolutions, has become firmly cemented on the international agenda as normative issue and part of formal UN discourse on security. As such, it is increasingly difficult for member states to ignore. This is seen as a remarkable achievement, given the normally strict separation between soft and hard policy issues, with security seen as a hard policy issue and women's issues and gender normally relegated to soft policy. The WPS agenda's coverage by the Security Council (SC) is seen as very important in relation to its rise on the international agenda. Box 1 presents the main provisions of UNSCR 1325.

BOX 1: UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION (UNSCR) 1325 MAIN POINTS

UNSCR 1325 (2000) calls for women's participation, women's protection and prevention of violence, sometimes called the Three P's, along with a fourth overarching principal: gender mainstreaming:

Participation of women at all levels of decision-making, including in national, regional and international institutions:

- In mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict.
- In peace negotiations.
- In peace operations, as soldiers, police and civilians.
- As special representatives of the UN secretary-general.

Protection of women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence, including:

- In emergency and humanitarian situations, such as in refugee camps.
- Through developing and delivering pre-deployment and in-theatre training to peace operations personnel on the rights of women and girls and effective protection measures.

Prevention of violence against women through the promotion of women's rights, accountability and law enforcement, including by:

- Prosecuting those responsible for war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity and other violations of international law.
- Respecting the civilian and humanitarian nature of refugee camps.
- Excluding sexual violence crimes from amnesty agreements, as they may amount to crimes against humanity, war crimes or genocide.
- Strengthening women's rights under national law.
- Supporting local women's peace initiatives and conflict resolution processes.

Mainstreaming gender perspectives in peace operations by:

- Appointing gender advisers to all UN peace operations.
- Considering the specific needs of women and girls in the development and design of policy in all areas.
- Incorporating the perspectives, contributions and experience of women's organisations in policy and programme development.

Source: UNSCR 1325 (2000); Miller et al. (2014).

In the 15 years since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, a policy-making structure around WPS has developed at the UN. The following key actors and structures can be discerned:

The UN Security Council:

- The five permanent members of the SC are China, France, Russia, the US and the UK. Within the SC, the UK is the ‘penholder’ on the thematic area of WPS. That is, the UK generates the first draft of any resolution related to the WPS agenda. The US and France are also seen as key supporters of the agenda.
- The rotating members are also of importance for the WPS agenda. Norway has not been a member since 2002.²
- Peacekeeping operations and political missions under the SC are also key actors – for instance the UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS).

² Norway’s membership has been in the following periods: 1949–1950, 1963–1964, 1979–1980 and 2001–2002.

In the **UN Secretariat**, the following are the key actors:

- Department of Political Affairs (DPA)
- Department of Peace Keeping Operations (DPKO)
- The Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SRSG/SVC).

UN Women is the key UN entity on WPS. UN Women’s mandate includes oversight of implementation of the resolutions. UNDP also has a key role in implementing and mainstreaming the WPS agenda, but its focus of operations is at country level. The advisory subsidiary body of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), under the UN General Assembly, is also a key actor.

UN member states:

- The Group of Friends of Women, Peace and Security is an informal group of member states advocating for increased focus on WPS. The group is coordinated by Canada and currently includes 48 member states, including Norway and the other Nordic countries. The group also includes UN

agency and civil society representatives.

Norway is represented by the Permanent Mission of Norway to the UN in New York.

Within this group, several members are seen to be strong in terms of advocacy and action on the WPS agenda.³

- Other member states, particularly those in conflict and post-conflict. For the purposes of this case study, Colombia and South Sudan are key member states.

Civil society:

- In New York, civil society is primarily represented by the NGO Working Group (NGOWG) on Women, Peace and Security, which has 14 members⁴ and monitors and advocates for action on WPS. The Global Network of

³ Countries currently identified as strong on WPS are: Netherlands, Ireland, Nordics (particularly Sweden, Norway, Finland), Germany, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Chile, United Arab Emirates, Japan, Canada, Italy, South Africa, Spain and Switzerland.

⁴ Amnesty International, Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, Femmes Africa Solidarité, Global Justice Center, Human Rights Watch, International Rescue Committee, Madre, Open Society Foundations, Oxfam International, Refugees International, Institute for Inclusive Security, Women’s Action for New Directions, Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, Women’s Refugee Commission.

Women Peacebuilders (GNWP)⁵, also has a head office in New York, and is a coalition of women's groups and other CSOs, aiming to bridge the gap between global policy and local action on WPS.

- The work of the UNSC on WPS is also monitored by the Security Council Report, which is a non-profit that monitors the work of the SC and its subsidiary bodies.⁶

Globally there are also a number of other key institutions and structures, but for the purposes of this report these are the key actors and structures. This list is not exhaustive.

In terms of policy-making processes and opportunities and timing to feed into formal processes, there are annual open debates in the SC on WPS, normally held in October. Within the SC, apart from scheduled closed meetings, there have also been so called 'Arria-formula meetings' on WPS. These are

very informal, confidential gatherings enabling SC members to have a frank and private exchange of views, within a flexible procedural framework, with persons whom the inviting member or members of the SC (who also act as the facilitators or convenors) believe it would be beneficial to hear and/or to whom they may wish to convey a message.⁷

UNSCR 1325 was adopted unanimously in 2000, and, although this case study does not go back as far as that, it is worth noting a few key issues surrounding its adoption. It is widely seen to be the result of a strategic and long-term advocacy push by the women's lobby, or, more specifically, a transnational advocacy network of women's and human rights NGOs,⁸ supported by a UN-initiated interagency network of women's advocates and a few UN member states, notably Namibia (holding the SC presidency at the time), Canada, Jamaica and Bangladesh (all three members of the SC

at the time), the Nordic countries, including Norway, the Netherlands and the UK. This latter group later formed the Group of Friends in New York (Miller et al., 2014; Tryggestad, 2009; 2014).

Some point to changing external developments as important factors in the adoption of the resolution, including the changed international security architecture, the changing nature of conflict and the widening of the concept of security, together with the increasingly influential role of NGOs in international relations. These meant changes on the agenda of the SC and the emergence of thematic resolutions, of which 1325 is one (Tryggestad 2009).

Since 2000, the external environment has continued to change. Although the number of conflicts has reduced, there is a perception that things are worse than ever, partly because of the media and mass communication. At the same time, in certain parts of the world, conflicts have changed in dramatic ways. Conflicts are more protracted and emerging issues around violent extremism and counter-terrorism have come to the fore. Fragile states have

5 GNWP is a programme of the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN).

6 <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/about-security-council-report.php>

7 <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/methods/bgarriaformula.shtml>

8 Miller et al. (2014) note the importance of the NGOWG in educating members of the SC leading up to adoption of the resolution.

increased in number and there has been a rise in the presence non-state actors. Coupled with this, multilateral processes are under stress and the SC can be seen as more polarised than when UNSCR 1325 was adopted in 2000 (UN Women, 2015a).

During this time, there have also been a number of follow-up resolutions, aimed at filling gaps and driving the WPS agenda forward. The first came nearly eight years after the original resolution, with 2008–2010 seeing a great deal of activity and four resolutions adopted. The activity in 2008–2010 is generally seen to have been influenced by increased attention to the systematic use of sexual violence in conflict, particularly in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). There was then a gap again until 2013, with another two resolutions adopted. See Box 2 for a summary of the provisions in these resolutions.

BOX 2: KEY POINTS OF UNSCR SUBSEQUENT TO UNSCR 1325

UNSCR 1820 (2008):

- Focus on need for protection of women from gender-based violence.
- Highlights women's victimisation versus women's empowerment.

UNSCR 1888 (2009):

- Promotes accountability mechanisms.
- Complements UNSCR 1820 on gender-based violence in conflict.
- Calls for appointment of a special representative of the UN secretary-general to advance the UN's work on sexual violence.

UNSCR 1889 (2009):

- Builds on the theme of increased implementation measures, complementing UNSCR 1325.
- Inclusion of concept of women's empowerment.

UNSCR 1960 (2010):

- Emphasis on the need to address sexual violence during conflict and by UN personnel/peacekeepers.
- Praises the work of gender advisers and anticipates the appointment of women protection advisers in peacekeeping missions; states asked deploy greater numbers of female police and military personnel in peacekeeping operations.

UNSCR 2106 (2013):

- Addresses impunity and operationalises guidance on sexual violence in conflict; no new concepts.

- Addresses areas of justice, women's empowerment, arms, women's human rights and civil society engagement.

UNSCR 2122 (2013):

- Builds on the participation elements of the WPS agenda and furthers implementation of UNSCR 1325.
- Substantially addresses issues of women's empowerment, access to justice, information and documentation of human rights violations, civil society engagement.
- Requests more briefings for the SC from various entities on issues of WPS.

UNSCR 2242

- A commitment to integrate a gender analysis on the drivers and impacts of violent extremism and greater consultations with women's organisations affected by this violence.
- Encourages ambitious new targets for numbers of female peacekeepers including through the use of incentives for troop-contributing countries; states the need for more senior women leaders in all levels of decision-making in peace and security.
- Highlights the need to address the critical funding gap for women's organisation. In this light it recognises the new Global Acceleration Instrument on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Engagement as an important tool to galvanise new resources and invites donors to track their aid against gender targets.

Source: Miller et al. (2014); author's summary of the resolutions.

2015 marked the 15th anniversary of the UNSCR 1325. This was marked by a High-Level Review of Women, Peace and Security. The Review included a SC open debate on 13 October and the launch of the independent global study on implementation of UNSCR 1325 on 14 October. The purpose of the Review was to assess progress at the global, regional and national levels in implementing UNSCR 1325 (2000), renew commitments and address obstacles that have emerged. There were many actions, initiatives and events around the world to mark the 15th anniversary. Many stakeholders interviewed noted that the open debate in the SC was for the very first time chaired by a head of state (Spain's prime minister), had a record number of speeches by member states on this issue (113) and included statements from three women civil society actors.

The global study (UN Women, 2015a) gives examples of a number of areas of progress in implementation, but also significant gaps, concluding that the gap between standards and guidelines and the reality on the ground is huge:

- Between 1990 and 2000, when the SC adopted 1325, just 11% of peace agreements signed included a reference to women. Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, 27% of peace agreements have referenced women. Of the six agreements resulting from peace talks or national dialogue processes supported by the UN in 2014, 67% contained references relevant to WPS. However, in 31 major peace processes between 1992 and 2011 only 9% of negotiators were women.
- The number of senior women leaders within the UN has been on the rise, from special envoys of the secretary-general to the first female commander of a peacekeeping mission. However, only 3% of the military in UN missions are women, and the majority of these are employed as support staff.
- Bilateral aid on gender equality to fragile states has quadrupled in the past decade, but from a very low starting point. However, funding or actual project and programmes is still very low, particularly at the national level. Although the normative framework includes

an encouragement of member states to formulate national action plans on WPS, only 54 countries have formulated such action plans. Many of these lack mechanisms for accountability and dedicated budgets.

- Despite a strong focus on the prevention of sexual violence in conflict, there are very few actual prosecutions of such crimes.

The global study provides a number of recommendations going forward. The follow-up resolution (UNSCR 2242) to the global study and the secretary-general's report on WPS had a record number of co-sponsors (71) (UN Women, 14 October 2015) and was unanimously adopted, drawing on these recommendations.

3. Overview of Norway's advocacy role

Norway has been engaged in the WPS security agenda since well before UNSCR 1325 and is described by some as a driver of its adoption in 2000, particularly through the support of the women's movement.⁹

Norwegian advocacy engagement in the area of WPS is very broad and covers a range of different engagements at any given time, using a variety of channels, tactics and targets. The content covers a range of different areas. In this case study, we focus on four areas of engagement: domestic advocacy, including within MFA; global advocacy through the UN; country-level advocacy in Colombia and South Sudan; and its links to the global level.

3.1 DOMESTIC ADVOCACY

Key to understanding the development of the WPS agenda from a Norwegian perspective is the role of domestic and internal advocacy within MFA and towards other key national structures, including other ministries and the

embassies. The role of the 1325 coordinator and key political figures is important in this context, but so is the role of Norwegian CSOs.

In terms of the policy structures and actors of relevance, the following are key within the Norwegian system:

The Norwegian government, with different ministries having different responsibilities for implementation:

- The Foreign Service: MFA has a number of sections working on issues related to WPS, including:
 - The Section for UN Policy; Department for UN and Humanitarian Affairs—where the 1325 coordinator is located.
 - The Section for Humanitarian Affairs; Department for UN and Humanitarian Affairs.
 - The Section for Peace and Reconciliation; Department for Regional Affairs.
 - Several other sections working on related issues, totalling nine, including the Sections for Global Security and Disarmament, Security Policy and North America.

- Embassies in conflict and post-conflict countries, particularly those in prioritised countries, and the Permanent Mission of Norway to the UN and other Permanent Missions to multilateral organisations.
- The Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces.
- The Ministry of Justice and Public Security and the Police.
- The Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion.
- Norad, which manages some civil society funding to WPS; the Section for Human Rights and Gender Equality provides MFA and embassies with technical support on WPS.

For advocacy purposes, the role of MFA is of key importance. In particular, the 1325 coordinator acts as an influencer within the organisation itself and towards embassies and the other ministries.

The Storting, the Norwegian Parliament, currently has no official role within the WPS agenda, but there is broad political consensus on WPS.

⁹ The actual role of Norway in the adoption of the original resolution has not been a subject of this case study.

Civil society:

- Civil society is represented by Forum Norway 1325,¹⁰ a group of 21 CSOs, established in 2004, that advocates for WPS issues.
- The Forum is coordinated by the Forum for Women and Development (FOKUS), which also implements a number of WPS programmes, funded by Norwegian ODA, including in Colombia. Other key organisations are Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) and Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), which have long engagements in both Colombia and South Sudan.

Academic institutions:

- The Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), which has a Research Centre on Gender, Peace and Security.
- The Norwegian Institute of International

Affairs (NUPI), which also does prominent research in the WPS area.

This list is not exhaustive, but includes the key actors.

In terms of policy-making processes and opportunities and feeding into formal processes, this varies over time and with different political constellations, but outside influence on the Norwegian WPS agenda seems focused on the National Action Plan (NAP) drafting process. Between 2005 and 2013, Jens Stoltenberg's cabinet formed the government, in a coalition between the Labour Party, the Socialist Left Party and the Centre Party, known as the Red-Green Coalition. Since 2013, Erna Solberg's cabinet has formed the government, in a centre-right coalition of the Conservative Party and the Progress Party.

As noted above, Norway is credited with playing a role in supporting adoption of UNSCR 1325 and has long given prominence to gender in conflict. However, as a prioritised political agenda, 2006 can be seen as somewhat of a

starting point, at least for this evaluation, with the launch of the first NAP on 1325. This was followed by two more action plans, with the latest launched in 2015. There is no specific advocacy strategy attached to this engagement, but these plans include implicit reference to advocacy as a strategy to fulfil desired results on WPS.

March 2006: The Norwegian government's NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security:

The NAP 2006 was drafted with support from experts on gender, peace and security at PRIO. There were also consultations with civil society regarding the content, through Forum Norway 1325. Norway was one of the first countries to develop a NAP on UNSCR 1325. In comparison with other NAPs developed at the time, Norway's is unique in specifying the different actions it will take in, or with, various multilateral organisations. Given the lack of an action matrix or table, the plan sometimes references specific implementing agencies and some indicators (Miller et al., 2014). At this time, Norway prioritised the 'participation' and 'protection' pillars over the third, 'prevention'.

¹⁰ Amnesty International, CARE Norway, Caritas Norway, Norges Kristne Råd (Christian Council of Norway), FN-Sambandet (UN Association of Norway), Digni, Forum for Women and Development (FOKUS), Health and Human Rights Info, IKFF (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom), KFUK-KFUM Global (YWCA-YMCA Global), Norwegian Afghanistan Committee, NCA, Norwegian Council for Africa, Norwegian Ecumenical Peace Platform, Norwegian Human Rights Fund, Norwegian Peace Council, NPA, Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), Plan International Norway, Red Cross, The Soroptimist Norway.

2011: Women, Peace and Security: Norway's Strategic Plan 2011–2013:

In 2011, a new Strategic Plan was launched, taking into account new related UNSCRs 1820, 1888, 1889 and 1960. This plan builds on the NAP from 2006, but, unlike the latter, includes a timeframe for action and expands the number of priority areas from three to five. In this plan, the focus is on the 'participation' pillar, but with prevention and protection focused on in relation to sexual violence in conflict. A marked difference with the previous NAP is that it includes a table for each priority area, which ensures it specifies roles and indicators across all the sub-activities. The outcomes identified are related mostly to the behaviour of policy actors, improved networks and systems for implementation/delivery and the capacity of actors to engage. However, these are not related directly to advocacy activities, but tend to focus on action further along the results chain (Box 3). There are 10 priority countries: Afghanistan, Colombia, DRC, Haiti, Israel and the Palestinian Territory, Liberia, Nepal, the Philippines and Sudan.

BOX 3: OUTCOMES IN WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY – NORWAY'S STRATEGIC PLAN 2011–2013

- More women participate in Norwegian and international delegations to peace negotiations and processes.
- Local women participate in peace processes and negotiations or in parallel processes where Norway is involved.
- A stronger gender perspective is integrated into peace agreements and peace processes where Norway is involved.
- Personnel in international operations where Norway is involved have knowledge of and competence in UNSCR 1325.
- The gender perspective is integrated into the implementation and evaluation of international operations.
- More women participate in international operations in general, particularly in operational positions and units.
- Local women participate in decision-making processes in post-conflict situations and peace-building efforts.
- Greater account is taken of women's rights and needs in security sector reform.
- Measures are implemented to prevent sexual violence in countries and areas where Norway is engaged.
- Victims of sexual violence in conflict have opportunities for rehabilitation in areas where Norway is engaged.
- Perpetrators are brought to justice at national level, and, where appropriate, at international level, in countries and areas where Norway is engaged.
- Reporting by ministries, subordinate agencies and actors that receive support related to UNSCR 1325 from the government is improved.
- Cooperation across sectors, ministries, research institutes and NGOs is established and coordinated.

2015: Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, 2015–2018:

The more recent Action Plan, launched in 2015, incorporates UNSCR 2122, and in this the number of priority countries has been reduced to five (Afghanistan, Colombia, Myanmar, Palestine and South Sudan). The aim is to work more strategically with these countries and to better link these efforts with global efforts. This plan is also an inter-ministerial action plan, where the Norwegian Ministries of Defence, Justice and Public Security and Children, Equality and Social Inclusion have different responsibilities but are also named as co-authors. This plan came later than anticipated; the previous one was meant to last only until 2013. From interviewees, our understanding is that this was related at least in part to the change in government; working started on this after a review of the previous Strategic Plan conducted during 2014, which made recommendations that shaped the new Action Plan. This NAP was also developed with civil society consultation and with inputs from the academic community. The new NAP has been complemented by a results framework and guidance document

aimed at supporting better implementation by the Foreign Service, translating Norway's policy into action at country level and adapting it to the situation in specific countries. These were completed and distributed in January this year but are not part of this review. Our understanding is these are not focused specifically on advocacy efforts but rather the whole WPS agenda. Annex 4 includes a summary of the three NAPs.

In 2008, the first MFA 1325 coordinator was appointed. The responsibilities of this role are to promote the topic of WPS; coordinate the work of MFA and of the other ministries involved; act as an information and expert resource on WPS within the ministry and for the embassies and other Norwegian bodies; and liaise with CSOs and centres of expertise. The position is focused on coordination: 'Norwegian missions abroad will be linked more closely to our strategic efforts through closer dialogue and cooperation, for example in connection with the development of the missions' work plans. Closer coordination and cooperation between the actors involved will

improve the flow of information and knowledge about initiatives on the ground, results and lessons learned' (MFA, 2011). However, according to staff who have filled this role, it is also explicitly an advocacy role: 'The position involves maintaining contact with internal and external partners, **promoting** the women, peace and security agenda, developing policy and providing expert advice' (MFA, 2015).

The total budget envelope for WPS, and WPS advocacy more specifically, is difficult to distinguish. Financing comes from a variety of different budget lines, including through the peace and reconciliation funds to embassies, through the so-called women's allocation (post 168), through the humanitarian allocation and through the security policy sections. There is also a specific civil society allocation on UNSCR 1325, administered by the Section for Peace and Reconciliation, MFA, until 2013, when it was transferred to Norad.

3.2 GLOBAL ADVOCACY

Advocacy engagements in WPS are concentrated on support to the UN's pivotal role in the

implementation of UNSCR 1325, for example by promoting the issue of WPS in UN bodies and other multilateral fora and in dialogue with countries in the south (MFA, n.d.).

The UN engagement is represented primarily by the Permanent Mission of Norway to the UN in New York. The Mission has one person dedicated to the WPS agenda, although this is currently combined with work on gender equality in general, as a focal point for UN Women and as press secretary. The ambassador and deputy ambassador also work actively on these issues, as does the political leadership, when present at the UN. As noted above on the NAPs, a number of implementing partners and advocacy targets relate to this level of engagement.

The NAPs explicitly target a number of UN institutions, as stakeholders interviewed confirmed: the SC, DPKO, DPA, PBC, UN Women and other entities related to peace and security.

In terms of partners, UN Women, UNDP, the UN special representative on sexual violence

in conflict, UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict and the UN Department of Political Affairs (UNDPA) are mentioned, as well as international CSOs, academic institutions and the Group of Friends, and in particular the other Nordic member states in this group, mentioned in Section 2 above (also see Annex 4).

3.3 COUNTRY-LEVEL ADVOCACY

In terms of country-level engagement, Norway has focused particularly on Afghanistan, Colombia, DRC, Haiti, Israel and the Palestinian Territory, Liberia, Myanmar, Nepal, the Philippines, Sudan and South Sudan. We discuss Colombia and South Sudan below.

Colombia and Women's Role

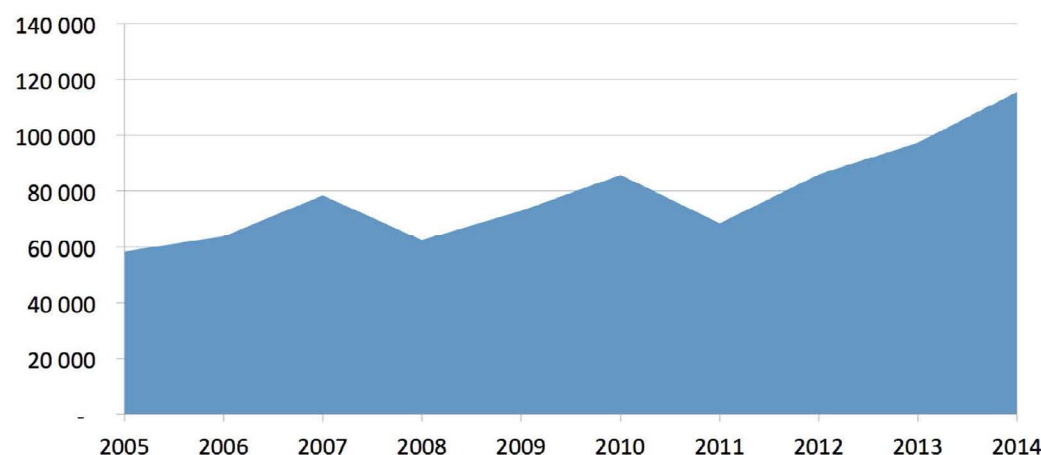
Colombia is interesting as an example because of Norway's longstanding engagement in the country, which has focused on areas of WPS for a long period of time. Norway has traditionally supported CSOs, including women's groups in the country – even before the current on-going peace process. In the new WPS NAP, Colombia is one of five priority countries. Over the period 2005–2014, Norwegian ODA to Colombia

amounted to NOK 788.7 million, the majority of which (NOK 464.2 million, or 59%) went to Norwegian NGOs. A total of 52% of funding goes to good governance, of which the majority is spent on conflict prevention and resolution, peace and security, particularly since 2009. Although funding was relatively stable, in the period before the peace talks were initiated (2008) Norway actually closed the Embassy, as part of an attempt to reduce the number of countries it engaged in in Latin America. In 2011 it reopened.

The peace negotiations between the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army (FARC) and the Colombian government were formally launched in Oslo in 2012, with Cuba and Norway as 'guarantors' (facilitators/mediators) and Venezuela and Chile as 'accompanying' governments.¹¹ They took place in Havana. One interview said Norway was credited as supporting the reinstatement of the peace process quietly during the period before 2012. Previous to this round of negotiations,

¹¹ <http://colombiapeace.org/timeline2015>

FIGURE 1: NORWEGIAN ODA TO COLOMBIA, 2005–2014 (NOK THOUSAND)



Source: Norad

Norway took part in several peace dialogues with the two guerrilla groups in Colombia (Pedersen, 2014).

As of early 2016, the parties have agreed to partial agreements in the following areas:

- Comprehensive agricultural development, addressing the need to reduce poverty and improve access to land.
- Political participation, to strengthen democracy in Colombia and facilitate future political participation by FARC.

- Resolving the problem of illicit drugs and drug victims' rights (ibid.).
- The rights of the victims, including an agreement to establish a special tribunal to prosecute those responsible for committing the most serious crimes (MFA, 2016-01-20). According to interviewees, in their discussions on victims' rights, both parties have clearly stated that they will accept responsibility for crimes committed during the conflict, and that they will not exchange impunities. Five delegations of victims have been received at the negotiating table in Havana. The parties have had a chance to listen to the victims' stories and input.

There are still discussions on-going with regard to ending the conflict. These relate to, among other elements, a bilateral and definitive cease-fire, the surrender of weapons, security guarantees and mechanisms for the implementation of the peace agreement. In January 2016, the SC adopted a resolution to establish a UN political mission, which will monitor and verify abdicate weapons and form part of the tripartite mechanism will

monitor and verify the ceasefire and the bilateral and final hostilities (MFA, 2016).

The original framework agreement from 2012 between FARC and the government did not mention women or gender, but the women's movement in Colombia were early advocates for a more inclusive process and a gender perspective in the peace process. Consultation processes took place and specific messages and recommendations were prepared for the negotiations. In 2013, the National Summit of Women and Peace was organised, with the participation of around 500 women from all over Colombia. This agreed three main messages: support for the peace process; demands for women's participation in all stages; and issues relating to how the conflict had affected women on the negotiating agenda (Norad, 2015).

Victims' rights have been central to the peace process. Five delegations of victims of the conflict have met negotiators to convey their experiences directly. According to one interviewee, the delegations have consisted of a majority of women (67%).

In September 2014, a sub-commission on gender was put in place, with the aim of protecting women's rights and gender equality in negotiations and to ensure the views of women were included (ECP, 2015; UN Women, 2015b). Interviewees note that innovative in this is that representatives from each of the parties are part of the sub-commission. Four female delegations have met negotiators and the sub-commission to put forward their perspectives, including women LGBTI activists and a demobilised woman.

An example is the mandate for the Truth Commission, adopted in June 2015. This says the gender perspective should be a crosscutting consideration throughout the Commission's work. A special working group under the Commission shall be established to ensure gender issues are addressed, for example through the organisation of special hearings with female victims of conflict. The parties agree to establish a special tribunal for those responsible for the gravest crimes in the conflict. The agreement states explicitly that it should not grant amnesty for such, including

sexual violence. This is in line with recommendations: representatives of the women's movement have promoted the parties (Norad, 2015; UN Women, 2015).

There is a growing awareness among the parties about the importance of including a gender perspective in the process. The peace negotiations are not complete and stakeholders argue it too early to say how well gender issues and women's rights are safeguarded. Parties' ability and willingness to implement the final agreement will in turn be decisive in whether the peace process has a positive effect on women's lives. It will also be important for the SC to include monitoring of the gender aspects of implementation in its peacekeeping mission.

Sudan/South Sudan and Women's Role

Norway has had a long engagement in South Sudan, during the conflict and before, as well as after independence. In the new WPS NAP, South Sudan is one of five priority countries.

From the 1970s onwards, several Norwegian NGOs (particularly NCA and NPA) had a strong presence in Southern Sudan, implementing large humanitarian and development programmes, with many expatriate Norwegians in residence. Norway established diplomatic relations with Sudan in 1999 and had chargés d'affaires/counsellors in the country from March 2003. In May 2004, an embassy was established in Khartoum.

During the peace talks initiated in the early 2000s, the main negotiator was Norwegian Hilde F. Johnson, at the time minister of international development. Johnson is generally credited with playing a pivotal role in the peace process, leading to completion of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) in 2005. In 2006, Norway set up a consulate general in Juba in Southern Sudan.¹²

¹² <http://www.sudansupport.no/>, accessed 8 January 2016

The talks were facilitated by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) under Kenyan leadership, and supported by a 'Troika' of the US, the UK and Norway. It is said that, here, personal relationships with the SPLM/A Chair, Dr John Garang, and Ali Osman Taha, First Vice President of Sudan, gave Hilde F. Johnson her unique access¹³ and provided the basis for her central role in the negotiations (Hernæs, 2014).

The peace agreement paved the way for the independence of South Sudan, in that it included provisions for a referendum for independence after six years. A separate government in the south received a large degree of autonomy, while a coalition government based in Khartoum led the country until elections in 2010 (Hernæs, 2014; Rolandsen, 2015). Norway has continued to be part of the Troika in its role as overseer of the peace agreement, through independence in 2011 and in the current internal hostilities. Hilde F. Johnson also continued her engagement in South Sudan,

¹³ Her father reportedly taught Dr John Garang during his school days.

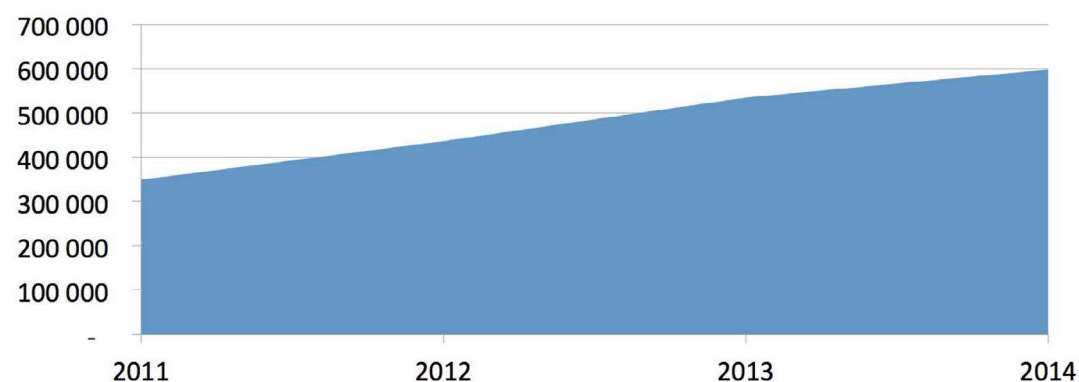
through her role as special representative for the UN secretary-general and head of UNMISS. She stepped down in 2014 (Hernæs, 2014).

During the period 2005–2011, Salva Kiir was president of the regional government of South Sudan. In January 2011, the South Sudanese voted overwhelmingly in favour of succession. Norway was the first foreign mission to open an embassy in Juba.

In December 2013, a new civil war broke out in South Sudan, following allegations of a coup attempt against Salva Kiir by former Vice President Riek Machar. Over the past two years, the war has continued between government forces and Riek Machar's faction, the SPLM (in Opposition).

Over the period 2011–2014, Norwegian ODA to South Sudan amounted to NOK 1.908.8, the majority of which (NOK 789.4 million, or 41%) went to Norwegian NGOs, with 36% to multilateral partners, including UNDP and UNICEF. By sector, 36% has gone on emergency assistance and 32% on good governance,

FIGURE 2: NORWEGIAN ODA TO SOUTH SUDAN, 2011–2014 (NOK THOUSAND)



Source: Norad

including conflict resolution. In 2014, much of the funding was redirected to emergency assistance, as the conflict erupted.

Norway hosted a donor conference on South Sudan in 2014.¹⁴ With the help of the Troika and the seven-member East African regional bloc IGAD, the warring parties signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement in August 2015,

¹⁴ <http://www.southsudanhumanitarianconference.org>

which is still holding (Troika, 2015). The aim is to form a unity government during 2016.

Women's groups are acknowledged to have played a major role in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005. Women were involved in the armed conflict, with roles ranging from combatants to providers of support to fighters. Women also took a leading role in creating links and forums to resolve inter-ethnic conflict, leading to many grassroots peace accords.¹⁵ In 2005, when the Oslo Donors' Conference on Sudan was held, there was a parallel Symposium on Women's Rights and Leadership in Post-Conflict Sudan, which discussed the outcome of a consultative process and presented recommendations as a set of Sudanese Women's Priorities and Recommendations.

However, despite the active role women played at various levels to bring peace to Sudan, official negotiations underestimated or ignored their role. It was not until the final stages of

¹⁵ <http://www.mwcoalition.org/quotas/id4.html>

negotiations that women's groups were able to organise and pressure both sides to adopt a gender-conscious peace process. The final Comprehensive Peace Agreement had over 70 sections that refer to women, including recognition of gender-based violence and the recommendation that women be involved in drafting legislation (Itto, 2006).

Since the outbreak of internal hostilities in 2013, women's organisations have joined a coalition and have been jointly advocating for peace and for women's inclusion in negotiations, including lobbying the Troika, IGAD and the African Union (AU).¹⁶ This has led to both sides actually having women representatives and delegations present at the peace talks, to give women a place in implementing the agreement but also ensuring women all over the country feel the benefits of peace on a daily basis. The women's organisations involved base their work on UNSCR 1325, arguing for the necessity of an inclusive peace

16 The Sudan Task Force for Engagement of Women in Sudan and South Sudan. Individual organisations include EVE Organization for Women Development, for example.

process to ensure the peace is sustainable.¹⁷ One interviewee also pointed to women's strong advocacy for peace and cessation of hostilities as one of the reasons the peace agreement was reached at all. There is now a Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission that will oversee implementation of the peace agreement; this includes two female members.

While many in South Sudan welcomed the agreement reached in August 2015, a common criticism of the process was that, while civil society and other parties were present at the negotiations, the mediators and parties did not prioritise meaningful civil society representation, including that of women's groups, and the implementation agreement runs the risk of following a similar path (Case, 2016).

17 http://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/rapid-response/sudan_southsudan/http://kvinnatillkvinna.se/en/2014/03/07/south-sudan-women-use-lobbying-to-influence-peace-talks/

4. Findings, responding to the evaluation questions

This section above described the context of Norway's advocacy activities in the area of WPS. This section responds to the evaluation questions and explores the nature and scope of this engagement, the decision-making process behind it, the timing and relevance of engagements, significant achievements and their drivers and sustainability.

4.1 NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE ENGAGEMENT

Within the WPS agenda, Norway utilises a variety of different approaches, channels and tactics, and has focused on a variety of targets. The following section is based on the typology of approaches in Table 2.

Domestic Advocacy

What is clear is that the WPS agenda is a prioritised political issue in Norway. This is partly as a result of concerted internal advocacy efforts over time.

There are varying opinions about the consistency of WPS as a priority over time. Some pointed to when Gry Larsen was State Secretary in MFA as a key period (2009–2013). This was also

TABLE 2: TYPOLOGY OF ADVOCACY APPROACHES

	Type 1	And/or Type 2
A	Changing policy: Some advocacy is aimed at changing policy or preventing change to policy	Or changing behaviour: Other advocacy is about changing the behaviour of the general public (e.g. public health campaigning)
B	Direct advocacy can be aimed at changing decision-makers' beliefs, opinions, behaviours and policies, directly	Or indirect advocacy via other actors who might have influence on decision-makers (e.g. the media, voters)
C	Inside track advocacy from within by working with decision-makers	Or outside track by confronting, exposing or challenging decision-makers
D	Formal: Advocacy can work through formal formal/official channels such as policy reforms and/or informal	Or informal: Sometimes advocacy finds alternative ways through informal routes such as relationship-building

the period when the role of the 1325 coordinator was instituted and a specific project to raise WPS on the agenda within the ministry was implemented.

The coordinator had a clear advocacy role, but was also supported by the state secretary, who is seen to have had a personal and professional interest¹⁸ in these issues. The role of the coordinator involved and has continued

to involve promoting WPS within the whole Foreign Service, including the ministry itself, relevant embassies and permanent missions and other involved ministries. This includes sharing information, holding information events, acting as an expert resource, organising the training of ministry staff, coordinating the work of the whole section on WPS, reporting and liaising with external stakeholders, including Norwegian and international civil society. At times, a consultant has supported this role.

¹⁸ Personal and professional interest does not necessarily mean private interest, but rather a particular political interest in the topic in question.

The role involves a great deal of informal advocacy activities, and is described as involving a very much inside-track approach to advocacy. Reportedly, this means arguing for the instrumental importance of women to the security agenda and making a case as to how this agenda can act as a door opener for Norway.

The role of Norwegian civil society in pushing for these issues is also important. Forum Norway 1325 has since its formation in 2004 been a driver of WPS. It has met regularly with MFA and has commented on and provided inputs into the development of all three NAPs.¹⁹ MFA sees the group as a key dialogue partner in the WPS space and recently tasked the group with developing a list of experts from Norwegian civil society who have both in-depth knowledge in the area of WPS and a wide network of international contacts, so MFA can draw on its expertise (MFA, 2015).

¹⁹ Minutes, inputs and letters to MFA.

MFA has supported evidence generation to support the WPS agenda. As noted above, the initial Action Plan was co-drafted with academic experts on gender, peace and security at PRIO (Norad, 2014b). The Peace and Reconciliation Unit at MFA has supported the gender, peace and security programme since its inception in 2006. PRIO also supported the MFA as a resource partner on WPS and has provided inputs into the later NAPs. Another recent initiative is the Better Peace Tool, developed by International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) and supported by Norway in 2015.

MFA also funds various other programmes, which could be considered linked to advocacy in terms of supporting the capacity development of influential actors. The Training for Peace programme trains on gender awareness in relation to peace operations and finances secondments for experts to work in peace-keeping missions on gender awareness through the Norwegian Resource Bank for Democracy and Human Rights (NORDEM) – for instance women protection advisers in the UN

peacekeeping mission in DRC.²⁰ Norway has also, together with the other Nordic countries, recently launched a Nordic Women Mediators' Network, based on a similar network in Southern Africa.²¹

Many stakeholders also noted that MFA and Norad had worked to ensure organisations receiving funding in conflict, post-conflict and humanitarian situations integrated a gender perspective, in line with UNSCR 1325.

Some suggested that, more recently, the priority of WPS had gone down a bit, or at least it dipped when the new government came to power. The new Action Plan was not launched until 2015 (a year delayed), and in 2015 there was a delay in funding through the civil society allocation for work on UNSCR 1325 administered by Norad (transferred from MFA in 2013). Although this eventually was solved and funding

²⁰ <http://www.jus.uio.no/smr/english/about/programmes/nordem/news/2015/new-nordemer-monusco.html>, email correspondence with stakeholder

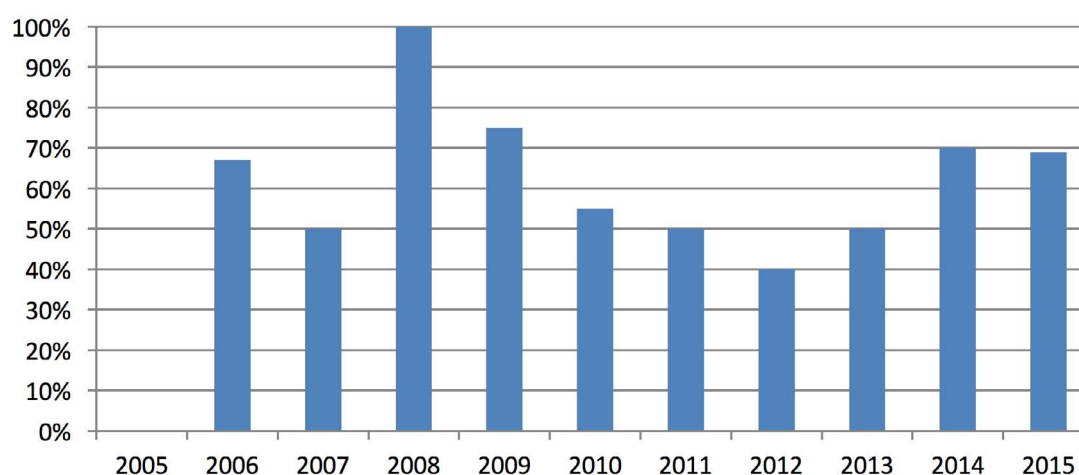
²¹ <https://www.prio.org/Events/Event/?x=8379>

was disbursed,²² it left some stakeholders with the impression that funding was drying up.

However, during the open debate for the 15th year anniversary, Norway committed \$4 million annually to the work of CSO, with 10% of the resources to be spent on peace and reconciliation efforts in focus countries to be allocated to WPS, and approximately \$3.6 million earmarked for integration of the gender perspective in humanitarian assistance in 2015 (Skogen, 2015). According to stakeholders and the review of the database, this allocation and any funding towards WPS are difficult to trace in practice, as they come under different budget posts and chapters. In addition, as shown in a previous evaluation of Norway's use of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) gender marker, it is not consistently applied (Jones et al., 2015).

²² The fund accepted proposals from new partners and this meant the process took longer than expected. Funding was disbursed in 2015, but over a two-year period rather than three years as originally envisaged. However, there was quite a lot of confusion about this fund among interviewees and some previous partners that had not received it did not think they had received enough feedback as to why their proposals were not accepted.

FIGURE 3: SPEECHES BY MFA OFFICIALS IN THE AREA OF PEACE AND SECURITY MENTIONING WOMEN (%)



Whatever the impression of priority, the latest Action Plan was launched by the prime minister with the attendance of the four ministers responsible for the NAP, showing high political priority for WPS²³ (Solberg, 16 February 2015),

²³ We have not found any record of speeches by former Prime Minister Stoltenberg on WPS.

and the foreign minister has recently been very active in promoting this issue (see Annex 3 for a list of speeches). In addition, the new NAP is for the first time has guidelines for implementation and a results framework. At the country level, at the time of writing this case study, Norway had developed local action plans for two of the five priority countries (Myanmar

and South Sudan). As a whole, an analysis of speeches and statements by political figures supports this analysis (see Figure 3).

In 87 speeches the period 2005-2015,²⁴ 50 mentioned women (57%). There were 26 speeches focused just on WPS. Of the speeches about security, 47% mentioned women; 41% of the speeches about conflict and 33% of those about peace mentioned women. The majority of the speeches (71%) that mentioned women were made by members of MFA. In this sample, Jonas Gahr Støre, Foreign Minister in the period 2005–2012, gave the most speeches (22); 64% of his speeches mentioned women. Børge Brende, Foreign Minister from 2013, gave 11 speeches, of which 73% mentioned women. In total, over the period, however, the figure shows the topic is treated relatively consistently over time.

²⁴ Collected from www.regjeringen.no using search words: “women, peace and security”; “peace”; “security”; and “conflict”. The list of 87 was compiled using the most relevant 100 hits for each search word.

Global Advocacy

Norway is described as one of the leading states in pushing the WPS agenda within the UN and globally. Although there are different opinions as to whether it is the absolute leading voice on this issue, many stakeholders interviewed agreed Norway had pushed for this agenda over a long period of time and in a consistent manner. As noted above, Norway is credited with supporting the original UNSCR 1325 in 2000 and has been part of the Group of Friends since then.

In terms of content, Norway is variously described as providing broad-based support for WPS in an integrated way and as an actor particularly focused on mediation and support to peace negotiations, with a focus on women’s participation rather than the protection or preventions pillars. Norway is seen as a key supporter of CSOs working in this space, and also as a key knowledge and dialogue partner. This generally tallies with Norway’s own stated priorities. The action plans focus on the whole WPS agenda, as stated in the UNSCRs. However, through analysis of the action plans

and stakeholders interviewed, it is clear Norway sees itself as having a comparative advantage when it comes to women’s participation and within mediation, given its historical role as a ‘peace-building nation’ (Taulbee et al., 2014; Tryggestad, 2014).

Advocacy is aimed at internalising and diffusing policy within the UN, based on the policy framework already set by UNSCR 1325. This includes supporting new UNSCRs on WPS and other efforts to mainstream WPS within UN bodies. Norway has co-sponsored all of the related WPS resolutions (1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122) and has consistently made statements, individually or jointly with the other Nordic member states, in the SC open debates on WPS, only not doing so on very few occasions since these were introduced (Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council, 2004–2013).

In terms of speeches analysed, 18 of 87 examined were made at the UN (SC, round-tables, debates, meetings and the UN General Assembly). Of the 18 speeches, 13 mentioned

women. There were eight speeches at the SC and four of these mentioned women.²⁵ It must be noted that Norway's role as influencer on the agenda is seen to be limited by its lack of presence on the SC: it has not been a member since 2002.

Norway supports both direct and indirect advocacy. Direct advocacy is in terms of the political lobbying conducted by the Norwegian mission and the political leadership. This is focused mostly on the inside track, in terms of working with decision-makers, for example through trying to influence members of the SC through the Group of Friends, but also sometimes taking the outside track, by confronting and exposing decision-makers. For instance, several interviewees noted Norway's role in taking the lead, together with El Salvador, in confronting the UN about sexual exploitation by UN peacekeeping forces. Norway led a group of 14 member states on this issue, forming a panel to explore what had happened.

²⁵ This list is not exhaustive of all speeches at the UN, but rather those posted on the MFA website.

Most direct advocacy is formal, in terms of making speeches in the open debates on WPS at the SC every year, but some is also more informal – although this is not a stated priority of Norway. An example of formal advocacy is the role Norway took on the PBC in 2005 as co-chair. Here, Norway prioritised WPS as an area for advocacy, and aimed to influence the institutional set-up of this new commission, arguing for civil society dialogue. Tryggestad (2014) explains this process in detail.

In much of the advocacy aimed at the UN, Norway's approach can be termed as 'coalition-building'. This includes work with the other Nordic countries, with joint statements often made to the SC. For instance, in 2014, the Swedish permanent representative delivered a joint Nordic statement to the open debate on WPS (Thöresson 28 October, 2014). In such cases politicians are normally not present, but sometimes joint Nordic statements are also made by, for instance, the foreign minister (Barth Eide, 2013). The role in the Group of Friends also belongs to this category. Norway

also works with and supports UN Women in its role as UN lead on WPS.

Coalition-building with civil society is also a feature of Norway's advocacy. Norway focuses on indirect advocacy through its support to civil society working on WPS, financially and/or as a dialogue partner. Through this support to CSOs, Norway supports organisations that often take the outside track and confront, expose and challenge decision-makers. These NGOs often take on the role of policy monitoring or policy campaigning. For instance, the NGOWG has this role, by monitoring implementation of WPS globally and providing UNSC country-level specific recommendations on a regular basis.²⁶ Although not receiving funding from Norway currently, it has in the past.

Norway also supports capacity development processes as part of its advocacy. Together with MFA Finland, Norway has co-sponsored a High-Level Seminar on Inclusive Mediation

²⁶ The NGOWG provides Monthly Action Points (MAPs) for the SC, with specific country-level recommendations, <http://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/advocacy/>

organised by DPA, with PRIO and the Finnish Crisis Management Initiative (CMI). This trains UN special representatives and other high-level stakeholders involved in peace mediation processes. For instance, representatives from both the FARC and the Colombian government's official delegation have participated, as has the Norwegian special envoy to the Colombian peace process. Norway has reportedly also offered DPA initial funding for a further gender adviser – among the first member states to do so.

Norway tends to hold or participate in seminars and side-events to promote WPS issues. For instance, for the 15th anniversary of UNSCR 1325, apart from contributing to the open debate in the SC (Skogen, 2015) and co-sponsoring UNSCR 2242, Norway held a side-event on gender and inclusive mediation processes, building on the High-Level Seminars organised by DPA, PRIO and CMI and co-financed by the Finnish MFA. IT also participated and made a statement during the launch of the UN Women global study.

These are some of the examples of advocacy-related activities, providing evidence that Norway uses a variety of different approaches, channels and tactics, and focuses on a variety of targets.

Colombia and South Sudan

At the country level, in Colombia and South Sudan Norway has used a similar approach to advocate for WPS issues. This engagement happens at different levels.

Direct advocacy through brokering: In both these countries, Norway has had a formal role in peace negotiations and used this to advocate for women's increased participation in peace processes.

In Colombia, WPS is one of three priority areas for the Norwegian delegation, and Norway has urged parties to include women in the delegation. One of the members of the Norwegian team has a special responsibility to follow up on WPS and assists the parties with information on this. Norway has also financed the participation of gender experts to support

the process, meeting with the delegations and women's groups and providing inputs into documents, according to several interviewees.

During the peace talks in Sudan started in 2002 and concluded in 2005, Norway supported the organisation of the Symposium on Sudanese Women's Priorities and Recommendations to try to involve women more. Since at least 2005 it has had a person specifically working on UNSCR 1325 in relation to Sudan and then South Sudan.²⁷

In the recent peace negotiations, Norway made a point of trying to push for the participation of women. For instance, at peace talks in Addis Ababa, the foreign minister met with women's groups from South Sudan to hear their perspective (Brende, 2015), and the Special Envoy has been trying to push for a more inclusive process. This has worked though the Troika and IGAD to demand that the two warring parties include women in their delegations, but also

²⁷ We have been unable to secure an interview with this person as of yet, so we are not clear on the role Norway played in this area before 2013 and the break-out of internal hostilities in South Sudan.

supported the formation of a multi-stakeholder group, including women, civil society, religious groups and alternative political groupings present at the talks.

Norway has also committed to financing a gender adviser in the IGAD delegation, but as of yet this position has not been put in place.

Indirect advocacy through support to civil society and to the UN in the country: As noted above, Norway has been a significant and long-term development cooperation funder of both Colombia and South Sudan, with much of this support directed to civil society and the UN.

In both Colombia and South Sudan, Norway has for a long period supported civil society groups working on issues related to WPS.

In Colombia, this includes direct support to domestic organisations, for instance Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres and Casa de la Mujer, with a total of NOK 1.55 million in 2014 and 2015 (Norad, 2015), and support through

Norwegian CSOs. For instance, FOKUS has had a programme working on UNSCR 1325 in Colombia since 2009, with the aim of supporting the capacity of women's organisations in preparation for peace talks; the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) receives funding in this area; and Norway also supports a Norwegian-Swedish civil society fund in its work on the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Much of this support has aimed at community mobilisation, working with locally based women's groups and supporting formal and informal meetings for women and their networks in conflict areas.

Norway has also worked through the multi-lateral system on WPS. This is mostly evident in the case of Colombia, where Norway has collaborated closely with UN Women, which has had a key role in supporting the women's movement in its push for the peace talks to be more inclusive and gender-sensitive. Over the period 2012–2015, UN Women received NOK 18 million. Norway has also supported the UN Human Rights Council in Colombia. UN Women has assisted women in preparation for the

meetings, accompanied delegations to Havana and summarised the recommendations put forward. UN Women served as secretariat for the meeting and collected the suggestions and views that emerged. Norway and Cuba conveyed these recommendations to the parties (Norad, 2015).

In South Sudan, Norway has also supported the women's movement in different ways. For instance, women have been trained through the 'women can do it' process, with thousands of women over 20 years trained. Norwegian CSOs, such as NCA, have had a focus on women and gender throughout their tenure in Southern Sudan and South Sudan. NCA has done a great deal of work with women within the church, in their role as actors of peace (NCA, 2015). For instance, through its support to the South Sudan Council of Churches and the National Women Programme, it supported a national consultation on the forthcoming constitutions in 2013 (South Sudan Council of Churches, 2013). More recently, Norway has supported a Ugandan organisation that in turn supported women's involvement in negotiations in Addis

Ababa.²⁸ Although there is support to multilateral institutions working in South Sudan, none of this seems to be directly related to WPS, or at least traceable as such through the database.

Links to global advocacy efforts: Although it is seen as a general weakness of Norway's work this area, in the review of the previous Strategic Plan on WPS (Norad, 2014a) and by stakeholders interviewed, there is also an explicit aim to link the global and the local in terms of ensuring country-level efforts draw on the global level, and vice versa. One example is the support Norway gives to local and grassroots CSOs, specifically in relation to global advocacy, in terms of financing their participation in high-profile events, both in New York and internationally.

28 This was mentioned by one interviewee, but cannot be traced through the database, probably because it is too recent.

There are examples of Norway bringing up in various fora at the UN progress or lack of progress on WPS in the countries where it is working. For instance, Norway's permanent representative brought up Norway's role in Colombia during an event organised by the International Peace Institute on Tools for Inclusive Mediation.²⁹ Colombia is generally used as an example of best practice, and the special envoy to the peace process has participated in international events.³⁰ Norway has also at one point financed the participation of Colombian women at events in New York.

However, an analysis of speeches made³¹ shows very few speeches by MFA officials mentioned Colombia, and none was entirely about just Colombia. The majority just listed Colombia along with other countries Norway

29 <http://www.ipinst.org/2015/10/tools-for-inclusive-mediation#9>

30 <http://www.usip.org/events/global-security-what-does-gender-have-do-it>

31 A similar analysis of speeches related to Colombia and South Sudan was conducted, looking at speeches on www.regjeringen.no. For Sudan/South Sudan, the most relevant speeches under the search terms "Sudan" or "South Sudan" were included (24). For Colombia, all speeches that mentioned Colombia were included since there were so few (12). The search term was "Colombia". The speeches are listed in Annex 3.

had worked with on peace processes. The focus of these speeches was on dialogue and Norway's facilitation of the peace talks/process and its inclusion of women in the peace process. Earlier talks did not mention women at all with regard to the conflict or the peace process. A total of 41% of speeches mentioned women, the majority in 2015. This may be partly because, before the peace talks were initiated in 2012, Norway held a relatively low profile, without an embassy in Bogotá and no official role as facilitator of the peace process.

For South Sudan, there are also examples of country-level efforts being used in global advocacy efforts, but often negative ones.³² Here also, Norway has financed the participation of women's groups during at least one high-level event at the UN.³³ The analysis of speeches from 2005 shows 58% of speeches mentioned women, and this is consistent over time, showing long-term engagement on

32 http://www.norway-south-sudan.org/News_and_events/Latest/Norwegian-statement-at-High-Level-Meeting-on-South-Sudan-in-New-York/#.Vq-UdVI42xZ

33 Organised together with GNWP

WPS in Sudan/South Sudan. A number of speeches mentioned how the peace process had been conducted entirely by men and that Norway wanted to see women at the table as well. There was a focus on how women were suffering most from the conflict: they were denied education, they constituted the majority of those displaced and the experienced high levels of violence.

4.2 THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS AND INFORMATION BASE

The case study has not been able to trace a conscious political decision to engage in the area of WPS; rather, the area is as quite a self-evident priority for Norway. The decision-making process underlying the Norwegian approach to advocacy on WPS can be seen to rely heavily on the so-called 'Norwegian model' of politics, but is also shaped by hard politics and Norwegian aims to promote its international visibility (Tryggestad, 2014).

Internationally, the rise of the WPS agenda at the global level is seen as being linked to the success of an alliance of women's and human

rights NGOs, women's advocates within the UN and a select few member states (Miller et al., 2014; Tryggestad, 2009; 2014). This is also an underlying explanation for the priority paid to the WPS agenda in Norway. This is termed the 'Norwegian model' for development and foreign policy decision-making and implementation. Several interviewees mentioned this model, and the concept is also frequently alluded to in academic research (Neumann, 1999; Tryggestad, 2009; 2014; Toje, 2013).

In this model, there is a high level of institutionalisation of government and civil society collaboration, as well as broad domestic consensus across political parties on the application of this collaboration as a Norwegian foreign policy instrument. The collaboration includes both domestic and international civil society actors, as well as academic institutions and think tanks. Most Norwegian stakeholders interviewed maintained there was broad consensus between civil society, the government and the Storting on the priority of the WPS agenda. The only real issues of disagreement noted were on 1) funding, particularly in the recent period with

the confusion around continued civil society funding, including for work on WPS (linked to the European migration crisis and its effect on development cooperation funding); 2) links to other foreign policy and domestic political issues, for example trade policy, oil and, importantly, militarism and arms exports. On WPS, some pacifist organisations do not think the prevention pillar is sufficiently prioritised and too much focus is on increasing women's representation in the military. Civil society is seen to have an influence on development policy and aid, and normative foreign policy issues, but not 'hard' foreign policy issues, such as security and trade.

This broad consensus is also verified when analysing some of the minutes from the meetings between Forum 1325 and the government, and civil society inputs into drafts of the Strategic Plan from 2011 and the new NAP from 2015. Civil society also described the collaboration as generally fruitful, although some suggest meetings could be more frequent. Also, some of the recommendations, around an increased role for the Storting in

WPS, in terms of annual evaluation of the work, further attention to monitoring and evaluation in general and earmarked funding for WPS, have not yet been taken up by the government.³⁴ However, when it comes to specific approaches to advocacy, there is general agreement that the agenda, in terms of the evolution of the approach to WPS as described in the three NAPs, has developed in dialogue with civil society and other stakeholders.

In this context, it is difficult to see who influenced whom on particular decisions within the WPS agenda. Civil society can be seen to have pushed MFA on WPS initially, but MFA has also pushed certain CSOs to focus more on WPS as a condition for funding (Norad, 2014).³⁵ This is also related to the exchange of personnel between government and civil society. At least one key MFA staff member working on WPS has a background in the civil society sector

³⁴ MFA has developed a results framework for the NAP, which has been included in the Guidelines for the Foreign Service on WPS. This was finalised after the draft case study was produced, so we do not know its content.

³⁵ The example of MFA's Humanitarian Section's influence on the International Committee of the Red Cross to mainstream gender across its operations was mentioned on numerous occasions.

and ex-parliamentarians now work in NGOs on these issues. There is seen to be a 'revolving door' between the government and civil society. It must be noted that involvement and consultation with international civil society are not as formalised, in terms of Norway's overall strategic approach, although on specific issues there is frequent dialogue with particular organisations, for example in New York with organisations such as the NGOWG.

Further, advocacy in this area also seems to be particularly supported by a strong evidence base and the involvement of experts. MFA has supported research on WPS and used evidence of the effectiveness of including women in peace processes as a tool to sensitise MFA staff to this issue.

This civil society collaboration is also evident for engagements in Colombia and South Sudan. In some respects, civil society is credited with pushing for increased Norwegian engagement in Colombia on WPS after the Norwegian embassy closed in 2008, but again it is difficult to understand how necessary

and influential this advocacy was. For South Sudan, there is a strong public engagement on Norway's continued role in the country, although it is not clear how important this has been for the work on WPS. For both Colombia and South Sudan, there are support groups in Norway³⁶ where interested Norwegians gather to discuss topics of interest. There are very informal gatherings where civil society and government representatives meet to share reflections, conduct joint analysis and sometimes agree on messaging.

The question is whether all these advocacy activities, at the domestic, global and national levels, boil down to a strategic evidence-based approach.

Some stakeholders argue the approach is very strategic and forms part of a specific approach to what is termed 'norm entrepreneurship'. Small states use this approach globally to have

³⁶ Støttegruppe for Sudan og Sør-Sudan (<http://www.sudansupport.no>) and Støttegruppe for fred i Colombia (<http://fredicolombia.org/fred-i-colombia>).

an influence on the global stage (see further detail below).

Further, some stakeholders see the approach of combining top-down direct advocacy with bottom-up indirect advocacy to CSOs as particularly strategic, both at the global level and at the national level in Colombia and South Sudan. Several interviewees stated that Norway was credible as an actor in this area, given its commitment to funding the efforts it advocates for. Norway is seen as ‘putting its money where its mouth is’ and, according to some, there are no other countries with as many examples of country-level work. However, this credibility depends on its continued funding, and at least some stakeholders see this as being in question.

Others argue that the approach is too scattered and too dependent on individuals to be strategic, and that there is little follow-up on activities and a lack of accountability. This view is supported by the review of the previous Strategic Plan, which argues that the choice of

partners is not necessarily strategic enough; Norway could do more in terms of partner dialogue at country level; there is a lack of systematic monitoring and evaluation; and country-levels efforts are not sufficiently linked to global advocacy efforts (Norad, 2014a). However, there seem to be efforts to deal with some of these issues as part of the new NAP. This is not to say that the advocacy agenda as such represents a deliberate advocacy strategy. The NAPs mention channels and targets but do not necessarily go into detail about how advocacy should be conducted.

4.3 TIMING OF THE ENGAGEMENT

As this is a mature agenda, the evaluation period from 2005 is somewhat arbitrary. Globally, WPS has gained momentum over time, and the same is true for Norway’s advocacy engagement, which started pre-2000. As noted above, the red green government and particular personalities within this are seen to have been instrumental in prioritising WPS in the first place. The first Action Plan was launched 2006 by the second Stoltenberg government. In

2008–2009 the appointment of a state secretary with a personal interest in WPS elevated attention to the issue. She was supported by a 1325 coordinator previously from the civil society sector. The new government is initially seen to have given WPS a lower priority, with other competing priorities and interests, and there are some questions over future funding, in terms of competition with other priorities in development cooperation and domestic concerns about how to deal with the refugee crisis. However, in terms of public advocacy, the new government has been very active. More recently, the proliferation of actors in this area may change the role Norway plays, with some suggesting Norway needs to prioritise its offering more to stand out.

The high prioritisation may also have been influenced by external actors and the external context. During 2008–2010, Hillary Rodham Clinton, as US State Secretary, gave this a great deal of priority and wanted to engage with Norway. A joint speech between her and Foreign Minister Jonas Gahr Støre was delivered in

2010. This time also saw the adoption of three resolutions in the SC, focused on prevention of and protection against sexual violence, catalysed by the conflict in DRC. Similarly, in 2014, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Minister of Defence Ine Erikson Soreide spoke together on WPS.³⁷

At country level, the timing of engagements is influenced by development of conflicts worldwide. In Colombia, Norway's engagement increased when it was asked to act as guarantor of the peace process. Similarly, in South Sudan, timing of engagement was influenced by the development of the conflict.

4.4 RELEVANCE OF THE ENGAGEMENT AND NORWAY'S COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES

The Norwegian model is seen by some to be particularly prevalent in the area of WPS, particularly in terms of Norway's advocacy

37 2010: Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and Norwegian Foreign Minister Jonas Gahr Støre published a joint op-ed on the role of women in building and maintaining sustainable peace <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2010/10/150130.htm>; in 2014, after her time as secretary of state, Hillary Clinton and Ine Erikson Soreide spoke together on WPS: http://www.norway.org/News_and_events/Embassy/Clinton-and-Soreide-Spoke-on-Women-Security-Leadership/#.VrH-ybIrJ1s

within the UN. Tryggestad (2014) links this to the Helga Hernes concept of 'state feminism', which is basically the 'Norwegian model' in the area of gender equality, and refers to the interplay between government institutions and CSOs focused on gender and women's issues to develop domestic gender equality policies in Scandinavia. This is coupled with the concept of 'norm advocacy and entrepreneurship', which refers to a role that small states with limited traditional (e.g. military) power often take internationally (Björkdahl, 2008; Tryggestad, 2014),³⁸ and Norway's historical role as a self-interested supporter of the multilateral system and the UN, particularly in the area of conflict resolution and peace-building (Taulbee et al., 2014; Tryggestad, 2014).

This view is very much supported by interviews with stakeholder in both Oslo and New York, which point to the fact that, in the WPS agenda,

38 This concept has been used to explain the role smaller states take within the UN and other multilateral institutions in order to raise moral consciousness about particular issues, using norm advocacy as a form of non-coercive, persuasive argumentation.

Norway has a unique selling point. Gender equality is seen as engrained in Norwegian culture, and Nordic culture more generally. Norway is seen as having a historical and effective role in peace-building, partly because of its impartial status and lack of colonial history. Norway is also seen to adapt to well to its comparative advantages in relation to other actors. For instance, the UK and the US are seen to be stronger voices on protection against sexual violence in conflict, and this is an area Norway gives less priority, rather focusing on and filling gaps where others do not work. Coupled with this, the whole agenda is seen an area where Norway is able to obtain visibility that then can be used in other policy areas. For instance, some mentioned that the political priority on this issue could be related partly to the fact that it had allowed senior political figures to share a platform with, for instance, the US president or secretary of state.

As Tryggestad (2014) states, "[t]he WPS agenda encompasses a set of norms on women's rights that fit hand in glove with what is seen as Norway's normative

state interests, and the UN has become the central organizational arena for the promotion of these interests” (p.465).

4.5 ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES OF THE ENGAGEMENT

In terms of achievements, the following are seen as particularly important and are examples of where the evidence base is strong.

At the level of domestic advocacy, many stakeholders argue **WPS has been institutionalised** as a key issue within MFA, including in the political leadership, the embassies and the civil service. WPS is an established agenda and one that is difficult to ignore. Many in the system are sensitised to it (Norad, 2014a). There is increased **technical capacity** among staff and the political leadership. This can be linked to sustainability in that it has meant that, although there was a fear that the change in government would mean less priority, this does not seem to have materialised. The evidence base is less strong on whether the WPS agenda has been institutionalised within other ministries, for example the Ministry of

Defence and certain sections of MFA, such as sections working specifically on security policy.

At the global level, Norway is seen to have contributed, **in alliance with other actors** (civil society, key UN actors within UN agencies, other member states), to keeping and elevating WPS on the agenda within the SC and other multilateral institutions (Norad, 2014a; Tryggestad, 2014). **Political will** is seen as increasing and there is a proliferation of actors engaged on this issue. Key in this achievement is support to civil society in terms of **capacity to engage** on this issue, and in turn advocate for WPS. For instance, individual CSOs have advocated successfully for specific changes to texts in resolutions, which may prove particularly important in the future. Within the UN PBC, Norway is seen to have played an instrumental role in prioritising WPS effectively, particularly related to the peace process in Burundi (Tryggestad, 2014). It was then able to use the power of the chair to directly influence the setup of the mechanisms of the commission to **institutionalise** a WPS perspective.

However, many note that the elevation of this on the global agenda is still largely in terms of rhetoric, and much remains to be done in terms of institutionalisation (e.g. within DPA and DPKO), policy diffusion and implementation at the country level. And not everyone recognises Norway as a leader on this topic. Partly, this can be explained by the broad, integrated approach taken by Norway, which means it is not seen as having any particular niche. However, others recognise Norway’s comparative advantage in the area of mediation.

At the country level, Norway is generally seen to have, as part of a **coalition**, contributed to women’s participation and increased consideration of gender issues (with the **potential of improving conditions for women** when the peace agreement is implemented) in the peace talks between the Colombian government and the FARC.³⁹ This engagement has included bottom-up support to **mobilisation and development of the capacity of women’s**

³⁹ For instance, mentioned at open debate in 2015 by Ms Murabit of civil society in Libya (SC, 2011).

groups in Colombia, through support through a Norwegian NGO (FOKUS and others) and UN Women, coupled with advocacy for WPS directly by the Norwegian delegation to the peace talks. It also helped that representatives from both sides were able to participate in a Norwegian co-funded DPA/PRIO/CMI-funded High-Level Seminar on Inclusive Mediation. However, many involved in the Colombia peace process admit to gender still not being a substantive agenda, and it remains to be seen whether the provisions made will be implemented and will benefit women.

The engagement in South Sudan has been less successful, although Norway is seen to have contributed to supporting multi-stakeholder inclusion in the recent peace talks, with women present, through its support to women's groups and directly through pressure on the parties through the Troika and IGAD.⁴⁰ However, beyond women's participation at the talks, it is unclear what this has led to in practice, and many

40 <http://kvinnatillkvinna.se/en/2014/03/07/south-sudan-women-use-lobbying-to-influence-peace-talks/>

see South Sudan as a failure from a WPS perspective.

Although not a focus of this case study, there are other countries where Norway has had some success, including the Philippines and Nepal, where Norway supported the development of a NAP (Arbulú et al., 2015). Norway is also credited with a number of other achievements, for instance institutionalising a role of a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) secretary-general's special representative for women, peace and security. In addition, the first woman force commander of a UN peacekeeping force is Norwegian Major-General Kristin Lund.

4.6 DRIVERS AND CONSTRAINING FACTORS

Drivers

The factors driving achievements most frequently mentioned by those interviewed were Norway's overall coherent and consistent approach, combining political will with financial resources. Norway's credibility in this area rests on its reputation for being a reliable and loyal

funder of its partners. Selection of partners is also seen as a driving factor. Support to civil society at all levels is seen as a driving factor, as is the partnership with the UN at the global level (UN Women, UNDP) and in Colombia (UN Women). Interviewees noted that very few other member states could provide specific examples of successful country-level engagements or allocated funding to back up their rhetoric on WPS to a similar extent.

Interviewees saw Norway as successful because it had the technical know-how and supported the development of further knowledge. Norway is seen as a reliable knowledge partner for other governments, the UN and civil society, which is related partly to the international credibility that PRIO's research in the area of gender, conflict and peace-building enjoys (Norad, 2014b). Stakeholders mentioned the particular importance of specific individuals, at both the political and the technical adviser level, domestically, at the global level and at country level.

Another driving or enabling factor is the particular context of county-level engagements. In Colombia, the comparable strength of the women's movement and the relatively high sensitisation on WPS are seen as important factors. WPS was an issue that the FARC and the government could agree on easily and, although they did not prioritise it initially, there was some sensitisation to it already. In this sense, the success of that process is very much linked to the particular timing and context. This is also acknowledged by those involved; gender and women's participation was pushed for using an instrumental approach, given the opportunity to argue for how it could benefit both parties.

Constraining Factors

At the global level, Norway has been limited by its lack of presence in the SC. However, it is also seen to have developed its comparative advantage outside of this group, in its close collaboration with civil society. Nevertheless, there are those that argue that Norway could carve out a stronger role as an outside voice in terms of holding other member states and

UN organs to account and focusing on issues that others do not – for example more early prevention of conflict and positive peace. At country level, in its official role as peace facilitator, some argue, Norway could achieve more with a stronger hand – for instance by applying more conditionality in the case of South Sudan in relation to donor funds. On the other hand, it is argued that one of the reasons Norway has been relatively successful as a peace negotiator and as such has been able to promote women's participation in this role is related to its being perceived as an impartial actor, which does not attach strings or push a specific agenda. Coupled with this is the political context in South Sudan, which has limited the ability for success in WPS.

4.7 SUSTAINABILITY OF THE ENGAGEMENT

Internal advocacy in MFA has been set up to promote sustainability. The 1325 coordinator has a specific advocacy role, which has been successful in terms of institutionalising and building capacity around WPS. This has meant it is an issue that is difficult to ignore.

The broader focus on capacity development also supports sustainability, both for civil society, which is capacitated to engage and make its voice heard, and for officials, who are capacitated to work in a more gender-inclusive way. Support for a strengthened evidence base on the benefits of women's participation also plays a role in the sustainability of advocacy efforts. At a general level, many of those interviewed mentioned that the increased evidence base meant arguments for an increased focus on women in peace and conflict resolution were much easier to make. However, this at a general level rather than being particularly attributed to Norway's efforts.

In terms of risks to sustainability, much of Norway's credibility in WPS hinges on continued financial support, particularly for civil society. Although this seems to be secure, considering the civil society allocation has finally been disbursed and large commitments were made during the open debate for the 15th anniversary of UNSCR 1325, it remains to be seen how much support will continue for specific programmes, and the level of funding is difficult

to trace. In addition, the WPS agenda is broad and it is difficult to obtain a good overview of all the activities Norway supports. There are risks of a mismatch between capacity and scope. However, a process of focusing of activities is on-going, in terms of reducing the number of priority countries and assessing comparative advantage within these five. It is unclear, though, whether this includes an assessment of global comparative advantages.

5. Conclusions

5.1 CONCLUSIONS

This report has examined Norway's advocacy in the area of WPS, focusing on engagement since 2005, looking at global advocacy efforts and efforts in Colombia and South Sudan, and their links to global efforts.

The case study finds that, within the WPS agenda, Norway utilises a variety of different approaches, channels and tactics, and is focused on a variety of targets. It uses both direct and indirect advocacy approaches, often combined with an aim to change policy. Most efforts are focused on the inside track, but Norway also supports CSOs that may take an outside track. Most efforts are through formal channels, although within MFA itself informal channels are used.

The reasoning behind Norway's advocacy efforts is persuasive; it is built on a sound evidence base and presents a broad Norwegian political consensus negotiated with civil society and the academic community, both nationally and internationally. Although timing has been influenced by external events, the engagement

has remained stable over time, both in terms of a visible political priority given to the global normative agenda of WPS within the UN but also in terms of actual implementation at country level, exemplified by long-term engagements in Colombia and South Sudan.

Norway has contributed to important achievements in the area of WPS. At the domestic level, the agenda has kept a high profile through concerted internal advocacy efforts in MFA. Globally, Norway has contributed to the elevation of WPS within the UN, in a collective effort with other actors, including women's organisations. Norway has contributed to actual success in increasing women's participation in the Colombian peace process and to a lesser extent in South Sudan. The outcomes of such efforts in terms of actual improvements in the lives of marginalised groups, including women, remain to be realised.

These achievements can be linked to Norway working in a strategic way from the point of view of its capacity as a small nation; it uses its relatively small power effectively to advocate

for increased focus on gender considerations in the area of peace and security in areas where it has a comparative advantage. It has coupled political will with financial contributions and engagement at country level. The engagements have been to promote sustainability, particularly in terms of institutionalising WPS within the Norwegian system. However, this does not mean the detail of advocacy engagements is necessarily strategic; rather, there is an underlying strategic intent. When looking across advocacy engagements, it is clear that many activities are conducted on an ad hoc basis and related to specific windows of opportunity to which staff respond. It is difficult to obtain a complete overview of what is being done, and the case study has not been able to ascertain whether Norway could have been more successful with a narrower scope.

5.2 LESSONS

A number of broad lessons emerge from the findings and conclusions that may be useful to consider in the work on WPS, but also beyond the case study.

Mapping the Global Advocacy Field

There seems to be a great deal of flexibility within WPS advocacy engagements: the scope of engagements is broad and MFA is agile in its approach and able to respond to specific windows of opportunity. However, there is no written advocacy strategy, and the outcomes in the NAP are not advocacy outcomes. From this perspective, we suggest more could be done to improve the detail of engagements, the selection of partners and the approach and tactics in relation to specific advocacy targets. The work on assessing the comparative advantage at country level is a step in this direction, but it is also important to link these country-level efforts more closely to the global advocacy agenda.

A stakeholder mapping of the field and Norway's advocacy targets and partners would be useful. This would enable Norway to consider how to develop more strategic relationships with its partners, based on comparative advantages, and to more explicitly target its messaging to specific audiences. For instance, in the Group of Friends in New York, it may be

possible to divide advocacy responsibilities between members based on comparative advantages. Some stakeholders have also suggested that Norway could perhaps achieve more by working with non-traditional partners – for example not only deliver joint statements with the Nordics but also collaborate with countries in the South in its global advocacy efforts. With the proliferation of other actors, Norway could also build its comparative advantage by developing its position on early prevention of conflict or generating a stronger voice as an impartial state with an ability to hold other member states and other institutions to account for the implementation of their WPS commitments.

Approach to Partners

Successes in advocacy are very much related to the success of Norway's partners, particularly within civil society and the UN system. To maintain the sustainability of such outcomes, funding for such partners need to be retained. Although it seems that the specific Norad civil society allocation for WPS has not as of yet been affected by general ODA budget cuts,

there is a perception that funding is drying up. Communication with partners on the issue of funding would be useful in this context.

Linking the Global to the Local

Although there are examples of linking country-level efforts to the global advocacy agenda, for instance by supporting the representation of women activists in the UN, there is more to be done in this area. As this is a clear advocacy tactic that seems to be successful in supporting elevation of the WPS agenda globally, this should be part of an explicit advocacy strategy. In development of the new results framework in the NAP, more should be done to share information about country-level activities and achievements, to allow for the use of these at the global level. There is potentially also more to be done in terms of linking the work of Norwegian CSOs and their partners at country level with the advocacy of global CSOs.

Leadership and Coordination

The 1325 coordinator plays an important role in advocacy and can be seen as a driver of achievements. This post could potentially have

a clearer role in advocacy at the global level, enabling a closer linking of country-level efforts and efforts at the UN. Some suggest this could be achieved through enhancing the seniority of this post into a WPS ambassadorship, like in Finland.

Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning

Norway would benefit from documenting successful examples of how to approach advocacy in the area of WPS for future learning. This suggests that a monitoring, evaluation and learning framework should accompany any advocacy strategy. However, this should not necessarily have fixed indicators, but rather should be flexible enough to measure unexpected change. It could be based on outcome mapping principles, which would also allow it to be suitable for Norway's partner-focused approach in WPS. In developing such an approach, a stakeholder mapping would become a core part of any discussion of the role of Norway's partners.

Annex 1: Data sources

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Category	Female	Male
MFA/Norad	9	2
NGO	5	2
UN	5	1
Member state	3	2
Academic	1	1
Other (consultant)	1	0
Total	24	8

Name	Position
Agok Anyar Madut	Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of the Republic of South Sudan to the UN
Diego Antoni	Policy Specialist, Gender, Governance, Crisis Prevention and Recovery, Bureau for Policy and Programme Support, UNDP
Magnus Holtfoldt	Coordinator, Forum 1325, FOKUS
Dag Nylander	Special Envoy to Colombia, MFA
Odd Evjen	Senior Adviser South Sudan/Sudan, NCA
Jens-Petter Kjemprud	Special Representative for South Sudan, MFA
Simon Collard-Wexler	First Secretary (Political Affairs), Permanent Mission of Canada to the UN
Youssef Mahmoud	Senior Adviser, International Peace Institute
Abigail Ruane	PeaceWomen Programme Manager, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Alma Perez	Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Mission of Colombia to the UN
Anna Salovaara	Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Finland to the UN

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Name	Position
Björg Skotnes	Senior Gender Adviser, UN Section, MFA, prior 1325 Coordinator
Carolina Maira Johansen	Project Coordinator, FOKUS
Christine Wiik	Gender Adviser, Field Operations, NRC
Hilde Klemetsdal	Senior Adviser, Section for Peace and Reconciliation, MFA, prior 1325 Coordinator
Darelle O'Keefe	Bureau for Policy and Programme Support, UNDP
Deborah Schein	Senior Political Affairs Adviser, Africa Division 1, Office of Operations, DPKO
Hilde Salvesen	Senior Adviser, Section for Peace and Reconciliation, MFA
Mariann Murvoll	Deputy Director, UN Section, MFA, prior 1325 Coordinator
Janne Horgheim Andresen	Section for Human Rights and Gender Equality, Norad
Marita Sørheim-Rensvik	1325 Coordinator, MFA
Kirsten Natvig	Partner, Scanteam
Kristine Storholt	Section for Human Rights and Gender Equality, Norad
Lone Jessen	Gender Adviser, DPA Policy and Mediation Division, Mediation Support Unit
Louise Allen	Executive Coordinator, NGOWG
Mavic Cabrera Balleza	International Coordinator, GNWP
May-Elin Stener	Ambassador, Deputy Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission of Norway to the UN
Ragnhild Simenstad	Counsellor for Press, Women's Empowerment, Equality and 1325 Permanent Mission of Norway to the UN
Mireille Affaa Mindzie	Section for Peace and Security, UN Women
Päivi Kannisto	Chief, Section for Peace and Security, UN Women
Sally Jobbins	Policy Adviser, UK Mission to the UN
Torunn Tryggestad	Centre Director, PRIO Centre on Gender, Peace and Security

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Annex 2: Summary of agreements in database

The database was searched using the keywords '1325' in the description and title fields together with any of the following: Advocacy, Campaign, Influence, legislative, Lobby, Activist, policy maker, policymaker, Litigation, policy, policies, political, coalition, public awareness. There were 34 results from the search, with the following attributes:

Group of Agreement Partner	Count
NGO Norwegian	9
NGO International	8
NGO Local	8
Multilateral institutions	7
Public sector in developing countries	1
Other countries private sector	1

Main sector	Count
152 - Conflict prevention and resolution peace and security	20
151 - Government and civil society general	13
430 - Other multisector	1

Sub Sector	Count
20 - Civilian peace-building conflict prevention and resolution	18
70 - Women's equality organisations and institutions	13
10 - Security system management and reform	2
82 - Research/scientific institutions	1

Recipient Region	Count
Asia	11
Not geographically allocated	11
Europe	5
Africa	4
The Middle East	3

Year	Count
2014	11
2013	4
2012	5
2011	4
2010	5
2009	5

Annex 3: List of speeches analysed

TABLE 3: LIST OF SPEECHES IN THE AREA OF WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY; PEACE; SECURITY; CONFLICT

Year	Title of speech	Name of speech giver	Position	Focus of speech	Location	Occasion	Mention of women
2005	Perspectives on International Peace and Security	Jan Petersen	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2001–2005)	Peace and security	Canada	Canada–Norway Peace Prize Symposium	N
2005	Norwegian Perspectives on International Peace and Security	Jan Petersen	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2001–2005)	Security	China	China Institute of International Studies Forum	N
2005	Nordic Peace Diplomacy: Looking Back, Moving Forward	Jan Petersen	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2001–2005)	Peace	Denmark	Conference	N
2005	Welcome Address, Conference on Conflict Prevention and Resolution: Challenges and Change for the UN	Jan Petersen	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2001–2005)	Conflict, peace	Sweden	Conference on Conflict Prevention	N
2005	Speech at Victoria University of Wellington	Kjell Magne Bondevik	Prime Minister (1997–2005)	Peace	New Zealand	Speech at Victoria University of Wellington	N
2006	Launch of the Government's Plan of Action for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	WPS	Norway	Speech to Norwegians	Y
2006	Managing Conflict and Building Peace. Norwegian Policy for Peace and Reconciliation	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	Conflict, peace	Spain	Real Instituto Elcano	N
2006	Role of Human Rights in Peace Agreements – Norway's Facilitation of Peace Processes	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	Peace	Switzerland	Seminar in Bern	Y
2006	UNIFEM Roundtable on International Women's Commission for a Just and Sustainable Palestinian–Israeli Peace	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	WPS	UN	UNIFEM Roundtable	Y
2006	Norwegian Government's Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security	Raymond Johansen	State Secretary (2006–2009)	WPS	Norway	International Conference Violence against Women	Y

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Year	Title of speech	Name of speech giver	Position	Focus of speech	Location	Occasion	Mention of women
2006	Norway's Role in Peace and Conflict Resolution	Raymond Johansen	State Secretary (2006–2009)	Peace	Norway	Meeting of Somali Peace Initiative Group in Norway	N
2007	Women's Global Challenges	Anne Stenhammer	State Secretary of MFA (2005–2007)	WPS	Indonesia	Women for Peace Conference	Y
2007	The Role of Somali Women in the Implementation of UNSCR 1325	Anne Stenhammer	State Secretary of MFA (2005–2007)	WPS	Italy	Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Y
2007	Security for the Women of Afghanistan	Anne-Grete Strøm-Erichsen	Minister for Defence (2005–2009)	Security	Norway	Peacebuilding in Afghanistan: How to Reach the Women	Y
2007	Multidimensional and Integrated Peace Operations: Trends and Challenges	Anne-Grete Strøm-Erichsen	Minister for Defence (2005–2009)	Peace	Switzerland	Geneva Centre for Security Policy	N
2007	Afghanistan: Winning the Conflict	Espen Barth Eide	Minister of Defence (2013–)	Conflict	Macedonia	EAPC Security Forum	N
2007	A Policy of Engagement. Norwegian Peace Policy	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	Peace	Canada	Carleton University, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs	N
2007	How Norway and Finland Promote Conflict Resolution with Gender Equality	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	WPS	Finland	Seminar on WPS – Conflict Resolution with Gender Equality	Y
2007	Welcome Remarks at the Conference The Impact of Armed Conflict on Women	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	Conflict	Norway	Norwegian Red Cross and PRIO	Y
2007	Norway's Foreign Policy and Opportunities for Cooperation with the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	Peace, security	Norway	Annual Europe Conference	N
2007	Opening Remarks at Conference Madrid Fifteen Years On	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	Conflict, peace	Spain	Conference Madrid Fifteen Years On	N
2008	Threats and Challenges, Security and Defence	Anne-Grete Strøm-Erichsen	Minister for Defence (2005–2009)	Security	Norway	Oslo Military Society	Y
2008	Address at Sudan Consortium	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	Peace	Norway	Sudan Consortium	Y
2008	The Norwegian Government Welcomes Initiatives on UNSCR 1325	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	WPS	Norway	Women in the Land of Conflict Conference	Y
2009	Norway's Security Outlook	Anne-Grete Strøm-Erichsen	Minister for Defence (2005–2009)	Security	Finland	Atlantic Council of Finland	N

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Year	Title of speech	Name of speech giver	Position	Focus of speech	Location	Occasion	Mention of women
2009	Putting Policy into Practice: Monitoring Implementation of UNSCRs on WPS	Gry Larsen	State Secretary of MFA (2009–2013)	WPS	Norway	Conference in Oslo	Y
2009	Putting Policy into Practice: Monitoring Implementation of UNSCRs WPS	Gry Larsen	State Secretary of MFA (2009–2013)	WPS	Norway	Conference in Oslo	Y
2009	Women and Violence – from UN Resolutions to Practice	Håkon Arald Gulbrandsen	State Secretary for International Development (2007)	Conflict	Norway	Seminar on women and violence	Y
2009	A Coordinated Plan for Norway's Contribution to Afghanistan	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	Security, conflict	Norway	Address to the Storting	Y
2009	State in Fragile Environments: Common Engagement for Conflict Resolution and Development	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005-2012)	Conflict	South Africa	Foreign Policy Seminar	Y
2009	Meeting on the Situation in the Middle East	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005-2012)	Peace	UN	SC	Y
2009	2009 Carnegie International Non-Proliferation Conference	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005-2012)	Peace	US	2009 Carnegie International Non-Proliferation Conference	N
2010	Conflict and Development	Erik Solheim	Minister of International Development (2005–2012)	Conflict	Norway	Army Summit	N
2010	Norway's Opening Address at the ICG Meeting on Somalia	Espen Barth Eide	Minister of Defence (2013–)	Security	Spain	ICG Meeting on Somalia	Y
2010	Norwegian Defence and Security Policy	Grete Faremo	Minister of Defence until 2011 then Minister of Justice (2011–2013)	Security	Norway	Heads of Station meeting	N
2010	Start Searching for Women Commanders	Grete Faremo	Minister of Defence until 2011 then Minister of Justice (2011–2013)	Peace	UN	SC	Y

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Year	Title of speech	Name of speech giver	Position	Focus of speech	Location	Occasion	Mention of women
2010	UNSCR 1325 Is a Milestone	Grete Faremo	Minister of Defence until 2011 then Minister of Justice (2011–2013)	WPS	UN	UN	Y
2010	Common Security Concerns of Norway and China	Gry Larsen	State Secretary of MFA (2009–2013)	Security	Norway	Conference with SIPRI	N
2010	Opening Address at Workshop on International Humanitarian Law and the Protection of Civilians	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	Conflict	Indonesia	Workshop on International Humanitarian Law and Protection of Civilians	Y
2010	Opening Statement at OSCE Summit in Astana	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	Conflict, peace	Kazakhstan	OSCE Summit	N
2010	Norway's Conflict Resolution Efforts – Are They of Any Avail?	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	Security, peace	Norway	Speech to Norwegians	Y
2010	On Why and How Norway Gives Priority to Peace and Reconciliation	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	Peace	Norway	Oslo Forum	N
2010	Norway's Statement on Afghanistan	Tine Mørch Smith	Ambassador	Security, peace	UN	SC	Y
2011	Opening Remarks at the Seminar Reclaiming the Protection Of Civilians Under International Humanitarian Law	Espen Barth Eide	Minister of Defence (2013–)	Conflict	Argentina	Seminar Reclaiming Protection of Civilians under International Humanitarian Law	N
2011	How to Enhance the Protection of Civilians In Armed Conflicts?	Espen Barth Eide	Minister of Defence (2013–)	Conflict	Norway	Red Cross Humanitarian Forum	N
2011	Sexual Violence, the Armed Forces and Military Operations	Grete Faremo	Minister of Defence until 2011 then Minister of Justice (2011–2013)	WPS	Norway	Norwegian Defence University College Conference: Sexual Violence, the Armed Forces and Military Operations	Y
2011	Peace and Security for All. Norway's Implementation of UNSCR 1325	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	WPS	Norway	Meeting of the Standing Committee on Women	Y
2011	Norway's Statement in the Middle East Debate	Tine Mørch Smith	Ambassador	Peace, security	UN	SC	N
2012	Security in the High North—Are We Prepared?	Espen Barth Eide	Minister of Defence (2013–)	Security	Norway	Security Policy Conference	N



Year	Title of speech	Name of speech giver	Position	Focus of speech	Location	Occasion	Mention of women
2012	Conference on Preventing Sexual and Gender-Based Crimes in Conflict and Securing Justice for Survivors	Espen Barth Eide	Minister of Defence (2013–)	Conflict	UN	UN	Y
2012	The Importance of Gender in Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Proliferation	Espen Barth Eide	Minister of Defence (2013–)	Peace	UN	The Women, Disarmament, Non-Proliferation and Arms Control Meeting	Y
2012	Sovereignty, Stability and Cooperation – Norwegian Security Policy in a Time of Change	Jonas Gahr Støre	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2005–2012)	Security	Norway	University of Oslo	N
2012	Seminar on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights in Media Coverage During Crises and Conflict	Torgeir Larsen	Head of Secretariat for the Minister of Foreign Affairs (2006–2010)	Conflict	Qatar	Promotion and Protection of Human Rights in Media Coverage During Crises and Conflict	N
2013	Middle East Stability: Intervention, Mediation and Security Cooperation	Børge Brende	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2013–)	Security, conflict	Bahrain	Manama Dialogue	Y
2013	Opening Speech At a Seminar on International Mediation Trends: Processes and Experiences	Børge Brende	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2013–)	Conflict	Turkey	Seminar on International Mediation Trends	Y
2013	Advancing Afghan Women: Promoting Peace and Progress in Afghanistan	Børge Brende	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2013–)	WPS	US	Georgetown University, Institute for WPS	Y
2013	Opening Statement at Conference on Protection of Civilians Under International Humanitarian Law	Espen Barth Eide	Minister of Defence (2013–)	Conflict	Norway	Conference on Protection of Civilians Under International Humanitarian Law	N
2013	Open Debate on WPS	Espen Barth Eide	Minister of Defence (2013–)	WPS	UN	Open Debate	Y
2013	The Situation in the Middle East, Including the Palestinian Question	Geir O. Pedersen	Ambassador, Norwegian Permanent Mission to the UN	Peace, security	UN	SC	N
2013	Empowering Local Actors to Counter Violent Extremism	Grete Faremo	Minister of Defence until 2011 then Minister of Justice (2011–2013)	Conflict	Belgium	EC High-Level Conference: Empowering Local Actors to Prevent Violent Extremism	N



Year	Title of speech	Name of speech giver	Position	Focus of speech	Location	Occasion	Mention of women
2013	Seeking Solutions to African Conflicts – the Role of Regional and Global Actors	Torgeir Larsen	Head of Secretariat for Minister of Foreign Affairs (2006–2010)	Peace	Finland	Nordic–African Foreign Ministers’ meeting	N
2014	Address on the Situation in Syria and South Sudan and Norway’s Engagement in These Countries	Børge Brende	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2013–)	Conflict, South Sudan	Norway	The Storting	Y
2014	The Situation in Afghanistan and Norway’s Engagement in the Country	Børge Brende	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2013–)	Security	Norway	The Storting	Y
2014	Opening Speech – Donor Conference for the Humanitarian Crisis in South Sudan	Børge Brende	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2013–)	Conflict	Norway	Donor Conference for the Humanitarian Crisis in South Sudan	Y
2014	Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict	Børge Brende	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2013–)	WPS	Norway	Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict	Y
2014	Global Security, Transnational Threats and Norwegian Interests	Børge Brende	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2013–)	Security	Norway	Conference: A New Nexus of Global Threats? Concepts and Response	N
2014	To End Poverty We Need Peace	Erna Solberg	Prime Minister (2013–)	Peace	NY	Columbia University	Y
2014	SC Summit on Foreign Terrorist Fighters	Erna Solberg	Prime Minister (2013–)	Conflict	UN	SC	N
2014	About the Conflict in Eastern Congo	Hans Brattskar	State Secretary for Development Aid in MFA	Conflict	Eastern Congo	Christian Council of Norway’s Conference	Y
2014	Address at UN Commission on the Status of Women	Hans Brattskar	State Secretary for Development Aid in MFA	WPS	UN	Speech to UN	Y
2014	Statement on the Situation in the Middle East	Tine Mørch Smith	Ambassador	Peace, security	NY		N
2015	Opening Remarks at a High Level Seminar on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Processes	Bård Glad Pedersen	State Secretary of MFA (2013–2015)	WPS	Norway	High-Level Seminar on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Processes	Y
2015	Building Peace and Security in South Sudan: The Central Role of Women and Girls	Børge Brende	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2013–)	WPS, South Sudan	Ethiopia	Speech to Ethiopians	Y
2015	Maintenance of International Peace and Security	Børge Brende	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2013–)	Peace, security, conflict	UN	SC	N

Year	Title of speech	Name of speech giver	Position	Focus of speech	Location	Occasion	Mention of women
2015	Statement at High-Level Meeting on South Sudan	Børge Brende	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2013–)	Conflict	UN	UN General Assembly	N
2015	Gender Equality	Erna Solberg	Prime Minister (2013–)	WPS	NY	Gender Equality Meeting	Y
2015	UN Peacekeeping Operations	Erna Solberg	Prime Minister (2013–)	Peace	UN	UN in New York	Y
2015	Opening Speech at the Leangkollen Conference	Erna Solberg	Prime Minister (2013–)	Security		Atlantic Committee's Annual Conference	N
2015	Women and Men – a Joint Venture into an Equal Future	Hans Brattskar	State Secretary for Development Aid in MFA	WPS	UN	Nordic Council of Ministers Event during UN CSW	Y
2015	Opening Statement by Ine Eriksen Søreide at 15-Year Anniversary of UNSCR 1325 in Norway	Ine Eriksen Søreide	Minister of Defence (2011–2012)	WPS	Norway	Military Hospital	Y
2015	The Future of UN Peace Operations	Ine Eriksen Søreide	Minister of Defence (2011–2012)	Peace	Norway	Military Power Seminar	N
2015	Smart Power: Leadership Through Inclusive Security	Ine Eriksen Søreide	Minister of Defence (2011–2012)	WPS	US	Seminar by Georgetown Institute for WPS	Y
2015	High-Level Pledging Conference for South Sudan	Morten Høglund	Member of Foreign Affairs committee	Peace, South Sudan	Geneva	High-Level Pledging Conference for South Sudan	N
2015	WPS and 15th Anniversary of 1325	Tone Skogen	State Secretary in MFA (2015–)	WPS	UN	SC	Y
2015	WPS	Tone Skogen	State Secretary in MFA (2015–)	WPS	UN	Open Debate	Y
2015	Opening Speech at Gathering for Sahel Special Envoys	Tore Hattrem	State Secretary (2013–)	Peace	Norway	Meeting for Sahel Special Envoys with Representatives from Donor Countries	Y
2015	Speech at the Establishment of a Nordic Women Mediators Network	Tore Hattrem	State Secretary (2013–)	WPS	Norway	Speech to Norwegians	Y

TABLE 4: LIST OF SPEECHES ABOUT SUDAN/SOUTH SUDAN

Year	Title of speech	Name of speech giver	Mention of Sudan/South Sudan	Location	Occasion	Mention of women
2005	Luncheon Speech at Oslo Donors' Conference on Sudan 2005	Jan Petersen	Implementation of the peace agreement	Norway	Oslo Donors' Conference	N
2005	Opening Statement at Sudanese Gender Symposium	Hilde F. Johnson	Women's engagement in the peace process	Norway	Sudanese Gender Symposium	Y
2005	Opening of the NGO Conference on Sudan in Oslo	Hilde F. Johnson	NGOs' role in the peace agreement	Norway	NGO conference	Y
2005	Peace in Sudan: From Words to Actions	Hilde F. Johnson	Conflict, action needs to be taken from the peace agreement	Norway	Norwegian Institute of International Affairs	Y
2005	Nordic Peace Diplomacy: Looking Back, Moving Forward	Jan Petersen	Peace	Denmark	Conference in Denmark	N
2005	Towards Achieving the MDGs in Sudan: Centrality of Women's Leadership and Gender Equality	Hilde F. Johnson	Women's role in the peace process	UN	Roundtable	Y
2005	Prospects for Peace in Sudan: The Road Ahead	Hilde F. Johnson	Peace	Norway	75th Anniversary of Chr. Michelsen Institute	Y
2007	How Norway and Finland Promote Conflict Resolution With Gender Equality	Jonas Gahr Støre	Women's impact on ending war	Finland	Seminar on Women, Peace and Security	Y
2008	Address at Sudan Consortium	Jonas Gahr Støre	Peace	Norway	Sudan Consortium	Y
2008	Opening Statement at the Sudan Consortium in Oslo	Erik Solheim	Unity in Sudan	Norway	Sudan Consortium	Y
2009	Norway Condemned Violations of Human Rights	Bente Angell-Hansen	Condemning violence against women and encouraged the protection of IDPs and civilians	UN	UN Human Rights Council	Y
2009	State in Fragile Environments: Common Engagement for Conflict Resolution and Development	Jonas Gahr Støre	Norway's support for disarmament	South Africa	State Visit to South Africa	Y
2010	High-Level Meeting on Sudan	Jonas Gahr Støre	Transition period before vote	UN	UN	N

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Year	Title of speech	Name of speech giver	Mention of Sudan/South Sudan	Location	Occasion	Mention of women
2012	Address at Sudan/South Sudan Consultative Forum	Espen Barth Eide	Support for peace negotiations in Addis	US	Sudan/South Sudan Consultative Forum	N
2013	Seeking Solutions to African Conflicts–the Role of Regional and Global Actors	Torgeir Larsen	Conflicts in Africa	Finland	Nordic–African Foreign Ministers’ Meeting	N
2014	How Can We Provide Aid to Those Who Need It in Syria and South Sudan	Børge Brende	Huge unmet need for humanitarian assistance. Politics and aid must be separate, humanitarian crises require political solutions and Norway can be impartial but not neutral.	Norway	Speech at Literaturhuset	N
2014	Enhancing International Cooperation, Solidarity, Local Capacities and Humanitarian Action for Refugees in Africa	Børge Brende	Need more international resources for SS and need SS government to show leadership. Without political solution, suffering will continue. More needs to be done to protect displaced women.	UN	UNHCR Executive Committee	N
2014	To End Poverty We Need Peace	Erna Solberg	Importance of UN peacekeepers. Concern for political, economic and humanitarian situation in SS. Condemning targeting of women and girls in the conflict. Focus is underlying issues that led to conflict.	US	Columbia University	Y
2014	Address on the Situation in Syria and South Sudan and Norway’s Engagement in These Countries	Børge Brende	Norway has active political and humanitarian engagement in SS as well as being facilitator in the peace process. Underlying causes of the conflict must be addressed. Norway is also providing military personnel and police officers and civilian personnel to UNMISS.	Norway	The Storting	Y
2014	Opening Speech – Donor Conference for the Humanitarian Crisis in South Sudan	Børge Brende	Women are still unheard and are being marginalised in the humanitarian response. The majority of displaced people are women; preventing sexual violence must be prioritised. Women must be included as leaders and decision-makers.	Norway	Donor Conference on the Humanitarian Crisis in South Sudan	N

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Year	Title of speech	Name of speech giver	Mention of Sudan/South Sudan	Location	Occasion	Mention of women
2015	Building Peace and Security in South Sudan: The Central Role of Women and Girls	Børge Brende	Civilians have suffered tremendously, particularly women regarding sexual violence. Women are key in rebuilding and must be part of the peace process.	Ethiopia	Speech to Ethiopians	Y
2015	Statement at the High-Level Meeting on South Sudan	Børge Brende	Peace must come from within, Norway and others can only assist. Norway stands behind SS.	UN	UN General Assembly	N
2015	High-Level Pledging Conference for South Sudan	Morton Hoglund	Leaders in SS have not taken responsibility for their citizens and the reports of killings, sexual violence and abductions cannot pass with impunity. Norway pledged NOK 180 million for humanitarian needs in South Sudan.	Switzerland	High-Level Pledging Conference for South Sudan	N
2015	Speech at the Establishment of a Nordic Women Mediators Network	Tore Hattrem	Women must be included in the peace process.	Norway	Nobel Peace Centre	Y

TABLE 5: LIST OF SPEECHES ABOUT COLOMBIA

Year	Title of speech	Name of speech giver	Mention of Colombia	Location	Occasion	Mention of women
2006	Managing Conflict and Building Peace. Norwegian Policy for Peace And Reconciliation	Jonas Gahr Støre	Accompanying countries (such as Norway and Spain) that help process between ELN and FARC	Spain	Real Instituto Elcano	N
2007	How Norway and Finland Promote Conflict Resolution with Gender Equality	Jonas Gahr Støre	Norway's facilitation of peace process – importance of reminding parties of the gender perspective	Finland	Seminar on WPS	Y
2012	Leadership is About Making Choices	Espen Barth Eide	Government and FARC used formal negotiations to end conflict	UN	UN	N
2012	Tolerance and Dialogue	Gry Larsen	Dialogue facilitates peace	Indonesia	Universitas Gadjah Mada	N
2013	Address at the Norad Conference 2013	Børge Brende	Preventing and resolving war is the best Norway can do to promote development, as seen in Colombia	Norway	Norad Conference	N
2013	Syria – How to Get Beyond the Impasse	Espen Barth Eide	Summary of 2012 peace process and land reform	Norway	Oslo Forum Opening Panel	N
2013	Norwegian Statement at UN General Assembly	Espen Barth Eide	Working with Colombia on peace between government and FARC. Help from Colombia's neighbours	UN	UN General Assembly	N
2014	Improving Health Through Foreign Policy	Hans Brattskar	Peace and reconciliation are central in Norway's foreign policy. Norway considers its role encouraging negotiations to be an investment in long-term development.	Norway	The Lancet – University of Oslo Commission on Global Governance for Health	N
2015	Opening Remarks at a High Level Seminar on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Processes	Bård Glad Pedersen	Norway encouraged the establishment of a sub-commission on gender in the Colombia peace negotiations. The commission will review the peace accords to ensure the gender perspective is included—that women's voices are heard. This is unique. The parties to the conflict are part of this commission themselves.	Norway	High-Level Seminar on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Processes	Y

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Year	Title of speech	Name of speech giver	Mention of Colombia	Location	Occasion	Mention of women
2015	WPS	Tone Skogen	Norway is proud that it facilitated the peace process and brought women to the table.	UN	SC	Y
2015	Speech at the Establishment of a Nordic Women Mediators Network	Tore Hattrem	Norway has for years supported the peace efforts by national women's organisation in Colombia.	Norway	Establishment of a Nordic Women Mediators Network	Y
2015	Foreign Policy Address 5 March 2015	Børge Brende	Security threats are symptoms of unsolved political challenges, Norway wants to help address the underlying causes, as it has in Colombia.	Norway	Foreign policy address	Y

Annex 4: Summary of the Norwegian national action plans

	Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2000) on WPS, 2006	Women, Peace and Security: Norway's Strategic Plan 2011–2013	Action Plan on WPS, 2015–2018
Leading agent	MFA	MFA	MFA
Involved parties	Ministries of Defence, Justice and the Police and Children and Equality	Ministries of Defence, Justice and the Police and Children, Equality and Social Inclusion	Ministries of Defence, Justice and the Police and Children, Equality and Social Inclusion
Civil society involvement	Consultations with civil society did take place in the drafting of the plan. Forum Norway 1325 was established in 2004 and had this role.	Consultations with Norwegian civil society did take place in the drafting of the plan.	Consultations with Norwegian civil society did take place in the drafting of the plan.
Evidence base	Co-drafted by academic expert on gender, peace and security at PRIO.	Researchers were consulted in the development of the NAP.	Researchers were consulted NAP and provided sections of text. It built on recommendations of a Norad review of the previous Strategic Plan.
Coordination	MFA lead agency, but each ministry responsible for implementation should appoint a focal person.	MFA has the overall responsibility for coordination through the 1325 coordinator.	Coordinated by MFA (1325 coordinator); other ministries with focal points.
Priority areas	1. Increased participation and representation of women in local and international peace processes 2. Increase the recruitment of women in peace operations run by international organisations 3. Safeguard women's rights to protection in conflict situations	1. Promote the participation of women and integrate a gender perspective in peace processes and negotiations 2. Strengthen the gender perspective in international operations and increase the participation of women 3. Increase the participation of women in peace-building and post-conflict situations and strengthen the gender perspective in reconstruction processes 4. Prevent and protect against sexual violence, promote the prosecution of perpetrators and provide support for victims 5. Focus strongly on monitoring the results and to increase accountability	1. Peace processes and peace negotiations in which Norway is engaged involve both women and men, and peace agreements address the rights, needs and priorities of both 2. Women and men's security, rights and needs are taken into account in all aspects of international operations 3. Peace-building processes in which Norway is involved increase women's economic and political freedom of action and influence 4. Norway's efforts in response to humanitarian crises safeguard the rights of both women and men and address their needs and priorities. 5. Preventing and combating sexual violence in conflict is a key element of efforts in all four priority areas.

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	Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2000) on WPS, 2006	Women, Peace and Security: Norway's Strategic Plan 2011–2013	Action Plan on WPS, 2015–2018
Financial allocation	Not specified	Specific annual allocation of NOK 300 million for women's rights, and in addition NOK 140 million from the allocations for humanitarian assistance and peace and reconciliation is earmarked each year for the implementation of UNSCR 1325.	Not specified beyond financing within the existing budgetary framework, aiming for allocation of a greater proportion of funding to WPS in other budget lines. Norad to administer separate fund for NGOs. First call for proposals in 2015.
Advocacy targets	National: ministries, Norad, the Crisis Response Pool, NORSTAFF, NORDEM Countries: Those affected by conflict and emerging from conflict. Troop-contributing countries and troop-hosting countries Multilateral system: UN (UNSC, DPKO, UN PBC), NATO, OSCE, EU, AU. NGOs: Those with funding from Norway	National: Ministries, Crisis Response Pool Countries: Broad-based support, focused on Afghanistan, Sudan, Nepal, the Philippines, Israel and the Palestinian Territory, Haiti, DRC, Liberia and Colombia. Troop-contributing countries Multilateral system: UN (SC, UN Women, UN PBC Organizational Committee, UN concerned with peace and security, DPKO), NATO, AU, World Bank	National: Ministries, armed forces, Norwegian Crisis Response Pool Countries: Afghanistan, Colombia, Myanmar, Palestine and South Sudan, but also continued work in the Middle East and North Africa Multilateral system: UN (in general, UN PBC), NATO, EU, AU, Council of Europe, OSCE
Implementing partners	NGOs, academia Multilateral system: UNDP, Friends of the Bureau for Conflict Prevention and Recovery, Group of Friends of UNSCR 1325, UNHCR	NGOs: Women's organisations with contacts at grassroots level will be given priority Academia Multilateral system: UN (in general, UN special representative on sexual violence in conflict and UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict)	NGOs: Norwegian and international CSOs, Gender Standby Capacity Project, FOKUS and Forum 1325 Academia: PRIO, CMI Multilateral system: UN (DPA), NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives
Indicators	Some indicators, but most activities without indicators	Yes, indicators for each priority area	A simple results framework is being developed.
Reporting	Yearly evaluations by MFA based on reports from relevant ministries. Unclear whether this reporting happened in practice.	Public annual reports, reports for 2011 and 2012 published. Not for 2013. An external review planned for 2013, but done 2014 by Norad and external consultants and has not been published.	An annual work plan to be developed. Reporting will presumably be part of results framework, but not mentioned specifically.
Civil society monitoring and dialogue	A consultative body including inter-ministerial working group, relevant directorates, research institutions and NGOs will meet twice a year to exchange information and experience of on-going projects. There has been frequent collaboration with Forum 1325, and there is an inter-ministerial working group; it is unclear whether this constituted a formal consultative body that met twice per year.	A network made up of the inter-ministerial working group, relevant directorates, research institutes and NGOs will meet twice a year to exchange information and experience, and will review the ministries' annual reports. However, meetings seem to have taken place only once annually. Forum 1325 states that monitoring has been difficult owing to a focus on reporting on activities, rather than progress over time.	FOKUS, in its capacity as coordinator for Forum Norway 1325, facilitates contact between the ministries and CSOs.

Source: Summary of plans, Jukarainen and Puumala (2014), Miller et al. (2014), Norad (2014a), interviews.

Acronyms and abbreviations

AU	African Union	Norad	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation	UNMISS	UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan
CMI	Crisis Management Initiative	NORDEM	Norwegian Resource Bank for Democracy and Human Rights	UNSCR	UN Security Council Resolution
CSO	Civil Society Organisation	NPA	Norwegian People's Aid,	US	United States
DPA	Department of Political Affairs	NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council	WPS	Women Peace and Security
DPKO	Department of Peace Keeping Operations	NUPI	Norwegian Institute of International Affairs		
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo	ODA	Official Development Assistance		
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—People's Army	OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development		
FOKUS	Forum for Women and Development	PBC	Peacebuilding Commission		
GNWP	Global Network of Women Peacebuilders	PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo		
ICAN	International Civil Society Action Network	SC	Security Council		
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development	SPLA/M	Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement		
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and/or Intersex	SRSg/SVC	Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict		
MAP	Monthly Action Point	UK	United Kingdom		
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	UN	United Nations		
NAP	National Action Plan	UNDP	UN Development Programme		
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization	UNDPA	UN Department of Political Affairs		
NCA	Norwegian Church Aid	UNICEF	UN Children's Fund		
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation				
NGOWG	NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security				
NOK	Norwegian Kroner				