

SPECIAL REPORT

A S P I

Australia's implementation of
women, peace and security
Promoting regional stability



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AUSTRALIAN
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Louise Allen

February 2020

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The correlation between gender inequality and a society's propensity for civil or inter-state war is now well established.¹ There's over two decades' worth of peer-reviewed research that provides evidence that gender equality and the status of women are together the single most reliable indicator for conflict prevention. Yet despite that, international organisations and national governments continue to overlook the importance of gender equality and the broader women, peace and security (WPS) agenda as a central tenet of their national security, foreign affairs and defence policies.

Australia has shown leadership when it comes to advancing the WPS agenda over the past two decades, but there's scope to do more and ensure that it's effectively prioritised. This would intrinsically benefit its longer term security and prosperity. As well as enhancing Australia's reputation for championing the rights of women and girls, a more systematic integration of the WPS agenda into its foreign policy, aid and defence operations would improve the longer term effectiveness of overseas operations and development programs and strengthen Australia's whole-of-government approach to national security.

The UN is increasing its warnings that sudden and extreme restrictions on women's rights are among the earliest signs of the spread of violent extremism.² For Australia and other countries committed to conflict prevention and sustainable development, the promotion of gender equality and women's rights should be front and centre of their domestic and foreign policies. In October 2000, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1325, which formally established the WPS agenda.

The agenda has become the central framework through which to advocate for women's participation across all peace and security decision-making processes and for the integration of gender perspectives into conflict prevention, resolution and post-conflict rebuilding efforts and throughout disaster and crisis responses. The WPS agenda also provides the framework through which states can apply robust gender perspectives and analysis to their national security efforts and ensure that they're implementing holistic and more effective approaches to regional conflict prevention.

Australia has a positive story to tell, particularly about its mainstreaming of the agenda across the ADF, within international operations of the Australian Federal Police (AFP) and in its aid program. It also continues to be the largest donor to the Women's Peace and Humanitarian Fund, has supported the deployment of gender advisers in several UN peacekeeping and special political missions and in other multinational operations, and hosted the inaugural ASEAN–Australia WPS Dialogue in April 2018. There are, however, significant inconsistencies and resourcing gaps in how it approaches the implementation of its commitments on WPS.

Ahead of the 20th anniversary of the WPS agenda, this paper outlines 15 recommendations for how the Australian Government can strengthen its support for the WPS agenda and further operationalise the agenda across its foreign affairs and domestic policies as part of enhancing national security and promoting regional stability:

1. The Australian Foreign Minister and Defence Minister should re-energise international support for WPS throughout 2020 by clearly setting out the challenges that need to be addressed as a priority at regional dialogues such as the Shangri-La Dialogue in June and during the UN General Assembly in September and leading up to the Security Council open debate on WPS in October. The ministers should publicly commit to personally recruiting their counterparts to strengthen their support for WPS through foreign policy and defence engagement.
2. Gender perspectives and analysis should be systematically integrated into Australia's high-level foreign policies and diplomatic engagement as well as in its responses to unfolding crises and in country assessments undertaken by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and intelligence agencies.
3. When engaging in defence cooperation, Australia should insist on the vetting of security force personnel whom it trains and exclude those suspected of human rights violations, including extrajudicial killings and sexual violence, and advocate for them to be held accountable. Defence should also ensure through strengthened monitoring that its surveillance training and materials aren't used in attacks on civilians or reprisals against civil society, including women's organisations.
4. Australia should be more responsive to attacks on women human rights defenders and build a reputation at the highest political levels for its systematic condemnation of attacks against women's rights and women activists.
5. Australia should be more attuned to the gendered dimensions of rising populism across the Indo-Pacific region, as well as further abroad, and consider how it can adapt its promotion of gender equality in this context.
6. Australia should champion and implement a human-rights-based approach to countering or preventing violent extremism, supporting women's participation in all decision-making on countering violent extremism (CVE) and strengthening consultations with local women's organisations both in Australia and in the Indo-Pacific region. This could include an expansion of the AFP's Gender Strategy to encompass all international counterterrorism and CVE violent extremism activities as well as all domestic operations.
7. Australia should commit to repatriating all of its citizens who sought to join extremist groups overseas and implement case-by-case gender-sensitive judicial or rehabilitative processes.
8. Australia should further continue its investment in research and analysis to better understand the gendered dimensions of violent extremism.
9. Australia should strengthen its gender analysis in the development, implementation and monitoring of strategies on countering terrorism and violent extremism and ensure synergies between those strategies and WPS policies.
10. Australia should continue to champion the progressive advancement of the WPS agenda. This includes vocally defending established norms relating to sexual and reproductive rights and health and promoting definitions of gender that extend beyond the experiences of women, girls, men and boys to consider the needs and potential vulnerabilities of LGBTIQ and non-gender-conforming people.
11. Australia should use all available diplomatic channels to support women's formal participation at every level of peace talks and should challenge processes that exclude women.
12. Australia's political and financial support of local women's organisations both in Australia and overseas is critical and should be increased to enable women's organisations to identify and set their own strategic objectives based on their own assessments of local needs.
13. Australia's implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty should include strengthened human rights due diligence, including on gender-based violence or serious acts of violence against women, and greater transparency in reporting.
14. Australia's upcoming second National Action Plan on WPS should operationalise key policy commitments, including those in DFAT's gender equality strategy, and better connect the WPS agenda with domestic issues, including asylum seeker policies, CVE and Indigenous affairs. This could include convening a special session of the Council of Australian Governments to identify a common approach to WPS, including increasing women's participation in political and institutional decision-making and better promoting gender perspectives in key areas such as justice, law enforcement, education and health.
15. Australia should fund a WPS civil society mechanism to facilitate participation and consultation in Australia and within the region.

INTRODUCTION

The women, peace and security agenda (WPS) was formally established nearly 20 years ago when the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1325 in 2000.³ That unanimous and historic resolution:

- recognised the importance of considering gender perspectives in all crisis and conflict situations
- emphasised the importance of women's meaningful participation in conflict prevention and resolution efforts
- called for the differentiated protection risks of women and girls to be identified and addressed in consultation with local women's organisations.

The resolution emanated from global calls for women to have equal access to decision-making processes relating to peace and security.

In the nearly two decades since, the WPS agenda has expanded into a comprehensive normative framework. It:

- sets out requirements to address and prevent sexual violence in conflicts (including through sanctions regimes)
- calls for measures to strengthen women's participation in post-conflict, humanitarian and recovery settings and in transitional justice measures
- recognises the importance of dedicated gender expertise
- encourages greater financial investment in the implementation of the agenda.

On 29 October 2019, under a South African presidency, the Security Council adopted its 10th WPS resolution.⁴

Beyond the Security Council, the agenda has further grown at the national and regional levels. About 80 countries, Australia among them, have developed national action plans on WPS as a way of implementing the agenda nationally. On the 15th anniversary of the WPS agenda in 2015, the Security Council encouraged UN member states to allocate sufficient resources for the implementation of their national action plans on WPS and for the plans to be developed and rolled out in consultation with women's civil society organisations.⁵ The Security Council also outlined the importance for national action plans on WPS to be further integrated into other strategic plans and planning frameworks.

In Australia, the WPS agenda enjoys bipartisan support, and successive Australian governments and civil society have been actively engaged in supporting it over the past two decades. Australia has supported WPS within multilateral forums, integrated WPS across the Defence organisation and in the Australian Federal Police (AFP), and increased its considerations of gender in aid and foreign policies.

The Australian Government's *2017 Foreign Policy White Paper*, states that while not trying to impose its values on others, Australia is a determined advocate of human rights and that its international support of human rights will advance its national interests. It recognises that societies that protect human rights and gender equality are more likely to be productive and stable.⁶ It further outlines that gender inequality undermines global prosperity, stability and security and contributes to and often exacerbates a range of challenges, including poverty, weak governance, conflict and violent extremism. The paper also acknowledges that severe gender inequality persists, including in the Middle East, South Asia and the Pacific, where it's undercutting social stability and economic development.

However, there are significant inconsistencies and resourcing gaps in Australia's approach to the implementation of the nation's commitments on WPS. For example, as this paper assesses, gender perspectives often don't inform Australia's response to international crises. Failing to consider or attach priority to WPS and the promotion of gender equality undermines its efforts to prevent conflict and increase stability in the Indo-Pacific region and globally.

This paper examines the Australian Government's current commitment and approach to implementing the WPS agenda in the context of the 20th anniversary of the agenda and explores three key questions:

- How has Australia recently integrated WPS into its approach to foreign policy and national security, including in emerging security challenges such as countering violent extremism (CVE) and returning foreign fighters?
- What are some of the good practices and shortcomings in a number of countries where Australia has key relationships and are engaged in defence cooperation programs, such Myanmar and the Philippines?
- How could Australia strengthen its WPS implementation domestically in order to apply gender considerations to domestic policy areas that affect women's security?

Recommendations are provided to the government in all of those areas.

WHY THE WPS AGENDA IS CENTRAL TO CONFLICT PREVENTION AND NATIONAL SECURITY

In 1995, well before the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 (2000), UNESCO had established the link between the equality of men and women and sustainable peace at the Beijing World Conference on Women.⁷ In the years since, a significant body of peer-reviewed research has provided evidence that gender equality and the status of women are together the single most reliable indicator for conflict prevention.⁸

This extensive research and evidence are captured both in the 2015 *Global study on the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325*⁹ and in the 2018 UN – World Bank joint report on conflict prevention.¹⁰ In 2015, the Security Council again reaffirmed that women's and girls' empowerment and gender equality are critical to conflict prevention and broader efforts to maintain international peace and security.¹¹ Quantitative studies indicate that peace agreements are 64% less likely to fail if civil society representatives are involved in their negotiations and, when women are included, are 20% more likely to hold for at least two years and 35% more likely to last for 15 years.¹²

Newer research is also highlighting the crucial role gender equality is having in preventing violent extremism. For instance, research published by Monash University in 2017 concluded that promoting gender equality, both publicly and within the family, is potentially the single most powerful counter-discourse to extremist interpretations of religion.¹³ Based on a pilot program in Indonesia, the research found that a reliable indicator of whether fundamentalism was affecting local communities was the extent to which local attitudes relating to women's and girl's freedoms, mobility and dress were changing. This reflects the UN's increasing warnings that sudden and extreme restrictions on women's rights are among the earliest signs of the spread of violent extremism.¹⁴ Analysis commissioned by UN Women reveals the sophisticated gender strategies that groups such as ISIS are using to recruit both men and women and also to exert control.¹⁵

The WPS agenda provides the framework through which states can apply robust gender perspectives and analysis to their national security efforts and ensure that they're implementing holistic and more effective approaches to regional conflict prevention. WPS academics and practitioners are continuously highlighting the different roles women are playing, including as combatants, supporters, recruiters or fundraisers for violent extremist groups. CVE efforts will be incomplete and ineffective if they don't include assessments of women's agency and motivations to support violent extremism, leading to incomplete and ineffective responses.¹⁶ A wealth of accumulated research indicates that a failure to consider the gendered elements of conflict and security undermines national and international peace and security efforts.

GLOBAL PERCEPTION CHALLENGES

Despite the evidence highlighting the importance of gendered approaches to conflict prevention, resolution and recovery, challenges continue to plague the implementation of the WPS agenda. Among them is the degree to which the agenda is considered to be relevant in times of crisis and within traditional security sectors.

There are several costs to ignoring gender in conflict and post-conflict situations. In 2012, a former senior UN gender adviser wrote that processes that were considered to be gender-neutral reaffirmed traditional gender roles, meaning that security issues were viewed as being between men only and that the concerns of women were irrelevant to neutralising armed groups or avoiding further outbreaks of violence. However, that limited perspective fails to recognise the destabilising impact that violence against women will have on post-conflict society in the long term; nor does it address the conditions that led to violence in the first place.¹⁷

Similarly, the 2015 global study on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 described a culture of viewing WPS as an ‘add-on’ component to a mandate, as opposed to being one of the central tenets that support conflict prevention and underpin long-term stability.¹⁸ The International Peace Institute also found in 2015 that many individuals leading and supporting peace processes don’t consider women as valuable partners in reaching their goals and that the participation of women’s groups was secured only after external pressure from local and international organisations. Inclusive approaches tended to not be at the initiative of mediation teams or negotiating parties.¹⁹

Encouragingly, Australia has a positive story to tell, particularly about the government’s mainstreaming of the agenda across the ADF, in the AFP’s international operations and in its aid program. However, there are evident inconsistencies in how it applies its gender policies—including the gender equality and women’s empowerment strategy of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and the strategies outlined in the country’s National Action Plan on WPS—to Australia’s responses to crises and within multilateral forums. Those inconsistencies are further explored below.

AUSTRALIA'S PRIORITIES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Australia has long been credited as a champion of the WPS agenda,²⁰ including by prioritising WPS during its 2013–2014 non-permanent term on the UN Security Council and by incorporating robust WPS elements in the resolution on small arms and light weapons, which was drafted by Australian diplomats.²¹ It continues to be the largest donor to the Women's Peace and Humanitarian Fund, has supported the deployment of gender advisers in several UN peacekeeping and special political missions and in other multinational operations, and hosted the inaugural ASEAN–Australia WPS Dialogue in April 2018. This followed the Sydney Declaration (the joint statement from the ASEAN–Australia Special Summit in March 2018), which included a commitment to promote gender equality and advance the WPS agenda in the region, as well as a recognition that women's inclusion in peace and security processes helps prevent conflict and support economic growth.²²

In order to meet its responsibilities under Australia's first WPS National Action Plan (2012–2019), the ADF has undertaken to mainstream gender across all of its military operations and commitments.²³ According to the ADF WPS implementation plan, it's also set to publish the *ADF joint doctrine note on gender in military operations* in the near future. The stated aim of those efforts is to 'ensure that the integration of women, peace and security is a business as usual activity and a fundamental input to Defence's operational culture'.²⁴

A 2012 study highlighted Australia's challenges in integrating gender and other relatively new security dimensions into traditional security spheres. This followed an assessment of Australia's role in the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI), which observed that its mission rollout didn't match its stated commitment to the WPS agenda.²⁵ The ADF has since positioned itself internationally as an expert on WPS, in part due to strong leadership and high-level support for the agenda, and other nations seek to learn from its work.²⁶ Operation Fiji Assist (Australia's response to Tropical Cyclone Winston, which struck Fiji in 2016) was the first ADF operation to include WPS and gender perspectives in operational orders and to deploy gender advisers. DFAT also deployed gender experts who worked alongside the ADF gender advisers in the response. Additionally, Australia was also one of the few countries to deploy a gender adviser to Iraq as part of Operation Inherent Resolve in October 2017. It's also worthwhile noting that Australian Brigadier Cheryl Pearce became the second woman to be a UN force commander when she was appointed by UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres in November 2018 to command the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus.²⁷

The AFP's International Engagement 2020 and Beyond framework recognises the role of women in law enforcement and peacebuilding and reiterates the agency's commitment to gender equality, the WPS agenda and increasing the participation of women in international AFP operations.²⁸ It also released its International Operations Strategy 2018–2022, which is designed to support the AFP becoming a 'world leading police service in the practice of gender mainstreaming, building gender capability and the prevention of gender based crime wherever the AFP operates operationally'.²⁹

In 2016, DFAT released its Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Strategy, which encompasses three overarching priorities:

- enhancing women's voice in decision-making, leadership and peacebuilding
- promoting women's economic empowerment
- ending violence against women and girls.³⁰

The strategy commits to integrating gender equality and women's empowerment into Australia's foreign policy and advancing the WPS agenda.

The promotion of gender equality and women's rights is also a priority in Australia's overseas aid. The 2018–19 federal budget allocated \$55 million to DFAT's Gender Equality Fund, and one of the 10 performance targets for its aid program is to ensure that 80% of all investments address gender issues in their implementation.³¹

A 2018 review of Australian aid by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) found that gender equality was a genuinely cross-cutting issue.³² However, Australian NGOs working on gender have noted that in 2019 aid programs fell short of the 80% target for the fourth year in a row.³³ They also found that the 2019–20 federal budget points to a struggle to match commitment to practice in Australia's promotion of gender equality, as it's inconsistently applied across its foreign policy settings, including diplomacy, security and trade. It's also important to note that Australia's aid has been cut nine times since 2013 and that, while its economy ranks ninth in the world, it is ranked 19th out of the 29 countries that provide overseas development assistance.³⁴

AUSTRALIA'S GAPS BETWEEN POLICY AND PRACTICE

The proliferation of positive policy commitments and documents that have been developed in the past several years indicates a maturing in how Australia considers the WPS agenda and the promotion of gender equality. However, those commitments have yet to be consistently operationalised, especially in its diplomacy and multilateral settings. While the OECD found that gender is a cross-cutting issue in Australia's aid programs, the same can't be said for how it integrates gender into other aspects of its foreign affairs. Australian research published in 2016 concluded that, while Australia rhetorically supports a broad understanding of global security as it's affected by gender relations and women's insecurity, it has yet to put that into practice.³⁵ As demonstrated below, this remains the case where WPS is compartmentalised. It isn't systematically featured in high-level bilateral engagements, it doesn't necessarily inform Australian responses to crises, and it isn't always incorporated into new security policies.

While DFAT's gender equality strategy commits Australia to be a consistent advocate for gender equality, including in bilateral dialogue with all governments and agencies, there's no evidence to suggest that this is being done systematically. For instance, the communiqués from the annual Australia – US Ministerial Consultations (AUSMIN) have varied significantly in their references to gender equality. The first reference was introduced in 2012, when the two countries underscored the centrality of gender equality to political, economic, social and human development and reiterated their support for the empowerment of women and girls.³⁶ In 2015, the joint statement mentioned that the two countries would work together on regional efforts to empower women and girls and welcomed the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its strong focus on economic growth, gender equality, women's economic empowerment, peace and good governance.³⁷ Statements from the 2013 and 2014 meetings included similar references.³⁸ The 2017 and 2018 statements made no gendered references.³⁹ While the political landscape changed in the US in 2016, AUSMIN remains the primary forum for bilateral consultations with the US, bringing together the defence and foreign ministers from both countries. This is an important opportunity to continue to emphasise how the advancement of the WPS agenda and gender equality can help achieve the two countries' joint security goals. It's therefore a positive sign that the August 2019 communiqué underscored the crucial role that women play in peace and security work and included a joint commitment to protect the rights of women and girls in fragile and conflict-affected settings, and to promote the meaningful participation of women.⁴⁰

Similarly, in the joint statements following the Japan–Australia 2+2 Foreign and Defence Ministerial Consultations, there were no WPS references from the meetings in 2017 or in 2018. There's also inconsistency in how senior Australian officials weave in WPS and gender in their speeches, at least in those for which transcripts are publicly available.

While these are illustrative examples only, they point to a broader pattern in which gender perspectives aren't consistently being integrated into Australia's high-level foreign policies and diplomatic engagements. The aim isn't to have formulaic WPS references inserted into all high-level statements but for Australia to emphasise the importance of applying gender considerations to security and foreign policy agendas by highlighting context-specific examples showing why this is important. High-level statements by Australian ministers and senior government officials are key opportunities to promote its global priorities and demonstrate to other countries, as well as on multilateral platforms, what Australia considers to be important.

Australia would also benefit from strengthened gender considerations when responding to unfolding crises in its region and further abroad. For example, official records and statements don't show any sign that a high-level commitment to gender equality informed Australia's responses to either the human rights crisis in the Philippines or the plight of the Rohingya in Myanmar. Details of those responses have been highlighted as case studies in text boxes in this report. Its responses in Myanmar and the Philippines have been selected because they present challenging cases for Australia, given its strategic interests in those bilateral relationships, including for trade, defence cooperation and regional CT efforts, as well as potential concerns about the influence of China in the region.

DFAT officials who provided background information for this report advised that Australia's bilateral human rights advocacy is usually done quietly, behind closed doors. However, they also recognised and acknowledged that prioritising gender equality in Australia's aid program has yet to result in a similar coherent approach placing gender at the centre of its human rights diplomacy. DFAT is currently considering how it can leverage progress made in Australian aid and how to increase its strategic linkages between gender equality and conflict prevention. Following the May 2019 federal election, Australia's Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Women is for the first time the same person. The dual ministries for which Senator Marise Payne is now responsible represent a unique opportunity to ensure strategic synergy between its commitment to gender equality and across its foreign policies and diplomatic engagements.

Australia's response to the human rights crisis in the Philippines

By December 2018, the Philippines Commission on Human Rights was warning that the death toll from the war on drugs in the Philippines could have reached 27,000.⁴¹ Australia started condemning the extrajudicial killings in 2017 and in September that year was one of 39 countries that signed a statement at the Human Rights Council expressing concern at the mounting deaths and the climate of impunity surrounding the country's war on drugs.⁴² However, Australia and other countries have kept silent on increasing threats and violence, including sexual violence by police and soldiers, against women activists.

In February 2018, President Rodrigo Duterte said that soldiers 'should shoot women rebels in the vagina' as this would render them 'useless'.⁴³ In July 2017, he said he would maybe even congratulate someone who had 'the balls to rape' Miss Universe and in August 2018 suggested that 'as long as there are many beautiful women, there will be more rape cases'.⁴⁴ Filipina activists have been documenting and reporting higher rates of violence, including sexual violence by police and soldiers, against women activists, since the President made those and similar comments.⁴⁵ A Filipina activist told a closed experts' meeting in Bangkok in December 2018 that this condoning of violence by Duterte has also resulted in increased sexual harassment and violence by Filipino men, who see their leader as setting an example of what's now permissible in their treatment of and attitude towards women. In a speech he gave in January 2019, Duterte proudly admitted to having once sexually assaulted a sleeping maid.⁴⁶

In May 2017, Duterte offered immunity to soldiers who rape women as part of CT operations in Mindanao.⁴⁷ The UN Security Council has made it clear that sexual violence to advance military or political objectives, including when used as a reward for soldiers, is a war crime.⁴⁸ Despite the increased reports of violence against women and the consistent comments from the President, the international community, including Australia, stayed silent.

The only time that Australia has publicly responded to any of those comments was when Duterte was still on the campaign trail in early 2016. He expressed anger that he wasn't the first to assault an Australian woman missionary who had been gang-raped and then killed in a prison siege in 1989 in a town of which he was then the mayor. He said 'she was so beautiful, the mayor should have been first. What a waste'.⁴⁹ In response, the then Australian Ambassador to Manila, Amanda Gorely, tweeted that 'rape and murder should never be joked about or trivialised.' Duterte then tweeted 'this is politics. Stay out Australian government'.⁵⁰ Canberra hasn't made any further public rebukes of his violence-against-women rhetoric since he was elected, but it has continued to strengthen its defence cooperation with the Philippines.

Continued on next page.

In November 2015, Australia and the Philippines signed a joint declaration on a comprehensive partnership that further strengthened the long history of defence and security cooperation between the two nations.⁵¹ Through the partnership, Australia provides CT training and equipment, including surveillance equipment, to the Philippines police and military, which are also implicated in the country's deadly war on drugs. By 2016, human rights groups and journalists had already established that the Philippine National Police was implicated in widespread killings.⁵² In October 2017, Australia and the Philippines agreed to further enhanced cooperation on CT following the deadly siege in Marawi by militants loyal to the Islamic State.⁵³ This included providing urban CT training, as well as enhanced intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance in the southern Philippines. In 2018, the Australian Embassy in the Philippines announced further support, which included intelligence training, equipment and the refurbishment of facilities, to boost Philippine National Police efforts to combat terrorism.⁵⁴ Since the Marawi siege, in-depth analysis has been published on Australia's contribution to the urban operation that was conducted to free the city.⁵⁵ However, it remains unclear how far human rights concerns in the country were considered when supporting the Armed Forces of the Philippines or the extent to which those concerns were raised bilaterally behind closed doors.

Several options are available to strengthen Australia's commitment to WPS through its bilateral relationship with the Philippines. First, all personnel should be vetted to ensure that they haven't committed human rights abuses, including sexual violence. Second, all security training can continue to include WPS, human rights and international humanitarian law as part of the curriculum. Third, it should ensure that counterterrorism training, enhanced surveillance or equipment isn't used in reprisals against civil society, including women's organisations that are speaking out against the widespread human rights violations in the country. Finally, the Australian Government should identify opportunities to express its opposition to and concern over rhetoric being used against women. In her statement to the UN General Assembly in 2018, Foreign Minister Marise Payne did state that Australia was training Philippines forces, as well as forces in Afghanistan and Iraq, in WPS.⁵⁶

As per the 2018 progress report on Australia's National Action Plan on WPS, Australia is supporting initiatives focusing on Filipina women's participation in CVE initiatives and in the long-running Mindanao peace process. This programmatic investment must be matched by high-level political support for women's rights that includes expressing concern at rhetoric that glorifies sexual violence. Being an advocate of human rights and gender equality doesn't prevent Australia from being able to partner with its neighbours to support CT efforts.

Australia should also be more attuned to the gendered dimensions of rising populism across the Indo-Pacific region and globally and consider how it can augment its promotion of gender equality in that context. In 2018, Dr Maria Tanyag, a research fellow at the Monash University Gender, Peace and Security Centre, described how hypermasculinity is driving populism. This includes proposing violence and aggression against those seen as enemies of the public, the sexual domination of women and the projection of male virility, and the depiction of benevolent paternalism to undermine democratic governance.⁵⁷ She warned that populist leaders such as President Duterte rely on the intensification of hypermasculine forms of leadership, which then serve to normalise or exacerbate unequal gender relations.

While the Philippines is the archetype, women activists in India, Nepal, Cambodia and Sri Lanka are similarly raising the alarm that constituent support for strong patriarchal father-figure type leadership is not only contributing to a return of authoritarianism, but that support for traditional and cultural gender norms is also gaining more prominence. Australia needs to remain vigilant and vocalise its concerns about narratives and policies that undermine progress towards gender equality and the promotion of human rights, including women's rights. In January 2019, the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders released a report outlining the worsening violence facing women human rights defenders. The report states that women, girls and non-gender-conforming human rights activists are experiencing increased repression and violence. This is made worse by the rise in misogynistic, sexist and homophobic speech by political leaders in recent years, which is normalising violence against women and women human rights defenders.⁵⁸ The report calls on UN member states to protect the rights of women human rights defenders, including by publicly condemning all state and non-state actors who violate those rights.

Australia's response to the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar

In April 2018, human rights lawyer Razia Sultana became the first Rohingya to ever address the Security Council when she spoke at the annual Open Debate on Sexual Violence in Conflict on behalf of the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security.⁵⁹ During her statement, she presented evidence that sexual violence had been planned and used as a weapon against Rohingya.

Between August and October 2017, more than 727,000 Rohingya, mainly women and children, fled into neighbouring Bangladesh, where they are now in Cox's Bazar, which is one of the world's largest and most densely populated refugee camps. The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs described the humanitarian crisis as causing suffering on a catastrophic scale.⁶⁰

By 2019, Australia became the third largest donor, after the US and the UK, in responding to the humanitarian crisis. It has provided \$70 million in humanitarian aid since 2017 and, according to DFAT, gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls have been among Australia's top priorities in the response to the crisis.⁶¹ Of that funding, \$1 million has been granted to the UN Population Fund, which has established women-only spaces in Cox's Bazar and has provided counselling and health services to more than 80,000 women and girls recovering from sexual and gender-based violence.

Despite being among the top humanitarian donors, Australia had a patchy record in its political responses to the humanitarian and human rights crisis. Early on, Australia joined the international community in condemning the violence and calling for the protection of civilians and unfettered humanitarian access to Rakhine State. It supported a UN fact-finding mission, in which Australian Chris Sidoti was one of the commissioners. However, there were reports that Australia had watered down some of the text in the Human Rights Council resolution authorising the mission.⁶² In response, a DFAT spokesperson said that it was important to maintain appropriate lines of communication with Myanmar on what was a very challenging situation. Australian human rights NGOs monitoring the process in Geneva rejected that justification, claiming that, while maintaining communication with Myanmar was important, 'it shouldn't be done by whitewashing the reality of the violence and abuse occurring on the ground.'⁶³

The fact-finding mission accused the Myanmar Army of having conducted a systematic campaign targeting civilians that included gang rapes and mass killings and called for Myanmar's military chief to be prosecuted for genocide. Following that, Australia imposed sanctions and travel bans against five officers named in the report, and an arms embargo remains in place.⁶⁴

Yet Australia is still engaging in defence cooperation, established in 2013 following political and economic reforms in 2011, with the Myanmar Army.⁶⁵ Australian officials continue to defend that cooperation, which they describe as limited. DFAT officials told Senate Estimates in October 2018 that Australia's training gives it an opportunity 'to emphasise the appropriate use of military force and the importance of the adherence to international law, and also has provided us with the opportunity to raise and have direct conversations with Myanmar in relation to concerns that we may have.'⁶⁶ The US, UK and the EU have ceased their defence engagement with Myanmar. Human rights groups continue to call for Australia to do so as well, stating that training gives legitimacy to those receiving it and that Australia shouldn't be legitimising forces that have been accused of widescale human rights violations amounting to crimes against humanity.⁶⁷

In September 2017, then Foreign Affairs Minister Julie Bishop, when explaining why Australia wasn't repudiating Aung San Suu Kyi, said that the Rohingya crisis had come as a 'reality check' and had 'uncovered a very complex and complicated history in Myanmar'.⁶⁸ However, seven months before the outbreak of violence, a DFAT country assessment reported that official and societal discrimination against the Rohingya on the basis of their ethnicity was endemic and that they faced severe restrictions, extortion and harassment.⁶⁹ In March 2017, Australia eventually endorsed a Human Rights Council resolution that would establish an independent investigation into the widespread violations occurring against the Rohingya.⁷⁰

In her statement to the Security Council in 2018, Razia Sultana accused the international community of having failed the Rohingya, saying the crisis could have been prevented had the warning signs since 2012 not been ignored. She further outlined all of the reports of large-scale sexual violence with complete impunity by the military against a number of ethnic minorities since 2002. Academic research also supports the conclusion that widescale sexual violence against the Rohingya should have been predicted.⁷¹

Australia has over the years supported various programs promoting women's participation in ending other interethnic conflicts in Myanmar. For instance, Women in Peace was a DFAT-supported program that promoted women's participation in peace processes and in politics. It brought 50 women together for a women's peacebuilding strategic dialogue in 2016. The funding of the Peace Support Fund reportedly contributed to gender provisions in the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement and the Framework for Political Dialogue that was signed in October 2015.⁷² However, while promoting the inclusion and rights of women from some ethnicities, Australia has systematically overlooked extensive discrimination and violence suffered by women of other ethnicities at the hands of Myanmar soldiers.

Australia's justification for continuing to train Myanmar soldiers as a way of promoting the appropriate use of military force and the importance of adhering to international law is untenable without there being any evidence of impact towards that goal. At a Senate Estimates hearing in October 2018, a senior Defence official said that there was no vetting procedure in place for Australia's activities in Myanmar.⁷³

Recommendations

1. The Australian Foreign Minister and Defence Minister should re-energise international support for WPS throughout 2020 by clearly setting out the challenges that need to be addressed as a priority at regional dialogues such as the Shangri-La Dialogue in June and the UN General Assembly in September and leading up to the Security Council open debate on WPS in October. The ministers should publicly commit to personally recruiting their counterparts to strengthen their support for WPS through foreign policy and defence engagement.
2. Gender perspectives and analysis should be systematically integrated into Australia's high-level foreign policies and diplomatic engagement as well as in its responses to unfolding crises and in country assessments undertaken by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and intelligence agencies.
3. When engaging in defence cooperation, Australia should insist on the vetting of security force personnel whom it trains and exclude those suspected of human rights violations, including extrajudicial killings and sexual violence, and advocate for them to be held accountable. Defence should also ensure through strengthened monitoring that its surveillance training and materials aren't used in attacks on civilians or reprisals against civil society, including women's organisations.
4. Australia should be more responsive to attacks on women human rights defenders and build a reputation at the highest political levels for its systematic condemnation of attacks against women's rights and women activists.
5. Australia should be more attuned to the gendered dimensions of rising populism across the Indo-Pacific region, as well as further abroad, and consider how it can adapt its promotion of gender equality in this context.

A GENDERED APPROACH TO COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM

In the past few years, the WPS normative agenda has further expanded to consider the gendered dimensions of CVE. As part of a more holistic approach to WPS, Australia should ensure that those developments are reflected not only in its upcoming second National Action Plan on WPS but also within its other CT and CVE strategies.

In October 2015, the UN Security Council adopted its eighth WPS resolution, in which it called for the WPS agenda to be integrated into CT and CVE efforts.⁷⁴ It urged the UN and member states to ensure the participation of women and women's organisations in developing strategies to counter terrorism and violent extremism and for gender dimensions, including women's empowerment, to be considered in all such programs. It further called for gender-sensitive research on the drivers of radicalisation for women and the impacts of CT strategies on women's human rights and women's organisations. The international security community had until then largely overlooked the importance of women participating in CVE efforts or the need for gender analysis to inform those efforts.

The adoption of UNSCR 2242 in 2015 reflected, in part, advocacy by women living in areas affected by violent extremism, such as in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Nigeria and Syria, to be included in discussions to prevent and respond to violent extremism. Despite working on local deradicalisation efforts and providing frontline services to victims and survivors, women in those countries found themselves systematically excluded from policy convenings at the national, regional and international levels.⁷⁵

Much has been written since then by academics and practitioners on the importance of integrating gender perspectives into CVE work. A 2017 guidance note funded by the Australian Government listed the benefits of taking gender-inclusive approaches as including enhanced gender-sensitive policies, reduced potential impacts of policies on women and the production of counter-narratives that resonate with a wider audience.⁷⁶

Another study identified three advantages to incorporating gender analysis into studies on violent extremism:

- Gender perspectives broaden analysis beyond responses to terrorist attacks and consider everyday violence that may be under the radar of local authorities.
- Gender analysis provides insights into the private sphere of family and intimate relations that are usually outside of the scope of most CVE programming.
- It provides deeper exploration of hidden structures of power, which can reveal less visible early-warning signs.⁷⁷

Australia is funding research into the gendered dimensions of violent extremism and the varying roles women are occupying in countering or promoting it.⁷⁸ In December 2018, in the Global Counter-Terrorism Forum, Australia and Indonesia co-chaired a workshop on gender and preventing and countering violent extremism.⁷⁹ The workshop discussed both gaps and opportunities in mainstreaming gender perspectives into policy and programming responses, but also considered how to respond to women and children wanting to return from ISIS conflict areas.

Unfortunately, though, Australia's recent CT plans and international statements omit any mention of those positive actions or any broader discussion of WPS or the need for gender perspectives and women's participation. Those documents include the 2017 National Counterterrorism Plan⁸⁰ and Australia's June 2018 statement at the UN

High-Level Conference on Counter-Terrorism.⁸¹ It's important that Australia's efforts to support strengthened considerations of gender perspectives not only inform its second National Action Plan on WPS but, crucially, are embedded in its overarching strategies for CT and CVE.

The AFP's International Operations Gender Strategy for 2018–2022 does acknowledge the importance of strengthening the gender aspects of its response to transnational crime (including people smuggling, human trafficking and cybercrime), CT and CVE. It also commits all international operations and evaluation processes to include gender analysis. However, it's unclear whether and how gender analysis is also integrated into the AFP's domestic work on CVE and CT. A 2018 paper on regional security noted that, while the force coordinates several strategic domestic CT efforts, gender perspectives aren't known to be integrated into them.⁸²

Gender analysis and research should also guide Australia's and other countries' responses to women and children seeking to return from formerly ISIS-controlled areas, whether they travelled there willingly or not. The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR) reports that 13% of international citizens who travelled to Syria and Iraq to join ISIS are women, yet they're returning to their home countries at a lower rate than men and children.⁸³ In 2015, it was estimated that from 30 to 40 of the at least 110 Australians who had left to support ISIS were women.⁸⁴ The ICSR also found that, while global attention has focused on Iraq and Syria, women have also travelled to Libya, Afghanistan and the Philippines. The centre said that women and minors are likely to play a key role in keeping the ISIS ideology alive and to continue to support the group through active recruitment, fundraising or committing violence themselves. Those who have disengaged from ISIS could also be very valuable in speaking out against it and preventing others from supporting it. Australian analysis published in 2018 outlined two important reasons to integrate gender perspectives into CVE efforts: to identify and respond to the possible threats posed by women, and to understand the different roles women may play in preventing violent extremism and terrorism.⁸⁵

In 2019 the UN Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED) called on member states to facilitate the women's return in a human-rights-compliant manner and for the development of gender-sensitive tailored responses.⁸⁶ It advised that some women who were at first victims also had become perpetrators or supporters as a result of indoctrination or from forming personal relationships. It cautioned that the treatment of the women would have important implications for prosecution, rehabilitation and reintegration approaches and long-term peacebuilding efforts. The CTED urges countries to undertake case-by-case assessments for women returnees that consider the risks and needs of the individuals based on their circumstances. The ICSR warns that women and children detained in Syria and Iraq risk being radicalised in detention or in camps.

Recommendations

1. Australia should champion and implement a human-rights-based approach to countering or preventing violent extremism, supporting women's participation in all decision-making on countering violent extremism (CVE) and strengthening consultations with local women's organisations both in Australia and in the Indo-Pacific region. This could include an expansion of the AFP's Gender Strategy to encompass all international counterterrorism and CVE violent extremism activities as well as all domestic operations.
2. Australia should commit to repatriating all of its citizens who sought to join extremist groups overseas and implement case-by-case gender-sensitive judicial or rehabilitative processes.
3. Australia should further continue its investment in research and analysis to better understand the gendered dimensions of violent extremism.
4. Australia should strengthen its gender analysis in the development, implementation and monitoring of strategies on countering terrorism and violent extremism and ensure synergies between those strategies and WPS policies.

LOOKING AHEAD TO 2020 AND BEYOND

Ahead of the 17th anniversary of the WPS agenda in 2017, 391 organisations from 98 countries around the world signed an open letter calling on UN member states to prioritise women's rights, women human rights defenders and gender equality.⁸⁷ The letter read:

It is not enough to express support for the WPS agenda and then remain silent in the face of brutal crack downs and attacks on women civil society [*sic*] and women human rights defenders; overlook the exclusion or sidelining of women from political and security processes; not denounce national developments which undermine the status of women and their rights; or allow gender-related provisions to be cut from mandates and budgets. Member States committed to conflict prevention must become standard bearers in safeguarding women's rights.

This is directly applicable to Australia. It must be responsive to threats against women human rights defenders and to regressive women's rights developments and build a reputation for its systematic championing of women's rights at the highest political levels. Australia should also emphasise the links between gender equality, conflict prevention and regional stability in all of its bilateral, regional and multilateral engagements. This is in line with the strategies outlined in the *2017 Foreign Policy White Paper* and the internationally recognised evidence linking gender equality with national and regional stability.⁸⁸

Australia's role as a global WPS champion

Globally, Australia has a role to play in ensuring the implementation and advancement of the WPS agenda, including in multilateral forums such as the UN. This is especially important because WPS progress is known to fluctuate, as was most recently demonstrated by negotiations over the ninth WPS resolution in April 2019 and tenth resolution adopted in October 2019.⁸⁹

Australia should:

- continuously advocate for the funding and deployment of gender expertise across all peace and security settings, as well as in humanitarian responses; for the progressive application of the agenda and of gender perspectives; and for inclusive processes
- join in calls for accountability for grave human rights violations, including crimes of sexual and gender-based violence that amount to war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide.

As part of Australia's global advocacy on the WPS agenda, it also has an opportunity to highlight the tangible benefits of the agenda by drawing from its own positive context-specific examples of how gender perspectives increase operational effectiveness or security outcomes. This would demonstrate the value of integrating gender perspectives into broader foreign policy and national security policies and actions.

In the light of current headwinds against progressive interpretations of the agenda and attempts to curtail international women's rights standards, it's important for Australia to continue to champion the progressive advancement of the agenda. This includes vocally defending established norms relating to sexual and reproductive

rights and health at the UN and in other multilateral forums and promoting definitions of gender that extend beyond the experiences of women, girls, men and boys to consider the needs and potential vulnerabilities of LGBTIQ and non-gender-conforming people. This consistent advocacy is needed both in the Indo-Pacific region and globally and across all of its bilateral relationships, including with the US. As a key ally of the US, Australia is in a unique position to defend those norms and to highlight that the implementation of the WPS agenda applies to all states, not just those experiencing or recovering from conflict.

Australia's political and financial support for local women's organisations in the Indo-Pacific region is critical and should be increased. The provision of funding should be done in a way that enables women's organisations to identify and set their own strategic objectives based on their own assessments of local needs. It's also important for funding to be flexible and predictable to enable organisations to work on long-term gender equality and conflict prevention programs, and for it to be accessible to diverse women's groups representing different ethnic, cultural and religious groups and to indigenous women's organisations. As suggested by Dr Susan Harris Rimmer, Australia should also consider expanding on its ASEAN WPS initiative by hosting a regional women's conference to bring together women activists ahead of next year's 20th anniversary commemorations in order to ensure that Pacific voices inform those efforts.⁹⁰ This would also be an opportunity for Australia to better understand the localised security perspectives of women in our region.

Women activists in our region and globally have been fighting to stop the proliferation of weapons that are exacerbating local conflicts and sexual and gender-based violence. The 2013 UN Security Council resolution on small arms and light weapons, for which Australia led the negotiations, recognised this link and referenced the Arms Trade Treaty. The treaty text contains a provision that arms exporters will take into account the risk of arms being used to commit or facilitate serious acts of gender-based violence or serious acts of violence against women and children. Australia championed the treaty and ratified it in 2014.

Information obtained under freedom of information provisions by WPS researcher Susan Hutchinson indicates that, since 2017, Australia has granted at least 20 export permits for defence and military goods to Saudi Arabia.⁹¹ In February 2019 senior Defence officials told Senate estimates that Australia's assessment process is followed for each and every permit and that includes an assessment of the overriding risks that they will be used to commit human rights abuses. However they could not categorically state that they would not be used in Yemen.⁹² Further information obtained under freedom of information provisions by *The Guardian* showed that, between June 2018 and July 2019, Australia issued 23 weapons export permits to Saudi Arabia, but there's still a 'blanket of secrecy' on which weapons are being sold.⁹³ According to CARE International, the war in Yemen is disproportionately injuring women and girls and, as of January 2019, more than 3.25 million women in Yemen were facing increased health and protection risks.⁹⁴ Central to Australia's implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty should be human rights due diligence, which includes investigating gender-based violence or serious acts of violence against women and greater transparency in reporting, as stated in Article 7.4 of the treaty.

The gendered dimensions of domestic security

The 2015 global study on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 recommended that states not experiencing conflict extend the focus of their national action plans on WPS to include domestic policy areas that affect women's security. This includes developing domestic gendered considerations of security, including violent extremism and radicalisation and how to provide protection to and promote the participation of women asylum seekers, refugees, migrants and survivors of trafficking. Since then, a number of states around the world have taken heed of that recommendation and started implementing, to various extents, measures to develop national action plans that are both externally and inwardly focused and include components relating to domestic migration.

For instance, Ireland consulted with rural women, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers living in Ireland as part of the development of its latest WPS National Action Plan. France has committed to increasing its consideration of issues linked to gender and violence against women in asylum procedures and will collect gender-based statistics and analysis on the situation of women requesting protection at all stages of the procedures. Iceland now ensures

that all women who have been granted refugee status are provided with information on the services available for assistance with recovery from sexual and gender-based violence. In CT and CVE, Belgium now guarantees the integration of gender perspectives in all of its strategies and consults with Belgium-based women's organisations. Germany, Spain and the UK have also committed to consulting with ethnically and religiously diverse local women's organisations. The UK also ensures that women are at the centre of program design and implementation nationally and locally. It also warns of the risks of instrumentalising women and stresses the importance of these programs also explicitly considering broader issues of gender equality.

In order for Australia to comprehensively implement the WPS agenda, it must also apply it to its domestic policies. The Australian WPS Coalition calls for Australia's upcoming second National Action Plan on WPS to better connect the agenda with domestic priorities.⁹⁵ In the Australian context, WPS should also apply to Indigenous policies; it should aim to enhance Indigenous women's participation in decision-making and address the intersectional discriminatory practices they face, which affect their overall security.

An analysis of Australia's first National Action Plan published by the Australian Institute of International Affairs in March 2019 revealed that the extensive discourse on gender equality captured in the narrative section of the plan doesn't translate into a robust framework for action.⁹⁶ The analysis concluded that this resulted in the advancement of gender equality relying on the leadership and capacity of the various implementing agencies, which may have differing opinions on the WPS agenda and its relevance. The analysis also stated that the Attorney-General's Department had ruled out being an implementing agency in the first plan, as it considered the plan to be irrelevant to the department's mandate.

Australia's second National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 presents a significant opportunity to further operationalise the plethora of policy commitments and documents that have been developed since the first plan was adopted in 2012. It's also an opportunity to broaden the scope of its WPS implementation by expanding the implementing departments and agencies to include the Department of Home Affairs, the Attorney-General's Department and the National Indigenous Australians Agency.

Mindful that Australian states and territories have primary responsibility for implementing laws and policies that directly affect women's security, including as they relate to justice and law enforcement, a holistic WPS implementation strategy needs to expand beyond the federal government. In August 2019, the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) endorsed its Fourth Action Plan of the National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children.⁹⁷ It includes five agreed nationwide priorities to eradicate violence against women and their children in Australia. Separately, COAG had a special meeting in October 2017 on CT. The federal, state and territory governments agreed to adopt a nationally consistent approach to countering terrorism, including to preventing radicalisation and violent extremism.⁹⁸ It would therefore be feasible to also convene a special meeting of COAG to discuss and identify a national approach to the implementation of the WPS agenda.

As per the *Final independent review of the National Action Plan on WPS*, it's also important for Australia to allocate budget resources for a civil society mechanism that brings together diverse perspectives from across civil society, including women's organisations.⁹⁹ Such a mechanism would enable the facilitation of consultations with women's organisations working on different elements of the WPS agenda alongside grassroots organisations working in a range of areas and diasporas.

When civil society organisations invited to attend consultations in Canberra are required to self-fund their attendance, that suggests a lack of genuine investment in consulting with civil society. Funding a WPS civil society mechanism would be a conduit for strengthened gender analysis and perspectives and further enable Australian policymakers to ensure that they're considering the key priorities of local women in all of its crisis and humanitarian responses. The independent review also outlined several global surveys that have found that the WPS agenda and various national action plans lack adequate, sustained and dedicated funding, which hinders the ability of countries to implement the agenda.

For the WPS agenda to be effective and really be the catalyst for conflict prevention it was meant to be, it needs to be applied consistently and at the highest political levels. Australia's development and programmatic investment must be matched with high-level and visible statements of support in all circumstances, even those that are considered to be politically and contextually sensitive. The agenda is undermined when it's applied to only non-challenging situations, as is Australia's credibility as a WPS champion.

Recommendations

1. Australia should continue to champion the progressive advancement of the WPS agenda. This includes vocally defending established norms relating to sexual and reproductive rights and health and promoting definitions of gender that extend beyond the experiences of women, girls, men and boys to consider the needs and potential vulnerabilities of LGBTIQ and non-gender-conforming people.
2. Australia should use all available diplomatic channels to support women's formal participation at every level of peace talks and should challenge processes that exclude women.
3. Australia's political and financial support of local women's organisations both in Australia and overseas is critical and should be increased to enable women's organisations to identify and set their own strategic objectives based on their own assessments of local needs.
4. Australia's implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty should include strengthened human rights due diligence, including on gender-based violence or serious acts of violence against women, and greater transparency in reporting.
5. Australia's upcoming second National Action Plan on WPS should operationalise key policy commitments, including those in DFAT's gender equality strategy, and better connect the WPS agenda with domestic issues, including asylum seeker policies, CVE and Indigenous affairs. This could include convening a special session of the Council of Australian Governments to identify a common approach to WPS, including increasing women's participation in political and institutional decision-making and better promoting gender perspectives in key areas such as justice, law enforcement, education and health.
6. Australia should fund a WPS civil society mechanism to facilitate participation and consultation in Australia and within the region.

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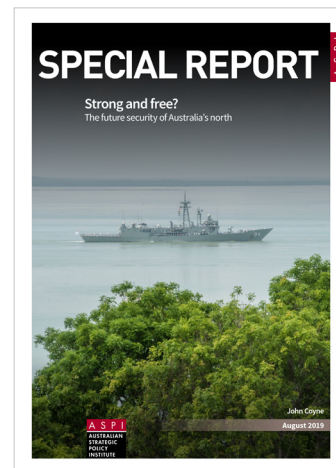
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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADF	Australian Defence Force
AFP	Australian Federal Police
AUSMIN	Australia – US Ministerial Consultations
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
COAG	Council of Australian Governments
CT	counterterrorism
CTED	Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (UN)
CVE	countering violent extremism
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
EU	European Union
ICSR	International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation
NGO	non-government organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RAMSI	Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNSCR	UN Security Council resolution
WPS	women, peace and security

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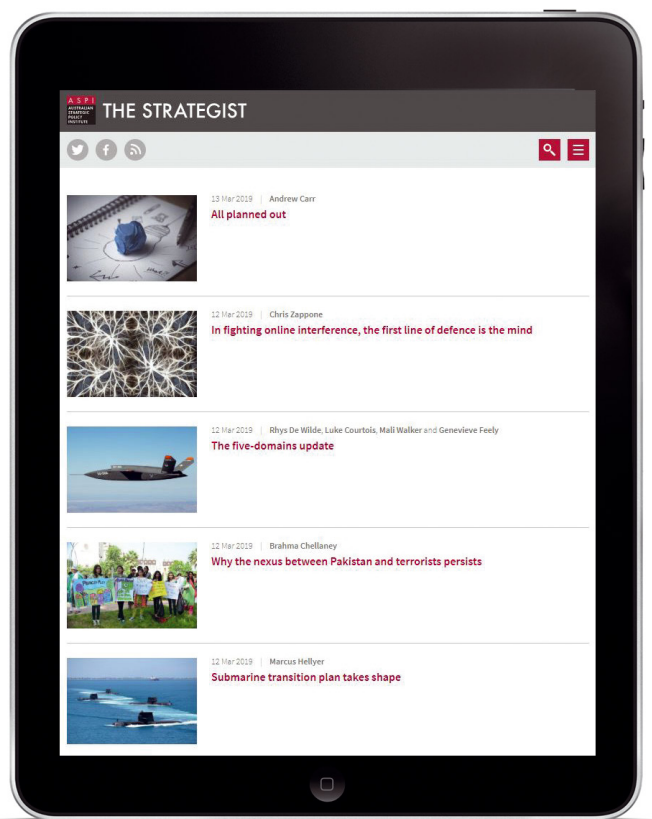


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