



Analytical Brief

# Women's Participation in the Process of Achieving a Sustainable and Just Peace: Challenges and Recommendations

This brief has been developed based on the expert discussion “Enhancing the Participation of Women in the Process of Achieving a Sustainable and Just Peace” held on 24 June 2025 by the Ukrainian Women Lawyers Association “JurFem”, the Ukrainian Women’s Fund and the Office of the Government Commissioner for Gender Policy.

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# Summary

As of now, in light of the ongoing processes and discourses in and around Ukraine, the issues of **“sustaining peace”** and **“just peace”** are directly linked to European integration and the need for security guarantees and justice based on the experiences of war that began in 2014. They indicate that definitions for the concept of just peace and its components should be coined. However, the Ukrainian society lacks unity in understanding what a “just peace” should mean. We still have no systematic multi-level communication of the Ukrainian vision. This definition must include such issues as security alliances and guarantees, justice and prosecution of war criminals, recovery in the context of social and economic support, infrastructure, reintegration of the military, survivors of war crimes and those who have stayed under occupation, as well as the cross-cutting issues of inclusion and gender sensitivity.

The aspect related to European integration is equally important. It should become an integral component of the post-war recovery of Ukraine, in particular, in terms of aligning national laws with *acquis communautaire*. In addition, key avenues include implementing the UNSCR 1325 Agenda “Women, Peace and Security”, gender mainstreaming of the security and defence sector and creating methodological tools of women’s involvement for local communities. Ukraine is already progressing in all of these areas and should intensify its efforts.

Women play a visible role in these processes. However, their engagement in decision-making processes is neither systematic nor consistent. The analysis of negotiating team compositions since 2014 reveals that women either have not been represented there at all or have been engaged occasionally, indicating that there is no cross-cutting gender policy in forming these teams. Moreover, there are no mechanisms for the consistent involvement of women’s civil society organisations in the post-war recovery processes and for providing them with the resources required for those activities. We see the institutional capacity building of the Coalition 1325 as a partial response to these challenges. It has become an active player contributing to gender equality and increasing the role of women in peace-building processes. A special focus within this process should be made on the development of local women’s leadership, mentorship and enhancing negotiating skills and advocacy capacity of female leaders, including those working in communities.

Integrating the voices of female Ukrainians staying abroad, including in the “countries of new migration”, is equally important. They should be perceived as not merely displaced persons, but as informal players in the field of international advocacy, influencing locally and sometimes beyond that level. It is the reason why their participation in the strategic

dialogue, relevant working groups and in the development and promotion of the recovery policy should be secured.

Modification of approaches to the consistent participation of women and their organisations in negotiations, peace-building and post-war recovery has the potential to become a key to improved effectiveness, sustainability and comprehensiveness of these processes. Enhancing the skills of female professionals, use of gender sensitive language, consistent support for female leaders at the local level, involvement of servicewomen, female veterans, volunteers, scholars and diaspora members, along with communicating the implemented activities and awareness-raising, will enlarge and strengthen women's participation in decision-making at all levels in national and international institutions, as well as in the conflict prevention, management and resolution mechanisms.

Actions should also be taken to consolidate the Ukrainian women and the society in general to promote understanding that everyone's war experience is unique and equally important. Efforts should be focused on creating platforms for dialogue, mutual support and active engagement. At the same time, the implementation of all the recommendations will require adequate inter-agency coordination, joint efforts and systematic institutional support for female leadership.

# Introduction

In the twelfth year of Russia's war against Ukraine and in the fourth year of the full-scale invasion, amid major humanitarian challenges, occupation of a part of its territory, persistent Russia's attacks and the unyielding resistance of the Ukrainian people, shaping the foundations of a just and sustainable peace based on democratic values, human rights, security guarantees and Ukraine's membership in the European Union is becoming crucial. Achieving this goal dictates the importance of including women in the processes of international negotiations and peace-building to ensure that their needs and interests are properly respected at all levels.

Such international documents as the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace, and Security" and associated resolutions 1889 (2009), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015), and 2493 (2019) stipulate the key role of women in conflict prevention and resolution and in peace-building. They stress the importance of equal participation and full involvement of women in all efforts to sustain and promote peace and security, as well as the need to enhance their role in decision-making on conflict resolution.

In compliance with its international obligations, Ukraine became the first country

in the world to develop and adopt its National Action Plan for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 during the intense armed conflict waged by Russia in 2014. In 2016, the first National Action Plan for the period up to 2020 was approved (Order of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 113-r dated 24 February 2016). In 2020, the second plan for the period up to 2025 was approved (Order of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 1544-r dated 28 October 2020, as amended by Order No. 1150-r dated 16 December 2022). The draft of the third National Action Plan for 2026-2030 has been developed, with special focus made on ensuring that women are adequately represented in negotiation processes and peace-making initiatives.

As a result, the representation of women in the defence and security sector and in peace-making processes has somehow increased. The data published by the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine on 8 March 2025 revealed that over 70,000 servicewomen served in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, and over 5,500 of them served on the frontline.<sup>1</sup> It is a 20% increase compared to 2022. However, according to the latest available information, the share of women holding senior positions in the army is 11%.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Ministry of Defense reported on how many women serve in the Armed Forces. URL: <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-ato/3682549-kilkist-zinokvijskovih-u-zsu-z-2014-roku-zrosla-u-25-raza.html>

<sup>2</sup> ZMINA. A two-and-a-half times increase in the number of women serving in the Armed Forces of Ukraine has occurred since 2014. URL: <https://zmina.info/news/z-2014-roku-kilkist-zhinok-u-zbrojnyh-sylah-ukrayiny-zrosla-u-25-raza/>.

The situation seems to be somewhat worse in terms of women's participation in peace negotiations. Regardless of the fact that the Ukrainian female diplomats and politicians participated in informal talks and consultations, they have not yet been included in the Ukrainian official teams negotiating with the Russian Federation since the start of the full-scale invasion. This situation makes their contribution less visible, less consistent and not publicly reflected.

In Ukraine, practices of including women in negotiation formats have already taken place earlier. In particular, according to the Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 167/2020 dated 19 May 2020, the delegation to the Trilateral Contact Group included Yuliia Svyrydenko, then Deputy Minister of Economic Development, Trade and Agriculture of Ukraine (as a representative in the working group on socio-economic issues) and Halyna Tretiakova, then Chair of the Verkhovna Rada Committee on Social Policy and Protection of Veterans' Rights (as a representative in the working group on humanitarian issues). However, since 2022, this positive practice has not been resumed. In particular, the Decrees of the President of Ukraine No. 306/2025 dated 15 May 2025, No. 359/2025 dated 1 June 2025 and No. 539/202522 dated July 2025 "On the Delegation of Ukraine for the Negotiation Process with Ukraine's International Partners and Representatives of the Russian Federation to Achieve a Just and Sustainable Peace" demonstrated that no women at all were present in the delegations.

This situation is a clear indication of the persistent issue related to insufficient involvement of women in decision-making processes both at the national and international levels, including in conflict prevention, management and resolution mechanisms. It gave rise to a serious discussion among women's human rights organisations about

the engagement of women in negotiation processes with the Russian Federation to achieve a just and sustainable peace. There is a public aspiration to ensure that the Ukrainian female leaders directly and effectively participate in peace-making processes at the regional, national and international levels, including as negotiators, and that the competencies they require in this regard are strengthened.

As a result, the Women's Information Consultative Center has officially petitioned the President of Ukraine with the letter No. 43-01/140 dated 20 March 2025 to the Office of the President of Ukraine, demanding that women be represented as members of official delegations and officially involved in the negotiation process. This letter was forwarded to the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine for review.

Based on this petition and further consultations, on 24 June, an expert discussion was held in Kyiv, entitled "Enhancing the Participation of Women in the Process of Achieving a Sustainable and Just Peace". It was organised by the Ukrainian Women Lawyers Association "JurFem", the Ukrainian Women's Fund and the Office of the Government Commissioner for Gender Policy. Female officials of state authorities and representatives of civil society were invited to attend the event.

#### **Entities represented at the event:**

- Office of the Government Commissioner on Gender Policy
- Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine
- Ministry of Justice of Ukraine
- Ministry of Internal Affairs (Department

- for Monitoring of Human Rights Observance, Unit for Gender Equality Observance)
- Ministry of Digital Transformation of Ukraine
- Ministry of Social Policy, Family and Unity of Ukraine
- Department of the General Inspectorate and Human Rights Observance of the National Police of Ukraine (Unit for Monitoring Gender Equality and Non-Discrimination, Department for Human Rights Observance)
- Office of the Deputy Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration
- Directorate for Strategic Planning and Digitalisation
- Gender Mainstreaming Service of the Social Support Division, Personnel Department of the Main Directorate of the National Guard of Ukraine
- Office of Advisors to the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine
- Office of the Government Commissioner on Gender Policy
- diplomatic missions
- Ukrainian Women's Fund
- Arm Women Now
- Ukrainian Women's Congress
- Ukrainian Women Lawyers Association "JurFem"
- Numo, Sisters!
- SEMA Ukraine
- The Day After
- La Strada Ukraine
- Divchata
- NDI Ukraine
- Expert Group on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, Domestic Violence and Gender Equality, Directorate for the Development of Social Services

- Public Alliance Political Action of Women
- Women's Information Consultative Center.

The purpose of the discussion was to define the key elements of a just and sustainable peace, in particular, the issues of justice, institutional reforms, inclusion, recovery, European integration, national unity, and reintegration of the military. Special focus was made on women's role as peace builders, barriers to their participation and competencies required for their effective representation in negotiations.

The discussion made it possible to identify important gaps and formulate strategic avenues for further activities. In particular, they confirmed, apart from the need to change policies and laws, that the leadership potential of Ukrainian women, especially those working at the community level, should also be developed. In this regard, the issue of strengthening their professional and leadership competencies and formulating practical recommendations for further actions aimed at ensuring that women may effectively participate in international negotiations was brought into sharp relief.

The expert discussion resulted, inter alia, in an address to Rustem Umierov, Secretary of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine. He was appointed head of the official delegation by the Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 539/2025 of 22 July 2025 and is authorised to make changes to its composition, subject to approval by the President of Ukraine.

This address contained a proposal to include women in the official delegation of Ukraine to ensure that they are officially represented in the negotiation process.<sup>3</sup>

**Another result of the discussion was this analytical brief, structured, respectively, around six key issues proposed for the discussion:**

- What are the elements of the process of achieving a sustainable and just peace, and in what manner are they interrelated?
- The process of European integration and the processes of gender-sensitive recovery: how to integrate the European equality standards?
- Women as actors in the process of achieving a sustainable and just peace, their visibility and current presence in this process, in particular, in negotiations: What barriers exist and where changes are observed?
- How to ensure that women are represented in the processes where they are less visible and engaged? What political, legal, or institutional tools can contribute to that?
- What are the specific areas of the process of achieving sustainable and just peace where the involvement of women is crucial?

- What should be the level and the range of competencies of female leaders who must be included in the process of achieving a sustainable and just peace in Ukraine?

**This brief will also address the seventh issue, which was not proposed for the expert discussion but is nevertheless one of the key issues in the peacebuilding process:**

- What issues reflecting the interests and needs of different groups of women and men should be included in the negotiation process, and how to advocate for them?

Each of these sections includes an overview of the current situation, key challenges and issues as voiced by event participants, as well as recommendations formulated based on their experiences and expertise.

This document is intended to become a foundation for the formulation of political frameworks and targets regarding the participation of Ukrainian women in negotiation processes and serve as a reference point for the development of future strategies and state policies.

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<sup>3</sup> Here are female candidates recommended for inclusion as members of the official delegation of Ukraine: **Olha Aivazovska**, international expert on electoral processes, human rights and legislative drafting, chair of the board of the Civil Network OPORA; **Larysa Denysenko**, Ukrainian writer, lawyer and human rights activist; **Khrystyna Kit**, Chairwoman of the Ukrainian Women Lawyers Association "JurFem", human rights activist, attorney at law and Ph.D. in law; **Lesia Ohryzko**, expert in international relations and international security, co-founder and director of the Sahaidachnyi Security Centre; **Tetiana Pechonchyk**, Head of the Board, Human Rights Centre ZMINA; **Olena Sotnyk**, Director of Rasmussen Global Ukraine, Advisor to the Deputy Prime Minister on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration.

# I. What are the elements of the process of achieving a sustainable and just peace, and in what manner are they interrelated?

The current United Nations language uses the term “sustaining peace”.<sup>4</sup> The United Nations General Assembly Resolution **70/262** (2016) and the United Nations Security Council Resolution **2282** (2016) see sustaining peace as a long-term process based on addressing the root causes of the conflict, building resilient institutions, recovery of the economy, strengthening the rule of law, shaping a culture of non-violence and ensuring equality. Its objective is to prevent a repeated conflict escalation and create conditions for restoring public trust.

The term “**just peace**” has no unified standard definition in the United Nations documents. However, the political, legal and academic discourse uses it to define peace based on restoring violated rights, access to justice, securing liability of individuals and the state for violating human rights

and international crimes, and guaranteeing reparations for survivors. In practical terms, a “just” peace is a peace that is legitimised by society as such that integrates the voices of survivors, stops impunity and prevents crimes from being repeated. Such peace is a precondition for building trust and hence, a condition for long-term durability according to the logic of the “sustaining peace”.<sup>5</sup>

Modern international discussions increasingly stress that there can be no durable peace without justice. At the same time, a just peace will require sustainable political and institutional guarantees. Hence, these two concepts, being interrelated, create a unified formula.

Regarding discussions about the formula of peace in Ukraine, its key official concept is the **Peace Formula of President Volodymyr**

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<sup>4</sup> UNSDG. What does “sustaining peace” mean? URL: [https://unsdg.un.org/sites/default/files/Guidance-on-Sustaining-Peace.170117.final\\_.pdf](https://unsdg.un.org/sites/default/files/Guidance-on-Sustaining-Peace.170117.final_.pdf); International Peace Institute. Sustaining Peace: What Does It Mean in Practice? URL: [https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/1704\\_Sustaining-Peace-final.pdf](https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/1704_Sustaining-Peace-final.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> Eli S. McCarthy. Just Peace Framework: A Brief Primer. The Journal of Social Encounters: Vol. 7. URL: [https://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1213&context=social\\_encounters](https://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1213&context=social_encounters).

**Zelenskyy**, officially presented at the G20 summit in Indonesia in November 2022.<sup>6</sup> It includes ten interrelated clauses:<sup>7</sup>

1. Radiation and nuclear safety (any use of nuclear energy, installations and facilities must be safe, well-regulated and duly controlled; the Ukrainian nuclear infrastructure must be under its full sovereign control and be demilitarised; any forms of nuclear blackmail must be stopped).
2. Food security (matter of food security shall be de-weaponized and not be subject to manipulations as Russia's aggression creates global risks and undermines the global food security).
3. Energy security (protection of critical energy infrastructure, as it cannot be a tool of aggression; the availability, protected nature and stability of energy supply should be guaranteed).
4. Release of all prisoners and deported persons (all Ukrainian citizens, who are held in Russia and in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine – prisoners of war, internees, civilians, forcibly transferred and deported persons, including children – must be released by way of a complete exchange).
5. Restoration of Ukraine's territorial integrity (restoration of sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognised borders and in accordance with the United Nations Charter).
6. Withdrawal of Russian troops and cessation of hostilities (full and unconditional withdrawal of all Russian forces from the territory of Ukraine within its internationally recognised borders as a necessary prerequisite for a lasting peace).
7. Restoration of justice (holding the Russian Federation accountable for all violations of international law in Ukraine or against it; unavoidable liability and punishment, and provision of reparations and compensation for damages are the key principles).
8. Ecological safety (remedy of long-term environmental effects of war, including through the restoration of the environment, cleaning of territories and environmental protection measures; it is an issue of global stability).
9. Preventing escalation and repetition of aggression (security must be guaranteed through legally binding instruments of international law, reinforced by Ukraine's own robust defence capabilities and integrated into the new international security architecture).
10. Confirmation of the end of war (the establishment of a clear framework for the confirmation of the end of the war, providing security commitments and arrangements, setting conditions for post-war settlement, agreeing on modalities for financing the reconstruction of Ukraine as well as developing mechanisms for preventing the repetition of aggression).

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<sup>6</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Relations of Ukraine. The Formula of Peace. URL: <https://mfa.gov.ua/protidiya-agresiyi-rf/formula-miru>.

<sup>7</sup> Ukraine's Peace Formula Philosophy. URL: [https://www.president.gov.ua/storage/j-files-storage/01/19/45/a0284f6fdc92f8e4bd595d4026734bba\\_1691475944.pdf](https://www.president.gov.ua/storage/j-files-storage/01/19/45/a0284f6fdc92f8e4bd595d4026734bba_1691475944.pdf).

against Ukraine and any other state in the future; signing of the respective document at a peace conference).

The key provisions of the Peace Formula were reflected in UN General Assembly Resolution 11/6 (2023) “Principles of the Charter of the United Nations underlying a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine”, **supported by 141 states**.

## Challenges:

1. **The Ukrainian society lacks a unified understanding** of the concepts of “sustaining peace” and “just peace” and their elements. In particular, it is due to the fact that the governmental institutions insufficiently communicate the content of these categories to the public, and there is no public debate about or the development of a common vision and agreed “red lines” for the negotiations. The future development of political, legal, social and economic processes in Ukraine will heavily depend on how the society and the government will define the “sustainable and just peace” in the current security context. At the same time, it is important to reiterate that the concept of the “sustainable peace” is not automatically equivalent to “just peace”. These concepts should be seen as complementary and not as interchangeable categories. That is why it is an urgent task of the state policy to clearly distinguish between them in terms of terminology, identify key criteria and further communicate them in a targeted manner to both the Ukrainian public and international partners.
2. **Dissemination of narratives that are not relevant to the Ukrainian society, including the ideas of “reconciliation” and “forgiveness”, on international platforms.** Their active advancement is largely driven by Russian propaganda and manipulation, as well as the uncritical application of experiences of other states that faced internal armed conflicts or ended wars decades ago. Should this experience be applied without due regard for the Ukrainian context, it would lead to compelling the society to adopt inappropriate peace-building models that fail to account for the specific nature of Russia’s aggression and the scale and specificity of violations of international law.
3. **The underdevelopment of the government policy of reintegration of citizens,** including children, who have stayed or still stay in the occupied territories. There is a lack of a comprehensive approach and effective procedures for ensuring their sustainable stay in the regions to which they have been displaced and their social adaptation, as well as the appropriate understanding of these processes by the public. As specialised rehabilitation programmes and events catering to their specific needs are insufficient, this gives rise to the risks of marginalisation and increased social vulnerability of these groups.
4. **Ukrainian society is witnessing the emergence of certain dividing lines between different social groups,** in particular, between those who remained in Ukraine and those who were forced to move abroad, between the military and those who have not been involved in combat, between the survivors of

captivity or unlawful deprivation of liberty and those who have not been through it, between people who lost their houses, property or relatives and those who have not experienced such losses, and between the survivors of war crimes and those experienced no violations. These differing experiences lay a potential foundation for conflicts preventing consolidation and civic unity.

5. **Seven million individuals were forced to leave Ukraine** (after 2022).<sup>8</sup> In particular, in the period between October 2022 and October 2023, the share of women and children among migrants was 84%.<sup>9</sup> This forced migration structure presents substantial challenges for the state. They are related to protecting the rights and meeting the needs of these groups abroad, challenges of their involvement in peace-building processes, and prospects of their returning to Ukraine.

## Recommendations:

These recommendations cover both the external aspects of achieving a sustaining and just peace, such as the formulation of Ukraine's consolidated position for peace negotiations, the definition of the framework and principles of peace building and sustaining, and consistent communication with international

partners, and internal aspects providing for achieving social consensus, supporting national unity and state-level decision-making and practical activities. The recommendations also encompass integration in the process of achieving a sustainable and just peace of the interests and needs of various social groups, such as internally displaced persons and residents of affected communities, people who stayed in the occupied territories, servicemen, servicewomen and veterans, families of military personnel, survivors of war crimes and other crimes and violations, children and young people, people with disabilities, specifically affected individuals (those who lost property, houses and family members), Ukrainians staying abroad and communities hosting IDPs.

1. **The elements of a sustaining and just peace must include the key principles** of Agenda 1325 "Women, Peace and Security": Participation, Recovery, Prevention, Protection; as well as the seven dimensions recommended by international organisations: mine clearance, addressing the effects of conflicts, preventing conflicts, the rule of law, changing democratic institutions, developing education and culture, international cooperation and support.
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2. **The following elements should be included in the concept of "just peace":**
    - administration of justice;
    - accountability for war crimes and other violations, including CRSV;

<sup>8</sup> Sybiha: 7,5 millions of Ukrainian went abroad due to the war. Ukrainski Novyny. URL: <https://ukranews.com/ua/news/1054099-7-5-mln-ukrayintsiv-vvyihaly-za-kordon-cherez-vijnu-sybiga>.

<sup>9</sup> Processes of Migration: What is the Situation of the Ukrainian Refugees? The Price of the State – CASE Ukraine Project. URL: <https://cost.ua/migratsijni-protsesy-yaka-sytuatsiya-z-ukrayinskymy-bizhentsyamy/>.

- reparations for survivors (restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and non-repetition guarantees);

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**3. The following elements should be included in the concept of “sustaining peace”:**

- social and economic reintegration;
- support for affected communities;
- rebuilding infrastructure with a proper quality and delivery of appropriate public services;
- institutional and democratic reforms;
- reforms of the security and justice sectors;
- ensuring inclusivity;
- full involvement of women and youth in decision-making processes;
- reintegration and rehabilitation of servicemembers, provision of opportunities for mental, social and economic support;
- building the culture of dialogue;
- the development of the culture of dialogue and nonviolent practices;
- peace education.

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**4. The definitions of elements of a sustaining and just peace should go beyond the exclusive framework of political negotiations and cover other social life areas such as reintegration of citizens, infrastructure restoration, economic development, social reforms and other aspects.**

- 5. Actions should be taken to reinforce national unity.** Everyone should know that their war experience is unique and equally important for building peace. International experience demonstrates that social reconciliation and recognition of experiences of different groups is a key for long-term stability.

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- 6. The government must establish mechanisms for involving male and female Ukrainians staying abroad in peace-building processes.** It is important to integrate their experiences, possibilities and resources in formulating and advocating recovery and return policies.

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- 7. The establishment of clear “red lines”** regarding positions that are unacceptable for Ukraine in terms of future peaceful agreements (for instance, impunity for war crimes, including CRSV, renunciation of territories, and more). These “red lines” should be communicated in a consolidated manner both inside the country and at the international level.

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- 8. Agenda shaping must be based on universal and democratic values,** such as unity, tolerance, inclusion, equality and the rule of law. Simultaneously, the concept of “**comprehensive defence**” should be developed, and the sense of security should be strengthened among citizens.

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- 9. The definitions of concepts of the “sustaining peace” and “just peace”** should be developed and agreed upon with Ukrainian society. They will become the foundation for the unified state policy and external communication with international partners.

## II. The process of European integration and the processes of gender-sensitive recovery: how to integrate the European equality standards?

Currently, Ukraine moves along two tracks that are interrelated, but logically distinct: on the one hand, it is the advancement towards European integration, and, on the other hand, recovery after Russia's armed aggression. Both avenues create opportunities for the transformation of the state based on the principles of democratic values, rule of law and equality.

The process of European integration is aimed at the systematic rapprochement with the EU standards in the political, legal, social and economic spheres, including mandatory compliance with the principle of equality and non-discrimination. In recent years, Ukraine has achieved significant progress in this area. In 2022, it was granted the EU candidate country status, and in 2023, it began implementing the recommendations of the European Commission, which specifically underline that equal rights and opportunities must be ensured. In 2023, the National Strategy for Bridging the Gender Pay Gap for the period up to 2030 and its Action Plan were adopted. They were developed in collaboration with

civil society organisations and international partners.

With regard to the processes of peace negotiations and post-war recovery, approaches to gender equality mainstreaming are being implemented in this field, from integrating the needs of women and men in infrastructure rebuilding programmes to specialised initiatives to support female entrepreneurs, internally displaced persons and female veterans. These approaches were the outcome of the common work of governmental authorities, civil society and international partners, as well as of recommendations defining key clusters of gender equality integration into recovery. In particular, the following sectors, where integration of the gender dimension is critical, can be outlined:<sup>10</sup>

- involvement of women and men in decision-making processes;
- provision of economic opportunities for women;

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<sup>10</sup> Ukrainian Women's Fund. Rebuilding with Women Is Better for All. Ten Clusters of Gender-Inclusive Recovery. URL: <https://uwf.org.ua/vidbuduvaty-z-zhinkamy-krashhe-dlya-vsih-10-blokiv-genderno-inklyuzyvno-go-vidnovlennya/>.

- protection of survivors of violence and war crimes;
- equality-centred education, culture, health care and social policy;
- infrastructure reconstruction in view of accessibility and inclusion.

Moreover, in September 2023, the **Platform for the Gender Mainstreaming and Inclusion in Recovery** was launched as an advisory body to the Commission to Coordinate the Interaction of Executive Bodies to Ensure Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men. And in 2024, during the Ukraine Recovery Conference in Berlin, Ukraine has established, together with the governments of partner states, international and civil society organisations and business community members, the **Alliance for Gender-Responsive and Inclusive Recovery**. Its purpose is to consolidate efforts to implement the existing initiatives and launch the new ones, intended to mainstream gender-responsive approaches in the recovery process and promote gender equality and empowerment of women in Ukraine. The Roadmap for Planning Further Steps to Implement Gender Mainstreaming in Recovery for 2025-2026 is now expected to be approved.

## Challenges:

1. Despite the active advancement of European integration and alignment of the Ukrainian laws with the EU standards,

**the Euro-Atlantic dimension remains underrepresented in recovery policies.**

This approach gives rise to fragmentation risks, with integration advancing on parallel tracks without due synergy. It makes the recovery, peacebuilding, and the strengthening of democratic institutions less effective.

2. Both European integration and the processes of gender-sensitive recovery are often seen **from a purely technical point of view**, being reduced to the formal implementation of standards or to the reconstruction of infrastructure damaged after deoccupation or due to shelling or missile attacks. This approach disregards the complex nature of the recovery concept, which also includes the social, institutional, cultural, and legal dimensions. In this context, the gender element often either completely drops from the agenda or is viewed as nonessential. This produces the risk of replication of inequalities and reinforced vulnerabilities for certain groups in the post-war period, which is contrary to the European and international standards and the principle of inclusive recovery.
3. **Complexities in implementing recovery plans at the community level.** Often, there is no understanding at the local level of the elements that the recovery plans should include, complicating their effective development and implementation. At the same time, the available expertise and developed recommendations remain largely inaccessible for those directly involved in preparing these plans in communities.

4. **The bureaucratic nature of the process of European integration and the crisis of leadership in Europe.** Becoming an EU member requires Ukraine to complete complex and lengthy procedures. The bureaucratic nature of this process poses the risk of losing dynamics and reducing social trust as the public expects quick and tangible results. Simultaneously, the European Union suffers from a **crisis of leadership** and internal political disputes, affecting its ability to make strategic decisions. It may have an impact on the pace and effectiveness of support for Ukraine, including in gender-sensitive recovery.

## Recommendations:

### 1. At the legislative level:

- The National Action Plan up to 2030 to implement the UN Security Council resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” should be timely developed and approved.
- Domestic laws in the fields of gender equality and combating violence should be aligned with the EU standards, and their implementation should be regularly monitored.

2. **Consistent communication with the societies of EU member states should be ensured through targeted advocacy campaigns.** They should be intended to

reinforce public and political support for the process of Ukraine’s membership in the European Union and to shape a supportive information and value-centred environment for the process of negotiations with the Russian Federation. These campaigns should comprehensively raise awareness of the European choice of Ukraine, implemented reforms, its contribution to common security and values of democracy, human rights and gender equality.

3. **The role of Ukrainian women as active leaders in the processes of European integration** who transfer best practices of democracy, resilience and security should be consistently highlighted and reinforced. It will promote the positive image of Ukraine as a country that implements European values through gender equality and inclusion.

4. **Mechanisms of systematic interaction with women staying in the EU countries and beyond the Union should be built and institutionally reinforced.** This includes the establishment of effective communication channels, involvement of their experiences and resources in the processes of peacebuilding and recovery, and support for the initiatives of female organisations in the diaspora. Such interaction will contribute to preserving their links with Ukraine and mobilising additional resources.

5. **A practical tool should be created in the form of a methodology (methodological recommendations) with performance checklists** that include planning and implementation for the replication of

community recovery plans at the local level. It will allow for standardising processes, making recovery plans more accessible locally and effectively improving the monitoring. There are already certain documents that can be used for this purpose. These are, in particular, **the State Regional Development Strategy for 2021-2027, the Procedure for the Development, Implementation and Monitoring of Regional Recovery and Development Plans and Recovery and Development Plans for Territorial Communities, and the Ukraine Recovery Plan**. Nevertheless, it is crucial to additionally develop a tool capable of producing practical responses to effectively implement the proposed solutions.

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6. **Gender mainstreaming in the security and defence sectors**, in particular in accordance with NATO standards:

- raising gender awareness among individuals responsible for strategic and operational command, including military operations planning;
- accommodating the needs of female military personnel, such as appropriate individual outfits, adaptation of military infrastructure, hygiene items, gender-sensitive approaches to logistics and supply, etc.;
- strengthening the participation of women in decision-making processes in the security and defence sector.

### **III. Women as actors in the process of achieving a sustainable and just peace, their visibility and current presence in this process, in particular, in negotiations: What barriers exist and where changes are observed?**

Even though the Ukrainian women are still underrepresented in the formal processes of negotiations with the Russian Federation, they play a significant and visibly increasing role in promoting the topic of achieving peace, justice, and recovery.

First, the Ukrainian female diplomats, politicians and civil society members ensure at the international level that the gender dimension is always present in global debates. They are active on the platforms of the United Nations, the European Union and NATO, at international conferences and within partner initiatives, where they promote a Ukrainian vision of a sustainable and just peace, focusing on security, recovery, responsibility, and support to survivors.

Secondly, the institutional role of women is being reinforced within Ukraine. In recent years, the number of women holding leadership positions in the government and in

the parliament has increased to some extent. In 2025, Ukraine was ranked 87th out of 153 countries by equality in political participation; 100th by women's representation in parliament (20.4% female MPs); and 61st by women's representation in government (30% women in senior leadership positions). This provides better opportunities for gender mainstreaming in recovery policies and the broader security agenda.

#### **Challenges:**

- 1. The participation of women in formal decision-making processes remains limited and inconsistent at all levels.** Currently, there are no clear policies or strategies that would prioritise

enlarging women's participation in political processes. Moreover, women are underrepresented in key leadership positions in security and defence bodies. For instance, no women are present in the Supreme Commander-in-Chief's Headquarters, and despite their significant numbers in the security and defence forces, servicewomen are rarely awarded high military ranks. It is an indication of structural barriers limiting the promotion of women to leadership roles in the defence and security sector. As mentioned earlier, women are also absent as members of official delegations for negotiations with the Russian Federation.

2. **Information about the participation of women in peace-building processes is presented in an unsystematic and piecemeal manner**, without coordinated communication between various players. This reduces the visibility of women as key peace-shaping actors and diminishes their influence on public discourse.
3. **Entrenched gender stereotypes produce a limited vision of women's roles in the sectors of security, defence, and politics.** As a result, they are underrepresented in leadership positions and their ability to make an impact on key decision-making processes is reduced.
4. Women have fewer opportunities to be actively engaged in international negotiations and peace-building processes due to **insufficient training** in negotiation and diplomatic practices, and often limited command of English.
5. A particular focus should be made on **internal unity** between various groups of female Ukrainians – those staying

in Ukraine, being on the front lines or having relatives in the military, and those who went abroad – as risks of fragmentation and misunderstanding emerge. **Strengthening public respect and due acknowledgement of the role of servicewomen and female veterans** in defending the country warrants additional attention.

6. **Women remain hardly visible in public communications**, especially in the security sector and among those resisting in the occupied territories. The masculinised heroine model prevails, while the diversity of women's experiences and roles in war and recovery is virtually invisible.

## Recommendations:

1. **A systematic cooperation should be arranged with organisations from foreign countries that implement the UNSCR 1325 Agenda "Women, Peace and Security".** This cooperation should be focused on joining efforts, best practice sharing and developing a common roadmap in the peace-building domain, making it possible to increase women's impact on peace processes and align international and national approaches.
2. **Developing programmes to support female Ukrainians in building leadership and mutual support skills**, including assistance in addressing language and mental barriers and training in public speaking, how to negotiate and international diplomacy.

3. **A consistent collaboration with the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organisations** should be established, as it has extensive experience in external advocacy. Its expertise can lay the institutional foundation for developing new initiatives to internationally promote the Ukrainian interests in peace-building and gender equality.

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4. **The development of open platforms and frameworks to promote coordination between women's organisations and their dialogue with governmental institutions.** These platforms must envisage options for voluntary joining and developing common positions on the broad range of issues from the economy and army to the environment and social policy. They will offer an opportunity to present a consolidated vision of Ukraine's development during international negotiations and in internal politics, while preserving the diversity of voices and approaches.

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5. **A special glossary of gender-sensitive terminology should be developed.** It will be a guideline for authorities, civil society and media in formulating the unified language standards reflecting equality and diversity, and in promoting unified language standards in the sphere of a just and sustainable peace. It is crucial to **ensure that gender-sensitive language is used** in all publications, awareness-raising campaigns and official documents as a manifestation of respect and inclusion and a tool for increasing women's visibility.

## IV. How to ensure that women are represented in the processes where they are less visible and engaged? What political, legal, or institutional tools can contribute to that?

A reference point here is the resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” of the UN Security Council, in furtherance of which Ukraine adopts its National Action Plan until 2030. As mentioned earlier, despite positive achievements in European integration, the implementation of the National Action Plan 1325 and the active work of women’s organisations in Ukraine, the problem of underrepresentation of women in the process of negotiations and peace-building still persists in Ukraine.

International experience shows that the following structural practices and tools are effective in ensuring representation of women:

- **Gender quotas.** Electoral laws and laws on public service are often used to increase women’s representation, which indirectly affects peace processes. Some countries introduced quotas directly as part of peace agreements or transitional constitutions.
- **Institutional mechanisms and special formats within negotiations.** One of the successful approaches is to include the gender dimension in the architecture of peace negotiations. Columbia serves here as a telling example, as the Gender Sub-Commission was created there during the talks of 2012-2016. This body was responsible for incorporating women’s rights and gender equality in every clause of the agreement.<sup>11</sup>
- **Developing women’s capacity to perform roles related to negotiations and mediation.** Regional and global networks of women peace-builders are active worldwide. They both advocate for women’s participation and train them. In particular, in the last decade, various international organisations arranged for numerous training events to specially train women in negotiating skills.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> New Evidence: To Build Peace, Include Women from the Start. URL: <https://www.usip.org/publications/2021/03/new-evidence-build-peace-include-women-start>.

<sup>12</sup> Clingendael celebrates women negotiators and mediators for International Women’s Day. URL: <https://www.clingendael.org/news/clingendael-celebrates-women-negotiators-and-mediators-international-womens-day>.

- **National and local platforms for consultations with women.** Activities of women's organisations and grassroots networks are the drivers of change, forcing officials to involve women in negotiations. Women's contribution to indirect peace initiatives and strengthening social harmony is equally important.

3. Currently, it is still unclear whether the **electoral law reform** will be completed in line with the recommendations from the European Commission, in particular, in terms of enhancing the instrument of gender quotas and ensuring that citizens exercise their electoral rights abroad.

## Challenges:

1. **Stereotypical assumptions that the security and defence sector is "not a woman's business" are still widespread in Ukraine.** As a result, the role of women in the military community is depreciated, making it difficult to engage them not only in security and defence forces but also in public communication on the military sector. Consequently, women remain less visible in strategic discussions on security and peace. This limits their impact on decision-making and shapes distorted public perceptions of women's roles in war and recovery.
2. Despite the introduction of gender quotas and the increase in the number of women in local councils, their **effective participation in decision-making processes remains limited.** Often women do not hold leadership positions in executive bodies of local self-government and have less opportunities to influence the distribution of resources and shaping local policies. This is exacerbated by the lack of consistent support for female leaders at the community level and stereotypical perceptions of their role in politics, reducing their visibility and impact on strategic decisions.

## Recommendations:

1. **National strategic documents**, including the Rule of Law Roadmap (containing, inter alia, a separate section on gender equality) and National Action Plans to implement UNSC resolution 1325 "Women, Peace and Security", **should be consistently implemented.**

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2. **The development of effective coordination instruments**, in particular, the creation of a core group for coordinated and consistent communication between authorities, civil society and international organisations. Uniform and clear positions of Ukraine in external communications should be ensured.

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3. **Creating digital tools to engage the public**, in particular, to raise public awareness about where and how to join the processes of peace-building and gender-sensitive recovery.

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4. **Carrying out education and communication campaigns** to highlight the role of women in peace-building processes and shape the common understanding of a sustainable and just peace. These campaigns will contribute

to replacing stereotypes, increasing trust in female leaders and mobilising support from the public and international partners.

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5. **Monitoring of the application of gender quotas and the exercise of women's rights abroad during elections.** It is important to ensure that the laws which will govern post-war elections provide for an opportunity to stand for election and be elected for all women, including those who went abroad due to Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine.<sup>13</sup>

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6. **Creating safe, enabling and financially sustainable conditions for the activities of the civil society,** including women's organisations, female leaders, peace-makers, politicians, and human rights activists. As a result, their consistent participation in recovery processes will be ensured and the inclusive nature of adopted decisions will be enhanced.

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7. **Targeted leadership training and mentorship programmes should be provided for women, in particular, in the security and defence sector.** As state entities, public organisations and educational establishments will implement them with the involvement of international partners, through mentorship and exchange of best practices, they will contribute to preserving and increasing the presence of women in combat positions and provide leadership roles for them in the post-war period.

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8. **Introducing internal audit and regular self-assessment mechanisms for negotiating teams,** aimed at checking the composition of delegations and the agenda-setting process. This will ensure transparency, inclusivity and adequate representation of all actors who are to be involved in the negotiation process.

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<sup>13</sup> Public Organisation "Opora" conducted studies of these matters, including the following: An Expert Opinion on Key Challenges Regarding the Exercise of Electoral Rights by Women as a Vulnerable Electorate Group and The Analysis of Draft Laws on Amendments to the Electoral Code on Combatting Gender Discrimination.

## V. What are the specific areas of the process of achieving sustainable and just peace where the involvement of women is crucial?

In line with Agenda 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” and international practices, the key areas are, in particular, the following:

- Equal involvement of women in diplomatic services, which would allow for a wider range of perspectives to be incorporated into foreign policy and peace initiatives.
- Female participation in peace negotiations substantially increases the chances of successful agreements. Research has demonstrated that when women are actively involved, agreements are more effective, the probability that a peace agreement will last for at least 15 years increases by 35%, and agreements are much better implemented. The reason is that women often bring to the table issues of human rights, social justice and needs that men may underestimate.<sup>14</sup>
- Women must be involved in the transitional justice system, from war crimes investigation to prosecution and reconciliation mechanisms. Otherwise, the priorities and experiences of women affected by the conflict will not be addressed to the full extent, which may slow down or even roll back the peace process itself.<sup>15</sup>
- The presence of women in the security forces boosts public trust and makes operations more effective.<sup>16</sup>
- The post-war integration of servicemen and servicewomen, war veterans and affected communities is another domain where women’s voices are critical. Women must participate in the formal programmes of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration and, informally, in communities.

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<sup>14</sup> Council on Foreign Relations. Women’s Participation in Peace Processes. URL: <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/>.

<sup>15</sup> Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. Concluding Observations on the 8th Periodic Report of Ukraine. URL: <https://www.undp.org/sites/g/files/zskgke326/files/migration/ua/A4-UA-verstka-1.pdf>.

<sup>16</sup> Council on Foreign Relations. Women’s Participation in Peace Processes. URL: <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/>.

- It is crucial to ensure that women are empowered to participate fully in the planning and implementation of the post-war recovery at all levels. Only if the needs of different groups of women and men are catered to, the recovery will be effective, fair and indeed be performed at a whole new level.

## Challenges:

1. **Insufficient representation of women at all decision-making levels.** Women remain grossly underrepresented at the international, national, and regional levels, and, in particular, at the negotiations with Russia and in key security-related and political processes. It is due to stereotypes about “masculine” areas of politics and defence, and the lack of structural mechanisms to involve and support female leadership. As a result, the needs and experiences of women are considered to a limited extent, reducing the legitimacy and sustainability of decisions.
2. **Support for the active participation of women and integration of their needs in the processes of transitional justice.** Laws should be improved, and effective reparations and rehabilitation programmes should be provided based on a gender-sensitive approach (in particular, with regard to survivors of conflict-related sexual violence).
3. **Active involvement of female Ukrainians in people-to-people diplomacy** should be promoted by supporting their diaspora networks and creating platforms for collaboration and exchange of best practices. Their engagement with the public and institutions in their host countries, especially where there is a conservative shift or political polarisation (in particular in Poland and Hungary), should be ensured, with a view to bolstering international support for Ukraine and promoting the values of democracy, equality and just peace.

## Recommendations:

1. **The state sector should ensure that women are represented in all spheres where decisions are taken,** in particular, in negotiations and political processes and in the development of policies and recovery plans.

## **VI. What should be the level and the range of competencies of female leaders who must be included in the process of achieving a sustainable and just peace in Ukraine?**

The groundwork has already been laid in Ukraine for expanding the involvement of female leaders in peace-building processes. The opening of new embassies was one of important achievements. It strengthened the international presence of Ukraine in the regions of Asia and Africa, creating new channels for representing the country at the global level, including through the involvement of female diplomats. People-to-people diplomacy also substantially contributes to shaping the positive image of Ukraine and advocating the Ukrainian interests. The engagement of the Ukrainian citizens and public organisations in different countries across the world represents more broadly the voice of Ukraine in the global discourse.

World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organisations (WFUWO) traditionally plays an important role in this area. For decades, it has been working consistently in Canada and the United States, building sustainable external advocacy mechanisms, protecting women's rights and promoting democratic values. WFUWO's experience and reputation make it a key partner in international initiatives.

Moreover, Ukrainian civil society organisations – both in Ukraine and beyond – became active and important actors in the processes of recovery, peace-building and European integration. They shape agendas, make an impact on governmental policy development and unite women's movements in Ukraine and globally, demonstrating strong capacity for being integrated in official negotiations and diplomatic processes.

## Main challenges:

1. **Insufficient recognition of women's role at the local level.** Even though local female leaders (female politicians, activists, officials of local self-governments, servicewomen and gender coordinators) make a substantial contribution, their participation in peace-making processes remains inconsistent and lacks institutionalisation. There is a lack of mechanisms to ensure that women are at all times involved at the community level and may develop skills in advocacy, negotiations and decision-making.
2. **Limited resources and low political visibility of the Coalition 1325.** Insufficient funding undermines the sustainable activity of the Coalition 1325 and its ability to make an impact on peace-building processes at the national and local levels. Furthermore, as the Coalition 1325 is not adequately represented at the high political level, its visibility and that of women involved in peace-building is reduced, and the awareness of their activities by society and partners is limited.
3. **Uneven coverage of female Ukrainians in the "countries of new migration".** Women who left Ukraine due to the full-scale Russian invasion currently reside in the regions of Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. However, their integration into the Ukrainian diplomatic, cultural and advocacy-related networks is limited due to the lack of well-established practices of cooperation with these countries and because diplomatic missions of Ukraine in these regions either have been opened only recently, or are absent.
4. **The threat of exclusion of servicewomen from the discourse on the sustainable and just peace.** Despite the active participation of women in the security and defence sectors and their contribution to the defence of the country, their role remains barely visible in the strategic documents, laws and regulations setting approaches to peace-building and recovery. Hence, there is a risk of servicewomen being marginalised in the process of shaping the vision of a just peace.

## Recommendations:

1. **Strengthening the leadership, advocacy and negotiation skills of women at the local level.**

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2. **Systematic support and development of the Coalition 1325 across Ukraine.** The sustainable activity of this network should be ensured by allocating financial and organisational resources and providing capacity-building for its members. This involves training in gender expertise, policy analysis and planning, the development of communication strategies and reinforcement of interaction with authorities and international partners.

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3. **Coverage of activities of the Coalition 1325 at the high political level.**

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4. **Addressing the specifics of countries of new migration.** It is important to develop flexible frameworks for integration with the

Ukrainian communities in regions where legalising a civil society organisation is a challenge (in particular, in the countries of the Middle East, Africa or Asia). As a result, the female Ukrainians staying in these countries will be involved in peace-building processes and their representation in global debates on a sustainable and just peace will be reinforced.

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**5. Institutionalising the participation of women from the Ukrainian diaspora.**

The consistent involvement of Ukrainian women, both those who left after the start of the full-scale invasion and those residing abroad for long, in working groups, committees and platforms within authorities should be ensured. In such a manner, their potential, international links and working experiences in various fields and countries will be used for making an impact on the recovery policy and strengthening the international advocacy of Ukraine.

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**6. The involvement of servicewomen and female veterans, and volunteers.** Their participation in policymaking processes and in defining the vision of a just peace should be institutionally guaranteed. The recognition of their contribution to the defence of Ukraine must become an integral element of governmental strategies, laws and regulations.

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**7. The list of competences of female leaders who must be involved in peace-building processes:**

**A. experience:**

- security sector – servicewomen, female veterans or those serving or employed in the security and defence sector;

- human rights protection, legal practice;
- management or self-government;

**B. competencies:**

- analytical thinking;
- critical thinking;
- experience in crisis management;
- gender expertise;
- expertise in the fields of law, international law, and justice;
- proficiency in English;

**C. soft skills:**

- mediation skills;
- dialogue skills;
- communication skills;
- negotiations skills;
- mental resilience;
- personal attitude and motivation.

## **VII. What issues reflecting the interests and needs of different groups of women and men should be included in the negotiation process, and how to advocate for them?**

Ukraine raises the issues of war crimes committed by the Russian Federation, in particular, conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV), on key international platforms (in the UN Security Council, the Human Rights Council, OSCE, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and at meetings with international partners) on a permanent basis. One of the important achievements was the signing, in 2022, of the Framework of Cooperation on the prevention and response to conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) and the adoption of the related Implementation Plan, making it possible to form the institutional basis for relevant state policy. The establishment of the Interagency Working Group on CRSV provided coordination between authorities, international organisations and civil society.

Law No. 4067 of 2023 defined the legal status of CRSV survivors and provided for the procedure of urgent interim reparations, making a unique step forward. An important

avenue is the creation of the State Register of Survivors of the Armed Aggression of the Russian Federation, covering also CRSV survivors, which will lay the foundation for the national reimbursement system and future international claims against Russia.

There is a consensus at the level of public discourse that the responsibility for war crimes, including CRSV, cannot be a matter of political compromises or agreements. The Ukrainian officials consistently underline this aspect at international meetings, stressing that a just peace would be impossible without justice for survivors and payment of reparations.

## Challenges:

1. **There is no official political document that would set the “red lines”** for the negotiation process, including the impossibility of tolerating war crimes, including CRSV, and the unacceptability of amnesty for these crimes or a refusal of reparations.
2. **There is a risk of underrepresentation of issues related to gender-based violence within peace negotiations**, as they are traditionally marginalised at the expense of “big politics”.
3. **Female human rights activists, experts and members of civil society organisations do not participate in a consistent manner** in developing positions for negotiations, limiting the integration of survivors’ needs.
4. **Insufficient coordination between authorities and civil society** in advocating a unified position on reparations and accountability.
5. **International practice often shows that peace agreements address CRSV issues only to a limited extent** (examples here are Bosnia and Herzegovina, Liberia, and Colombia, where issues of reparations and accountability for sexual violence were only partially addressed).

## Recommendations:

1. **Official “red lines” must be set for negotiations** to include unacceptability of amnesty for war crimes, in particular, CRSV, mandatory inclusion of issues related to reparations and administration of justice, and inadmissibility of compromises undermining survivors’ rights.

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2. **The participation of women and civil society organisations in developing positions for negotiations should be institutionalised**, in particular, through advisory groups, expert councils, and thematic working groups under the auspice of the government.

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3. **Advocacy of CRSV-related issues must be ensured at all levels**, including negotiations with international partners, future peace agreements and interaction with parliaments of foreign states and international organisations.

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4. **There should be advocacy for the creation of a reparations mechanism for survivors** that would include symbolic, material and collective forms of compensation, in line with international standards, to be funded by Russia.

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5. **Communication with international institutions** (the United Nations, Council of Europe, and ICC) **should be streamlined to integrate the issues of CRSV and reparations into the larger processes** related to Russia’s international accountability.

