



WOMEN'S MEANINGFUL
PARTICIPATION IN NEGOTIATING
PEACE AND THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF PEACE AGREEMENTS

REPORT OF THE EXPERT GROUP MEETING



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UN Women would like to thank our partners at the United Nations Department of Political Affairs (UN DPA), the International Peace Institute (IPI), the Inclusive Peace and Transitions Institute (IPTI), the Political Settlements Research Programme (PSRP), and the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP) who provided inputs to the meeting design, identification of participants, drafting of background papers, and presentations. The report was prepared by Katarina Salmela and Megan Manion with inputs from Cate Buchanan.

Disclaimer: This is not a consensus document. The views expressed herein are illustrative of the discussions amongst the participants, however, they do not necessarily represent the views of the United Nations, UN Women or any Individual.

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BACKGROUND & OBJECTIVES

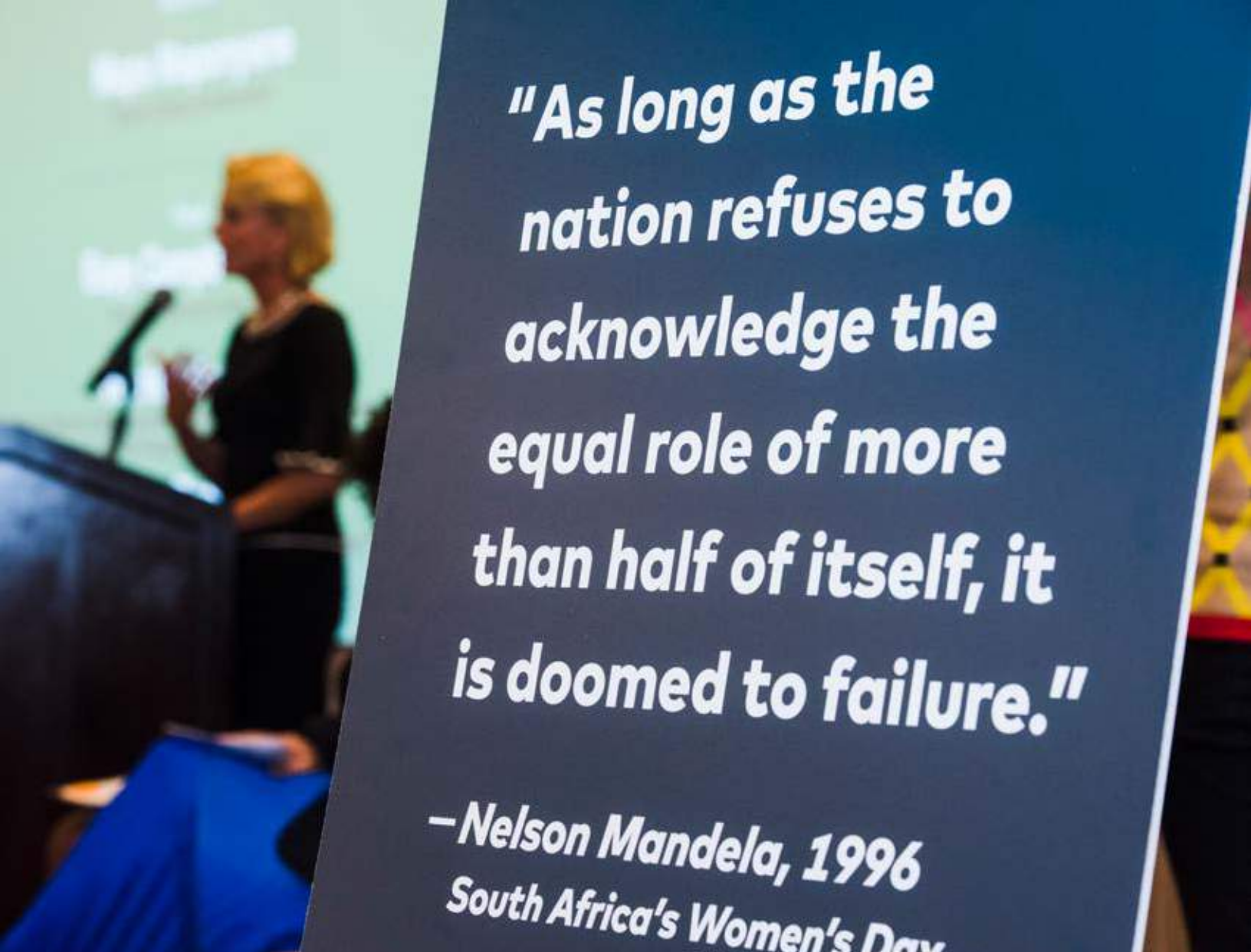
Based upon the Secretary-General's 2017 commitment (S/2017/861), the 2018 annual report of the Secretary-General on women and peace and security to the Security Council places special emphasis on the meaningful participation and representation of women in peace processes, including institutions tasked with implementing peace agreements. In preparation, and to take stock of current research, good practice and lessons learned, UN Women convened an Experts Group Meeting (EGM) to inform this "in-focus" section of the 2018 report. The meeting also catalyzed discussions for the upcoming 20-year anniversary of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) in 2020 outlining where acceleration efforts are most needed.

The EGM aimed to be inclusive in focus and in practice with some 50 experts from a range of levels and layers of peace and security processes and institutions, including practitioners, women from nations affected by conflict and violence, academics, advocates, analysts, and staff from across the United Nations.¹ Participants shared experiences and approaches used in settings as diverse as Bosnia, Colombia, Kenya, Kosovo,² Georgia, Mozambique, Myanmar, Philippines, South Sudan, Syria and Yemen. At the same time, the organizers and the participants highlighted the need to broaden diversity in our convenings and practice.

Participants discussed the barriers to and enablers of women's representation and meaningful participation at all stages of peace and security processes. The scope of the discussions reflected the reality of contemporary peace and security processes and included discussion of ceasefires, informal and local/community level peace-building processes, negotiations and formal peace agreements, implementation mechanisms, transitional or constitutional arrangements, disarmament and demobilization arrangements, humanitarian access agreements, the growing focus on counter-terrorism operations and more.

The meeting had four essential aims:

- **Exchange** current research and good practice on women's representation and "meaningful" participation in peace processes;
- **Explore** the concept of "meaningful participation" – what it includes, and how the UN, Member States, civil society and other relevant actors can best effectively advocate for it, and consistently operationalize it;
- **Discuss** the barriers to women's meaningful participation at all stages of peace processes including implementation hurdles; and
- **Assess** the trends and challenges in gender-responsive provisions of peace agreements and implementation.

A woman with blonde hair, wearing a dark top, is speaking at a podium. The background is a light green screen with some text. A large, dark blue, tilted rectangular overlay contains a quote in white text.

**"As long as the
nation refuses to
acknowledge the
equal role of more
than half of itself, it
is doomed to failure."**

**– Nelson Mandela, 1996
South Africa's Women's Day**

Photo: UN Women/Amanda Voisard

1

GLOBAL CONTEXT

1. GLOBAL CONTEXT

As part of gauging the status of gender-sensitive peace and security processes, participants reflected on trends in the global context. Although women’s meaningful participation in negotiating peace and conflict resolution is one of the most fundamental components of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda, it remains one of the least advanced areas and one where advances are highly vulnerable to regression.

Global politics is marked by failures to protect and promote the most fundamental human rights in conflict and conflict-affected settings. Without addressing fundamental issues of inequality and exclusion for women and lack of respect for international human rights, humanitarian and refugee law, many participants were skeptical that any significant advancement in meaningful participation or even increases in women at the table could be made. Instead such processes may continue to privilege and represent elite actors rather than those most affected by conflict and broader civil society or women’s human rights movement. Despite widened acknowledgment of how the WPS Agenda contributes to conflict prevention and sustained peace³, and its role as a “prerequisite”⁴ for the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) there has been little progress on the decades of Member State commitments to ensure the meaningful participation of women in these processes.⁵ Women are not consistently included and engaged in negotiating peace—they are consistently excluded. Across the pillars of the WPS Agenda, overall, participants were deeply troubled by the highly uneven progress and the corresponding sidelining of women to often-parallel development processes, shrinking political space, and lack of consistent financing for women’s civil society organizations.⁶

Through these discussions, the participants identified seven major global challenges and trends shaping the current limits to progress, including:

- Patriarchal systems and persistent gender inequality
- Nature of contemporary conflict
- Shrinking political space and threats against women’s human rights defenders

- Funding challenges and insufficient investment in gender expertise
- Limited recognition of women’s expertise and lived experience
- Tension between transformative and technocratic approaches
- Knowledge gaps

Patriarchal Systems & Persistent Gender Inequality

Institutionalized patriarchal and militarized systems, that are not only based upon, but contribute to and perpetuate gender inequality, are one of the most basic and persistent barriers to women’s meaningful participation in efforts to resolve conflict. Women remain under and un-represented in all categories where international legal and normative commitments, including the WPS Agenda, envisage their full, equal and meaningful participation. The lack of women’s presence and ability to meaningfully participate in these fora begin with ongoing failures to include women mediators and peacebuilders who stand ready to participate, whether due to hostility, negligence or both. In addition, persistent levels of gender inequality that predate and are exacerbated by conflict, such as prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence, lack of women’s equality before the law, access to rights in land ownership and tenure, lack of access to education and basic services, poverty, unpaid care work, food insecurity, parlous women’s political participation, and more, all contribute to women’s inability to meaningfully participate and the reality that those women who are included also carry distinct forms of privilege.

Concurrently, systems of governance and many political leadership positions remain under the control of elite men, including within the UN and other international organizations, where patriarchal cultures, discrimination and related bias not only persist, but continue to be defended. In addition, given the increasing overlap between conflict and counter-terrorism, even greater exclusion exists within the relevant counter-terrorism policy architecture that inhibit women and women's civil society from engaging consistently and at the highest level. There are some efforts underway within the UN to apply gender perspectives to counter-terrorism initiatives, including through the nascent and top-down calls for gender mainstreaming and engagement with women's civil society within the United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism,⁷ or the implementation of normative commitments, such as Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate's (CTED) increasing mainstreaming of gender, achieving overall gender parity among staff, and inclusion of gender expertise across its Member States assessments.

Among the participants, there was deep concern that without institutional and cultural shifts with dedicated and robust investment in gender mainstreaming and gender equality, little could change. The participants highlighted the limitations of relying on a limited number of actors within senior level positions in institutions and frameworks that champion gender equality and women's empowerment. In addition, the reality of conflict resolution and the influence and practical reach of high-level envoys and senior mediators within the most intractable conflicts was recently highlighted by Mossarat Qadeem, Co-founder of PAIMAN Alumni Trust, in her briefing the Security Council during the thematic debate on mediation. She discussed the ineffectiveness of those traditional and masculine traits perceived to be effective within mediation processes, the inability of international actors to reach certain populations or to mediate low-level conflicts that escalate on a daily basis, and the unrecognized role of women mediators, including herself, who have negotiated humanitarian access arrangements and ceasefires and sparked formal peace negotiations in Syria, Yemen, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and beyond.

The participants also highlighted recent positive developments, including the UN Secretary-General's Gender Parity Strategy, which has fostered an unprecedented number of women senior level appointments. In May 2018, for the first time in the history of the UN, gender parity was reached among Resident Coordinators—the public face of the UN all over the world.⁸ Other notable developments include the feminist foreign and international assistance policies pioneered by the Governments of Sweden and Canada, respectively⁹; and the enhanced focus on the WPS Agenda by the Security Council through the Informal Experts Group that provides a direct space for peace operations and/or UN country team's leadership and Security Council representatives to interact on women, peace and security policy and practice. The multitude of conversations and policy change sparked by the seismic effect of the #MeToo movement has led to greater, and long overdue attention to sexual harassment, sexual assault, abuse of authority and the sidelining of women's talents, rights and involvement in public life, the arts, academia, international organizations, and numerous other sectors.

Nature of Contemporary Conflict

The proliferation of actors and complexity of contemporary conflicts demand novel approaches to their prevention and resolution. Many conflicts remain in cycles of humanitarian access and ceasefire negotiations, raising hurdles for gender inclusion and women's meaningful participation, particularly as ceasefires are often still regarded as the preserve of security actors understood to be men. In addition, Member States continue to engage and respond to contemporary in terms of preventing violent extremism and counter-terrorism rather than international humanitarian law. These trends carry numerous implications for the protection and promotion of human rights and civil society participation, specifically women's civil society and women's rights activists.¹⁰

Importantly, the end of armed conflict does not equate with an end to violence against women. Spikes in violence by men towards women following war and in periods of "peace" are well documented.¹¹ The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) Committee

General Recommendation 30 states (hereafter GR 30): “For most women in post-conflict environments the violence does not stop with the official ceasefire or the signing of the peace agreement and often increase in the post-conflict setting.”¹² More detailed analyses on how women’s realities in post-conflict or transition periods will be vital to ensuring more concrete pathways for women’s meaningful participation and inclusion are created and fostered throughout all efforts to resolve conflict.¹³

A consistent theme throughout the EGM was recognition of and a challenge or call to action to all actors working to resolve conflict—forms of violence and conflict have changed, as has the depth of our understandings, and conflict resolution methods must be reformed and reinvigorated to innovate and adapt to contemporary contexts.

Shrinking Political Space & Threats Against Women, Women’s Human Rights Defenders & Women in Leadership Positions

Threats and violence against all human rights defenders, including women human rights defenders, and women in politics and public life continues at alarming rates.¹⁴ In 2017, the Secretary-General urged Member States to “develop and institutionalize protection mechanisms for defenders of women’s human rights, publicly condemn violence and discrimination against them and acknowledge their critical contribution to peace and security.”¹⁵ While some progress has been made, including, for example, by the UN Security Council through increased briefings from women civil society leaders, ongoing challenges encountered by women in obtaining visas and financing the travel required to engage in such informative work continue to limit their engagement, making them reliant on limited UN Women funds.

More needs to be done to support human rights defenders. In 2016, fewer than 20 percent of all adopted Security Council resolutions contained references to the importance of and the need to ensure freedom for civil society, women’s groups and women human rights defenders.¹⁶ Moreover, these limited forms of representation in international peace and security forum do not address persistent insecurity,

direct targeting, and threats against women rights defenders and women who challenge traditional gender and cultural norms simply by involvement in public life regardless of whether they are a women’s rights advocate or not.

On a broader scale, there is widespread concern among participants and activists around the shrinking political space for civil society organizations, specifically women’s civil society and pro-inclusion voices that advocate for diversity in public life, such as the participation of youth, indigenous peoples, sexual minorities, and women. In the current political context, where increasing counter-terrorism and preventing violent extremism efforts are being undertaken, women as community members and civil society leaders continue to be targeted by overly broad counter-terrorism laws that tend to police and criminalize dissent and exclude civil society from international and national policy discussions.¹⁷ Several participants also noted the constriction of space for the UN to conduct its work on politics, human rights, and gender equality, with preference by some States for the UN to focus only on development and humanitarian assistance. Overall, participants reflected on the need to continue advocating for human rights as fundamental to all the work undertaken in the context of women, peace and security, including democratic values that support freedom of speech and expression.

Funding Challenges & Investment in Gender Expertise

Not only has the Secretary-General raised the “dire need to reprioritize spending patterns, effectively coordinate funding instruments and explore innovative forms of flexible financing” for women and peace and security, but he has also called for “funding and direct support to civil society organizations, including local women’s organizations.”¹⁸

Among the participants some of the most noted financing trends included (1) disproportional investment in military spending; (2) lack of investment in women’s organizations overall; and (3) distribution of large sums with short implementation windows that expose many women’s organizations to a debilitating cycle of short-term projects and secondary contracting to name a few. These patterns effectively

relegate women's organizations to the limited role of implementing partner rather than change agents involved in the design and development of projects and programmes.

Drawing upon the peace and security reviews in 2015, including the Global Study, the participants reiterated the need for flexible mechanisms and long-term core funding, including acknowledgement from governmental and other donors that the timeframes for meaningful change often do not align with project cycles and globally set priorities.¹⁹ Participants also noted with concern the persistent uneven distribution of funding dedicated for gender equality, and accompanying uneven regional distribution.

Important examples of innovative funding mechanisms and initiatives that can catalyze change included, for example, the **Women's Peace and Humanitarian Fund**, the only UN Fund fully dedicated to funding women, the **United Nations Peacebuilding Fund's Gender and Youth Promotion Initiatives**, and civil society initiatives like the International Civil Society's Action Network's (ICAN) **Innovative Peace Fund (IPF)** – a multi-donor facility that provides flexible and timely small and medium grants to support women's leadership in all stages of peace and security processes.

Limited Recognition for Women's Expertise & Lived Experience

Women mediate violent conflict at local, national, regional and international levels across many capacities, including as individual community members, civil society workers and leaders, religious figures, and parliamentarians. They serve not only as gender experts but carry substantive expertise across thematic portfolios. Yet, their contributions and expertise continue to be unused and undervalued. This not only applies to their technical skills and training, but also their lived experiences of conflict and often-invisible work in mediating and preventing conflict at the local level. Presumptions around lack of "capacity" or relegation of women to "women's issues" pose a significant barrier to women's meaningful participation.

In addition, women in conflict affected countries, are not seen as possessing expert insight, despite their direct experiences of violence, insecurity and conflict resolution.

First and foremost, women are not 'seen' in their societies and this lack of recognition as experts follows into an institutionalized devaluation of women's lives, capacities and experiences. These lived everyday experiences need recognition, not only to be incorporated into top down approaches to conflict resolution, but to drive conflict resolution from the ground up.

As processes vary, the participants highlighted the obligations of States, international and regional organizations, the United Nations, as well as leading feminist researchers and policy makers who could commit to working side by side with women's organizations and women's civil society to elevate the issue of experiential knowledge as relevant for gender-sensitive peace and security outcomes.

Alternate approaches require inclusion and consultation at the first stages of process design and may require building skills and confidence levels as defined by women at local levels. This would also entail an holistic focus on tracks 1.5-2, sub-national efforts, which are increasingly referenced within the context of sustaining peace to ensure women are put forth as candidates for political office and governmental positions where they can have a critical platform to meaningfully participate in and influence these conflict resolution efforts. It also entails an analysis of the selection criteria for women's participation in track 1 processes, which are often far more stringent than male counterparts and discount other soft and hard skills women possess. Such approaches would promote non-discrimination and support commitments made through the The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

It was also noted that gender expertise within peace and security institutions including the UN, despite rhetoric, remain under constant threat: senior gender advisor posts are frequently the first to be cut in mission budget cuts and downsizing, including in budgetary decisions within the UN's Fifth Committee. These trends require Member States to acknowledge the incremental nature of gender mainstreaming and the vital role that effective gender advisors and technical gender expertise play in supporting gender-inclusive change.²⁰

Tensions between Transformative & Technocratic Approaches

The WPS Agenda has its origins in a century-old effort of women mobilizing to end wars and stake claims for inclusive and just societies.²¹ The “long arc” of this Agenda first advanced in the Women’s International Peace Congress in the Hague in 1915 and expanded in CEDAW when women’s right to participate in public life and decision-making was recognized as a human right. This was built on in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action where the concerns of women in armed conflict were articulated and contributed to policy commitments.²² These roots envisaged a fundamental positioning of the WPS Agenda that challenged militarism, inequality and institutionalized patriarchal power and contributed to the realization of human rights. The dynamic and long history of women promoting non-violence and constructive change is an asset that can enrich transformative approaches to sustaining and building peace in the conflict-affected countries.

Participants acknowledged the overall positive trajectory of the WPS Agenda²³ and the progress over many decades.²⁴ Yet there was strong concern about the drift from the transformative origins of the feminist movements that spearheaded the original efforts. Technocratic approaches to fundamentally complex political issues were problematized and understood by many participants to be leading to superficial and, at times, counter-productive outcomes.

Practical ways to revitalize policy and practice include seeking greater impact and senior positioning of important roles, such as gender advisors who are an essential conduit between feminist and women’s movements and institutions, often playing crucial roles in enabling the participation of women in conflict affected contexts. Many gender advisors experience isolation within their institutions and are either excluded from decision-making or bought in at the last stages. These realities may require institutional structures that support shadowing, mentoring and coaching to facilitate knowledge transfer that is not only focused

on the technical basics, but institutionally focused and related to the ground work and recommendations that precede any one individual advisor. Placing gender sensitive and responsive conflict analysis at the center of peace and security efforts will also contribute to ensuring that gender advisors are well placed to influence the work of an entity.

Knowledge Gaps

Despite the plethora of research and analysis conducted since the adoption of resolution 1325 (2000), the participants agreed that strategic gaps in knowledge and data continue to undermine evidence-informed decision-making and practice. In addition, and as noted above, women affected by conflict continue to be excluded from informing and leading on research on *their own context and efforts*. A critical point was raised about the barriers faced by those with resources, responsibilities and mandates to broker or bridge women’s experiential knowledge with the increasing focus on quantitative data and rationalization and into formal national and international governance and frameworks. Some participants also pointed to significant data gaps for entire conflict regions where there is lack of information and documentation of women’s contributions to preventing and resolving conflict, including their many successes, failures, and difficult pathways for reaching consensus, operating in hostile or indifferent environments and more.

Over the course of the meeting, knowledge gaps were summarized.

See Table 1: Overlooked Issues and Areas for Further Research and Analysis.

In addition, participants expressed concern about the tangible lack of cross-fertilization between the WPS policy community, broader peace and security actors and infrastructure. Whether this results in failure to incorporate gender into peace and security efforts or results in siloed approaches, the result is the same, policy and programming options suffer, and actors run the risk of engaging in vertical, duplicative, or ill-informed responses.

TABLE 1
Overlooked Issues and Areas for Further Research and Analysis

Issue	Aim and Relevance
Women's participation in pre-negotiation phases	Talks about talks are inherently opaque and exclusive and have an influential effect on both subsequent stages of the process and on the shaping of key agenda items for formal negotiations. The purpose of research on this topic would be to uncover techniques and strategies which have been tested to remedy women's exclusion in the early framing of what gets discussed, and who discusses it and the tensions and trade-off between securing a cessation of violence or agreement to talks and inclusivity. ²⁵ This early period also provides an opportunity to identify if and how different tracks could be connected in different ways.
Gender-responsive ceasefires	Increase the quality and quantity of ceasefire negotiations, agreements and monitoring processes with gender inclusive measures, as well as increased participation of women in such processes and mechanisms. Such guidance could be used as content in training including the UN annual ceasefire training course in collaboration with Governments of Norway and Switzerland and UN Guidance for mediators on gender-specific language and addressing conflict-related sexual violence; as a reference point for donors to ceasefire processes to draw on for setting benchmarks related to inclusion of gender perspectives. ²⁶ Analysis could also inform operational design and implementation of ceasefire monitoring mechanisms including civilian ceasefire monitoring and violence prevention initiatives. ²⁷
Women's participation and gender perspectives in humanitarian access agreements and processes	Little research has been undertaken in this area. ²⁸ Analysis could inform humanitarian access negotiations and monitoring processes; training courses by the UN, regional organizations and INGOs on humanitarian access; policy development; provide a reference point for donors to draw on for setting benchmarks related to inclusion of gender perspectives; and, strategy development for women's participation in stalled peace processes.
Mechanisms and modalities to unlock stalled processes	Many peace processes are stalled or stuck. Women have played pivotal roles in getting processes back on track. What techniques have been used? More analysis of inclusion options and strategies in stalled processes where track 1 is failing or faltering can inform practice and policy.
Implementation modalities for peace agreements particularly gender-specific provisions	Implementation is a critical moment to define the quality of any peace agreement and political settlement. Useful for practitioners and policymakers alike is analysis of types of modalities, forms of women's representation, participation, influence and impact, and where practice could be improved. ²⁹ The purpose is to inform policy, strategy development and funding decisions, to increase effectiveness at implementing gender provisions/sustain gains made during the negotiation phase to the implementation phase. This also includes encouraging both women's continued involvement and integration of gender perspectives in the transitional arrangements and implementation, reconstruction and recovery processes and bodies including the allocation of appropriate resources.
Women's participation in monitoring and verification mechanisms	Monitoring and evaluating the implementation of peace agreements with a gender lens, particularly the gender and human rights provisions within the accords, is crucial for understanding the fulfillment of the political commitments and assessing the overall quality of the peace process. Real time implementation monitoring and verification mechanism, such as the one ongoing in Colombia, is fundamental to support a gender-sensitive peacebuilding dynamic, to identify advances, difficulties, setbacks, opportunities and gaps related to the further development of WPS Agenda during the implementation period, and to respond timely to emergent challenges, providing contemporaneously feedback to decisionmakers. ³⁰ This focus area could also include post-agreement benchmarking on whether the various aspects of gender equality, inclusion, and other provisions are progressing or implemented.

Indicators of meaningful participation	Inform policy development and programming in support of inclusive peace processes, peacebuilding and sustaining peace, through setting clearer benchmarks for what constitutes meaningful participation, inclusion and representation; inform updates of UN accountability tools and frameworks including the 2010 7-Point Action Plan on gender-responsive peacebuilding in the lead of to 2020; refine monitoring and evaluation (M&E) of National Action Plans (NAPs) and Regional Action Plans (RAPs) and other strategic planning tools as well as implementation of peace agreements; build understanding of how meaningful participation changes according to context, phase of conflict, phase of peace process, level (local, national, regional, international) and goal – such an understanding can help shape policy, funding priorities, strategy development by local actors. ³¹ This could encompass ways and ideas to ‘measure’ the growth and development of women’s rights movements, and disaggregation of women’s roles in peace processes. Additional ideas include the development of a five-yearly global census of women’s participation in peace and security by UN region to provide an evidence-base in this area. With 2020 as the baseline year, the census could collect data on women in decision-making positions in the security sector, in peace and security policymaking institutions and in peace negotiation processes. It would enable more robust tracking of progress, interventions, and the monitoring of the participation pillar of the WPS Agenda by a range of actors.
Dimensions and steps towards substantive representation and meaningful participation	Create accessible analysis and infographics illustrating a ladder or set of steps towards increasingly meaningful participation and forms of representation (descriptive, formalistic, symbolic, substantive). An example of how to visualize gradation in this area is the Gender@Work Gender Results Effectiveness scale. ³²
Gender advisors in peace processes	Improved data on the presence and experiences of gender advisors in the full breadth of modalities for conflict resolution and all peace processes. More detailed data information can support evidence-informed practice to better design ToRs, including levels of seniority, and the composition of advisory teams, proximity to process design and decision-making, and more. Quantitative data might include tracking the numbers, types, and contract duration, whether single, double or triple hatted. Qualitative data might include understanding barriers gender advisors face and how to increase the effectiveness and accountability of such advisors in advancing a gender mainstreaming approach, the typical goal of such positions.
Masculinities and parties to conflict	The growing focus on masculinities analysis in peace and security, and their linkages to the WPS policy agenda, is welcomed and important. An underdeveloped stream of analysis is that of the perceptions and views of masculinities by warring parties and those negotiating peace processes. ³³
Effective strategies for building and sustaining women’s coalitions and movements and their impact	Values-based; goals-based; and principles-based – which type, or combination of strategy is most effective in building women’s movements that can then play a pivotal role in securing women’s participation in peace processes? Research in this area can help better understand the risks involved during war and armed conflict and strategies to protect women activists; analysis can assist in clarifying how to more effectively pursue specific goals, e.g. is participation the goal? In what? For what? It could also usefully focus on addressing structural impediments to long-term funding for women’s organizations. ³⁴
Linkages between women’s participation in peace processes & participation in democratic processes and governance	Mobilize political support and investment in data collection and analysis where there currently are gaps and/or methodology is evolving such as: data on women as voters and candidates, representation of women in local governance, violence against women in politics.
Mediation networks and support mechanisms	In 2017-18 several women’s mediation networks joined a community of pre-existing mediation support networks. Analysis of the intentions and impacts of these networks is valuable to identify if such networks contribute to more women breaking through into mediation roles. ³⁵ Research could also explore different modalities and calibrations of mediation teams.
Gender perspectives and women’s participation in transitional justice processes	Transitional justice can contribute to sustained peace through a set of processes and mechanisms that facilitate accountability and reconciliation after conflict or political change. In cases where transitional justice is a part of the peace process, how do women shape transitional justice and how do transitional justice processes account for the specific and unique experiences of women in conflict?



Photo: UN Women/Ryan Brown

2

REFLECTIONS ON WOMEN'S "MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION"

2. REFLECTIONS ON WOMEN'S "MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION"

To inform the 'in-focus' section of the 2018 Secretary-General report on women and peace and security, participants were asked to critically reflect on the concept of meaningful participation and the parameter of participation.

Questions to frame the discussion included:

- How far has the international community come in promoting women's meaningful participation since 2000?
- What does the latest data and research identify as key trends?
- What are the key elements that are required for women's participation to be "meaningful"?
- Are there variations at the international, regional, national and local levels?
- What are the factors enabling versus constraining women's meaningful participation?

Participants noted that since the adoption of UN Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), the term "meaningful" has increasingly been used by the international community to express an aspirational direction towards more inclusive decision-making processes. For instance, while the first six WPS resolutions of the Security Council call for women's "full and equal participation," the two most recent WPS resolutions, 2122 (2013) and 2242 (2015) place stronger emphasis on women's "meaningful participation." Resolution 2242 (2015), which builds on evidence put forward in connection to the high-level review of the implementation of Security Council 1325 (2000) in 2015,³⁶ notes the substantial link between women's meaningful involvement in efforts to prevent, resolve and rebuild from conflict and the effectiveness and long-term sustainability of such efforts.

The concept of 'meaningful' participation has evolved to become a conceptual reference point to describe a multifaceted set of elements to realize the tangible and urgent demands that women not only be present, but that their concerns are heard *and* taken on board, they have the opportunity to articulate their contributions and expertise, to ensure that gender perspective and analyses inform and shape peace processes, and that outcomes benefit the whole of society.

Increasing the numbers of women (numeric or descriptive participation) and deepening the quality and impact of their roles (representation of interests) remain vital twin-tracks. There was strong consensus that moving beyond the numbers or percentages is more critical than ever, with the need to focus on the qualitative components of women's participation. However, there is still lack of clarity on how to achieve women's meaningful participation in peace processes. While the push to simply include women in all roles in negotiations is a clear and fair democratic imperative, participants highlighted that it may not yield outcome in which gender equality interests are represented and converted into gender-sensitive provisions in outcome documents and implementation processes. The latter requires methods to ensure that women's interests in gender justice issues are represented and defended—often via a role for women's civil society groups in reviewing negotiation proposals or via a forum for regular interactions between women's right activist and negotiators, such as the Gender Sub-Committee of the Colombia peace talks.

See Box 9: Good Practice Example – The Colombian Gender Sub-Commission.

Meaningful participation also requires sharing knowledge and experiences among and between geographies on what has worked and sharing expertise between women’s organizations. For example, the exchanges between the Northern Ireland’s Women Coalition and Syrian women’s advocacy groups. Such peer to peer learning requires sustained support. The most notable and positive results for women’s meaningful participation have been achieved in settings where a combination of factors coincided—political will, proactive and accountable leadership, preexisting, strong women’s rights movements, and women in power.

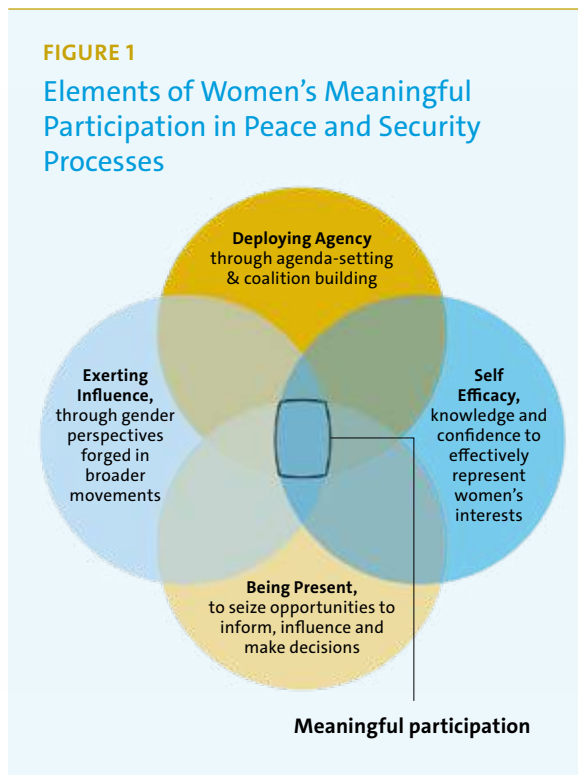
During the meeting, participants identified a non-exhaustive list of mutually reinforcing elements of “meaningful” participation. A visualization of the positive understanding was discussed and is illustrated in

See Figure 1: Elements of Women’s Meaningful Participation in Peace and Security Processes.

The participants cited different examples of when women had been brought into processes with insufficient time or knowledge of the issues to be discussed or to consult, analyze and prepare their contributions, and build consensus and/or formulate recommendations. This significantly undermines the ability of women to exert agency, exercise influence and represent their constituencies.

Participants also cited examples of superficial or tokenistic forms of representation and participation, including isolated observer roles, consultation fatigue, and delinked advisory bodies. In the final stages of the Government of the Philippines and Moro peace process, for example, the inclusion of the term “meaningful” was queried by the Moro negotiators, which prompted the feminists in the Government of the Philippines team to make the case that ‘meaningful’ participation is perhaps best determined by the degree to which it is not ‘meaningless’. In other words, it is not token presence, not an afterthought, not ignorant (no access to information from experts), not de-linked from the constituencies to whom peace matters the most who are those ordinary people who want an end to the fighting and who want its causes addressed.

See Box 1: Inclusion of “Meaningful Participation” in the Moro Peace Process in the Philippines



The essential roles and contributions of women’s civil society organizations in informing and mobilizing support for peace processes was also stressed in conversations about the definition of meaningful participation. The need to amplify the voice of women’s civil society organizations requires. Attention to practical necessities such as robust, consistent and flexible operational funding, security to ensure safe public space for civil society, and investment in the capacity of women’s organizations so they can ‘hit the mark’ when the participation window opens.

Participants emphasized that the practice of bringing women into processes last minute and as tokens must end. As part of this, flexible mechanisms, such as rapid response funds, can play an important role in eliminating practical barriers to women’s participation in peace and security processes by responding to practical realities of travel expenses, mobility and childcare, and as such diversify voices and experiences informing decisions. As an example, in Myanmar, in late 2017 the US Agency for International Development (USAID) working with DAI, a global development firm, established a Women’s Participation Fund to lower practical hurdles to participation such as travel,

BOX 1

Inclusion of “Meaningful Participation” in the Moro Peace Process in the Philippines

The “Decision Points on Principles of April 2012” was the first signed document outlining the initial set of substantive understanding between the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). It acknowledged the unique identity and legitimate grievances of the Bangsamoro people, the core issue at the heart of the 40-year old armed conflict. It committed the two parties to work for the creation of a new autonomous political entity. The document also enumerated other principles including a list of 12 basic rights that were to be guaranteed and enforceable in the future autonomous entity.

Drawing up consensus items from the parties’ respective drafts had saved the negotiations from collapse. However, focusing on perceived shared starting points proved no less difficult. The Government’s proposal to include the right of women “to meaningful political participation” was one such tough issue. What set off the hours-long discussion was this query from the MILF panel chair: What did the Government mean by ‘meaningful’?

The Malaysian facilitator asked everyone, including the observers from the International Contact Group, to pitch in an answer.³⁷ One muttered an adjective: ‘genuine’. Another talked about equal participation – which prompted another to ask if quality was being privileged over quantity.

When it was the women in the GPH panel’s turn to speak, they spoke in the language that would easily be understood by the MILF. The Moro claimants wanted ‘parity of esteem’ between the Filipino majority and the Moro minority population in the south of the country. This was a concept that they learned from the Northern Ireland process. This was then translated or transferred to the relationship between men and women. It is this ‘parity of esteem’ between genders that the women equally desired.

The GPH panel wanted the emphasis on the ‘political’ because women are already quite active in the private sphere. It is the public space in Bangsamoro society, and almost all societies for that matter, that needed opening. Finally, the women concluded, meaningful can best be understood by its opposite, which is meaningless. If political participation is meaningless, then it is problematic and insufficient.

With that, the MILF and the GPH agreed to keep the word ‘meaningful’. At that time, they did not know that the WPS community would rightly associate it with their long-running struggle and to achieve a high-impact message: that women’s participation in and of itself is not enough, it must be meaningful. Who are to say when it is meaningful? Women themselves, of course.

Contributed by Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, Senior Mediation Advisor, Standby Team of Experts, UN Mediation Support Unit, Department of Political Affairs and former Chair of the Government of the Philippines negotiation panel.

childcare or translation support. Requests are approved within hours allowing women to seize critical opportunities in relation to peace processes related events.

Many participants noted practical behavioral change that the international peace and security community could adopt. Refusal to participate in all-male panels, or for the UN and WPS champion countries to be associated with convening all-male panels (or manels), is one easy (if tokenistic) starting point. It was noted that the all-male panels debate needs to get beyond social media publicity and numeric inclusion predicated on an assumption one woman on an all-male panel addresses systematic exclusion.

Other concerns were raised about the practical ways in which international organizations inviting women from conflict-affected countries can assist through translation assistance, better support to securing visas and providing validation letters recognizing the expertise of women. Other practical suggestions were made that have a bearing on the way conflict analysis, monitoring and evaluation, and measures of success are framed. These include the use of ‘everyday’ peace indicators—local measurements that reflect tangible experiences for women, young women and girls, that show that their security and well-being is improving or not—the ability to collect water and firewood without violent assault, access to markets, the number of days in a month that children safely go to school. This concept has also been formally developed through the work of the project Everyday Peace Indicators.³⁸ These are being used in Colombia as part of the peace process monitoring work by the Kroc Institute.³⁹

See Box 2: Everyday Peace Indicators and Gender-Sensitive Monitoring of Implementation of the Colombian Peace Agreement.

Participants raised strong concerns about gender deficits in current conflict analysis. This was a recurring theme across the meeting that incomplete conflict analysis lies at the heart of why so many processes, projects, programmes and initiatives are flawed. The report of the Secretary-General on women and peace and security in 2017 also called for high quality gender-sensitive conflict analysis, stating:

“High-quality gender and conflict analysis that relies on data that is disaggregated by gender, age and other relevant criteria must be included in all conflict prevention efforts. After 17 years of implementation, however, gaps in the availability of meaningful data remain, and gender and conflict analysis are inconsistently utilized.”⁴⁰

Participants noted that critical reframing is required to look beyond drivers of conflict to include drivers of peace and stability, which can cast light on the roles and contributions of many women and other actors in society contributing to potentially more representative processes. Refining approaches to contemporary conflict analysis necessarily involves sharper understanding of the heterogeneity of women that is reflective of all sections of a society and that examines how gender power relations, and internal and external interests shape political space. Without such approaches, there is the distinct potential for WPS action or policy to feed into or leave unchanged conflict dynamics and fuel them.

The WPS community has been at the forefront of a ‘peace drivers’ approach. A more determined and consistent shift to gender-sensitive conflict analysis with a focus on drivers of peace and security would also disrupt why gender-blind conflict analysis is the norm – examining how focusing on drivers of conflict have resulted in a focus on male power holders. Gender-sensitive conflict and peace analysis can also play a supportive role in identifying existing national and local capacities for inclusive public policy, peacebuilding and security.⁴¹ Many feminist organizations have developed advice for strengthening conflict analysis. One example of this effort is the work of Conciliation Resources to develop accessible advice and training on gender-sensitive conflict analysis. Their work seeks to demystify the ‘how’ and encourage individuals and organizations to make an integrated analytical approach part of their day-to-day practice.

See Box 3: Increasing Skills and Capacity on Inclusive and Gender-Sensitive Conflict Analysis.

See Box 4: Establishing a Gold Standard of Practice for Inclusive and Gendered Mediation

BOX 2

Everyday Peace Indicators and Gender-Sensitive Monitoring of the Implementation of the Colombian Peace Agreement

Working at the nexus of practice and research, the Kroc's Institute Peace Accords Matrix (PAM) program established the Barometer Initiative in Colombia to apply the PAM methodology to the challenge of monitoring the Colombia final agreement (agreement hereafter). The Barometer Initiative examines the degree of implementation in 578 provisions in the accord, with over 100 including a gender-specific reference or commitment, which are then grouped into 70 sub-themes and 18 themes. With much more development than in other peace accords, the agreement includes a series of transversal aspirations, principles and criteria reflective of a gender-sensitive and human rights-based approach to building peace.

The Barometer Initiative combines quantitative and qualitative monitoring approaches. The standard PAM quantitative methodology is the basis for the reports of the Initiative. This methodology is now being utilized and adapted to assess whether specific measurable actions occur in the areas of gender equity, ethnic rights, territorial focus and human rights. This is supplemented with qualitative analysis, employing so-called Everyday Peace Indicators as its core. The information collection system includes daily review of media and other published analysis and news and interaction with process or subject experts and local communities. This information is validated and supplemented through cross-checking of other data sources and the gathering of additional information and documentation through on-the-ground observation and investigation by a mobile team of peacebuilding professionals.

Through the first 18 months of the peace implementation process, more than 9,000 event reports were entered the PAM Colombia Peace Accords Matrix. This major data collection creates a quantitative database which is then combined with qualitative assessments to evaluate the progress of implementation of the Colombian accord and provide the Colombian key decision makers with evidence-informed status updates showcasing advances, difficulties, gaps, and recommendations to move forward the implementation process including human rights and gender-sensitive provisions.

Contributed by Borja Paladini Adell, Colombia Representative, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies

BOX 3**Increasing Skills and Capacity on Inclusive and Gender-Sensitive Conflict Analysis**

Conciliation Resources is an independent international organization working with people in conflict to prevent violence, resolve conflicts and promote peaceful societies. We use gender-sensitive conflict analysis to understand power relationships between different groups of people and see it as core to understanding and transforming the gendered root causes, discriminatory gender norms and differentiated effects of violence.

Conflict analysis usually ignores gender or creates false binaries. A gender-sensitive conflict analysis shows how false binaries privilege male elites and entrench their interests to the detriment of women, gender and sexual minorities and other excluded groups. It also challenges the binary between public (political) and private (family and community) spheres of power and examines the systems, structures and institutions which perpetuate gender inequalities. International organizations rarely undertake gender-sensitive conflict analysis as it is perceived to be difficult, with unclear or inconvenient actions identified.^{42, 43}

With Saferworld, we have co-developed practical methodologies and tools to undertake a gender-sensitive conflict analysis. The process is participatory, involving diverse groups of women, men and gender and sexual minorities. Guided by a series of questions, participants share reflections on social attitudes to gender roles and behaviors as well as local institutions and structures to understand the gendered root causes and effects of violence. They identify strategic actions and partners to work with to create change. Using a systems approach, this analysis should ground the design of any new peacebuilding work and be undertaken regularly to respond to shifting conflict contexts.

Contributed by Sophia Close, Senior Advisor, Gender and Peacebuilding, Conciliation Resources

BOX 4

Establishing a Gold Standard of Practice for Inclusive and Gendered Mediation

The International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) is an international civil society organization dedicated to elevating and amplifying the voice and impact of women and women-led organizations in promoting peace, resilience, equal rights and pluralism (PREP) in countries affected by violence, extremism and closing political space.

Traditional approaches to conflict resolution are not working as wars grow ever more complex. Inclusion of a range of actors is necessary to achieve sustainable peace. Women are often the ones to stand up and struggle for peace in their country. Research conducted across conflict zones over the past 15 years has confirmed that the inclusion of women civil society in peace processes can reduce the chance of failure by 50%, and that women's groups make significant contributions when present. But inclusion in practice requires a paradigm shift away from a narrow notion of peace negotiations as security and political processes to acknowledging that they must be inclusive societal processes.

Moving beyond the question of why inclusivity matters in peace and mediation processes to *how* it can be put into practice, we share knowledge and practical experience on the “how to” of inclusive and gender-sensitive mediation and peacemaking. We produce animations on gendered thematic topics that are commonly addressed in peace processes, and deliver expert advice, tailored seminars, trainings and capacity building for a range of actors. In July 2018, in collaboration with the Human Rights Research and Education Center (HRREC), University of Ottawa we piloted our Executive Seminar and Certification Course on Inclusive and Gendered Mediation. Our goal is to establish a “gold standard” of practice and create a body of trusted and confident personnel deployable to accompany, mentor and advise women's peace coalitions, women mediators networks, diplomatic missions, and other stakeholders so that they and the peace processes they support benefit.

Our tools and products are transferable and adaptable to local contexts, while ensuring a solid foundation of the core principles, values and “ingredients” necessary to ensure effective inclusivity.

Contributed the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN)

UN Women and Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), in collaboration with the UN Development Program (UNDP), UN DPA and the UN Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO), has now launched a new initiative to develop and pilot joint gender-sensitive conflict analysis in settings experiencing mission transitions and drawdowns.⁴⁴ Together, they have undertaken three pilots in 2018 in Liberia, Haiti and Darfur. Initial findings affirm that the UN's capacity for gender-sensitive conflict analysis is weak

and inconsistent. The gender aspects need to be built into the overall conflict analysis processes and not run as a stand-alone or parallel process. An example of an in this area is the inclusion in 2018 of a dedicated module on gender-sensitive conflict analysis module in the annual High-Level Seminar on Gender in Mediation convened by UN DPA, PRIO and the Conflict Management Initiative.

There are other ways in which gender-sensitive conflict analysis is streaming into decision-making processes

with several mechanisms to promote policy dialogue on WPS issues in the Security Council. **The Security Council Informal Experts Group (IEG) on Women, Peace and Security** has contributed to diversifying information sources and improving gender analysis in priority countries and direct briefings to the Security Council

by women civil society leaders on country-specific situations are providing valuable ground-up information on needs and priorities.

See Box 5: Integrating Women, Peace and Security in Work of the Security Council

BOX 5

Integrating Women, Peace and Security in Work of the Security Council

Security Council's Informal Experts Group on Women and Peace and Security

The Security Council's Informal Experts Group on Women and Peace and Security (IEG) was called for in **Security Council resolution 2242** (2015), and since 2016 provides a space for regular consultations between Council experts and UN actors on women, peace and security issues in country-specific situations. It aims at improving the flow of information and analysis to the Council on situations on its agenda, and to sharpen the focus and specificity of Council deliberations, oversight, and actions, including by its subsidiary bodies. As of June 2018, the IEG regularly considers the situations in Afghanistan, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Lake Chad Basin, Libya, Mali, and Yemen. The IEG has also received a thematic briefing on women protection advisors.

Ahead of each IEG meeting, Council members receive country-specific recommendations for advancing the WPS Agenda. UN Women, as secretariat for the group, produces briefing notes and recommendations from a variety of sources including country teams and independent analysis. In the IEG meetings, senior peace operation and country team leadership brief Council experts and discuss potential follow-up actions by the UN and the Council. The IEG is currently co-chaired by Peru and Sweden, in close consultation with the UK. The sharper focus and timeliness of the information and analysis have already had an impact. Sometimes, these meetings have helped position gender equality in UN inter-agency processes or the deployment of gender advisory capacity or women's protection expertise. Beyond the Security Council, the information gathered by the IEG is already used by actors working to advance the WPS Agenda, from donors to policymakers and practitioners on the ground.

Perhaps most importantly, advocates have demanded for years that the Security Council speak up more forcefully and specifically on women's leadership and participation, with similar concrete asks as for issues relating to conflict-related sexual violence, and this gap has begun to close. For example, the Security Council called on parties in Yemen to ensure at least 30 percent representation on women in peace negotiations and called on the UN to regularly report on consultations with women leaders and women's organizations. With regards to the situation in Iraq, the Council expressed concern about the lack of implementation, including funding, of the National Action Plan (NAP) on 1325 and underscored the need for women's full and equal participation in the upcoming elections, stabilization planning, and local and national reconciliation. In general, the Council makes more targeted decisions about which institutions and decision-making

BOX 5 CONTINUED

Integrating Women, Peace and Security in Work of the Security Council

processes are being affected by women's exclusion or under-representation, makes more frequent references to temporary special measures for women's representation, and has elevated the visibility of 1325-related NAPs.

The mandates of all the peacekeeping and special political missions reviewed by the IEG have included stronger language on WPS in recent renewals, and greater attention to these issues has also been evident in the Council's visiting missions. In 2017, all the outcomes following the Council's five visiting missions contained references to women and peace and security. The four-country visit to the Lake Chad Basin raised the visibility of many of the issues brought up at the IEG a few days earlier, and not just in their meetings with women IDPs, female parliamentarians, and women's civil society organizations, but with the presidents of each country. Shortly thereafter, the first resolution on the Lake Chad Basin featured one of the most comprehensive integration of WPS issues to date.

An analysis of the recommendations discussed at the IEG through several meetings offers examples of positive change. For example, many of the recommendations highlighted in the group's first meeting on Afghanistan have been addressed over the last two years, including proposed changes to the placement of gender advisory expertise in the mission, the integration of gender issues in the assessment, visit, and technical recommendations of the Counter-terrorism Executive Directorate, and the long-awaited revision of the Penal Code, which now includes a definition of rape in line with international standards and criminalizes the practice of *bacha bazi*. In Iraq, UNAMI's capacity was strengthened with the deployment of a senior women's protection advisor and identified gender equality and women's empowerment as one of its seven strategic priorities, and the Government has taken important steps to implement its NAP on 1325. The post of senior gender advisor in MINUSCA was reclassified to a higher level and placed in the office of the SRSG after this was highlighted in the IEG and the Open Debate on 1325, echoing similar calls from civil society.

Other recommendations have been repeated several times without progress, especially on very specific issues like the protection and legal coverage of NGO-run shelters in Iraq, attacks and killings of women and girls accused of witchcraft in the Central African Republic, women's dismal representation in the committees dealing with disarmament and security sector reform in CAR and Mali and in several rounds of peace talks, and shortcomings in the gender advisory capacity in MINUSMA, where the post has remained vacant for a long time, and in the multinational military forces in the Sahel and the Lake Chad Basin, where it has not yet been deployed. While there were improvements in the mandate language of sanctions committees in 2017, such as for CAR, Mali and the Da'esh and Al-Qaeda Sanctions Committee, this is still not being reflected in the actual listing of individuals and entities. For example, the Da'esh and ISIL sanctions committee has to date not included any individual or entity for conflict-related sexual

BOX 5 CONTINUED**Integrating Women, Peace and Security in Work of the Security Council**

violence or trafficking and the sale of persons, despite the ample evidence and documentation of these violations. The co-chairs and the secretariat of the IEG have begun to follow up more systematically on these recommendations, including reaching out directly to the African Union about women's participation in the implementation of the Libreville roadmap for CAR or many influential stakeholders to ensure that the upcoming constitutional committee in Syria has a minimum of 30 percent of seats reserved to women.

Briefings by women's civil society representatives

A related development are the direct briefings by women's civil society representatives to the Security Council in country-specific briefings, as called for by resolution 2242. From December 2016 – 1 June 2018, 14 women civil society representatives, and one representative of an independent human rights institution, have briefed the Council on country-specific situations, including on Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lake Chad Basin, Liberia, Libya, Somalia, South Sudan, and Yemen.⁴⁵ This practice should be continued and fully supported, as it provides a unique pathway for women from conflict-affected countries to engage directly with the Security Council and speak about their experiences, insights, and recommendations.



Photo: UN Women/Ryan Brown

3

HOW THE WOMEN, PEACE
& SECURITY AGENDA
CONTRIBUTES TO
CONFLICT PREVENTION
& SUSTAINING PEACE

3. HOW THE WOMEN, PEACE & SECURITY AGENDA CONTRIBUTES TO CONFLICT PREVENTION & SUSTAINING PEACE

Conflict prevention and sustaining peace are signature priorities for the Secretary-General and for the UN system. The twin resolutions on sustaining peace, Security Council resolution 2282 (2016) and General Assembly resolution 70/262, underscore the importance of women's leadership and meaningful participation in the prevention and resolution of conflict and peacebuilding. But what can and does this mean in practice?

This portion of the meeting was informed by the initial framing in last year's Secretary-General's report on women and peace and security, which included references to the growing evidence base demonstrating how gender equality and women's empowerment prevents conflict and sustains peace, as well as the recent report of the Secretary-General on peacebuilding and sustaining peace and the UN-World Bank study *Pathways for Peace*. Several participants highlighted that the transformative, feminist, and holistic approaches advocated for through the WPS Agenda led to possibilities for cultural shifts away from violent masculinities and conflict towards more robust cultural shifts, transforming cultures of exclusion, violence and injustice.

Discussion was guided by the following questions:

- How does the WPS Agenda contribute to conflict prevention and sustaining peace and vice versa?
- With increased focus on the linkage between WPS and prevention and sustaining peace, how can we ensure the two policy processes are aligned?
- How do we ensure that the efforts of women peacebuilders and civil society, at all levels, are actively included in peace and security processes?

During the discussion, participants highlighted the focus of women mobilizing to end war and violence as consistently predicated on prioritizing conflict prevention at all levels. In this regard the origins of the WPS Agenda were discussed particularly the original intention of urging investment in conflict prevention. However, conflict prevention remains both poorly resourced and understood. In recent years the nascent sustaining peace policy agenda has evolved and could be a vehicle for greater commitment and institutionalization of conflict prevention—*inclusive of gender perspectives*. This growing focus within the UN system, spearheaded by the personal momentum of the Secretary-General, presents an opportunity to bring gender into largely technical approaches to peacebuilding, reinstate nuanced political approaches better suited to complex situations.

Sustaining peace brings a useful, potentially fresh, focus on the continuum of peace and security.⁴⁶ Some participants observed that this can bring a new energy to the principles and practicalities of women's meaningful participation in all phases of conflict prevention and resolution, for example in Syria, women must be at the ceasefire table and the negotiation of humanitarian access; in Nigeria, women must be

informing screening, prosecution and rehabilitation and reintegration programming, as being undertaken in consultation with the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate in line with UNSC resolution 2396 (2017); in the Philippines, women must be engaged in justice efforts; and in Ukraine women's movements must be consulted and able to participate in decisions on economic reforms and recovery plans. This shifting policy focus and the corresponding roadblocks for implementation of WPS commitments also require safeguarding the autonomy and integrity of the WPS Agenda while still advancing its role as both catalytic and complementary to conflict prevention and sustaining peace.

The participants highlighted the need to root WPS interventions in a human-rights-based approach. Many practitioners, academics and organizations have explored the synergies between WPS commitments and other international human rights monitoring frameworks. GR 30 instructs all 189 States parties to CEDAW to report on the implementation of the WPS resolutions. In response, UN Women commissioned a guidebook on GR 30 and UN

Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security⁴⁷ and UN Women, GNWP, and other organizations continue to conduct research and facilitate training with governments and CSOs on the use of CEDAW to monitor and report on the implementation of the WPS resolutions.⁴⁸ Among the many findings, it is clear that reporting to CEDAW on women in conflict-affected situations and the implementation of Security Council resolutions on women and peace and security is increasing. However, reporting remains largely focused on women as victims, with less reporting on women's participation in decision-making on peace and security matters, including conflict prevention. In fall of 2018, UN Women and GNWP will both be launching research on the monitoring and reporting of WPS commitments in the Human Rights Council through Universal Periodic Review.

During the meeting, the GNWP also shared its work to localize the WPS Agenda around the world. Most recently, the GNWP conducted surveys to understand the challenges women experience in sustaining peace.

See Box 6: Civil Society Survey on Sustaining Peace: Initial Findings from the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP)

BOX 6

Civil Society Survey on Sustaining Peace: Initial Findings from the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP)

The agenda for sustaining peace as elaborated in the General Assembly (A/RES/70/262) and Security Council (S/RES/ 2282) resolutions, is a comprehensive, coordinated and coherent approach to peacebuilding and conflict prevention. It is both a goal and a process to forge a common vision of a global community that seeks to consider the needs of all segments of a population. The sustaining peace agenda highlights the importance of local leadership and national ownership. It underscores the critical role of women's rights organizations, youth groups and other civil society actors; the private sector, and regional organizations in sustaining peace.

Recognizing that the concept of sustaining peace is intrinsic to civil society's work on the WPS Agenda, the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP), with support from UN Women, is coordinating a global research to bring the voices of local civil society into the discourse, policy-making and programming on Sustaining Peace. As of July 2018, GNWP has received responses from over 670 women from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burundi, Canada, Colombia, Liberia, Mali, the Philippines, Sierra Leone, South Sudan, Sweden, Syria, and Ukraine. Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews, to provide more in-depth insights, were also organized in the above countries. The preliminary findings that emerge from this data, indicate the following:

- To local civil society and local women, peace is more than an absence of war. When asked about what constitutes "peace," 75 per cent of respondents pointed to the rule of law, good governance, economic development, protection of the environment, equality and inclusion, and peace education, as essential elements rather than merely the absence of violence.
- To sustain peace, it is necessary to develop a culture of peace – this was recognized by 26 per cent of respondents, who believe that a culture characterized by harmony; tolerance; dialogue; and inclusion were the most important characteristics of a peaceful society.
- Women's inclusion in formal and informal peace processes is increasing, and over 50 per cent of respondents thought women were included in such processes "to some extent." At the same time, there is still a gap to be addressed, since over 15 per cent felt that women were not included in such processes at all. Key challenges to women's participation included patriarchal culture; lack of education and awareness; poverty; and restricted mobility.
- Weak implementation of peace agreements is a key challenge to sustaining peace – less than 10 percent of respondents felt that implementation of such agreements in their country was "good" and almost none thought it was very "good". A clear majority (over 70 per cent) thought there was very little or no implementation, both at the national and the local levels.
- Exclusion of key groups, such as women, youth and indigenous people was cited among the main reasons for the poor implementation. Almost 35 per cent of respondents felt there was no participation of women civil society in the implementation of peace agreements at all, and only 5 per cent felt they were fully included.

BOX 6 CONTINUED

Civil Society Survey on Sustaining Peace: Initial Findings from the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP)

- Women civil society are undertaking a wide range of activities to sustain peace. Women's roles range from educating the youth; promoting and facilitating dialogue; to organizing neighborhood watch to prevent electoral violence; to supporting the survivors and victims of violence and conflict.
- The donor community's efforts to support gender-sensitive peacebuilding initiatives are appreciated. However, there is a need for stronger local leadership. 30 per cent of respondents said that the local civil society was able to influence the design of donor programs only to a limited extent; and almost 40 per cent said it had very little or no influence.

Based on these findings, GNWP calls on the international community, regional, national and local stakeholders to recognize that building and sustaining peace starts before there is imminent conflict, continues long after the fighting stops, and to support women's meaningful participation in all stages of peace processes. The respondents further explained meaningful participation as having institutionalized but flexible platforms for participation. The institutional platforms for women's participation should have the following components:

- sustained practical support—including funding support, training and mentoring;
- an enabling environment that encourages and incentivizes women to participate; and
- protection of women who participate in peace processes.⁴⁹

The respondents also emphasized the representation of young women, women outside of capitals and larger cities, women from marginalized groups (people with disabilities, ethnic, religious & cultural minorities, sexual and gender minorities, lower or disadvantaged castes) and women civil society in all stages and all levels of peace processes. They referred to the components of institutional platforms for women's participation to make this possible.

Contributed by Mavic Cabrera Balleza, Chief Executive Officer, GNWP

The EGM participants asserted that women can always be found, but not always 'seen', at the forefront of local conflict and violence prevention innovations and that the process of elevating their work, a function of women, peace and security initiatives, can contribute to long-term and sustainable solutions for conflict resolution. Initiatives referred to over the course of the meeting range from Peace Huts in Liberia, to Peace Committees in Nepal, Women's Situation Rooms developed to forestall election-related violence, and Women's platforms for peace,

such as the **Members of the Women's Platform for the Peace, Security and Cooperation (PSC) Framework agreement for the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) established by the Office of the Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region** in 2013. All have contributed to conflict prevention in the relevant settings.

See Box 7: Violence Prevention in Action - Women's Situation Rooms in Africa

See Box 8: Peace Huts in Liberia

BOX 7

Violence Prevention in Action - Women's Situation Rooms in Africa

The Women's Situation Room (WSR) is fundamentally a violence and conflict prevention initiative, seeking to identify the build-up to violence pre, during and post-elections and pre-empt all forms of violence including that directed to women and girls. The first WSR was established in 2011 in Liberia. Since then WSRs have set up in namely Senegal and Sierra Leone in 2012 and 2018, Kenya in 2013, Nigeria in 2015, Uganda and Ghana in 2016 and in Liberia again in 2017.⁵⁰ In each context the WSR took different forms depending on the local situation. Women who are trained in peace advocacy are involved in a range of actions including the promotion of peaceful and fair elections, mediating to stop actual violence or prevent future violence, provide political and polling observation. The idea of WSRs was first conceived by Yvette-Chesson-Wureh of the Liberia-based Angie Brooks International Centre for Women's Empowerment, Leadership Development, International Peace and Security.

The WSR is a process of women engaging in proactive conflict prevention. In the run up to elections women leaders are trained as peace advocates; and youth leaders are trained in a 'Peer to Peer Peace Process' where they are exposed to techniques in to peacefully resolve disputes. A physical secretariat is established in the capital under the auspices of a local women's organization that is hosting the WSR. A set of sub-national or regional offices may also be set up. Just before the elections a physical WSR is set up usually in the same location with other election observer delegations. A communications center is established as part of the physical WSR, where a team of young volunteers receive incident reports on the elections through a toll-free hot-line from the public.

Eminent Women locally selected on set criteria of nonpartisanship, credibility and demonstrated leadership and respect are joined by Eminent African Women from other countries. They review the incident reports from the communication center and direct the reports to relevant authorities to address them, including the Electoral Commission, security organs and political parties for immediate resolution.

Young men and women are involved in the operation of the WSR call centers and included in the training on election observation, violence prevention, constitutions and other topics that is provided to those involved in the WSRs. There is also a Youth Room to specifically focus on youth-related violence and engagement of those directly involved in inciting or carrying out such violence. A desk is also established for the security organs in the physical WSR to speed up the responses to the incident reports. In some cases, such as in Uganda and more recently in Sierra Leone, the Eminent Women continue to engage political leaders after the elections, to prevent the escalation of election results disputes into conflict.

BOX 8

Peace Huts in Liberia

Prior to the Liberian civil war (1989-2003), traditional community conflict resolutions were conducted in Palava Huts, generally built in the form of a circle with low walls and a thatched roof. Village elders, mainly men, resolved the disputes among members of the community. After the war, and in response to recommendations included in the Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report, Liberian women peace activists adapted this concept into women-led Peace Huts. Since, women in the Peace Huts have mediated local disputes, monitored the police and justice services, referred victims of violence to counseling and other services, and raised awareness within communities regarding peacebuilding priorities, such as elections, decentralization, and natural resource concessions. According to the local police, Peace Huts have been key to reducing and even preventing violence in the community because they defuse tensions and alert police to potential outbreaks of conflict. They have provided a space for women's voices to be heard on priority peacebuilding, security, rule of law, and political and economic issues, and many added values have been documented, including:

- **Economic Empowerment:** Peace Hut women actively engage in economic empowerment activities such as Village Savings and Loans Associations (VSLAs), farming, commerce, numeracy and literacy programmes, which engender self-reliance.
- **Increased Awareness of Human Rights:** Through the Peace Hut mechanisms, women can gain knowledge of their own rights, as well as contribute to the protection of the rights of children. Useful contributions engendered including salvaging street children, assisting in child access to education, addressing family abandonment of children, and reducing parent-child conflict.
- **Support to Persons with Disability:** Peace Hut women have provided legal assistance to women with disabilities by engaging with lawyers and the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection.
- **Effective Engagement with Community Members:** Peace Hut women have been collaborating with youth groups and elders by raising awareness on key issues affecting the community.
- **Conflict Prevention, Resolution and Peacebuilding:** Immediate handling of sexual and gender-based violence cases, mediation of disputes, early warning and peacebuilding activities as well as supporting the security sector and the justice system through referrals and monitoring.
- **Strategic Linkages with the Statutory Justice Systems:** Peace Hut women are a vital link between the traditional redress mechanisms and the statutory justice system because they facilitate reporting of cases and accessibility to justice, which ensures that the needs of victims are catered to, and perpetrators do not escape justice.
- **Cost-savings:** Cost-saving opportunities are gained about time and money for state justice and policing, as community disputes are diffused and settled before they escalate into conflicts and violence that rise to police and court levels.

BOX 8 CONTINUED

Peace Huts in Liberia

- Political Participation: Peace Huts provide space for women to establish connections with civil leadership and authorities, and to participate in decision making where their needs, aspirations and concerns at the community and national levels become priority. Peace Huts support the political aspirations of community women.

The total financial cost of Peace Huts is small, amounting to an estimated US\$1.5 million per year, or approximately US\$62,000 per hut per year, including the expense of establishing the hut, building capacity, and conducting training and monitoring. In comparison to the US\$10 billion cost of overall peacekeeping and foreign aid or the US\$95 million in domestic financial resources incurred by the justice sector per year, Peace Huts constitute a minor investment with significant potential cost savings.⁵¹

The culmination of this discussion focused on the connection between the quality of democracy, and women’s meaningful participation, emphasizing the knowledge gap on women’s engagement in democratic decision making overall. Growing evidence demonstrates that the inclusion of civil society at large—and women—in the design, negotiation, and implementation of a peace agreement can “promote democratization and make agreements more sustainable.”⁵² Participants commented that women’s meaningful participation is not about elite bargains to ensure one, two, or three women make it to the highest echelons of deal making, but more importantly about the “democratization of a peace process” overall.

A vital ‘ingredient’ to democratizing peace processes and political transitions, increasingly proven by data and analysis, is the role of independent, autonomous women’s organizations and movements.⁵³ The linkage to peace agreements—roadmaps for future political change—was noted in one of the EGM background papers profiling research findings from Monash University that states:

“The likelihood of achieving gender provisions in peace agreements increases when women’s civil society participation increases. One of the most crucial factors in achieving gender-sensitive peace agreements is women’s civil society participation... The inter-change among international organizations, member states and civil society is a key dynamic of the efforts to integrate gender perspectives into peace agreements and international security policymaking.”⁵⁴

In this light and in the context of the nascent but critical connections between WPS and Sustaining Peace, the participants referenced the 7 Point Action Plan (7PAP)—a framework to guide gender-inclusive peacebuilding. The 7PAP places emphasis on women’s mobilization in contrast to the lack of inclusion of women’s rights movements in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). To counteract shrinking space for civil society and address these exclusions it was suggested that reviewing the 7PAP is an essential and achievable practical task in the lead up to 2020 to ensure it is commensurate with current realities, advances in measurement of WPS and political developments.



Photo: UN Women/Ryan Brown

4

DEVELOPMENTS IN GENDER SENSITIVE PEACE AGREEMENTS: LANGUAGE & IMPLEMENTATION

4. DEVELOPMENTS IN GENDER SENSITIVE PEACE AGREEMENTS: LANGUAGE & IMPLEMENTATION

Participants reflected upon available evidence, trend data, research gaps and practical experiences from diverse contexts such as the Balkans, Colombia, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Syria and Yemen. A key point emphasized was the fact that a peace process does not end once a peace deal is signed or a national dialogue is completed, it is merely the beginning—and often a shaky one. While there is increased attention to and evidence about women’s roles and contributions to efforts to negotiate peace, less attention is paid by peace and security actors to the implementation stage. In the post agreement or post-conflict phase it is generally development assistance actors who focus on gender equality writ large. What happens in terms of gender equality, women’s human rights and empowerment after peace agreements are signed and what are those mechanisms and processes that benchmark progress to measure everyday peace?

In addition to this phase of a process, there was agreement that more focus is needed on strategies for increasing women’s representation and influence in situations where negotiations are stalled, including in pre-talks and preparatory bodies preparing for talks to resume, as well as in ceasefire negotiations and negotiations around humanitarian access.⁵⁵ The request by the UN Secretary-General to give enhanced attention to these issues offers an opportunity to examine collective as well as individual results to date and to adjust policies and strategies as necessary.

This thematic focus was guided by the following questions:

- What is the relationship between representation and meaningful participation of women and the inclusion of gender-relevant provisions in peace agreements?
- To what extent have gender-specific provisions included in agreements been implemented?

- What are the barriers in cases where such provisions remain to be implemented on the inclusion of gender-relevant provisions, including ceasefires? How have these provisions been translated into monitoring mechanisms?

In recent years there has been growth in open-source databases aimed to assist various actors to access composite agreement text across a host of categories, as well as comparative analysis. Those most relevant to tracking gender-related provisions are listed in Table 2.

See Table 2: Examples of Databases Tracking Gender-Specific Provisions in Peace Agreements.

Applying evidence-informed insights and guidance on how to effectively implement WPS commitments is not optional but (in principle) part and parcel of all mediation and peace process support actors’ terms of reference. The growing number of databases and analyses are a crucial element for clearer practice and decision-making.

TABLE 2

Examples of Databases Tracking Gender-Specific Provisions in Peace Agreements

Database	Host	Searchable content (as of August 2018)
PA-X Peace Agreements Database PA-X Gender Database www.peaceagreements.org Site in English	University of Edinburgh, Political Settlements Research Programme	Over 1500 peace agreements from over 150 processes from 1990 to 2016, with gender-specific content in agreements coded and searchable.
United Nations Peace Maker: Peace Agreement Database/language of peace https://peacemaker.un.org/ Site in English	United Nations, Department of Political Affairs	Agreements can be searched for by gender provisions. There are currently 900 agreements in the database.
Escola de Cultura de Pau http://escolapau.uab.cat Site in Spanish, Catalan and English	Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona	Approximately 40 conflicts Includes a dedicated gender summary for each conflict
Kroc Institute Peace Accords Matrix https://peaceaccords.nd.edu Site in English	Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame.	34 comprehensive peace agreements from 1989 and 2012
Mapping Gender Provisions of Peace Agreements https://bit.ly/2vRnJIR & http://mappingpeace.monashgps.org Site in English	<u>Monash University Gender, Peace and Security Centre</u>	110 agreements with 5 searchable categories. Also includes 21 situational analyses.

A quantity versus quality dynamic is emerging. While analysis shows an overall upward trend in the number (quantity) of references to women and gender in peace agreements since 2000, these may be token references with no substantive content in terms of operationalizable commitments to gender justice. Data show significant fluctuations over time in the number and quality of gender-specific provisions. In 2017, only 3 out of 11 agreements (27 per cent) signed contained such provisions.⁵⁶ There are also marked differences in the strength (quality) of provisions included in different agreements. Research by Monash University suggest that there are twice as many peace agreements (43 per cent) with no gender provisions

whatsoever, as there are with strong gender provisions (16.4 per cent).⁵⁷

The Colombian peace process represents a high-water mark of the potential in this area, though importantly implementation, in view of significant national resistance to some features of the agreement remains uncertain. On paper, the 2016 Colombian Final Peace Agreement remains a leading example with between 60 and 100 strong gender provisions throughout the document, which together establish not only clear goals, but also an implementation strategy and a monitoring framework.⁵⁸

See Box 9: Good Practice Example – The Colombian Gender Sub-Commission.

BOX 9

Good Practice Example - The Colombian Gender Sub-Commission⁵⁹

Meaningful participation can be seen and understood in many ways. One vibrant example of meaningful participation is the gender approach through the recent Colombian peace process. This is evidenced by numerous gender provisions as well as the process itself—the important roles of civil society, the roles of women from the conflict parties during the peace talks, the will of the parties in including women after the pressure from women’s organizations and the feminist movement, the impact of coaching and training on gender inclusion provided to both parties, and the efforts of the international community in advocating on the issue with the parties. This combination of actions and actors was fundamental for a meaningful process and results.

Following significant pressure from women’s organizations, on September 2014 the Colombian Government and the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia—Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—People’s Army) agreed to create a Gender Sub-Commission as part of the formal peace process architecture. The Sub-Commission, which was composed of varying numbers of women from each delegation and had the support of three international experts. They were tasked with reviewing all the partial agreements and documents issued as part of the peace process to ensure inclusion of gender-sensitive language and provisions. Men from both delegations have also participated in its deliberations.

It helped bring to light the gender dimensions of the conflict, provided a direct link for civil society organizations working on gender issues including lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and/or intersex (LGBTI) organizations, to present their insights regarding the gender approach in the peace negotiations and agreements, and opened new ground for women’s participation in peacebuilding and the implementation of the agreements.

The Sub-Commission invited several delegations of women representing various views, political affiliations and ethnic compositions, not only from Bogotá and provincial capitals, but also from rural areas, to the negotiations in Havana. The Sub-Commission also invited 13 ex-combatants from around the world to share their experiences in peace processes and in their implementation.

The direct participation of both women and victims at the negotiating table had an important impact. The peace agreement signed in September 2016 is recognized as one of the most inclusive peace agreements in history. Gender is directly reflected in over 100 specific provisions: 27 per cent of these relate to point 1 on comprehensive rural reform, 17 per cent appear in Point 2 on political participation, 16 per cent in point 3 regarding the end of the conflict, 18 per cent in point 4 on solution to the problem of illicit drugs, 13 per cent in point 5 on victims, and 8 per cent in point 6 on implementation, monitoring and verification.

When a narrow majority rejected it in a plebiscite the following October many feared that gender-sensitive provisions would be sacrificed to accommodate those who voted no. However, in the renegotiated peace agreement that was ratified by Congress and entered into force in December 2017, the gender focus was not weakened. Rather, the language is clarified and has become more precise. Experiences from Colombia offer valuable insights for other peace processes on opportunities for and challenges affecting inclusion.

BOX 9 CONTINUED

Good Practice Example - The Colombian Gender Sub-Commission⁶⁵

Experts active in the Colombian process shared lessons learned and what is apparent is that it is not always the supposedly 'supportive' actors mandated to promote the women, peace and security agenda in peace processes that will do so in practice. More needs to be done to ensure that strong directives, effective guidance and accountability measures are in place for all actors supporting peace processes, the UN included.

What matters now is that there exist the resources and political will to ensure that the commitments and plans made in the peace agreement are fulfilled. Through its **Barometer Initiative**, the **University of Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies** has been assigned the primary responsibility for technical verification and monitoring of implementation of the accord. (See Box 2, for more detail, Everyday Peace Indicators and gender-sensitive monitoring of implementation of the Colombian peace agreement.) Continued joint efforts will be required to push the peace process forward with focus on implementing the long-term reintegration program for former combatants and providing security to human rights leaders and other social actors at the local level.

Contributed by Juanita Millan Hernández, Lieutenant, Colombian Navy, Advisor to the High Commissioner for Peace, and member of the Gender Sub-Commission and the End of the Conflict Commission

The inclusion of strong gender provisions in peace agreements is a critical first step. A recent mapping undertaken by Monash University of gender-sensitive peace agreements adopted between 2000-2016 concludes:

1. Peace agreements are significantly more likely to have gender provisions when women participate in elite peace processes;
2. The likelihood of achieving a peace agreement with gender provisions increases when women's representation in national parliaments increases and when women's civil society participation increases;
3. The inclusion of strong gender provisions in peace agreements remains the exception rather than the rule. However, strong gender provisions are overwhelmingly more likely to be present in the major agreements within a peace process, especially constitutions, but also final/comprehensive agreements.⁶⁰

Participants raised strong concerns about the challenges of implementation. For example, from agreements signed between 2000-2016, only 7 percent refer to specific modalities for implementation of gender provisions. This is an area requiring heightened attention as the make-up of implementation commissions and the selection process of representatives for post-agreement institutions or national legislature seats are often tied to specific provisions established during the negotiation phase.⁶¹

Temporary Special Measures (TSMs), such as gender quotas should be considered as a tool, which can under certain circumstances, be an effective tool to ensure more equal representation.⁶² The inclusion of gender quotas in future electoral systems is increasingly accepted in peace agreements and essential to provide opportunities for women to enter formal politics and public life.⁶³ However, gender quotas raise discomfort for women and men alike. Some mediators and their teams can be averse to the use of gender quotas in the talks and implementation mechanisms in contrast to the⁶⁴ Greater understanding and insistence

on quotas in talks and mechanisms are necessary if there is a desire for a genuine shift in the numbers of women in peace negotiations.

Participants cautioned that gender quotas rarely work in isolation and require enabling measures to bolster their effectiveness. These may include, but are not limited to, some of the following actions:

- Gender caucuses or women's caucuses, mechanisms in a political process or institution (e.g. parliament, political party, armed group) of men and women (therefore a gender caucus), or women-only, who regularly meet to discuss how to increase gender inclusion in laws, policies, regulations the individuals are working on, for example, reviewing a proposed law for how gender perspectives could be strengthened. Caucuses in a peace process could perform the function of reviewing legal or agreement drafts to strengthen gender provisions⁶⁵;
- Gender Justice Forums to refine understanding and agreement to gender equity and equality strategies in across public life and institutions;

- Women only and mixed (women and men) training on public policy techniques (e.g. such as gender impact assessment, gender political economy analysis, gender budgeting) and men-dominated policy domains (e.g. decentralisation);
- Targeted men's engagement to increase positive networks between men and future women decision-makers.

Participants raised strong concerns that at present there is not yet comprehensive mapping and documentation of implementation modalities and outcomes related to gender provisions (unlike other foci in peace agreements) and where practice could be improved. However, one review of signed agreements reveals some promising patterns and lessons to learn from. For instance, analysis by the Political Settlements Research Programme (PSRP) found that in the 13 cases where the constitution was changed, gender-specific recommendations made in the agreement were included.⁶⁶ Usually this change took the form of the precise wording of the agreement provision.



Photo: UN Photo/Tim McKulka

5

A CALL TO ACTION FOR
WOMEN'S MEANINGFUL
PARTICIPATION

5. A CALL TO ACTION FOR WOMEN'S MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION

This report highlights the need to reconnect the Women, Peace and Security Agenda with its transformative intent to prevent and end conflict and entrenched forms of violence by addressing militarization and strengthening action on holistic prevention, including disarmament. As such, full implementation of the agenda must include action to disarm violence, break down patriarchal power structures and build peace based on inclusive participation and justice. This directly relates to Security Council resolution 2242 (2015), which called for women, peace and security to be placed in the broader context and strengths of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and relevant General Recommendations.

In this regard, the participants referenced the full scope of the recommendations included within the Global Study and the related peace and security reviews in 2015 and further identified five priority areas and related recommendations for action to address the impasse and blockages to women's meaningful participation in peace processes. These multi-faceted themes speak to the most pressing areas for action and include:

- **Harnessing** political will and eliminating structural blockages;
- **Embedding** gender-sensitive conflict analysis as standard practice;
- **Strengthening** long-term support, enabling measures, and transformative approaches;
- **Supporting** national and local ownership; and,
- **Securing** gender-sensitive agreements and implementation.

Harnessing Political Will & Eliminating Structural Blockages

Women's civil society organizations have been at the forefront of establishing, implementing and achieving the goals set forth through the WPS Agenda and

the Sustaining Peace Agenda. While the support of international organizations, particularly UN Women remains steady, WPS advocates, including Members States, UN entities and civil society, need to be more strategic and collaborative to close the gaps between commitment and implementation. Participants asserted there is a debilitating lack of substantive political will that is heavily associated with a low cost for inaction and persistent lack of accountability.

Consistent senior leadership in the UN, international and regional organizations, and national governments is required to sustain attention and overcome structural and other barriers to women's meaningful participation. Across the three peace and security reviews of 2015,⁶⁷ concrete calls for leadership and action were made, and through the the 20-year review of the Beijing Platform for Action and its commitments related to women's participation in the resolution of violent conflicts and the impacts of gender mainstreaming.⁶⁸

The participants emphasized the obligations of the United Nations to demonstrate dedicated and skilled leadership on the implementation of global commitments on gender equality and women, peace and security across all efforts to prevent and mediate conflict and build and sustain peace. This includes:

achieving gender parity on mediation teams; including senior and experienced gender advisors and experts; convening early and regular consultations with women leaders and organizations; ensuring all envoys and senior leaders are clearly instructed and have the capacities, training and resources needed to effectively and accountably engage; upholding and advocating for core gender equality and WPS principles and deliver on the UN's obligations in this regard.

There are a range of opportunities for women, peace and security advocates, particularly Member States, who are willing to hold the current ground gained and who stand ready to apply and innovate on the evidence and data that affirms the positive impact of women's participation in peace processes. Inclusion champions and advocates could focus in the lead up to 2020 on funding or implementation of strategic initiatives that fill knowledge and practice gaps. Suggestions in this regard are outline in Table 1. Removal of barriers to women's meaningful participation in laws, policies or practices is an essential first step.

Embedding Gender-Sensitive Conflict Analysis as Standard Practice

Comprehensive analysis is the concern of all in the peace and security community as it is an essential element for informed and integrated planning and policymaking. Despite decades of research, guidance and practice, there is a pressing need to ensure that gender perspectives are a systematic feature of conflict analysis in all peace and security processes.⁶⁹ This requires leadership to implement the changes necessary in tandem with consistent application for conflict analysis to be professional and complete. Ample guidance is available in this area to support early and full inclusion of gender perspectives and WPS priorities in all aspects of peace and security, including mandates, process design, monitoring and evaluation systems.⁷⁰ Diverse possibilities become more visible when the drivers of peace are also considered alongside the traditional focus on conflict analysis—drivers of conflict and violence. Drivers of peace, including actors for peace, enable wider consideration of the

contributions and capacities of women and civil society and their inclusion in peace and security processes spanning pre-negotiation phases and informal talks, humanitarian assistance arrangements, ceasefires, disarmament efforts, and national dialogues. These contributions need to be documented, measured and costed to provide evidence of their importance and value.

Strengthening Long-Term Support & Transformative Approaches

The EGM echoed a wider concern about the pressing need to restore and revitalize WPS with transformative approaches built upon feminist mobilization, principles and methods.⁷¹ To fully realize the transformative potential of the WPS Agenda greater application of human rights-based and gender sensitive approaches, feminist political economy analysis, capacity building, and sustained movement building of civil society and women's rights movements, are critical. Such movements are proven to make vital contributions to building and sustaining peace.⁷²

Contextualized advocacy and influence strategies are vital for achieving inclusive and sustainable outcomes in peace and security processes. This involves the full implementation of international commitments by States and long-term support to civil society and women's organizations to enable cooperation, substantive representation and participation in implementation and monitoring mechanisms. Strategies to support women's meaningful participation require the use of mixed methods and enabling measures to elevate women's political agency including gender quotas in negotiations and related implementation mechanisms, gender caucuses in institutions and mechanisms, gender audits of processes and systems, and gender commissions to review agreements.

Women human rights defenders are under siege in many contexts. They are experiencing security threats for their engagement in public life and politics, a fundamental impediment to participation and their ability to represent themselves and others. Protection, advocacy, and long-term support should all inform the international response.

Supporting National & Local Ownership

Implementing the WPS and Sustaining Peace agendas demands the recognition of women's contributions and capacities to conflict prevention and resolution from the ground up. Sustained, core and operational support (beyond project-based funding) to women's civil society organizations and movements is essential for shoring up their proven roles in preventing conflict and violence, getting warring parties to the peace table and building peace. In response to the evolution of the global policy agenda, relevant entities should generate guidance, including concrete implementation ideas and priorities at the global, regional national and sub-national levels, to help operationalize the linkages between WPS and Sustaining Peace and ensure that WPS does not become a side-track but rather understood as central to all efforts to sustain peace.

Strategic opportunities linked to the development or revision of national policy and planning frameworks at national levels should be seized. For instance, with attention to inclusive processes, the development of WPS national and local action plans can provide opportunities for cooperation between government and non-government actors and the transfer of analysis and expertise between women peacebuilders, civil society and governments at the national and sub-national levels.

Participants underscored the importance of investing in, recognizing and building on leadership and expertise on WPS at various levels. Greater consideration and focus should be given to broadening leadership pipelines and actively working with young women and men to cultivate a second line of leadership to engage on WPS and ensuring coherent linkages to the Youth, Peace and Security Agenda. Similarly, international organizations must recognize women peacebuilders working at sub-national and local levels as thematic and subject specific experts and resource persons for training and related initiatives and invest in and

expanding women's capacities and opportunities in this regard. This requires investment in inclusive planning and decision-making processes. This would also be consistent with a core element of the Do No Harm doctrine—not to supplant or undermine local and national actors.

Securing Gender-Sensitive Agreements & Monitoring & Implementation Mechanisms

Increasing the quantity and quality of substantive gender-sensitive provisions in ceasefires, agreements, humanitarian access arrangements, national dialogues, and modalities for women's meaningful participation implementation mechanisms is a vital measure of progress in the WPS Agenda. To do so, mediation teams and gender advisors need to incorporate a range of forms of gender-sensitive thematic and political analysis, and support evidence-informed drafting and decision-making by conflict parties. The centrality of gender-sensitive analysis was reiterated by participants. Common peace and security themes demand contextualized analysis of the gender specific implications of proposals for power sharing, wealth-sharing, federalism, decentralization, public expenditure management, transitional justice, security sector reform, weapons destruction, decommissioning of forces, human rights training for security services, regional development, and more. This analysis can then be advanced through mechanisms such as well-designed and resourced gender commissions. Throughout the meeting, participants highlighted the case of Colombia, where the Sub-Commission on Gender provided a mechanism for transferring advice from women's rights experts to the parties. Such analysis is also of use to parliamentarians, donors and international development actors. Participants also underscored the need for increased investment in monitoring and implementation of gender-specific provisions included in agreements and the meaningful participation of women in all related mechanisms established.



Photo: UN Women/Ryan Brown

6

RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOMMENDATIONS

Participants put forward a menu of actions targeted at diverse stakeholders, including the UN, Member States, regional organizations and the research community, which, if implemented in combination would bring us closer to realizing global commitments for women’s meaningful participation in all efforts to prevent and resolve conflict and sustain peace. Tangible shifts in policy and practice are needed to ensure the global community arrives at the next major benchmark for the WPS Agenda – the 20-year anniversary of resolution 1325 (2000) in 2020 – with not only significantly improved numbers to report, but substantive, inclusive and durable outcomes for peace.

Leadership and accountability

- ✓ For the UN, participants recalled and emphasized the Secretary-General’s commitment to **review and update 2010 Seven-Point Action Plan on gender-responsive peacebuilding, for agreement in 2020** to guarantee it reflects contemporary realities, the latest in feminist and gender-sensitive measurement science and innovation, greater clarity and accountability for the delivery of outcomes by the UN, commitment to creating and tracking feminist impact, and the inclusion of the growth of women’s rights movements and social justice voices in civil society. This should also link to key policy processes such as the Sustainable Development Goals and include a more accountable strategic division of labor by UN agencies to avoid duplication and coordination challenges.
- ✓ **Engage senior leadership, including men, as allies on gender equality** to affirm the status of and centrality of gender perspectives and inclusion. This remains both paramount and sorely lacking. Male leaders can leverage their privilege to support women’s leadership; open-up and maintain spaces for WPS dialogue in peace and security institutions; demand gender-sensitive conflict analysis as a norm; promote gender parity, and more. However, this must be done in a way that creates equal partnerships rather than recreates new forms of patriarchal dominance.

- ✓ **All members of mediation teams or peace process support initiatives should be trained and knowledgeable about gender analysis and women’s human rights** and be able to understand how to apply evidence, normative and legal obligations for women’s participation and rights in peace processes. Relying on one individual, generally a gender advisor or focal point, is a limited approach. **All mediation team members should have Terms of Reference which include specific responsibility to include and develop gender-sensitive conflict analysis and advance women’s meaningful participation.**
- ✓ **Multilateral and regional organizations, research institutes and INGOs should undertake organizational gender inclusion reviews** in the lead up to 2020. These can serve to identify where achievements are being made, where and how greater progress could be made to address blockages and revitalize political will and engagement.

Representation and parity

- ✓ Experts emphasized the critical importance of **using mixed methods for increasing women’s representation and influence in fragile and conflict affected settings.** This requires a shift away from single interventions—an advisory board—to mixed interventions with multiple and contextualized component—e.g. a gender quota combined with a women’s caucus in a parliament or political dialogue process and a mentoring program and thematic

training on male dominated policy domains (e.g. economics, security, land management).

- ✓ The UN to aim **for gender parity in mediation teams especially in leadership teams**. This achieves both gender balance objectives and brings additional viewpoints, dynamics and approaches to the mediation process.
- ✓ UN mediation teams, Envoys and SRSGs should explore the use of **Temporary Special Measures per Article 4 of CEDAW such as gender quotas in peace negotiations and implementation mechanisms**. This is an avoidance area for some mediators evidenced by the patchy application of quotas in processes against the relatively consistent inclusion of gender quota provisions for future electoral systems. Gender quotas require enabling measures to be most effective (caucuses, thematic and public policy training, communications skills development, mentoring). These should be included in all levels and layers of implementation mechanisms, duly programmed in the implementation phase and fully funded.
- ✓ UN mediation teams, Envoys and SRSG's should **question all-male delegations from conflict parties and advocate for inclusion of women's civil society consultations**, while ensuring this does not only relegate women to civil society or observer status roles. Having women as members of delegations is of value for reaching gender parity and gender equity objectives, as is having women's civil society organization involved for inclusivity and consultative processes.
- ✓ The UN, regional organizations, INGOs and others, should **ensure panels at meetings, conferences, seminars, trainings it organizes, co-organizes or endorses consistently substantively include women**. All-male panels represent a back-step to the positive efforts being made within the UN and elsewhere to secure gender parity in all aspects.

Removing practical hurdles to women's participation

- ✓ **Develop rapid response funds and mechanisms to address travel, caring, and translation hurdles** posed by women being invited to participate

in peace and security-related processes too late or without funding.

- ✓ **UN entities should do more to support women from conflict-affected settings to secure visas to represent themselves at international meetings**. Letters of recommendation and recognition of expertise is one opportunity to begin.

Capacity-building and guidance for mediation actors and conflict parties

- ✓ Ensure all **UN training and seminars provided to mediation teams, envoys and SRSGs** includes a comprehensive evidence-informed overview of effective inclusion strategies, including gender-sensitive conflict analysis, and the legal basis for women's participation. This would be in alignment with SCR 2242 which calls for support and training to mediators and technical teams on the impact of women's participation and strategies for women's effective inclusion.
- ✓ UN, regional organizations, INGOs to **critically appraise the caliber of training provided to conflict parties across a host of themes, including gender-sensitive analysis**. Carefully designed gender mainstreamed training can support male behavioral change to reconsider sharing of political space and what inclusive public policy entails. This should include review of the depth of the curriculum for transformative concepts, approaches, and feminist methods; relevance to the local context and status of the women's movement/s.

Gender-sensitive conflict analysis and technical gender expertise

- ✓ The UN entities most engaged in peace and security processes—DPA, UNDP, DPKO, PBSO and UNW—**should review the quality and process of their conflict analysis** and how higher standards and practice could be reached on gender-inclusive analysis. This includes: Inclusion of **professional standardization of gender-sensitive conflict analysis training** for all relevant UN staff, not just gender advisors and focal points, with a corresponding platform or forum for consolidating, compiling and sharing analysis on an ongoing basis.

- ✓ **International organizations should assess and strengthen technical gender expertise and advisory functions in peace and security fields** and make data and analysis available on these roles, including numbers, and support structures in peace and security processes. Increased training opportunities should be made available to gender advisors and experts, including on feminist methods and new evidence in the field of peace and security. Assessments should consider issues such as skills requirements and operating conditions for making an impact including proximity and consistent inclusion in process design and decision-making.
- ✓ **Recognize women from violence-affected countries as experts and resource people for training provided by international organizations.** This may involve support and encouragement to women to take on these roles, exposure to adult learning techniques and other organizational skills that can assist them to be effective trainers.
- ✓ **Women political leaders and civil society representatives briefing the Security Council** provides a unique pathway for women from conflict affected countries to directly engage Council members with gender-sensitive conflict analysis, experiences and perspectives. This should garner the requisite financial and political support, not just from UN Women, to provide a platform for women to speak about their experiences, insights and recommendations.
- ✓ **A repertoire of gender-sensitive analysis of typical peace process themes** should be available to mediation teams, women peace advocates, and others, including accessible open-source multilingual gender perspectives and evidence on key subject-areas including federalism, parliamentary systems, executive composition, electoral system design, decentralization, land rights, natural resource management and, fiscal reform, sovereign wealth facilities, and more.
- ✓ **Preambular text of peace agreements and constitutions** can have significant symbolic effect, often making claims about nationhood and identity. Encouraging parties to conflict to state commitments to building cultures of peace, non-violence and inclusion in the preamble (and elsewhere) in a peace agreement provide hooks for pro-inclusion actors to promote dialogue on the topic.
- ✓ All peace process support actors—the UN, regional organizations, INGOs—should **consistently consult women’s organizations and civil society about provisions and text in peace agreements, implementation modalities and women’s contributions.** Regular consultations should be part of an iterative engagement to reach out to and engage diverse perspectives and inform conflict analysis. In many contexts, attention to the safety and security of women is essential to ensure a duty of care to women who often risk their lives and those of their families to provide information and analysis.

Peace agreements and their implementation

- ✓ **Drafting gender sensitive and responsive provisions in peace and security agreements is not only a technical exercise.** It requires political understanding and comparative knowledge of peace agreement trends. Mediation teams, envoys, SRSGs, and gender advisors should be competent in this area underpinned by high-quality training and accountability measures including Terms of Reference deliverables and performance reviews. A range of databases (see Table 2) are now available to provide comparative information.
- ✓ **Budgeting for implementation phases should be gender-responsive and at a minimum adhere to the UN standard of a minimum 15 percent for actions primarily advancing gender equality in programming.** Significantly increasing long-term core funding to women’s movements, organizations and gender equality advocates is essential concurrent to calibrating the uneven distribution of existing gender equality funding. Providing funding to non-traditional sectors can also catalyze gender equality policy gains across policy domains and is important to ensure women’s representation and participation features across all sectors.

Strategic collaboration around knowledge-generation and exchange

- ✓ Research institutes, Member States, INGOs and UN agencies should **improve their approach to strategic coordination and identification of research issues**. Coordination would reduce the duplication of effort that remains problematic. Identification of research issues with the full involvement of women from conflict-affected countries is far from established practice.

High-impact communication strategies and tools

- ✓ **Media and communications strategies are pivotal to explaining the content of peace agreements and implementation stages to the public.** This is

a fundamental form of inclusion and engagement. Dynamic communication strategies should be put in place with contemporary use of social media, traditional media and consideration of messaging and ways to reach and involve young people, women, religious communities, and others.

- ✓ **Develop accessible communication materials to highlight the power and potential of democratizing peace processes, and the roles of women's civil society organizations and local level groups in preventing and resolving conflict and building peace.** Accessible materials are distinguished by being open-source, in multiple languages, and distributed across multiple platforms.

ANNEX 1:

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Note: These are not official definitions. They aim to be accessible explanations of key terms used throughout this report.

Gender: Masculine and feminine identities, attributes, constraints and opportunities associated with being male and female. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and learned through socialization within social structures, institutions and cultural symbolism. They are context/time-specific and changeable. Gender relations are integral to power relations within and across societies; they determine what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in any given context.⁷³

Gender mainstreaming: A globally accepted strategy for promoting gender equality. Mainstreaming is not an end in itself, but rather a strategy, an approach and a means to advance the goal of gender equality. Mainstreaming involves ensuring that gender perspectives—both recognition of gender differences and attention to the goal of gender equality are central to all activities - policy development, research, advocacy/dialogue, legislation, resource allocation; planning, implementation; and monitoring and reporting of programs and projects.⁷⁴

To mainstream gender coherently and strategically involves drawing a distinction between three elements of mainstreaming: gender-sensitivity, gender-responsiveness and gender-inclusivity.

Gender-sensitive: The awareness of gender inequalities, differences and issues affecting women, men, boys, girls, and sexual and gender minorities, and taking these concerns into account within a formal agreement, policy, project, program, theory of change or statement. Gender-sensitive approaches seek to secure change to achieve gender equality wherever possible.⁷⁵

Example: Reviewing an organizational strategic plan to identify how and where gender perspectives are relevant and could be better integrated.⁷⁶ Instead of referring generically to “people”, the strategic plan spells out how and why interventions will be designed specifically to benefit women, men, girls and/or boys.

Gender-responsive: Informed by gender-sensitive analysis and/or agreement, gender-responsiveness as a concept and a practice seeks to enable operational and practical capacity to address gender inequalities, exclusions and differences through action or implementation efforts that are feasible, monitored and evaluated.⁷⁷

Example: A mediation support organization recognized that women were repeatedly invited at the last minute to participate in peace negotiations. This resulted in most women not physically attending and those that did make it to the talks felt unprepared and lacked confidence to participate. To remedy this the organization revised all its budgets and operational procedures to create a dedicated travel and childcare fund for women. It worked with the parties to ensure that men and women received invitations and information at the same time, giving women the opportunity to travel, arrange logistics and prepare properly.

Gender-inclusive: A qualitative concept that refers to the combination and result of ‘sensitive’ (theory/design) and ‘responsive’ approaches (operational/practical) that enables and enhances women’s, men’s, boys, girls, and sexual and gender minorities, equal representation and participation in decision-making processes.⁷⁸

Example: The political transition in XYZ-land is widely regarded as gender-inclusive due to the efforts to ground them in women’s analysis and experiences, and on this basis, to reform laws and policies with gender-sensitive principles and to back these efforts with budgeting and implementation plans that were gender-responsive.

Gender analysis: Frameworks and methods to guide the gathering of information and data and its analysis to better understand the relationships between men and women, boys and girls, and sexual and gender minorities, their access to resources, decision-making, rights and the constraints and opportunities they experience relative to these and each other.⁷⁹

Gender-sensitive conflict analysis: The systematic study of gendered power relations including systems, structures and institutions, and cultural, political, social, economic and security dynamics that contribute to violence, instability and perpetuate gender inequalities within and across groups.⁸⁰ Such analysis needs to be an integral part of political economy analysis, context or conflict analysis.⁸¹

Gender equality: The process of advancing the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys, and sexual and gender minorities. Equality between women and men is seen as a human rights issue, as a precondition for, and indicator of, sustainable people-centered development and as a foundation of stability and peace. Equality does not imply that women and men will become the same, but that women's and men's rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equality is not a women's issue, it is a societal and global issue.⁸²

ANNEX 2:

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Disclaimer: This is not a consensus document. The views expressed herein are illustrative of the discussions amongst the experts, however, they do not necessarily represent the views of the United Nations, UN Women or any individual, expert participant.

1. **Abigail Ruane**, Director of Women, Peace and Security, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)
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3. **Aneesa Walji**, Policy Specialist, Conflict Resolution, UN Women
4. **Anjali Dayal**, Assistant Professor of international politics at Fordham University's Lincoln Center Campus and the Hillary Rodham Clinton Research Fellow with the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security
5. **Dr. Anne Marie Goetz**, Clinical Professor, Center for Global Affairs (CGA), School of Professional Studies, New York University
6. **Asif R. Khan**, Chief of Mediation Support Unit and the Gender, Peace and Security Unit, United Nations Department of Political Affairs
7. **Barrie Freeman**, Deputy and Political Director of the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office
8. **Borja Paladini Adell**, Representative in Colombia, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies
9. **Cate Buchanan**, Senior Adviser on Process Design, Gender and Inclusion, Standby Team of Senior Mediation Advisers, United Nations Department of Political Affairs
10. **Cecile van Manen**, Associate Political Affairs Officer, Gender, Peace and Security Unit, United Nations Department of Political Affairs
11. **Christina Murray**, Senior Adviser on Constitution-making and power-sharing, Standby Team of Senior Mediation Advisers, United Nations Department of Political Affairs
12. **Christina Shaheen**, Gender Adviser, United Nations Office of the Special Envoy For Syria
13. **Christine Bell**, Professor of Constitutional Law and Assistant Principal (Global Justice, Co-director of the Global Justice Academy)
14. **Claire Hawkins**, Policy Specialist, Peace and Security, UN Women, Uganda
15. **Deepak Thapa**, Director of the Social Science Baha, Nepal
16. **Edita Tahiri**, Chair of the Regional Women's Lobby for South Eastern Europe
17. **Elizabeth Lwanga**, Eminent Woman of the Women's Situation Room (WSR) for African Elections; and Team Leader of the WSR Uganda Post Elections peace initiatives and Innovations in Development Advisor, Leadership Development Consultant and Executive Coach
18. **Fionnuala Ní Aoláin**, Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism, Regents Professor & Robina Chair in Law, Public Policy, and Society Faculty Director, Human Rights Center, Co-founder and Associate Director, Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland (unable to attend, contributions made in writing)
19. **Gina Pattugalan**, Political Affairs Officer, United Nations Executive Office of the Secretary-General (EOSG)
20. **Jacqui True**, Australian Research Council Future Fellow, Director, Monash GPS Centre, School of Social Sciences, Monash University (unable to attend, contributions made in writing)
21. **Jamille Bigio**, Senior Fellow in the Women and Foreign Policy Program at the Council on Foreign Relations
22. **Jebbeh Forster**, Governance, Peace and Security & Humanitarian Advisor, UN Women, East and Southern Africa

23. **Johanna Poutanen**, Senior Manager at Crisis Management Initiative
24. **Josefine Roos**, Special Assistant to Deputy Director of Peacebuilding Support Office and Programme Officer to the Peacebuilding Commission
25. **Navy Lieutenant Juanita Millán Hernández**, Officer of the Colombian National Navy, Political Scientist of the Pontifical Xaveriana University and Specialist in Conflict Resolution and Magister in Latin American Studies
26. **Karin Esposito**, Political Affairs Officer, Gender, Peace and Security Unit, United Nations Department of Political Affairs
27. **Katarina Salmela**, Policy Specialist, Peace and Security, UN Women
28. **Ketevan Chumbadze**, Deputy Political Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia
29. **Laura Mitchell**, Senior Advisor at the Norwegian Centre for Conflict Resolution (NOREF)
30. **Ambassador Liberata Mulamula**, Visiting Scholar and Associate Director of the Institute for African Studies at George Washington University
31. **Lone Jessen**, Senior Political Affairs Officer, Gender, Peace and Security Unit, United Nations Department of Political Affairs (unable to attend in person, contributions made in writing)
32. **Louise Allen**, Executive Coordinator of the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security
33. **Luz Mendez**, Member of the Executive Board, Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights (unable to attend in person, contributions made in writing)
34. **Mavic Cabrera Balleza**, Found and CEO of the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP)
35. **May Sabe Phyu**, Director of the Gender Equality Network (GEN), Myanmar
36. **Megan Manion**, Policy Analyst, Peace and Security, UN Women
37. **Miriam Coronel-Ferrer**, Senior Mediation Advisor, Standby Team of Experts, UN Mediation Support Unit, Department of Political Affairs and former Chair of the Government of the Philippines negotiation panel (unable to attend, contributions made in writing)
38. **Molly Kellogg**, Researcher and Analyst for Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative (ITPI) at the Graduate Institute in Geneva
39. **Nahla Valji**, Senior Gender Advisor in the United Nations Executive Office of the Secretary-General (EOSG)
40. **Nika Saeedi**, Policy Specialist, Gender, Political Processes, Peacebuilding, UNDP
41. **Paivi Kannisto**, Chief, Peace and Security, UN Women
42. **Pravina Maken-Lakha**, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), South Africa
43. **Rachel Dore-Weeks**, Regional Advisor, Peace, Security and Humanitarian Action, Arab States, UN Women
44. **Randa Slim**, Director of the Program on Conflict Resolution and Track II Dialogues at the Middle East institute
45. **Randi Davis**, Director of the Gender Team for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
46. **Rosa Emilia Salamanca González**, Strategic Director of the CIASE Corporation, Colombia
47. **Roxaneh Bazergan**, Team Leader, Mediation Support Unit Team, United Nations Department of Political Affairs
48. **Sanam Naraghi Anderlini**, Co-Founder & Executive Director, International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN)
49. **Sarah Douglas**, Deputy Chief, Peace and Security, UN Women
50. **Sarah Taylor**, Research Fellow, International Peace Institute
51. **Silvia Lilian Arias Valencia**, National Programme Officer, UN Women, Colombia
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53. **Stella Mystica Sabiiti**, UN Women Advisor to the African Union Network of Women in Conflict Prevention and Mediation (FemWise-Africa)
54. **Tatyana Jiteneva**, Policy Specialist, Gender-Responsive Peacebuilding, UN Women

- 55. Dr. Thania Paffenholz**, Director of the inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative (IPTI) at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies
- 56. Visaka Dharmadasa**, Chair of Association of War Affected Women and Parents of Servicemen Missing in Action, Sri Lanka
- 57. Dr. Webster Zambara**, Senior Project Leader of Justice and Peacebuilding Initiatives at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in Cape Town, South Africa
- 58. Zahbia Yousuf**, Senior Advisor on Peace and Transition Processes at Conciliation Resources

ANNEX 3: EXAMPLES OF MODALITIES TO SECURE WOMEN’S REPRESENTATION & PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES

Prepared by the Inclusive Peace and Transitions Initiative (IPTI),
Graduate Center of Geneva with the support of UN-Women,
August 2018

Example (and brief information)	Goal (and potential sub-goals)	Enabling factors, and achievements (factors that enabled this structure to be established and/or contributed to reaching the goals)	Constraining Factors and challenges (factors that constrained the structure from reaching its goals)	Existing analysis and literature
Modality: Direction Representation at the Negotiation Table				
<p>Quotas</p> <p>Yemeni National Dialogue (ND) Conference (2013-2014): 30% women’s quota in all delegations.</p>	<p>Representation (direct)</p>	<p>The quota was enabled through women’s early involvement in the 2011 protests, as well as international (UN) support during the design of the ND process, where women also took part in the Technical Preparatory Committee (6 out of 25 members were women).</p> <p>Some of the women’s demands made it into the conference’s resolutions as well as the draft constitution, including a 30% quota for women in all state authorities, raising the legal age of marriage to 18, the guarantee of full and equal legal status for women, and provisions forbidding discrimination against women in public service employment.</p> <p>Even though the process failed and violence resumed, this created a precedent for future talks.</p>	<p>Women’s inclusion remained a highly contentious issue during discussions in the ND and in some cases women were publicly threatened or physically attacked for participating in the talks.</p> <p>Engaging in activism without adequate protection involves enormous risks.</p>	<p>IPTI. <u>Women in Peace & Transition Processes. Yemen (2011–2015)</u>, Case Study. Geneva: IPTI (The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies), April, 2018.</p> <p>Crisis Management Initiative. <u>Women and Peacemaking in Yemen: Mapping the Realities</u>, 2015.</p>

<p>Separate Women's Delegation</p> <p>Yemeni National Dialogue Conference (2013-2014):</p> <p>This delegation made up 7% of the total ND Conference membership and consisted of women from civil society.</p>	<p>Representation (direct)</p> <p>Influence</p>	<p>The creation of this delegation was enabled by Yemeni women in the Conference's Technical Preparatory Committee, supported by the UN and individual countries supporting the process. During the ND Conference, women enjoyed strong support from the UN advisory team. The influential participation of women in the initial protest movement also gave legitimacy to their further involvement.</p> <p>The separate delegation enabled women to provide more independent perspectives. Women's rights activists were able to push for their agenda without restrictions through party affiliation and were able to strategically coordinate some of their positions. The women-only delegation was then able to build coalitions with women and others in the political delegations.</p>	<p>Women were comparatively underrepresented on important decision-making committees, relative to their share of seats in the Conference. The members of the committees were hand-picked by President Hadi. In the last months of the ND Conference, most decisions were made in such small appointed committees, such as the 16-person North-South Committee tasked with resolving the deadlock on the issue of the federal structure of the Yemeni state, as well as the Consensus Committee, which had the final say over many of the issues that had not been decided in the working groups.</p>	<p>Gaston, Erica. <u>Process Lessons Learned in Yemen's National Dialogue</u>, United States Institute of Peace, 2014.</p>
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<p>Women’s Advisory Board (WAB) to the UN Special Envoy. Founded in 2016, comprised of 12 Syrian women activists from diverse backgrounds.</p>	<p>Representation (indirect) Influence</p>	<p>WAB is convened at the venue of the intra-Syrian talks to advise the Special Envoy and other relevant stakeholders during high level meetings on Syria. It has prepared gendered documentation and position papers and has provided gender expertise. The proposal to establish an advisory body came from Syrian women’s rights activists, including from the platform the Syrian Women’s Initiative for Peace and Democracy (SWIPD), as a secondary demand of the UN after direct representation for women’s inclusion in the peace process. It was enabled through support from the Special Envoy’s Office and UN Women.</p>	<p>Many perceive the WAB as unrepresentative, chiefly because of the lack of transparency in selection criteria and procedures (the SWIPD provided nominations, from which the UN selected the WAB members). It was perceived to be made up of elite women with little connection to the grassroots level (e.g., the Syrian Feminist Lobby spoke out against the WAB as not representing a large segment of Syrian women, but rather the individual positions of its members).</p> <p>Criticism was also raised regarding the perception that the UN required WAB members to reach consensus positions, which meant they were silent on important issues where consensus could not be reached. In fact, the WAB often present non-papers that outline different options reflecting the needs and priorities of diverse constituencies of women’s groups.</p>	<p>Kapur, Bela, Kvinna till Kvinna. Syrian Women in Political Processes, 2012-2016, 2017, pp. 27-40.</p> <p>Al-Abdeh, Maria. Lessons from Syria on Women’s Empowerment during Conflict, Open Democracy, 7 March 2017.</p>
Modality: Advisory Body				
<p>Women’s Advisory Committee (WAC) of the High Negotiation Committee of the Syrian Opposition. Founded in 2016 as an advisory body to the Syrian Opposition, initially made up of a small number of women, which later grew to 50 members.</p>	<p>Representation (indirect) Influence</p>	<p>The WAC has prepared gendered documentation and position papers and has lobbied European capitals and others. The WAC is supported by Governments of Canada and Sweden.</p>	<p>Concerns over lack of transparency and clarity of selection criteria and procedures. It is the men in the High Negotiation Committee who have the final say on membership of the WAC. It has further been alleged that women in the WAC have no significant influence in the HNC and are often not allowed to talk. The WAC was also criticized for a lack of connection to women on the ground, and overall the lack of clarity on decision-making power vis-à-vis the HNC.</p>	

Modality: Combined Observer and Advisory Bodies

<p>Yemeni Women's Pact for Peace and Security (YWP).</p> <p>Created in 2015, functioning as an official observer to the peace talks as well as a consultative body to the Special Envoy.</p>	<p>Representation</p> <p>Influence</p> <p>Gender Mainstreaming</p>	<p>Early involvement of Yemeni women in the political transition process as humanitarian workers, activists, and informal peacemakers helped women demand a greater presence in the formal peace process. Strong financial and logistical support from the international community, namely UN Women, enabled women to form the YWP. The YWP has submitted thematic discussion papers to the Special Envoy and has made direct recommendations on women's inclusion in the DDR process, for example. YWP members participated in regular briefings by the Special Envoy, YWP members had meetings with the negotiating parties and international diplomats in the margins of the peace talks in Kuwait.</p>	<p>Internal challenges include uncertainties about the scope of the YWP's mandate, its interpretation and implementation; unclear distribution of responsibilities; lack of efficient and transparent decision-making and selection processes; and lack of effective mechanisms for internal and external communication and the transfer of information.</p> <p>External challenges include the weak relationship with the parties to the conflict and those parties' rejection of expanding the formal participation of women.</p> <p>The YWP's close relationship to the UN has also been criticized.</p>	<p>International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN). <u>We Will Survive: Women's Rights and Civic Activism in Yemen's Endless War</u>, Brief 14, 2016.</p> <p>Crisis Management Initiative. <u>Women and Peacemaking in Yemen: Mapping the Realities</u>, 2015.</p> <p>Al-Sakkaf, Nadia. <u>Yemen's Women and the Quest for Change. Political Participation after the Arab Revolution</u>, Berlin: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2012.</p> <p>Heinze, Marie-Christine. <u>Literature Review. Women's Role in Peace and Security in Yemen</u>, CARPO and Saferworld, 2018.</p>
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Modality: Observer Status

<p>Negotiations for a comprehensive peace agreement in Liberia (2003): A women's civil society group held official observer status</p>	<p>Representation (indirect)</p> <p>Influence</p>	<p>Women's observer status was enabled through early involvement in peace activism, mass action, coalition-building, strong cooperation between the women's groups, as well as the receptiveness of the mediation team towards the women delegates. Supportive regional and international actors, strong personal and regional networks, and perceptions of women as natural peacebuilders also contributed.</p> <p>Through the connections between groups advocating on the streets, and women observers at the negotiating table, women in Liberia ensured that the peace agreement was signed, and that it contained a number of gender-specific provisions, including the creation of a Ministry of Gender.</p>	<p>Women's influence reduced after the negotiations. During the transitional government, women's goals diversified, there was co-optation of some women's groups into government which weakened the civil society sector and perception of women's activists' legitimacy.</p>	<p>IPTI. <u>Women in Peace & Transition Processes. Liberia (2003–2011). Case Study.</u> Geneva: IPTI (The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies), April, 2018.</p> <p>Boulton, Elizabeth. <u>A case study: the Liberian wars</u>, The Cove, 27 July, 2017.</p> <p>Zanker, Franzisca. <i>Legitimate representation in mediation processes: Civil society involvement in Liberia and Kenya</i>, Centre for Mediation in Africa, University of Pretoria, January, 2013.</p>
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Modality: Consultations

<p>Informal, semi-formal, and official consultations.</p> <p>Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation process (2008-2013): women’s organizations held informal and semi-formal consultations ranging from 10 to 200 participants; women participated as citizens and experts in official public consultations.</p>	<p>Influence</p>	<p>The Kenyan Women’s Consultative Group (KWCG) was crucial in the effective transfer of the outcome of consultations to the process. The KWCG presented a joint Women’s Memorandum to the AU mediation team. The Memorandum, among other issues, addressed the gender dimension of the conflict, land distribution, constitutional reform, women’s rights, and mainstreaming gender-sensitive language in the negotiation agenda and agreements.</p> <p>Other enabling factors include: Kenya’s long tradition of public engagement, in which local women’s organizations have historically played an important role; women’s organizations’ engagement in effective coalition-building, informal contact with the negotiation teams, and lobbying the international community; and Graça Machel’s presence as part of the mediation panel. She helped women’s groups to navigate their grievances and differences, and advised them to unite on common grounds, put aside political differences, and support the development of the Women’s Memorandum.</p> <p>The official consultations fed suggestions to inform the different post-agreement commissions’ reports, which had been mandated to develop strategies to address ongoing violence and causes of the crisis. The consultations were successful in mandating the investigation of gender-based violence in two follow-up commissions and incorporating suggestions to address the humanitarian and internally displaced persons’ crisis.</p>	<p>There are few means to ensure that inputs via consultations end up influencing negotiations, and if they do, how they influence the negotiations.</p> <p>Women in Kenya secured influence because of strong support of Graça Machel, a member of the AU mediation panel who pushed forward the memorandum. However, without an insider connection consultations may be less effective.</p>	<p>Preston McGhie, Meredith and E. Njoki Wamai. <u>Beyond the Numbers: Women’s Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation</u>. Opinion Paper. HD Centre, 2011.</p> <p>IPTI. <u>Women in Peace & Transition Processes. Kenya (2008–2013)</u>. Geneva: IPTI (The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies), August, 2016.</p> <p>Zanker, Franzisca. <i>Legitimate representation in mediation processes: Civil society involvement in Liberia and Kenya</i>, Centre for Mediation in Africa, University of Pretoria, January, 2013.</p>
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<p>Government of Colombia–FARC negotiations (2012–2016): Effort to have 40–50% women’s representation in civil society consultations.</p>	<p>Representation (indirectly to the talks, directly into the civil society consultations) Influence</p>	<p>The UN in Colombia organized Regional Citizen Consultation Forums during the negotiations. These fed into the peace negotiations. Women also participated in working groups organized by the Peace Commissions of the House and Senate in Colombia, with the support of the UN, in nine regions of Colombia.</p> <p>The significant involvement of women was enabled by a long-standing and strong women’s representation in civil society in Colombia.</p> <p>The effective transfer of messages from the consultations to the negotiation tables was supported by UN Women, international allies, and women’s organizations through public advocacy. The National Summit of Women for Peace in October 2013 was crucial. Organized by a consortium of nine Colombian women’s organizations representing different ethnic, regional, cultural, and political backgrounds, and with the backing of UN Women, the UN system in Colombia, and key embassies on the ground, 450 representatives of Colombian women’s organizations agreed on key demands for the talks.</p>	<p>The success of consultations can be constrained by information flowing only from the consultation participants to the negotiation table, but less in the other direction. This can increase grievances and reduce public buy-in.</p>	<p>Salvesen, Hilde and Nylander, Dag. <u>Towards an inclusive peace: Women and the gender approach in the Colombian peace process</u>, NOREF Report, July, 2017.</p> <p>Bouvier, Virginia M. <u>Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia’s Peace Process</u>, United States Institute for Peace & UN Women, 2016.</p> <p>UN Women. “Colombia: Promoting Women’s Participation in Peacebuilding”, internal document, October, 2015.</p>
<p>Modality: Problem-Solving Workshop</p>				
<p>Inter-Congolese Dialogue (2002). High-level problem-solving workshop included 64 women from across government, armed groups, and civil society.</p>	<p>Influence</p>	<p>Women agreed during the workshop to make unified demands during later negotiations, and they formed coalitions across party lines. Through this and effective advocacy, they achieved a slight increase in women’s representation at the talks, a 30% quota for women in decision-making at the national level, and an increase in the marriageable age of girls.</p>	<p>Factors constraining women’s influence via the workshop included the co-optation of decision-making by armed groups during the negotiations; limited support from the facilitator for women’s meaningful participation; exclusive selection criteria during the talks; and patriarchal attitudes towards women’s involvement.</p>	<p>IPTI. <u>Women in Peace & Transition Processes. Democratic Republic of the Congo (2001–2003)</u>, Case Study. Geneva: IPTI (The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies), November, 2017.</p>

Modality: Gender Commission

<p>Government of Colombia–FARC negotiations (2012–2016): Gender Sub-Commission, made up of 5–6 delegates from each party, including at least one man, with technical expertise and support from national and international gender advisors. The Sub-Commission was tasked to review all documents produced to ensure all language was gender-sensitive.</p>	<p>Gender-mainstreaming</p>	<p>Colombia had a strong and well supported feminist movement long before the formal peace process took shape. Other enabling factors included the support from members of both delegations; strong support for a gender-responsive approach from Norway (and Cuba), guarantors of the process; and continued pressure from civil society, international bodies like UN Women, and from women in the delegations.</p> <p>Additional factors enabling the influence of this modality include that it was not stand-alone, but part of the formal process.</p> <p>Various women’s groups and the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) movement were able to unite across political divides on core issues e.g. strong mobilization to promote participation of women in the peace negotiations.</p> <p>The advantage of such a gender commission is clearly that it normalizes gender mainstreaming, validates its application across the entirety of the agreement, and relieves women at the table of the responsibility to raise so-called “women’s issues”, and advance a “gender agenda” simply by virtue of being women.</p> <p>The Sub-Commission’s work on gender-sensitive language is the main reason the final agreement reflected the gender dimension of the conflict and has over 100 gender-sensitive provisions.</p>	<p>Members of the Sub-Commission were selected from within the delegations of the conflict parties: this has the advantage of ownership by the parties, but potentially excludes civil society women advocates and activists.</p> <p>The membership of the Commission changed over time due to changes in the delegations. Changing membership had the downside having to re-start with new members; on the other hand, the involvement of more people probably had a positive effect on the broader commitment to gender-mainstreaming.</p> <p>The initial agreement (which was rejected in the plebiscite in 2016) had more imprecise language on gender. This made the agreement vulnerable to the no campaign building on a fear of a “gender ideology.” The second, revised version of the agreement contained more precise language.</p>	<p>Salvesen, Hilde and Dag Nylander. <u>Towards an Inclusive Peace: Women and the Gender Approach in the Colombia Peace Process</u>, NOREF, 2017.</p> <p>Herzbolzheimer, Kristian., <u>Innovations in the Colombia Peace Process</u>, NOREF, 2016.</p> <p>Bouvier, Virginia M. <u>Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia’s Peace Process</u>, United States Institute for Peace & UN Women, 2016.</p> <p>UN Women. <i>Colombia: Promoting Women’s Participation in Peacebuilding</i>”, internal document, October, 2015.</p>
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<p>Sri Lanka peace negotiations (2002-2003): Subcommittee on Gender Issues (SGI)</p>	<p>Gender mainstreaming</p>	<p>The SGI was formed during the third round of negotiations in Oslo and included members of the government and the opposition. The SGI was enabled by the growth of women’s influence after the ceasefire and strong international support and its development was validated through UNSCR 1325.</p> <p>The SGI was endorsed by the parties and regarded as part of the process architecture.</p>	<p>The SGI had very limited impact due to its short tenure and only convened two meetings. Its guidelines were never integrated into the talks.</p> <p>The committee was exclusively made up of representatives chosen by the Government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).</p>	<p>Harris, Simon. <u>“Gender, Participation, and Post-Conflict Planning in Northern Sri Lanka.”</u> <i>Gender and Development</i>, Vol. 12, No. 3, Peacebuilding and Reconstruction, November, 2004, pp. 60-69</p> <p>Kumudini, Samuel. <u>The Importance of Autonomy: Women and the Sri Lankan Peace Negotiations,</u> Opinion Paper, HD Centre, 2010.</p> <p>De Alwis, Malathi. <u>“Interrogating the ‘Political’: Feminist Peace Activism in Sri Lanka.”</u> <i>Feminist Review</i>, no. 91, 2009, pp. 81-93.</p>
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ANNEX 4:

LIST OF RESOURCES

Year	Author/Institution	Type	Title
2018	Sophia Close, Conciliation Resources	Publication	Gendered political settlements: examining peace transitions in Bougainville, Nepal and Colombia.
2018	Zahbia Yousuf, Conciliation Resources	Publication	Navigating inclusion in peace transitions: beyond elite bargains
2018	Global Network of Women Peacebuilders	Policy Brief	<u>Strengthening synergies between CEDAW and Women, Peace and Security Resolutions</u>
2018	Oxford Press	Publication; Handbook; Tool	<u>The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Conflict</u>
2018	Anjali Kaushlesh Dayal and Agathe Christien Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security Working Paper	Publication	Women's Participation in Informal Peace Processes, June 2018.
2018	Youssef Mahmoud, International Peace Institute (IPI)	Publication	<u>Can FemWise-Africa Make Mediation Work for Sustaining Peace?</u>
2018	Inclusive Security	Publication; Tool	<u>How Women Influence Constitution Making</u>
2018	Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, August	Briefing Note	Understanding Women's Meaningful Participation in Peace Process Implementation
2018	Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, August	Briefing Note	Examples of Modalities to Support Women's Representation and Influence in Peace Negotiations
2018	Jamille Biglio & Rachel Vogelstein	Article	<u>Syria is devastated. Where are the women?</u>
2018	Tamaru, Nanako and Marie O'Reilly, Institute for Inclusive Security.	Publication	<u>How Women Influence Constitution Making After Conflict and Unrest</u>

2018	Tamaru, Nanako and Marie O'Reilly, Institute for Inclusive Security	Publication	<u>Women's Guide to Constitution Making</u>
2018	Katrina Lee-Koo and Jacqui True, Gender, Peace and Security Centre, Monash University	Publication, Mapping	<u>Toward Inclusive Peace: Mapping Gender-Sensitive Peace Agreements 2000-2016</u>
2018	David Lewis, John Heathershaw, Nick Megoran	Publication	<u>Illiberal peace? Authoritarian modes of conflict management,</u>
2018	Council on Foreign Relations	Case Study	<u>Myanmar: Current Peace Effort</u>
2018	Council on Foreign Relations	Case Study	<u>Syria</u>
2018	Fionnuala Ni Aolain and Jayne Huckerby Just Security blog	Article/s	<u>Gendering counterterrorism: How to, and how not to-Part 1, May 1 & Part II</u>
2018	Christine Bell	Article	<u>"Power-Sharing, Conflict Resolution, and Women: A Global Reappraisal," Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Vol. 24, Issue 1, pp. 13-32.</u>
2018	Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative (IPTI)	Publication	Understanding Women's Meaningful Participation in Peace Process Implementation
2018	Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP)	Survey	Preliminary survey findings on sustaining peace – preliminary results and highlights (forthcoming)
2018	Secretary-General's Report	Publication	<u>Secretary-General's report on peacebuilding and sustaining peace</u>
2018	Sarah Taylor, IPI	Publication	Initial reflections on opportunities and challenges for regional networks of women mediators
2018	Interpeace (in partnerships with UNDP and UNDEF)	Publication	<u>Constitution-making for Peace, Chapter 2.7.2</u>
2018	Jamila Biglio, Council of Foreign Relations	Publication	<u>Council on Foreign Relations: Women's Participation in Peace Processes</u>
2018	Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies	Publication	<u>Implementing the Final Colombian Accord</u>
2017-2018	Women Mediator Networks	Practice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Mediterranean Women Mediators Network (2017);</u> • <u>African Women Leaders Network (2017);</u> • <u>FemWise (2018-2020);</u> • <u>Nordic Women Mediators</u>

2016-2018	IPTI	Case Study	<u>Women in Peace and Transition Processes: Case Study Series</u>
2018/2017	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, PeaceWomen	Publications; Briefing Notes; Infographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "<u>Women's Meaningful Participation in UN Peace Work: Where Does the UN Stand Now?</u>" (Flyer) • "<u>How UN Agencies and Programmes Can Ensure Women's Meaningful Participation in their Work</u>" (Briefing note) • "<u>Women's Meaningful Participation in Politics and Peace Processes: Where do Member States Stand Now?</u>" (Flyer) • "<u>What Member States Can Do to Ensure Women's Meaningful Participation in the UN System</u>" (Briefing note) • "<u>What would a feminist Security Council Agenda look like?</u>" (Infographic) • Video from the convening, on "Ensuring Women's Meaningful Participation in the UN system" also available here
2017	United Nations & the World Bank	Publication	<u>Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict</u>
2017	Mahmoud, Youssef and Anupah Makoond	Publication	<u>Sustaining Peace & What Does It Mean in Practice?</u>
2017	Secretary-General's Report	Publication	<u>Report of the Secretary-General on United Nations Activities in Support of Mediation</u>
2017	GNWP	Publication	<u>Localization Program</u>
2017	UN Department of Political Affairs	Publication	<u>Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies</u>
2017	<u>Rausch</u> , Colette and Tina Luu, United States Institute for Peace	Publication	<u>Inclusive Peace Processes Are Key to Ending Violent Conflict</u>
2017	Thania Paffenholz, et. al., IPTI	Publication	<u>What Makes or Breaks National Dialogues</u>
2017	Jayne Huckerby, Duke Law International Human Rights Clinic and Women Peacemakers Program	Publication	<u>Tightening the Purse Strings: What Countering Terrorism Financing Costs Gender Equality and Security</u>
2017	Madhav Joshi and Jason Quinn, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies	Publication	<u>Implementation Progress in the Colombian Final Accord</u>
2017	Shair-Rosenfield, S. and R. Woodood <i>Journal of Politics</i> , Vol. 79, Issue 3, pp. 995-1009.	Article	Governing well after War: How Improving Female Representation Prolongs Post-Conflict Peace
2017	Murray, Christina and Cindy Wittke		International Institutions, Constitution-Making, and Gender," in <i>Constitutions and Gender: Research Handbooks in Comparative Constitutional Law</i> series, ed. Helen Irving, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar

2017	Catherine O'Rourke	Article	<u>"Gendering Political Settlements: Challenges and Opportunities," <i>Journal of International Development</i>, Vol. 29, Issue 5, Special Issue: Political Settlements</u>
2016	International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN)	Publication; Case Studies	<u>What the Women Say: Country Specific and Regional Briefs</u>
2016	Inclusive Security	Publication; Case Study	<u>Women's Inclusion in Myanmar's Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement</u>
2016	Anderson, Miriam		<i>Windows of Opportunity. How Women Seize Peace Negotiations for Political Change</i> , Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Focus on Burundi, Northern Ireland and Macedonia)
2016	Anna Dziedzic, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance	Publication	<u>From Paper to Lived Reality: Gender-Responsive: Constitutional Implementation</u>
2016	Thania Paffenholz, Nick Ross, Steven Dixon, Anna-Lena Schluchter and Jacqui True, IPTI and UN Women	Publication	<u>Making Women Count – Not Just Counting Women: Assessing Women's Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations</u>
2015	Laila Alodaat	Article	<u>No Women, No Peace in Syria</u>
2015	Institute for Inclusive Security	Publication; Case Study	<u>10 Ways Syrian Women Risk it All for Peace</u>
2015	Thania Paffenholz, Antonia Potter Prentice and Cate Buchanan Conflict Management Initiative	Publication	Fresh insights on the quality and quantity of women's inclusion in peace processes. Experts views on findings from the 'Broadening participation' and 'Civil society and peacebuilding' projects.
2015	UN Women	Report	<u>Summary Report: The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action Turns 20</u>
2015	Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations	Report	<u>Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations</u>
2015	Radhika Coomaraswamy, UN Women	Report	<u>Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325</u>
2015	Participation chapter from the above report	Report chapter	<u>Women's Participation and a Better Understanding of the Political</u>
2015	Christine Bell & Vanessa Utley	Publication; Case Study	Chronology of Mindanao Peace Process
2015	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)	Publication; Case Study	<u>Feminist (re)interpretation of the Dayton Peace Accords An intimate dialogue on how societies transit from war to peace and how feminist approach to peace building can help create strong and long-lasting peace</u>

2015	Aisling Swaine, and Catherine O'Rourke, UN Women	Guidance	Guidebook on CEDAW general recommendation no. 30 and the UN Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security
2015	ICAN	Tool; Guidance	Better Peace Tool
2015	Lori Perkovich <i>Perspectives on Global Issues</i> , Spring issue, pp. 6-12.	Article	Empowering women or hollow words? Gender References in Peace Agreements
2014	Laurel Anne Stone Social Science Research Network	Publication	Women Transforming Conflict: A Quantitative Analysis of Female Peacemaking.
2014	Miriam Anderson, Liam Swiss	Publication; Data	"Peace Accords and the Adoption of Electoral Quotas for Women in the Developing World, 1990–2006," <i>Politics and Gender</i>, Vol. 10 Issue 1, pp. 33–61.
2014	Pilar Domingo, Tam O'Neil and Marta Foresti, Overseas Development Institute	Publication	Women's participation in peace and security: Normative ends, political means
2014	UN Mediation Support Unit, Department for Political Affairs Working draft	Guidance	Tips for drafting gender-relevant provisions in peace agreements.
2014	Hannah Wright Saferworld		Masculinities, conflict and peacebuilding: perspectives on men through a gender lens
2014	Jennifer Klot, Hakan Seckinelgin	Publication	"From Global Policy to Local Knowledge: What is the Link between Women's Formal Political Participation and Gender Equality in Conflict-affected Contexts?" <i>Global Policy</i>, Vol. 5, Issue 1, pp. 36–46.
2013	Domingo, Pilar, Rebecca Holmes, Alina Rocha Menocal and Nicola Jones, Overseas Development Institute	Publication	Assessment of the evidence of links between gender equality, peacebuilding and statebuilding: Literature review.
2013	Women's Platform for the Peace, Security and Cooperation (PSC) Framework agreement for the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) established by the Office of the Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region	Practice	Women's Platform for the Peace, Security and Cooperation (PSC) Framework agreement for the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) established by the Office of the Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region
2013	WILPF	Publication	Implementing Locally, Inspiring Globally: Localizing SC Resolution 1325

2013	Moosa, Zohra, Maryam Rahmani and Lee Webster <i>Gender & Development</i> , Vol.21 Issue 3, pp. 453-472.	Article	“From the private to the public sphere: new research on women’s participation in peace-building”
2013	Alice Nderitu and Jacqueline O’Neill Institute for Inclusive Security	Publication	<u>Getting to the Point of Inclusion: Seven Myths Standing in the Way of Women Waging Peace</u>
2013	Norwegian Centre for Conflict Resolution	Publication	<u>Participation of civil society in the Colombia Peace Process</u>
2013	Bell, Christine Norwegian Centre for Conflict Resolution	Publication	Women and peace processes, negotiations and agreements: operational opportunities and challenges.
2012	UN Women	Publication	<u>Women’s Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence</u>
2012	Cate Buchanan, Antonia Potter Prentice et al. Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.	Publication	<u>From clause to effect: including women’s rights and gender in peace agreements.</u>
2012	Frieda McCormack, Governance and Social Development Resource Centre.	Publication	Evaluation of interventions impacting women’s political participation, Helpdesk research report.
2012	Naomi Hossain, Institute of Development Studies, IDS Working Paper 406.	Publication	<u>Security and the Pathways of Women’s Empowerment: Findings from a Thematic Synthesis of the Pathways of Women’s Empowerment Research</u>
2011	Cate and Antonia Potter Prentice (Editors) Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.	Publication	<u>Peacemaking in Asia Pacific: Women’s participation, perspectives, priorities.</u>
2011	Antonia Potter Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue	Publication	G is for Gendered: Taking the mystery out of gendering peace agreements
2011	Huma Haider, Governance and Social Development Resource Centre.	Publication	<u>Helpdesk Research Report: Effects of political quotas for women.</u>
2010-2011	Christine Bell, Catherine O’Rourke	Publication	Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper? The Impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 On Peace Processes and their Agreements. <i>International and Comparative Law Quarterly</i> , 59 (4), 941-980; Shorter open source version: Bell, Christine and O’Rourke, Catherine. 2011. <u>UN Security Council 1325 and Peace Negotiations and Agreements.</u> Women at the Peace Table Asia Pacific Opinion Piece Series Number 4. Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

2010	International Alert	Publication; Case Study	<u>Women, Elections and Violence in West Africa: Assessing Women's Political Participation in Liberia and Sierra Leone</u>
2010	Carla Koppell, Institute for Inclusive Security	Publication	<u>Gender symposia during donor conferences: a model to guarantee women leaders a voice in setting priorities for reconstruction</u>
2009	Institute for Inclusive Security	Publication	Bringing women into peace negotiations, Strategies for policymakers' series, No. 2
2008	Accord & Conciliation Resources	Publication	<u>Women building peace</u>
2008	Christine Bell	Publication	<u>On the Law of Peace: Peace Agreements and the Lex Pacificatoria</u>
2007	Sanam Anderlini, Lynne Reiner Publishers	Book	Women building peace: what they do and why it matters
2005	Christine Bell	Chapter	"Women address the problems of peace agreements," In Coomeraswamy, Radhika and Fonseca, Dilrukshi, (Editors), Women, peacemaking and constitutions, New Delhi: Women Unlimited.
2004	Inclusive Security	Tool	<u>Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action</u>
2004	University for Peace	Publication; Case Study	<u>The Sixth Clan — Women Organize for Peace in Somalia</u>
2003	Christine Chinkin, UNIFEM	Background Paper in Preparation for Expert Group Meeting	<u>Peace agreements as a Means for Promoting Gender Equality and Ensuring Participation of Women</u>
2002	Kate Fearon <i>Accord</i> , Issue 13, Conciliation Resources, pp.78-81.	Article	<u>Northern Ireland Women's Coalition: Institutionalizing a political voice and ensuring representation</u>
1999	Sanam Anderlini, UNIFEM	Report	<u>Women at the Peace Table Making a Difference</u>
1998	National Democratic Institute	Publication	<u>The Women's Caucus in Nepal</u>

END NOTES

- 1 Annex 1: List of Participants.
- 2 References to Kosovo shall be understood to be in the context of resolution 1244 (1999).
- 3 Pathways for Peace citation needed. United Nations; World Bank. 2018. Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- 4 [S/2017/861](#).
- 5 [S/2017/861](#).
- 6 [S/2017/861](#).
- 7 <http://www.un.org/en/counterterrorism/>
- 8 Since January 2018, **23 of the 44 most senior positions at the United Nations** are now held by women. For more on the UN System-Wide Strategy on Gender Parity see <https://www.un.org/gender/file/737>. Also: UN Women (2018), *Coverage: System-wide Strategy on Gender Parity: How to walk the talk?*; Vogelstein, Rachel (2018), Council on Foreign Relations blog, *Women this Week: Parity at the UN*, May 18. <https://www.un.org/gender/file/737>; Arthur, Paige (2017), *The UN Strategy on gender parity*, 15 September.
- 9 Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy is available from: <https://www.government.se/government-policy/feminist-foreign-policy/>. Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy is available from: http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/iss-ues_developpement-enjeux_developpement/priorities-priorites/policy-politique.aspx?lang=eng.
- 10 Ni Aolain, Fionnuala and Jayne Huckerby (2018), *Gendering counterterrorism: How to, and how not to-Part I*, Just Security blog, May 1 & *Part II*, May 3.
- 11 For example, see: Swaine, Aisling (2018), *Conflict-Related Violence Against Women: Transforming Transition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Hossain, Naomi (2012), *Security and the Pathways of Women's Empowerment: Findings from a Thematic Synthesis of the Pathways of Women's Empowerment Research*, IDS Working Paper 406, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies. Also consider investigations into the occurrence of war-related sexual violence by state and non-state armed groups found that violence often continues five years beyond the discontinuation of violent conflict, with most crimes committed by state troops: Cohen, Dara Kay, Amelia Hoover Green and Elisabeth Jean Wood (2013), *Wartime sexual violence: misconceptions, implications and ways forward*, Special Report, Washington D.C.: US Institute for Peace. Also see: Aolain, Fionnuala Ni, and Eilish Rooney (2007), "Under enforcement and Intersectionality: Gendered Aspects of Transition for Women," *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, Vol. 1, Issue 3, pp. 338–54.
- 12 CEDAW, General Recommendation no. 30.
- 13 An example of investigation in this area is McWilliams, Monica and Jessica Doyle (2017), *Violent conflict, political settlement and intimate partner violence: Lessons from Northern Ireland*, Political Settlements Research Programme, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh: Scotland.
- 14 Front Line (2017), *Annual report on human rights defenders at risk in 2017*, Front Line: Dublin.
- 15 [S/2017/861](#), para 19.
- 16 [S/2017/861](#), para 90.
- 17 Duke Law International Human Rights Clinic and Women Peacemakers Program (2017), *Tightening the Purse Strings: What Countering Terrorism Financing Costs Gender Equality and Security*, pp. 31, 79.
- 18 [S/2017/861](#), para. 97, 110.
- 19 Report of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations on uniting our strengths for peace: politics, partnership and people (A/70/95–S/2015/446).
- 20 Allen, Louise (2017), *Gender Continues to be Overlooked by UN Peacekeeping*, Blog post, 23 October. See also, Athie, Aissata and Sarah Taylor (2017), *UN Peacekeeping: Where is the Gender Expertise?*, 27 October.
- 21 Tickner, J Ann and Jacqui True (2018), *"A Century of International Relations Feminism: From World War I Women's Peace Pragmatism to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda"*, International Studies Quarterly, online at 12 April; Cockburn, Cynthia (2007), *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis*, Zed Books: London; True, Jacqui (2016), "Explaining the global diffusion of the Women, Peace and Security agenda," *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 37, No. 3, pp. 307-323.
- 22 On the evolution of the gender equality norms across women's political rights and gender mainstreaming through Beijing and into WPS see Krook, Mona Lena and Jacqui True (2012), "Rethinking the Life Cycles of International Norms: The United Nations and the Global Promotion of Gender Equality," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 103-127.
- 23 S/RES/1325 (2000), S/RES/1820 (2008), S/RES/1888 (2009), S/RES/1889 (2009), S/RES/1960 (2010), S/RES/2106 (2013), S/RES/2122 (2013), S/RES/2242 (2015). See also Davies, Sara E and Jacqui True (forthcoming, 2019), *Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace and Security*, UK: Oxford University Press.
- 24 Over successive years the CEDAW Experts Committee have issued General Recommendations of relevance to the fundamental goal of the WPS Agenda: women's participation in decision-making related to peace and security. These have included No. 5 (1988) on temporary special measures (gender quotas); No. 23 (1997) on women in public life; No. 25 (2004) on temporary special measures; and No. 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations (2013). See Swaine, Aisling and Catherine O'Rourke (2015), *Guidebook on CEDAW general recommendation no. 30 and the UN Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security*, UN Women: New York.
- 25 Examples of work in this area includes: Bell, Christine (2013), *Women and peace processes, negotiations and agreements: operational opportunities and challenges*, NOREF briefing Paper, March. Oslo: Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre; Buchanan, Cate and Antonia Potter Prentice, Eds. (2011), *Peacemaking in Asia Pacific: Women's participation, perspectives, priorities*, Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.
- 26 UN Department of Political Affairs (2012), *Guidance for Mediators: Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Ceasefire and Peace Agreements*, DPA: New York.
- 27 An example of training includes **International Civil Society Action Network's** forthcoming thematic animation on Gendered Ceasefires and accompanying guidance.
- 28 In 2018 UN Women is releasing a paper on this issue. It aims to complement analysis developed by Du Pasquier, Federica (2016), *Gender Diversity Dynamics in Humanitarian Negotiations: The International Committee of the Red Cross as a Case Study on the Frontlines of Armed Conflicts*, Humanitarian Negotiation Working Paper Series Paper 1, Harvard Humanitarian Initiative's Advanced Training Program on Humanitarian Action.
- 29 An example includes Close, Sophia (2018), *Gendered political settlements: examining peace transitions in Bougainville, Nepal and Colombia*, May, London: Conciliation Resources. The University of Edinburgh Political Settlements Research Programme is also generating gendered analysis on a range of contexts. <http://www.politicalsettlements.org/about/>
- 30 An example is the work of the Kroc Institute Colombia program (see Box 2) and <https://peacepolicy.nd.edu/2017/10/11/monitoring-the-progress-of-human-rights-in-the-colombia-peace-process/> & <https://kroc.nd.edu/research/peace-processes-accords/pam-colombia/>
- 31 The Gender, Peace and Security Centre at Monash University is implementing 'Towards Inclusive Peace: Mapping Gender Provisions in Peace Agreements' over 2016-2020 with Australian Government funding. The project seeks to understand the role that gender provisions in peace agreements play in shaping women's participation in conflict-affected countries. It investigates how agreements can advance, or set back, women's rights and participation after conflict and during political transitions. It reviews and catalogues 110 peace agreements in an open-source database and conducts detailed research in 20 countries (Afghanistan, Colombia, Egypt, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Myanmar, Nepal, Philippines, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Ukraine and Yemen). For more information see: <http://mapping-peace.monashgpps.org/research-outputs/>. Another example is research from the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security assessing how women are building peace amidst ongoing conflicts in Ukraine and Myanmar, using a variety of strategies to advance peace and security. See Warren, Roslyn, Anna Applebaum, Holly Fuhrman, Briana Mawby (2018), *Women's Peacebuilding Strategies Amidst Conflict: Lessons from Myanmar and Ukraine*, Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security: Washington, D.C.
- 32 Utilized in UN Development Program (2015), *Evaluation of UNDP's Contribution to Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment*, UNDP: New York. For more detail see Gender@Work and also Rao, Aruna and Joanne Sandler, David Kelleher and Carole Miller (2016), *Gender at Work: Theory and Practice for 21st Century Organizations*, Routledge: NYC. Another example is GIWPS research on women's roles in political processes and peace negotiations in Northern Ireland, Guatemala, Kenya and the Philippines. See: Chang, Patty, Mayesha Alam, Roslyn Warren, Rukmani Bhatia and Rebecca Turkington (2015), *Women Leading Peace: A close examination of women's political participation in peace processes in Northern Ireland, Guatemala, Kenya, and the Philippines*, Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security: Washington, D.C.: Upcoming GIWPS work in this area focuses on women's participation in track 2 processes and

- will be available in late 2018, see Dayal, Anjali Kaushlesh and Agathe Christien (2018), *Women's Participation in Informal Peace Processes*, Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security Working Paper, June.
- 33 Across thematic areas of peace and security research, several researchers have contributed to understandings of masculinity and violent masculinities in the context of violent conflict and transitions from such conflict. See the following, for example: Wright, Hannah (2014), *Masculinities, conflict and peacebuilding: perspectives on men through a gender lens*. London: Saferworld; Cahn, Naomi R and Fionnuala Ni Aolain (2010), *Gender, Masculinities and Transition in Conflicted Societies*, New England Law Review, Vol. 44, Rev. 1; Duriesmith, David (2017), *Engaging men and boys in the Women, Peace and Security agenda: Beyond the 'good men' industry*, LSE Centre for Women, Peace and Security blog, November; El Feki, Shereeb, Brian Heilman and Gary Barker, Eds (2017), *Understanding Masculinities: Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) – Middle East and North Africa*, UN Women and Promundo-US: Cairo and Washington, D.C.
- 34 Upcoming research from Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security focuses on roles women play leading up to and during peace processes, including involvement of civil society groups and coalitions - Mapping women's roles in track 2 peace processes; a case study analysis. Working paper, expected late 2018 from Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security.
- 35 The International Peace Institute has forthcoming analysis on the women's mediator networks. See Taylor, Sarah (2018), *Initial reflections on opportunities and challenges for regional networks of women mediators*, New York: International Peace Institute; Turner, Catherine (2018), *"Increasing the visibility of women mediators: Some thoughts for the new networks of women mediators,"* Global Policy blog, 12 January; Turner, Catherine (2018), *"Absent or Invisible? Women Mediators and the United Nations,"* *Global Policy*, Vol. 9, Issue 2, pp 244-253.
- 36 Coomaraswamy, Radhika (2015), *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325*, New York: UN Women.
- 37 This included the Governments of the United Kingdom, Japan, Turkey and Saudi Arabia, Muhammadiyah, The Asia Foundation, the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue and Conciliation Resources. See: Conciliation Resources (no date), *Innovation in mediation support: The International Contact Group in Mindanao*, Practice paper.
- 38 *Everyday Peace Indicators Project*
- 39 Kroc Institute *Peace Accords Matrix*
- 40 *S/2017/861*, para. 108
- 41 See: UN Women (2012), *Policy Briefing Paper Gender and Conflict Analysis*, New York: UNW; Conciliation Resources, *Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit* (2015), London: Conciliation Resources (also in French); ICAN (2015), *Gender Sensitive Indicators for Situation Analysis*, The Better Peace
- Tool* Washington D.C.: ICAN; Saferworld, *Gender analysis of conflict toolkit* (2016), London: Saferworld; Evie Browne (2014), *Gender in Political Economy Analysis*, GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1071, Birmingham, UK: GSDRC; Herbert, Sian (2017), *Conflict analysis: Topic guide*, GSDRC, Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham, Harris, Collette (2011), *What can applying a gender lens contribute to conflict studies? A review of selected MICROCON working papers*, MICROCON Research Working Paper 41, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton: MICROCON; Myrntinen, Henri, Jana Naujoks and Judy El-Bushra (2014), *Rethinking gender in peacebuilding*, London: International Alert; Farr, Anderlini, Sanam (2006), *Mainstreaming Gender in Conflict Analysis: Issues and Recommendations*, Social Development Papers, Paper 33, Washington D.C.: World Bank; Vanessa (2003), *"Gender awareness in research and policy making,"* *African Security Review*, Vol. 12, Issue 1, pp.115-118; Sikoska, Tatjana and Juliet Solomon (2004), *"Introducing gender in conflict and conflict prevention: Conceptual and policy implications,"* In, Carment, David and Albrecht Schnabel (Editors), *Conflict prevention from rhetoric to reality: Opportunities and innovations*, Lanham: Lexington Books, pp. 63-77.
- 42 See: UN Women (2012), *Policy Briefing Paper Gender and Conflict Analysis*, New York: UNW; Conciliation Resources, *Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit* (2015), London: Conciliation Resources (also in French); ICAN (2015), *Gender Sensitive Indicators for Situation Analysis*, The Better Peace Tool Washington D.C.: ICAN; Saferworld, *Gender analysis of conflict toolkit* (2016), London: Saferworld; Evie Browne (2014), *Gender in Political Economy Analysis*, GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1071, Birmingham, UK: GSDRC; Herbert, Sian (2017), *Conflict analysis: Topic guide*, GSDRC, Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham, Harris, Collette (2011), *What can applying a gender lens contribute to conflict studies? A review of selected MICROCON working papers*, MICROCON Research Working Paper 41, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton: MICROCON; Myrntinen, Henri, Jana Naujoks and Judy El-Bushra (2014), *Rethinking gender in peacebuilding*, London: International Alert; Farr, Anderlini, Sanam (2006), *Mainstreaming Gender in Conflict Analysis: Issues and Recommendations*, Social Development Papers, Paper 33, Washington D.C.: World Bank; Vanessa (2003), *"Gender awareness in research and policy making,"* *African Security Review*, Vol. 12, Issue 1, pp.115-118; Sikoska, Tatjana and Juliet Solomon (2004), *"Introducing gender in conflict and conflict prevention: Conceptual and policy implications,"* In, Carment, David and Albrecht Schnabel (Editors), *Conflict prevention from rhetoric to reality: Opportunities and innovations*, Lanham: Lexington Books, pp. 63-77.
- 43 See Yousuf, Zahbia (2018), *Navigating inclusion in peace transitions: beyond elite bargains*, London: Conciliation Resources; Close, Sophia (2018), *Gendered political settlements: examining peace transitions in Bougainville, Nepal and Colombia*, London: Conciliation Resources.
- 44 See e.g., *S/RES/2242* (2015) and *S/2017/861*.
- 45 Afghanistan (S/PV.7896/S/PV.8147/S/PV.8199 (two representatives briefed)), Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/PV.7903/S/PV.8207), Lake Chad Basin (S/PV.7861/S/PV.8047/S/PV.8212), Liberia (S/PV.7824), Libya (S/PV.8159), Somalia (S/PV.7873), South Sudan (S/PV.7906/S/PV.8249), Yemen (S/PV.7954)]
- 46 Mahmoud, Youssef and Anupah Makoond (2017), *Sustaining Peace: What does it mean in practice?* April, New York: IPI; Mahmoud, Youssef, Lesley Connolly and Delphine Mechoulam (2018), *Sustaining Peace in practice: Building on what works*; New York: IPI.
- 47 UN Women, *Guidebook on CEDAW General Recommendation No. 30 and the UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security* (2015).
- 48 GNWP reports that Colombia, Nepal and Serbia are some of the countries where an improvement in reporting is evident. Colombia has reported extensively on women's participation in the peace process. Nepal and Serbia reported on the implementation of the 1325 NAPs including civil society participation in its development and implementation. All three countries reported on women's political participation in decision-making overall. Nepal and Serbia specifically reported on the localization strategy for the NAP.
- 49 This is due to threats and intimidation experienced by women who participate in formal and informal peace processes such as those in Burundi and South Sudan.
- 50 For an overview of the history of the WSRs, see Barbara Sangare (2017), *Report on the Women's Situation Room in Liberia from September to November 2017*; Godia, Jane (2015), *"Women's Situation Room: Africa's unique approach to reducing electoral violence,"* *Africa Renewal* (2015).
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- 52 Paffenholz, Thania (2014), "Civil Society and Peace Negotiations: Beyond the Inclusion – Exclusion Dichotomy," *Negotiation Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 1, p. 83.
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- 70 Refer to footnote 69.
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- 77 Developed by Cate Buchanan and Jacqui True, August 2018.
- 78 Developed by Cate Buchanan and Jacqui True, August 2018. A fictitious example is intentionally provided.
- 79 Adapted from the UN Gender Definitions and Concepts, no date, no agency.
- 80 Developed by Cate Buchanan and Jacqui True, August 2018.
- 81 Developed by Cate Buchanan and Jacqui True, August 2018 with inputs from Sophia Close. Conflict analysis, as typically undertaken by peace and security actors, is gender-blind, largely because it fails to differentiate between how violence and abuse of power is used, predominantly by men against women, in non-warring contexts especially in the private sphere, versus how violence affects women, men, girls and boys when it escalates and gains public visibility as "conflict-related". The practice of gender-sensitive conflict analysis has been developed to remedy this exclusion and to avoid repeated reliance on partial and therefore inadequate and problematic analysis to inform policies and practice. See e.g., UN Women (2012), *Policy Briefing Paper Gender and Conflict Analysis*, New York: UNW; Conciliation Resources, *Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit* (2015), London: Conciliation Resources (also in French); ICAN (2015), *Gender Sensitive Indicators for Situation Analysis, The Better Peace Tool* Washington D.C.: ICAN; Saferworld, *Gender analysis of conflict toolkit* (2016), London: Saferworld; Evie Browne (2014), *Gender in Political Economy Analysis*, GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1071, Birmingham, UK: GSDRC; Jacqui True, *The Political Economy of Violence against Women*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012; Collette Harris (2011), *What can applying a gender lens contribute to conflict studies? A review of selected MICROCON working papers*, MICROCON Research Working Paper 41, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton: MICROCON; Myrntinen, Henri, Jana Naujoks and Judy El-Bushra (2014), *Rethinking gender in peacebuilding*, London: International Alert; Farr, Vanessa (2003), "Gender awareness in research and policy making," *African Security Review*, Vol. 12, Issue 1, pp.115-118; Sikoska, Tatjana and Juliet Solomon (2004), "Introducing gender in conflict and conflict prevention: Conceptual and policy implications," In, Carment, David and Albrecht Schnabel (Editors), *Conflict prevention from rhetoric to reality: Opportunities and innovations*, Lanham: Lexington Books, pp. 63-77.
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