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# Using Temporary Special Measures for Inclusive Processes and Outcomes

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**Report**

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## Executive Summary

The term “temporary special measures” (TSMs) is commonly used to refer to gender-affirmative interventions undertaken by states with reference to obligations assumed under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women or by other entities that are not parties to the Convention. Peace processes are one of the many domains in which women have encountered severe forms of marginalisation.

This paper explores the capacity of TSMs to render peace negotiation processes more gender inclusive and to promote political, economic, and social gender equality in the post-agreement phase. It outlines various types of TSMs that can be used to mitigate gender inequality during and after armed conflict and presents 13 lessons learned that can help policy-makers and practitioners to design effective TSMs in the future. To this end, the paper uses comparative evidence from a review of the academic and policy literature on TSMs and broader means to encourage greater gender equality, as well as primary data gathered through an online workshop and ten online consultations with TSM experts.

The focus of the research and practitioner communities on the employment of TSMs in peace and political transition processes has hitherto predominantly been on how TSMs (and particularly quotas) can further women’s *representation* and *participation* in peace processes rather than women’s *influence*. As such, there has been a related focus on whether and how TSMs can also serve as catalysts for these processes and thus give rise to sustainable inclusive outcomes—that is, steps towards a peaceful and inclusive society without violence and discrimination, and with equal access to human rights for all individuals.

Prioritising inclusive processes over inclusive outcomes has sidelined concerns about the limited influence and ongoing marginalisation of women during peace negotiations and the post-agreement phase, respectively. Peace agreements do not necessarily aim to reduce women’s marginalisation. However, even after the signing of a gender-sensitive or gender-responsive peace agreement, “patriarchal backlash”—an umbrella term for the phenomenon of men employing various strategies to prevent women from exercising genuine influence in everyday life—can be observed. The prevalence of patriarchal backlash suggests that instruments such as quotas would be more effective if they were embedded in a comprehensive set of TSMs intended to transform patriarchal norms and create effective pathways towards inclusive outcomes under post-war conditions.

This paper examines the impacts of six types of TSMs on women’s inclusion during and after armed conflict, namely:



- gender quotas and auxiliary measures;
- advocacy campaigns;
- coalition-building and the building of mutual support;
- institutions dedicated to incorporating women's perspectives;
- education, training, and capacity-building;
- international political and financial support.

Based on the analysis, the 13 lessons learned suggest how a combination of TSMs can pave the way for more inclusive peace and political transition processes that give rise to meaningful and sustainable inclusive outcomes. These lessons recognise that peace processes proceed in a non-linear manner and that the constant negotiation and renegotiation of the social and political contract at the heart of peace processes occurs in multiple spaces, including track one negotiations but also beyond them in more informal spaces at the national and local levels. As such, the TSMs discussed in this paper are tools that can be used to promote and amplify broader societal change whenever an opportunity to do so arises. To achieve the overarching goal of reaching inclusive outcomes and ultimately inclusive societies, the lessons learned stress the importance of:

- **Lesson 1: Overcome Conceptual Confusion to Achieve Goal-Oriented Strategies.** This concerns formulating more specific goals relating to women's inclusion and gender-responsive agendas in peace processes and using multiple TSMs to achieve inherently linked but discrete goals, such as women's representation and gender mainstreaming.
- **Lesson 2: Broaden the Range of TSMs and Use TSMs in Concert.** This concerns judicial and economic TSMs that offer women legal protection from violence and economic opportunities to overcome the underlying causes of gender inequality, marginalisation, and exclusion.
- **Lesson 3: Design and Implement Quotas Effectively.** This concerns quotas that guarantee women access to decision-making power, target all levels of government, and are employed as part of a package of TSMs working in tandem to overcome patriarchal and authoritarian values.
- **Lesson 4: Establish Representative Women's Groups and (Temporary) Bodies, and Implement Gender Mainstreaming.** This concerns the establishment of representative women's groups and (temporary) bodies during peace negotiations and formal bodies dedicated to women's inclusion in government and other areas, using a society-wide inclusion formula.

- **Lesson 5: Use TSMs to Foster Collaboration and Solidarity among Women.** This concerns the formation of regional, national, and local civil society platforms that bridge ethnic, religious, class, or clan identities and allow women to quickly assemble and mobilise to promote their inclusion during and after armed conflict.
- **Lesson 6: Ensure Targeted and Effective Capacity-Building to Achieve Inclusive Peace Processes and Sustain Gender Equality.** This concerns different forms of political, technical, and legal training for women negotiators, parliamentarians, and electoral candidates at multiple points during a peace process.
- **Lesson 7: Encourage Public Advocacy and External Pressure.** This concerns public advocacy campaigns and international pressure to increase public buy-in for—and overcome elite resistance to—women’s inclusion in peace negotiations and after a peace agreement has been signed.
- **Lesson 8: Pursue an Intersectional Approach.** This concerns embedding all TSMs employed in peace processes in an intersectional strategy that recognises the heterogeneity of women’s identities and targets all women.
- **Lesson 9: Start Using TSMs as Early as Possible.** This concerns employing TSMs as early as possible in any peace process.
- **Lesson 10: Design TSMs that Can Garner Elite Support, Pre-empt Elite Resistance, and Ensure that Inclusive Processes Lead to Inclusive Outcomes.** This concerns the incorporation of clear implementation provisions in peace agreements with inclusive implementation bodies, and organising public advocacy campaigns to counter elite resistance against meaningful women’s inclusion during and after armed conflict.
- **Lesson 11: Extend the Focus to the Local Level.** This concerns TSMs that target the local level.
- **Lesson 12: Play the Long Game.** This concerns refraining from defining time restrictions on the implementation of TSMs in acknowledgement of the fact that rebuilding and transforming a political settlement takes time.
- **Lesson 13: Foster More Creativity in Defining Milestones on the Path towards Inclusive Societies.** This concerns creative thinking and systematic research on how to capitalise on the potential of TSMs to establish precedents for inclusive outcomes and ultimately inclusive societies.

# 1 Introduction

Women have historically been systematically excluded from peace processes and political leadership more broadly.<sup>1</sup> Women's exclusion from peace negotiation processes is illustrated by a series of stark statistics, including the fact that women only signed 13 of all 130 peace agreements concluded between 1990 and 2014,<sup>2</sup> and less than 10 percent of all peace negotiators between 1992 and 2011 were women.<sup>3</sup>

Over two decades have passed since the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on women, peace, and security (WPS).<sup>4</sup> The WPS agenda<sup>5</sup> recognises that women are essential to international peace and security, and United Nations (UN) member states acknowledge that peace depends on women's meaningful participation in conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding. The agenda also highlights the importance of women's participation in post-conflict political decision-making more broadly.<sup>6</sup> However, the road from policy development in the UN Security Council to implementation has been long and arduous. Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, in some contexts women have come to play a more prominent role in peace negotiations.<sup>7</sup> Yet, in the majority of contexts, peace processes are still not gender-responsive, let alone gender transformative,<sup>8</sup> and women still play only a temporary and often symbolic role without actual possibilities to exert influence. Significant gaps thus remain between this normative advancement and concrete results for women and girls.

The term "temporary special measures" (TSMs) is commonly used to refer to interventions undertaken by states with reference to obligations assumed under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against

- 1 See T. Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count – Not Just Counting Women: Assessing Women's Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations," Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative (The Graduate Institution of International and Development Studies) and UN Women (2016), [www.inclusivepeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/report-making-women-count-en.pdf](http://www.inclusivepeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/report-making-women-count-en.pdf) [last accessed: 15 September 2022].
- 2 J. Krause et al., "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace," *International Interactions* 44:6 (2018), p. 987.
- 3 M. Adjei, "Women's Participation in Peace Processes: A Review of Literature," *Journal of Peace Education* 16:2 (2019), p. 137; C. Bell, "Text and Context: Evaluating Peace Agreements for their 'Gender Perspective'," UN Women (2015), [www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2017/Text-and-Context\\_EN.pdf](http://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2017/Text-and-Context_EN.pdf) [last accessed: 15 August 2022], p. 6.
- 4 "Resolution 1325," UN Security Council (S/RES/1325) (2000), <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/1325> [last accessed: 21 October 2022].
- 5 The WPS agenda consists of a total of ten UN Security Council resolutions, including UNSCR 1325.
- 6 "Resolution 1889," UN Security Council (S/RES/1889) (2009), <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/1889> [last accessed: 21 October 2022].
- 7 C. Bell and K. McNicholl, "Principled Pragmatism and the Inclusion Project: Implementing a Gender Perspective in Peace Agreements," *feminists@law* 9:1 (2019), p. 41.
- 8 A. Bramble and K. Hashem, *Reaching an Inclusive Truce: Gendering Ceasefires* (Geneva: Inclusive Peace, 2022); N. Ross, *A Practical Guide to a Gender-Inclusive National Dialogue* (Geneva: Inclusive Peace, 2022).

Women. The terminology of TSMs is also sometimes used to refer to the implementation of gender-related affirmative-action measures by entities that are not parties to the Convention, such as the UN Secretariat, or to address groups not covered by the Convention (i.e. to promote the inclusion of ethnic, religious, or other minority groups).

Various countries around the world have embraced TSMs as a tool for catalysing long-term gender equality and inclusion.<sup>9</sup> Thanks to their broad scope, TSMs also have the potential to contribute to the full implementation and practical realisation of normative frameworks such as UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda. However, the majority of efforts to realise the aims of the WPS agenda in the context of peace and political transition processes have concentrated on enhancing the formal participation or representation of women in peace and political transition processes to the detriment of focusing on setting the precedents for women's long-term inclusion in post-war societies, such as governance structures and other socio-economic decision-making mechanisms. In short, there has been a strong tendency within both the WPS community and the peace-making and peacebuilding field more broadly to prioritise inclusive processes over inclusive outcomes.<sup>10</sup> This prioritisation means that the full potential of tools such as TSMs to catalyse and sustain inclusive peace and political transition processes that give rise to inclusive outcomes has not yet been realised.

This paper thus serves to provide a starting point for the exploration of TSMs' potential to pave the way for more sustainable inclusive outcomes, which can ultimately promote gender-inclusive societies.

## 1.1 Structure and Methodology

This paper sets out to examine the impacts of various types of TSMs on the political, economic, and social inclusion of women during and after armed conflict. It focuses on several country cases to understand why peace processes often perpetuate exclusion and inequality and identifies some guiding principles that can help policy-makers and practitioners to design effective TSMs that can chart a path towards inclusive peace and political transition processes that give rise to inclusive outcomes. Section 2 charts the genesis of TSMs and examines

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9 As the remainder of this paper shows, various countries have used gender quotas to enhance women's formal political representation, including Colombia, Nepal, Rwanda, and Timor-Leste. Other types of TSMs include campaign support opportunities for women electoral candidates (e.g. in Timor-Leste), laws on violence against women in politics (e.g. in Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, and Mexico), the establishment of women's caucuses (e.g. in Rwanda), gender leadership quotas within political parties (e.g. in India and South Africa), and training programmes for women electoral candidates (e.g. in Mexico and El Salvador) (see M. L. Krook, "Gender and Elections: Temporary Special Measures beyond Quotas," Social Science Research Council Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum (2013), [http://ssrc-cdn1.s3.amazonaws.com/crmuploads/new\\_publication\\_3/%7B1353E286-B549-E411-9403-005056AB4B80%7D.pdf](http://ssrc-cdn1.s3.amazonaws.com/crmuploads/new_publication_3/%7B1353E286-B549-E411-9403-005056AB4B80%7D.pdf) [last accessed: 15 August 2022]).

10 In the context of this study, peace processes are understood as encompassing both the negotiation phase and the implementation phase of peace agreements, as well as long-term peace in a country.



TSMs' relationship to and use in inclusive peace processes to date. Section 3 then uses comparative evidence to explore how TSMs can contribute to inclusive outcomes of peace processes and sustain the long-term empowerment of women in post-war settings. Section 4 builds on the insights gained in Sections 2 and 3 to develop a series of lessons learned about the conditions under which TSMs enhance and sustain inclusion in a post-war environment. These lessons are broad in scope but identify important aspects for policy-makers and practitioners to consider when designing and implementing TSMs in specific contexts.

To explore the capacity of TSMs to engender inclusive peace processes and pave the way for inclusive outcomes, this study draws on data from three sources. Firstly, Inclusive Peace conducted a thorough review of the academic and policy literature to identify the TSMs that have been employed in peace processes. During this process, a particularly strong emphasis was placed on identifying the existing knowledge on the strengths and weaknesses of TSMs in generating inclusive outcomes. Secondly, Inclusive Peace organised an online workshop with experts in early 2021 to discuss the role of TSMs in peace processes. Thirdly, Inclusive Peace conducted ten online consultations in late 2021, each featuring one to three experts, to gather primary data and substantiate the findings of the literature review and the expert workshop. Each online consultation presented the participants with the findings of the literature review and invited them to share their knowledge about strategies that had either succeeded or failed in enhancing women's role in peace processes.

## 1.2 Terminology

TSMs are a range of legislative, judiciary, executive, or administrative measures intended to ensure that women enjoy equal access to human, political, economic, and social rights.<sup>11</sup>

As stated above, the term “temporary special measures” is commonly used to refer to interventions undertaken by states with reference to obligations assumed under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. It is also sometimes used to refer to the implementation of gender-related affirmative-action measures by entities that are not parties to the Convention, such as the UN Secretariat, or to address groups not covered by the Convention (i.e. to promote the inclusion of ethnic, religious, or other minority groups). Some of the special measures that this paper explores have not involved state support in the past and therefore do not necessarily count as TSMs at present. However, these measures could become TSMs if supported by states or other entities. The paper therefore also elaborates on potential future TSMs

11 “Gender and Law: Temporary Special Measures to Promote Gender Equality,” Asian Development Bank (2012), [www.adb.org/sites/default/files/institutional-document/33634/files/guidance-note-gender-and-law.pdf](http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/institutional-document/33634/files/guidance-note-gender-and-law.pdf) [last accessed: 15 August 2012]; Krook, “Gender and Elections”; M. I. Morgan and A. Facio, “Equity or Equality for Women? Understanding CEDAW’s Equality Principles,” Alabama Law Scholarly Commons (2009), [https://scholarship.law.ua.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1152&context=fac\\_working\\_papers](https://scholarship.law.ua.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1152&context=fac_working_papers) [last accessed: 15 August 2022].

aiming to promote and sustain inclusion in post-war settings, in order to inspire state actors and help them to deliver on their commitment to women's inclusion under the Convention during and after episodes of armed conflict.

There is a broad consensus among researchers that “descriptive representation” refers to women's participation in formal peace negotiations and later political institutions.<sup>12</sup> “Substantive representation” is a more contested term. More minimalist definitions, such as that provided by Kara Ellerby, describe “substantive representation” as referring to situations where peace agreements include gender provisions or explicitly address women's interests.<sup>13</sup> This paper works with a more ambitious understanding of “substantive representation,” which it defines as women's meaningful participation and influence in peace and political transition processes.<sup>14</sup>

“Cosmetic inclusion” or “tokenistic inclusion” is the practice of perfunctory or superficial participation or representation of women that unwittingly or deliberately is devoid of any capacity for influence.

“Paradoxical inclusion” describes a situation where women have meaningful representation or participation in a specific political process or context while simultaneously experiencing ongoing political, economic, and social marginalisation or discrimination in society at large. This dynamic of simultaneous political empowerment of some women and continuous discrimination against other women (often the majority) is inherent in many conflict contexts.

Track one negotiations are formal peace negotiations held between the official representatives of conflict parties. These types of negotiations have recently lost part of their relevance, with peace talks often proceeding in other informal and local spaces.

Finally, “transformation of gender relations” is the process of tackling the underlying causes of gender inequality and reshaping unequal power relations. This paper embraces a gender transformation approach, which engages both men and women and seeks to empower individuals to challenge gender norms, promote the importance of women holding positions of social and political influence in communities, and address power inequalities between people of different genders. “Gender transformation,” as understood in this paper, therefore includes breaking down structural barriers and constraining gender norms—that is, unwritten rules about the work and decisions that women are eligible to do and make, respectively.

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12 See, for example, S. Bhattacharya and C. Burns, “What's War Got to Do with It? Post-conflict Effects on Gender Equality in South and Southeast Asia, 1975–2006,” *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* 6:1 (2019), p. 72; S. Byrne and A. McCulloch, “Gender, Representation and Power-Sharing in Post-conflict Institutions,” *International Peacekeeping* 19:5 (2012); K. Ellerby, “A Seat at the Table Is Not Enough: Understanding Women's Substantive Representation in Peace Processes,” *Peacebuilding* 4:2 (2016), p. 137.

13 Ellerby, “A Seat at the Table Is Not Enough,” p. 137.

14 Paffenholz et al., “Making Women Count —Not Just Counting Women.”

## 2 An Overview of TSMs and How They Relate to Peace Processes

### 2.1 The Genesis of TSMs

In recent decades, efforts to empower women and achieve gender equality around the world have been driven by the mutually reinforcing interplay between societal developments and the advancement of normative and policy frameworks. One of the most important international frameworks on gender equality is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which the UN General Assembly adopted in 1979.<sup>15</sup> The Convention requires signatory states to address all manifestations of gender inequality that exist in everyday life.<sup>16</sup> However, states enjoy a lot of freedom with regard to the specific measures they choose to enforce to achieve gender equality. Compliance with the Convention can therefore take very different forms between states.<sup>17</sup> The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) makes recommendations on the implementation of the Convention.<sup>18</sup>

To accelerate the process of achieving gender equality, Articles 4.1 and 4.2, as well as CEDAW's General Recommendation No. 5 (1988), recommend that states adopt TSMs. General Recommendation No. 5 provides a broad definition of TSMs, saying that they are context-specific and constitute "preferential treatment or quota systems" intended to empower women in education, the economy, politics, and employment.<sup>19</sup> The updated 1997 and 2004 sets of general recommendations (No. 23 and No. 25) further elaborate on TSMs. The former set notes that TSMs can include "recruiting, financially assisting and training women candidates, amending electoral procedures, [and] developing campaigns directed at equal participation."<sup>20</sup> Section 22 of the 2004 general recommendations mentions that a variety of measures count as TSMs, including "outreach or support programmes; allocation and/or reallocation of resources; preferential treatment; targeted

15 Krook, "Gender and Elections."

16 "Gender and Law"; G. Swenson and M. K. Campbell, "Legal Pluralism and Women's Rights after Conflict: The Role of CEDAW," *Colombia Human Rights Law Review* 48:1 (2016), p. 133.

17 N. A. Englehart and M. K. Miller, "The CEDAW Effect: International Law's Impact on Women's Rights," *Journal of Human Rights* 13 (2014), pp. 23–4.

18 CEDAW unites 23 experts on women's rights who monitor the implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

19 "General Recommendations Adopted by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women: Seventh Session—General Recommendation No. 5: Temporary Special Measures," CEDAW (1988), [https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/\\_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=INT%2FCEDAW%2FGEC%2F5827&Lang=en](https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=INT%2FCEDAW%2FGEC%2F5827&Lang=en) [last accessed: 21 October 2022]. See also Morgan and Facio, "Equity or Equality for Women?" p. 17.

20 "General Recommendations Adopted by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women: Sixteenth Session—General Recommendation No. 23: Political and Public Life," CEDAW (1997), [https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/\\_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=INT%2FCE-DAW%2FGEC%2F4736&Lang=en](https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=INT%2FCE-DAW%2FGEC%2F4736&Lang=en) [last accessed: 21 October 2022]. See also Morgan and Facio, "Equity or Equality for Women?", p. 18.

recruitment, hiring and promotion; [and] quota systems.”<sup>21</sup> CEDAW also notes that TSMs should expire once they are no longer necessary—that is, when gender equality has been achieved and sustained over time.<sup>22</sup> CEDAW refrains from providing any kind of definition of what “gender equality” actually implies. This gives signatory states significant leeway and discretion to decide when to deactivate TSMs.

## 2.2 TSMs, Inclusive Processes, and Inclusive Outcomes

Peace and political transition processes do not follow a linear path;<sup>23</sup> there is no automatic progression from inclusive negotiation processes to inclusive provisions in agreements to inclusive implementation to inclusive governance.<sup>24</sup> However, the earlier unarmed actors beyond the main conflict parties—notably women—can bring their experiences, aspirations, and influence to bear on peace processes, the greater the likelihood that these processes will give rise to more inclusive negotiated settlements to armed conflict, with more sustainable implementation.<sup>25</sup> This dynamic of broader participation in the peace process may then permeate into the development of the necessary conditions and precedents—such as inclusive governance structures—to ultimately engender more inclusive societies.<sup>26</sup>

As such, inclusive processes and inclusive outcomes are inherently linked and mutually reinforcing facets of the realisation of the ultimate aim of peace and political transition processes: larger societal and political transformation towards more inclusive societies. An inclusive peace process can be understood as a negotiation or implementation process that has at least some level of inclusion (presence), which can be differentiated into representation (diversity in presence) and effective inclusion (possibility for influence).<sup>27</sup> Inclusive outcomes engender a maximalist approach to societal participation and representation within peace and political transition processes but also beyond them, namely in a country’s governance structures and socio-political sphere. Inclusive outcomes can thus be thought of as steps towards a peaceful and inclusive society without violence

21 “General Recommendations Adopted by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women: Thirtieth Session—General Recommendation No. 25: Article 4, Paragraph 1, of the Convention (Temporary Special Measures),” CEDAW (2004), [https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/\\_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=INT%2FCEDAW%2FGEC%2F3733&Lang=en](https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=INT%2FCEDAW%2FGEC%2F3733&Lang=en) [last accessed: 15 August 2022].

22 “Gender and Law,” p. 7.

23 T. Paffenholz, “Perpetual Peacebuilding: A New Paradigm to Move Beyond the Linearity of Liberal Peacebuilding,” *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 15:3 (2021), pp. 367–85.

24 A. Bramble and T. Paffenholz, “Implementing Peace Agreements: From Inclusive Processes to Inclusive Outcomes?” Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative (2020), [www.undp.org/policy-centre/oslo/publications/implementing-peace-agreements-inclusive-processes-inclusive-outcomes](http://www.undp.org/policy-centre/oslo/publications/implementing-peace-agreements-inclusive-processes-inclusive-outcomes) [last accessed: 21 October 2022], p. 46.

25 Paffenholz et al., “Making Women Count — Not Just Counting Women,” p. 6.

26 Bramble and Paffenholz, “Implementing Peace Agreements,” p. 45.

27 Bramble and Paffenholz, “Implementing Peace Agreements,” p. 45.

or discrimination, in which all members are equally able to access their full human rights regardless of their gender, age, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation. Examples of inclusive outcomes encompass more inclusive forms of implementation bodies or mechanisms created by peace agreements; more inclusion in government structures, such as more women in parliament; and more participatory decision-making processes stipulated in the constitution and ideally also fully implemented, enabling citizens to have full access to decision-making.<sup>28</sup>

An inclusive society can thus be seen as the culmination (or incremental realisation) of a continuum of inclusive outcomes working in concert, with earlier inclusive outcomes in the continuum serving both as milestones on a pathway to peace and as catalysts to bring about further inclusive outcomes. In this way, inclusion in peace and political transition processes is both a means and an end, and it can be supported and sustained by the use of instruments such as TSMs.

Yet, both research and practice have hitherto largely focused on TSMs as a tool to enhance the participation and representation of women in peace processes. Accordingly, the most popular form of TSM covered by the literature on women's empowerment in post-war settings is the gender quota.<sup>29</sup> This framing and approach to TSMs is symptomatic of a general trend in recent peace-making and peacebuilding theory and practice that concentrates on the short-term goal of increasing participation and/or representation in peace and political transition processes without that participation and/or representation necessarily equating to influence.

## 2.3 The Employment of TSMs in Peace Processes to Date

CEDAW General Recommendation No. 30 (2013), on women in conflict, obliges states to continue their work on gender equality during armed conflict and ensure women's formal representation in peace processes. It equally recommends that conflict-affected states should embrace the goal of achieving gender equality when drafting their constitution and electoral rules; should adopt and implement TSMs that guarantee women access to processes that aim to resolve armed

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, V. Dimitrova-Grajzl and I. Obasanjo, "Do Parliamentary Gender Quotas Decrease Gender Inequality? The Case of African Countries," *Constitutional Political Economy* 30:2 (2019), pp. 149–76; M. M. Hughes and P. Paxton, "The Increasing Effectiveness of National Gender Quotas, 1990–2010," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 40:3 (2010), pp. 331–62; A. Jahjaga et al., "Democracy and Diversity in Post-conflict States," in C. Koppell (ed.), *Untapped Power: Leveraging Diversity and Inclusion for Conflict and Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 417–44; M. Tajali, "Gender Quota Adoption in Post-conflict Contexts: An Analysis of Actors and Factors Involved," *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 34 (2013), pp. 261–85.



conflict and rebuild the country; and should ensure equal representation in national institutions (including the armed forces, the police, and the justice system) and transitional institutions.<sup>30</sup>

Comparative evidence indicates that quotas are by far the primary TSM that has hitherto been employed to increase women's inclusion in peace processes.<sup>31</sup> Quotas have proved an effective means of increasing women's participation and representation in negotiation processes. For example, Nepal's Constituent Assembly had roughly one-third of its seats reserved for women and marginalised communities.<sup>32</sup> In another example, a 30 percent gender quota for all negotiation delegations gave women access to the Yemeni National Dialogue Conference.<sup>33</sup>

While they can be effective in promoting women's participation and/or representation, it is important to realise that gender quotas do not necessarily increase influence in peace negotiations. In Nepal, for example, women played a subordinate role in the Constituent Assembly, despite gender quotas being enacted. This cosmetic inclusion of women was mainly due to men occupying key positions in the negotiation delegations and excluding women from informal spaces where decisions were made.<sup>34</sup> In Yemen, women delegates in negotiations struggled to form a coherent block and therefore did not advocate for women's interests with one voice.<sup>35</sup> These examples indicate that a higher number of women sitting around the negotiating table does not necessarily give them substantive influence over the negotiation process.

Quotas have also played an important role in efforts to increase women's participation in formal politics in various post-agreement settings. Several states—including Afghanistan (2004),<sup>36</sup> Colombia (2016), Iraq (2005), Kosovo (2000), Nepal (2007 and 2015), South Sudan (2015 and 2018), and Timor-Leste

30 "General Recommendation No. 30 on Women in Conflict Prevention, Conflict and Post-conflict Situations," CEDAW (2013), [www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/HRBodies/CEDAW/GComments/CEDAW.C.CG.30.pdf](http://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/HRBodies/CEDAW/GComments/CEDAW.C.CG.30.pdf) [last accessed: 15 August 2022], paras 44–6 and 70–3.

31 S. L. Boshu, "The Importance of Gender Equality and Women's Inclusion for Resolving Conflict and Sustaining Peace," in W. Durch et al. (eds), *Just Security in an Undergoverned World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 90; Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count – Not Just Counting Women," p. 6.

32 Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count – Not Just Counting Women," pp. 24 and 29.

33 "Women's Meaningful Participation in Peace Processes: Modalities and Strategies across Tracks," UN Women (2021), [www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2021/Proceedings-Womens-meaningful-participation-in-peace-processes-en.pdf](http://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2021/Proceedings-Womens-meaningful-participation-in-peace-processes-en.pdf) [last accessed: 27 September 2022], p. 13.

34 Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count – Not Just Counting Women," p. 40.

35 Ibid., p. 43

36 Data presented by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) reveal that women held 27 percent of the seats in parliament after the 2018 national election; see "Gender Quotas Database: Afghanistan," IDEA (2022), [www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas/countryview/44/35](http://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas/countryview/44/35) [last accessed: 21 October 2022]. Four months after the Taliban seized power in August 2021, 60 out of the previously 69 women parliamentarians had gone into political hiding; see T. Donkin, "Finding Afghanistan's Exiled Women MPs," BBC News (10 December 2021), [www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-59598535](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-59598535) [last accessed: 21 October 2022].

(2006)—have adopted gender quotas that have increased women’s formal political representation.<sup>37</sup> Rwanda and its record share of more than 60 percent women members of parliament is a case in point.<sup>38</sup>

However, in spite of tangible progress with regard to women’s participation in formal politics, researchers and practitioners have observed a degree of “patriarchal backlash” in several post-war settings.<sup>39</sup> This patriarchal backlash may express itself in various forms: in men politicians making political decisions outside formal political spaces to which their women counterparts have no access; in men’s resistance to the implementation of gender quotas and other special measures intended to achieve women’s political, economic, and social empowerment in the first place; in mediators or negotiators pushing gender equality to later stages of a process; or in the pattern of women’s political empowerment through gender quotas not trickling down to broader echelons of society. The remainder of this section shows that women’s participation in formal politics has not mitigated wider social gender inequality in the post-agreement phase.

The prevalence of patriarchal backlash has prompted researchers to conclude that TSMs, and particularly quotas, struggle to create effective pathways towards inclusive outcomes under post-war conditions.<sup>40</sup> More specifically, an increasingly broad strand in the academic literature concludes that quotas are not a panacea and that, during peace processes, they often fail to protect women from a patriarchal backlash that removes most of the gains made in women’s

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- 37 On Colombia, Iraq, Kosovo, Nepal, South Sudan, and Timor-Leste see J. Ballington and D. Dahlerup, “Gender Quotas in Post-conflict States,” in D. Dahlerup (ed.), *Women, Quotas and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 249–58; Bhattacharya and Burns, “What’s War Got to Do with It? Post-conflict Effects on Gender Equality in South and Southeast Asia, 1975–2006,” p. 57; Jahjaga et al., “Democracy and Diversity in Post-conflict States”; M. L. Krook et al., “Military Invasion and Women’s Political Representation: Gender Quotas in Post-conflict Afghanistan and Iraq,” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12:1 (2010), pp. 66–79; S. Niner et al., “Women’s Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings: The Case of Timor-Leste,” *Asian Studies Review* 46:2 (2021), pp. 1–19; E. Soma, “Our Search for Peace: Women in South Sudan’s National Peace Processes, 2005–2018,” UN Women, Born to Lead, and Oxfam (2020), <https://oxfamlibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620930/rr-women-south-sudan-peace-processes-300120-en.pdf?sequence=1> [last accessed: 15 August 2022], pp. 1–61. See also M. M. Hughes and A. M. Tripp, “Civil War and Trajectories of Change in Women’s Political Representation in Africa, 1985–2010,” *Social Forces* 93:4 (2015), pp. 1513–40.
- 38 H. Scanlon, “Women in Post-conflict Resolution and Reconstruction in Africa,” in T. Spear (ed.), *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History* (2019), <https://oxfordre.com/africanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277734-e-561> [last accessed: 15 August 2022], p. 11.
- 39 M. E. Berry and M. Lake, “Women’s Rights after War: On Gender Interventions and Enduring Hierarchies,” *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 17 (2021), pp. 459–81; S. Close, “Gendered Political Settlements: Examining Peace Transitions in Bougainville, Nepal and Colombia,” Conciliation Resources (2018), [www.c-r.org/accord/gendered-political-settlements](http://www.c-r.org/accord/gendered-political-settlements) [last accessed: 21 October 2022]; Niner et al., “Women’s Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings.”
- 40 Berry and Lake, “Women’s Rights after War”; Close, “Gendered Political Settlements”; Niner et al., “Women’s Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings”; Scanlon, “Women in Post-conflict Resolution and Reconstruction in Africa.”

empowerment during and immediately after armed conflict.<sup>41</sup> Researchers have particularly criticised the strong focus on quotas as a single TSM to enhance women's formal representation in peace and political processes, which they regard as insufficient in tackling women's political and economic marginalisation<sup>42</sup> and discrimination against women.<sup>43</sup> While quotas are an essential TSM, (quota-driven) increases in women's descriptive representation do not necessarily translate into women's substantive representation or genuine political, social, or economic influence.<sup>44</sup> This suggests that quotas would be more effective if they were embedded in a more comprehensive set of TSMs. This seems to be particularly true for post-war settings. Sara Niner et al. conclude for Timor-Leste that political decision-making power remains concentrated in the hands of a small elite of men even though a 38 percent quota for women's representation in parliament has been successfully enacted.<sup>45</sup> Similar patterns have been reported in Burundi<sup>46</sup> but also in Nepal, where men political leaders have been documented making political decisions in informal spaces that exclude women.<sup>47</sup> The South Sudanese budgetary process equally sidelined women after the 2018 Peace Agreement had been signed, in spite of a gender quota for the composition of the parliament being enforced. As a consequence, there were few financial resources allocated to addressing women's needs.<sup>48</sup>

41 M. E. Berry, "Barriers to Women's Progress after Atrocity: Evidence from Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Gender & Society* 31:6 (2017), pp. 830–53; Berry and Lake, "Women's Rights after War"; Bhattacharya and Burns, "What's War Got to Do with It?" p. 72; Close, "Gendered Political Settlements"; M. Lake and M. E. Berry, "When Quotas Come Up Short," *Boston Review* (2020), <https://bostonreview.net/articles/marie-e-berry-milli-lake-when-quotas-come-short> [last accessed: 15 August 2022]; Krook et al., "Military Invasion and Women's Political Representation"; M. MacKenzie and A. Foster, "Masculinity Nostalgia: How War and Occupation Inspire a Yearning for Gender Order," *Security Dialogue* 48:3 (2017), pp. 206–23; Niner et al., "Women's Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings"; L. A. D. Reyes and G. Fattori, "Microfinance as a Means for Women Empowerment in the Colombian Post-conflict Scenario: Transformational Development or a Tool for Better Managing Poverty?" *Peace Human Rights Governance* 3:1 (2019), p. 133; Scanlon, "Women in Post-conflict Resolution and Reconstruction in Africa"; K. Webster et al., "Conflict, Peace, and the Evolution of Women's Empowerment," *International Organisation* 73 (2019), pp. 255–89.

42 Dimitrova-Grajzl and Obasanjo, "Do Parliamentary Gender Quotas Decrease Gender Inequality?"

43 Berry and Lake, "Women's Rights after War," pp. 461 and 468.

44 Webster et al., "Conflict, Peace, and the Evolution of Women's Empowerment," p. 260.

45 Niner et al., "Women's Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings."

46 Byrne and McCulloch, "Gender, Representation and Power-Sharing in Post-conflict Institutions," p. 574.

47 Close, "Gendered Political Settlements," p. 13.

48 L. Kumalo and C. Roddy-Mullineaux, "Sustaining Peace: Harnessing the Power of South Sudanese Women," Institute for Security Studies (2019), <https://issafrica.org/research/east-africa-report/sustaining-peace-harnessing-the-power-of-south-sudanese-women> [last accessed: 15 August 2022], p. 9.

Researchers have identified several explanations for this “paradoxical inclusion”<sup>49</sup> (see Section 1.2), including:

- deliberate manipulation by men of the implementation process of gender quotas (e.g. in Nepal, South Africa, and Timor-Leste);<sup>50</sup>
- poorly designed quotas that brush over the heterogeneous nature of women’s identities and leave many women’s groups marginalised (e.g. in Colombia, Kosovo, Nepal, Rwanda, South Sudan, and Timor-Leste);<sup>51</sup>
- conservative resistance to women’s empowerment in the post-agreement phase, first and foremost by male elites and religious leaders (e.g. in Colombia);<sup>52</sup>
- inadequate monitoring of the implementation of gender provisions and insufficient advocacy around how they contribute to more inclusive societies (e.g. in Guatemala);<sup>53</sup>
- weak rule of law and impunity that leave women politicians vulnerable to physical attack (e.g. in Afghanistan, Colombia, and Iraq).<sup>54</sup>

49 Berry and Lake, “Women’s Rights after War,” p. 468.

50 Close, “Gendered Political Settlements,” p. 13; Niner et al., “Women’s Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings,” p. 9; Scanlon, “Women in Post-conflict Resolution and Reconstruction in Africa,” p. 11; P. Yadav, “Can Women Benefit from War? Women’s Agency in Conflict and Post-conflict Societies,” *Journal of Peace Research* 58:3 (2021), p. 458.

51 Berry and Lake, “Women’s Rights after War”; M. M. Hughes, “Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women’s Political Representation Worldwide,” *American Political Science Review* 105:3 (2011), pp. 604–20; M. M. Hughes and J. K. Dubrow, “Intersectionality and Women’s Political Empowerment Worldwide,” in A. C. Alexander et al. (eds), *Measuring Women’s Political Empowerment across the Globe: Strategies, Challenges and Future Research* (Cham: Springer, 2018), pp. 77–96; Jahjaga et al., “Democracy and Diversity in Post-conflict States,” p. 429; Lake and Berry, “When Quotas Come Up Short”; Niner et al., “Women’s Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings,” p. 11; Scanlon, “Women in Post-conflict Resolution and Reconstruction in Africa,” p. 13; T. Tindall, “Women’s Participation and Influence in Transitions from Conflict: The Case of South Sudan,” ODI (2022), [https://cdn.odi.org/media/documents/WPS\\_South\\_Sudan\\_Case\\_Study\\_FINAL\\_FCD0\\_v2\\_3eWbhFR.pdf](https://cdn.odi.org/media/documents/WPS_South_Sudan_Case_Study_FINAL_FCD0_v2_3eWbhFR.pdf) [last accessed: 15 August 2022], pp. 8–9.

52 Close, “Gendered Political Settlements,” p. 17; Lake and Berry, “When Quotas Come Up Short”; M. Lynch, “Localising Gender Equality after Conflict,” *Peace Review* 31:1 (2019), pp. 83–90.

53 Proper monitoring structures and advocacy by civil society actors have been key to the implementation of agreement provisions and the protection of vulnerable groups; see T. Paffenholz, “What Civil Society Can Contribute to Peacebuilding,” in T. Paffenholz (ed.), *Civil Society & Peacebuilding: A Critical Assessment* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2010), pp. 384–90. For example, civil society actors and women in Guatemala were unable to monitor and advocate for the implementation of the peace agreement provisions that were most relevant to them; see Bramble and Paffenholz, “Implementing Peace Agreements,” p. 44. While the 1996 Guatemalan peace agreement does not guarantee a quota, this case indicates the importance of monitoring and advocacy for the implementation of peace agreement provisions, including gender provisions and quotas; see M. Anderson and L. Swiss, “Peace Accords and the Adoption of Electoral Quotas for Women in the Developing World, 1989–2005,” *Politics & Gender* 10 (2014), p. 56.

54 Close, “Gendered Political Settlements,” p. 16; D. Kandiyoti, “Between the Hammer and the Anvil: Post-conflict Reconstruction, Islam and Women’s Rights,” *Third World Quarterly* 28:3 (2007), pp. 503–17.

Most importantly, however, the zeal of donors and the international community around both increasing women's formal political representation and building the capacity of women parliamentarians does not address the patriarchal gender norms and other structural causes of violence and exclusion that give rise to women's oppression in the first place.<sup>55</sup> For example, in Bougainville, Colombia, and Nepal, the peace process did not transform the gender relations that had perpetuated gender inequality before the war.<sup>56</sup> It follows that new political institutions and rules created during post-war or transition periods tend to continue embracing patriarchal values that are upheld by faith and customary institutions.<sup>57</sup> Men's control of customary laws and churches in Bougainville aptly illustrates this issue.<sup>58</sup> Concerning Rwanda, Marie Berry and Milli Lake note that women parliamentarians struggle to work towards substantive inclusion as the institutions themselves remain highly authoritarian and oppress any opposition to the government.<sup>59</sup> Researchers have therefore concluded that gender quotas struggle to promote genuine inclusion unless they tackle authoritarian and patriarchal values that nurture women's political and economic marginalisation. Box 1 illustrates that a blend of mutually reinforcing socio-economic and political factors and developments was necessary to mitigate patriarchy in Europe and achieve women's inclusion over a prolonged period of time.

### Box 1. Overcoming Patriarchal Values in Europe

A blend of socio-demographic and economic trends has driven the process towards more gender equality in Europe. Women's empowerment would have been impossible without favourable political decisions at the highest level—for example, on education or the welfare state. However, the reluctance of European governments to rectify women's marginalisation in all walks of life during much of the 19th and 20th centuries rendered bottom-up pressure for gender equality just as important. The process of mitigating patriarchal values in Europe was therefore hardly a deliberate political undertaking but materialised as part of a long struggle that saw progress and setbacks alike.

55 S. Bagheri, "Gender Equality in the Decision-Making Processes of Post-war Societies: Evidence from Iraqi Kurdistan," *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 14:2 (2022), p. 5; Berry and Lake, "Women's Rights after War"; Close, "Gendered Political Settlements"; D. Koester et al., "How Can Donors Improve Their Support to Gender Equality in Fragile Settings? Findings from OECD Research," *Gender & Development* 24:3 (2016), p. 362; R. Maclure and M. Denov, "Reconstruction versus Transformation: Post-war Education and the Struggle for Gender Equality in Sierra Leone," *International Journal of Educational Development* 29:6 (2009), pp. 612–20; Niner et al., "Women's Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings."

56 Close, "Gendered Political Settlements."

57 H. O'Connell, "What Are the Opportunities to Promote Gender Equity and Equality in Conflict-Affected and Fragile States? Insights from a Review of Evidence," *Gender & Development* 19:3 (2011), pp. 455–66; Swenson and Campbell, "Legal Pluralism and Women's Rights after Conflict."

58 Close, "Gendered Political Settlements"; Koester et al., "How Can Donors Improve Their Support to Gender Equality in Fragile Settings?" p. 362.

59 Berry and Lake, "Women's Rights after War."



Co-education was a milestone towards transforming patriarchal norms in Europe. Mixed classes gave girls and boys equal chances to acquire attractive skills for the labour market and led to the abolition of curricula that had prepared girls to be good mothers and housekeepers. Mixed schooling only took shape gradually, though, following a prolonged period of resistance.

Economic development was a second key driver of more equal gender relations in Europe. The Second World War and the rise of the service sector in Europe spurred women's economic empowerment, which was disrupted only by a short period of economic patriarchal backlash after 1945. At the same time, ongoing obligations inside their households prevented many women from taking paid full-time jobs. It was only with the declining size of European households and the rise of the welfare state (e.g. gender-neutral parental leave schemes and public care services for children and the elderly in Scandinavian countries) that more women found time to pursue their individual career goals and thereby approach gender equality in all spheres of life. In Scandinavia, quotas were introduced in the 1980s and helped to consolidate the high level of women's representation in parliament that had already materialised in the previous decade. Their embedding in other gender-responsive policies helped to magnify the contribution of quotas to sustaining gender equality and preventing patriarchal backlash.

In light of the various obstacles associated with gender quotas, simply guaranteeing women's formal political representation may struggle to set the necessary precedents for truly inclusive outcomes. In fact, additional—more far-reaching—measures that acknowledge the heterogeneity of women and aim to transform gender relations would help to sustain the gains in women's empowerment after armed conflict and create the preconditions for inclusive outcomes.<sup>60</sup>

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60 See, for example, Berry and Lake, "Women's Rights after War"; Niner et al., "Women's Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings"; Scanlon, "Women in Post-conflict Resolution and Reconstruction in Africa."

### 3 Promoting Inclusive Outcomes Using TSMs in Peace Processes

Increasingly, many researchers and practitioners working on gender equality are realising the need to develop and employ additional measures to make progress towards inclusive outcomes in peace processes.<sup>61</sup> However, the literature is light when it comes to suggestions on specific TSMs. Moreover, examples are all the rarer given the struggle to sustain the progress made with regard to gender equality in the post-war period. Despite this absence of systematic evidence, the series of TSMs identified in Box 2, which have gone some way to advancing women's political representation in certain settings, could pave the way towards inclusive societies in countries that have experienced armed conflict or a political transition, if the TSMs were designed appropriately and employed together. It may be most effective to embed these measures in broader, gender-responsive policies, such as ones promoting girls' and women's access to education and the labour market, and comprehensive welfare policies to mitigate patriarchal norms and values (see Section 2.3). As Box 1 states, in Europe, increasingly extensive welfare state policies—such as sick child leave, gender-neutral parental leave, and public child and elderly care—have helped to give women the opportunity to accept full-time paid jobs outside the household and thereby mitigate economic gender inequalities in Europe. Researchers have argued that quotas can help to defend such achievements in women's empowerment in the political arena.<sup>62</sup>

The following sections now examine the TSMs in Box 2 in detail.

#### Box 2. TSMs Examined

- Gender quotas and auxiliary measures
- Advocacy campaigns
- Coalition-building and the building of mutual support
- Institutions dedicated to incorporating women's perspectives
- Education, training, and capacity-building
- International political and financial support

61 See, for example, Niner et al., "Women's Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings."

62 D. Dahlerup and L. Freidenvall, "Quotas as a 'Fast Track' to Equal Representation for Women," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7:1 (2005), p. 31.

### 3.1 Gender Quotas and Auxiliary Measures

As mentioned in Section 2.2, quotas are the most popular type of TSM employed to realise women's inclusion in both peace negotiations and formal politics during the post-agreement phase. With regard to the former, quotas guaranteed women about 30 percent of the seats in the Nepalese Constituent Assembly and in the Yemeni National Dialogue Conference.<sup>63</sup>

As mentioned in Section 2.3, various types of gender quota have also helped to increase women's formal political representation in several post-agreement settings, including Afghanistan (2004), Colombia (2016), Iraq (2005), Kosovo (2000), Nepal (2007 and 2015), Rwanda (1994), and Timor-Leste (2006).<sup>64</sup> The quota systems established in Colombia (2016), Iraq (2005), and Timor-Leste (2006), for example, require political parties to include one woman candidate for every third (Colombia, Iraq) or fourth (Timor-Leste) man candidate on their party list.<sup>65</sup> As a result, in Timor-Leste, women have consistently secured up to 38 percent of the parliamentary seats since 2012. Other countries, such as Rwanda, have reserved a fixed number of parliamentary seats for women candidates, and this has had equally positive effects on the share of women represented in parliament.<sup>66</sup> In Nepal, gender quotas apply to political bodies at various geographical levels, including the House of Representatives and the lower chamber of parliament, but also provincial legislatures.<sup>67</sup>

Indeed, focusing on women's political inclusion at the local level has proven to be an effective supplement to quotas that target the national level. For example, in 2017 Nepal adopted the Local Level Election Act (LLEA), which requires each municipality's ward committee to consist of at least one woman representative and one Dalit woman representative.<sup>68</sup> This has strengthened women's influence over local politics and also addressed other drivers of discrimination against women (e.g. caste). The LLEA has been very impactful, promoting more than 7,000 women and another 7,000 Dalit women into elected office in local bodies. Parts of the international donor community have equally targeted Dalit and other marginalised women when setting up women's empowerment initiatives.<sup>69</sup> The focus on marginalised women in Nepal embraces the principle of intersectionality.

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63 Boshia, "The Importance of Gender Equality and Women's Inclusion," p. 90; Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count – Not Just Counting Women," pp. 24 and 29.

64 Ballington and Dahlerup, "Gender Quotas in Post-conflict States"; Bhattacharya and Burns, "What's War Got to Do with It?" p. 57; Jahjaga et al., "Democracy and Diversity in Post-conflict States"; Krook et al., "Military Invasion and Women's Political Representation"; Niner et al., "Women's Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings."

65 Krook et al., "Military Invasion and Women's Political Representation," p. 66; Lake and Berry, "When Quotas Come Up Short"; Niner et al., "Women's Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings," p. 8.

66 Berry and Lake, "Women's Rights after War," p. 462.

67 Close, "Gendered Political Settlements," p. 12.

68 Ibid., p. 13.

69 Koester et al., "How Can Donors Improve Their Support to Gender Equality in Fragile Settings?" p. 360.

The case of Nepal suggests that comprehensive and carefully designed gender quotas can act as catalysts for women's active contribution to political processes, both before and after a peace agreement is signed. At the same time, however, as Section 2.3 indicates, as a standalone measure, gender quotas struggle to achieve and sustain genuine inclusion of women in both peace negotiations and peace processes. The following sub-sections therefore identify additional TSMs that could help women to exert a genuine influence on peace processes; employed in tandem with gender quotas, these measures could allow the transformative potential of quotas to be fully realised.

## 3.2 Advocacy Campaigns

Advocacy campaigns have been used to promote women's inclusion in various peace processes. For example, Afghan women organised a large lobbying campaign to push for their inclusion in the Bonn peace negotiations in 2001, assisted by targeted technical and funding support from international and transnational actors.<sup>70</sup> Advocacy campaigns continued after the Bonn talks and ultimately culminated in women being included in the Emergency Loya Jirga (2002).<sup>71</sup> As part of their advocacy campaigns, Afghan women presented their most essential demands under the Women's Bill of Rights (2003), which they shared with then president Hamid Karzai.

Awareness-raising campaigns to enhance women's rights have also been conducted in Nepal, mostly by civil society organisations (CSOs) such as the Blue Diamond Society,<sup>72</sup> and Timor-Leste. In the case of the latter, in the run-up to the 2004–5 local elections, the Office for Promotion of Equality collaborated with the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM, now UN Women) and the women's national cross-party caucus Grupo das Mulheres Parlamentares de Timor-Leste (GMPTL) to initiate an awareness-raising campaign about the GMPTL with the Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration.<sup>73</sup> A network consisting of 15 local and international CSOs and government partners also organised the 100% Hau Prontu (I'm 100% Ready) campaign in preparation for the 2016 local elections. This campaign aimed to increase local awareness of women political leaders while concomitantly identifying and training women candidates for parliamentary office in every district. Political parties that had put women high on their election lists were also granted more TV broadcast time to increase women's visibility in politics.<sup>74</sup> Researchers such as Mona Lena Krook and Sara Niner et al. indicate that these TSMs in the realm of advocacy and campaign work are important supplements to gender quotas.

70 Tajali, "Gender Quota Adoption in Post-conflict Contexts," pp. 272–3.

71 "Loya jirga" is the term for the traditional mass convening of representatives from various ethnic, tribal, and religious communities in Afghanistan to address national crises.

72 Close, "Gendered Political Settlements," p. 15. The Blue Diamond Society is an LGBT rights organisation that was created in 2001.

73 Niner et al., "Women's Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings," p. 13.

74 Krook, "Gender and Elections," p. 9.

### 3.3 Coalition-Building and the Building of Mutual Support

In discussions around women's inclusion, there is a persistent danger of presenting women as a homogenous group with analogous needs and interests. This overlooks the somewhat obvious fact that women—like men—are not a homogenous group, but instead hold multiple identities and positions. Coalition-building has proved to be an effective means of transcending various identity dimensions to advance a collective agenda—such as greater women's inclusion in peace processes—that women of disparate identities can all support.

A popular and effective mode of coalition-building has been setting up women's networks and coalitions, as illustrated by Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace or the Women's National Coalition in South Africa.<sup>75</sup> In Colombia in 2013, women organised a national summit that helped the largest women's networks to coordinate their activities and push for women's inclusion in the peace negotiations.<sup>76</sup> In another example, Somali women formed a "sixth clan" consisting of women affiliated with different clans to influence the 1999 Somalia Arta Peace Process, which featured the country's five traditional clans.<sup>77</sup>

Recent years have also seen the emergence of a substantial number of international women mediators networks. These consist of a range (sometimes narrow, sometimes broad) of mediators, conflict mediation professionals, and experts on mediation, peace-making, and peacebuilding at various levels (national and global, and grassroots and local) and tracks including formal (track one) mediation but also more informal (tracks two and three) efforts. Their mandates include promoting women's attainment of high-level (track one) mediator positions (a more top-down or vertical approach); promoting the involvement of women in peace-making efforts more broadly, in line with UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda; and promoting greater gender equality in peace-making (especially at the track one level) and a more gender-sensitive approach to peace-making efforts.<sup>78</sup>

Coalition-building to promote women's inclusion has continued after peace negotiations. In Timor-Leste, the 100% Hau Prontu campaign strengthened the bonds between women, helping them to jointly work towards achieving an inclusive society.<sup>79</sup> Nepal has equally seen the establishment of numerous

75 Scanlon, "Women in Post-conflict Resolution and Reconstruction in Africa," p. 7.

76 Close, "Gendered Political Settlements," p. 14; A. Phelan and J. True, "Navigating Gender in Elite Bargains: Women's Movements and the Quest for Inclusive Peace in Colombia," *Review of International Studies* 48:1 (2022), pp. 171–94.

77 É. Féron, "Gender and Peace Negotiations: Why Gendering Peace Negotiations Multiplies Opportunities for Reconciliation," in V. Rosoux and M. Anstey (eds), *Negotiating Reconciliation in Peacemaking* (Cham: Springer, 2017), p. 105.

78 A. Bramble and T. Paffenholz, "International Mediation Networks Research Project: Observations and Food for Thought Paper," Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative (2019), [www.inclusivepeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/paper-mediation-networks-observations-en.pdf](http://www.inclusivepeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/paper-mediation-networks-observations-en.pdf) [last accessed: 21 October 2022].

79 Niner et al., "Women's Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings," p. 13.



women's networks, which use a variety of strategies—including petitions, media publication workshops, and demonstrations—to advocate for women's interests in peace, security, and politics.<sup>80</sup>

Women's caucuses, like the aforementioned GMPTL, have been another important manifestation of women's coalition-building.<sup>81</sup> They work to ensure that women's formal representation has an impact on policy-making and is transformed into substantive representation. Another example is the Rwandan Women Parliamentary Forum, which aims to increase the voice of Rwandan women parliamentarians so that they can push more effectively for women's interests in politics. Other conflict-affected countries—including the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the Philippines, and Sudan—have equally seen the establishment of women's caucuses.<sup>82</sup>

### 3.4 Institutions Dedicated to Incorporating Women's Perspectives

Various conflict-affected countries have established mechanisms, bodies, or institutions dedicated to promoting women's inclusion during and after peace negotiations. These institutions aim to incorporate gender-informed perspectives into all activities of the state and other actors' conduct, including policy-making, implementation and monitoring, legislation, and resource allocation.<sup>83</sup>

In Colombia, men and women from the government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia [FARC]) set up the Gender Sub-Commission in 2014, which monitored the peace negotiations and ensured that the peace agreement was gender sensitive.<sup>84</sup> This committee consisted of five to seven representatives from each conflict party.<sup>85</sup> The majority of the representatives in the gender sub-commission were women, one man

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80 Bhattacharya and Burns, "What's War Got to Do with It?" p. 75.

81 Krook, "Gender and Elections," p. 14.

82 "Sustaining a Fragile Peace: Cross Party Perspectives of Sudanese Parliamentarians," Wilson Center (2009), [www.wilsoncenter.org/event/sustaining-fragile-peace-cross-party-perspectives-sudanese-parliamentarians](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/sustaining-fragile-peace-cross-party-perspectives-sudanese-parliamentarians) [last accessed: 15 August 2022]; D. Mpumou, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Discourse in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," in *The Implementation of Quotas: African Experiences*, International IDEA (2004), [www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/implementation-of-quotas-african-experiences.pdf](http://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/implementation-of-quotas-african-experiences.pdf) [last accessed: 21 October 2022], pp. 120–3.

83 L. Snodgrass, "A Gendered Perspective on Post-conflict Reconstruction: African Women in Peace Building," [https://genderandsecurity.org/sites/default/files/Snodgrass\\_-\\_A\\_Gd\\_Perspective\\_of\\_Post-Con\\_Recon.pdf](https://genderandsecurity.org/sites/default/files/Snodgrass_-_A_Gd_Perspective_of_Post-Con_Recon.pdf) [last accessed: 17 September 2022], p. 6.

84 Close, "Gendered Political Settlements," p. 13; J. True and Y. Riveros-Morales, "Towards Inclusive Peace: Analysing Gender-Sensitive Peace Agreements 2000–2016," *International Political Science Review* 40:1 (2019), p. 32.

85 H. Salvesen and D. Nylander, "Towards an Inclusive Peace: Women and the Gender Approach in the Colombian Peace Process," (2017) <https://reliefweb.int/report/colombia/towards-inclusive-peace-women-and-gender-approach-colombian-peace-process> [last accessed: 17 September 2022], p. 3.

FARC representative being the only exception.<sup>86</sup> The Gender Sub-Commission organised panels that invited women to share their experiences of armed conflict. The final peace agreement made 59 references to gender, which together reflected women's and also specifically Indigenous women's testimonies and experiences.<sup>87</sup> Following the rejection of the peace agreement via a popular referendum, the revised version dropped all provisions on gender identities.<sup>88</sup> However, the modified peace agreement is nevertheless much richer in gender provisions as compared to past peace agreements signed in other country contexts.<sup>89</sup>

In Bosnia, international advisers set up the Gender Coordination Group, whose mandate was to implement the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and promote women's inclusion in national policy-making.<sup>90</sup> Authorities in Bougainville and Rwanda have set up similar bodies, which in turn created institutional frameworks to promote gender equality. However, in Bosnia and Rwanda, these bodies did not apply an intersectional approach and did not include women affiliated with specific ethnicities, classes, or other groups.<sup>91</sup> In Kenya, on the other hand, in 2008 the government set up the National Cohesion and Integration Commission, which has a permanent mandate to promote inclusion and mitigate ethnic violence. While this commission is not just related to gender mainstreaming, it offers inspiration on how to design a permanent body dedicated to women's empowerment and inclusion.

Women's inclusion in truth and reconciliation commissions has equally helped to address gender-based discrimination and violence and in turn begin to nurture long-term inclusive outcomes. In Sierra Leone, for example, women participated in truth and reconciliation commissions, launching discussions about the various forms of sexual violence women had encountered before the armed conflict started.<sup>92</sup> These discussions were instrumental in identifying and addressing long-standing discriminatory laws against women, which were unrelated to the war. Changing such laws is an important step towards gender equality and brings societies one step closer to inclusive outcomes.

The same is true for TSMs that promote women's economic and social empowerment and supplement technical TSMs, such as gender quotas.<sup>93</sup> Nepal again stands out as a model. The Nepalese parliament has adopted various

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86 V. Bouvier, "Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process," UN Women (2016), [www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2017/Women-Colombia-Peace-Process-EN.pdf](http://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2017/Women-Colombia-Peace-Process-EN.pdf) [last accessed: 17 September 2022], p. 21.

87 I. Bramsen, "Controversies of Inclusion in the Colombian Peace Process," Peace Research Institute Oslo (Fair Case Brief 5) (2022), [www.prio.org/news/2898](http://www.prio.org/news/2898) [last accessed: 21 October 2022], p. 5.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid.

90 Berry, "Barriers to Women's Progress after Atrocity," p. 833.

91 Ibid., pp. 833–6.

92 Scanlon, "Women in Post-conflict Resolution and Reconstruction in Africa," pp. 15–18.

93 O'Connell, "What Are the Opportunities," p. 460.

legislative frameworks and measures to mitigate discrimination against women, including a strategic five-year plan of the National Women's Commission and the 2006 Gender Equality Act, which fights discrimination against women across various thematic areas.<sup>94</sup>

### 3.5 Education, Training, and Capacity-Building

A focus on training women to build their capacity has been an extremely prominent feature of the action around women's inclusion in peace processes. This is a relevant but also highly problematic measure: while specific needs-based training can be very useful, training has often:

- been used as a justification for women's exclusion;
- failed to recognise women's strengths, skills, and experience;
- missed the point that women—like anyone involved in negotiations—do not need in-depth expertise in every facet of the negotiation or implementation agenda;
- focused too heavily on negotiation skills and particular substance-related matters, such as constitutional reform;
- failed to support women in lobbying for representation, exerting influence over the peace process, or promoting a gender-transformative agenda.

When employed in a strategic and context-sensitive way, capacity-building and training have proven to be important supplementary measures to enhance women's influence on peace processes. For example, the 2002 workshop held to prepare women for the Inter-Congolese Dialogue covered agenda items such as the gender-related dimensions of reforms and effective participation in peace negotiations. UNIFEM and local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) conducted this workshop, which prepared 64 women for their participation in the official peace negotiations in Sun City, South Africa. The technical training gave the participating women the opportunity to formulate a joint declaration and a plan of action (the Nairobi Declaration and Plan of Action).<sup>95</sup> Ultimately, 40 women delegates participated in the various negotiation commissions that met in South Africa, where they pushed for an agreement to be signed.<sup>96</sup>

Training opportunities for women are also an important TSM that can be used to promote long-term gender equality and inclusion.<sup>97</sup> This is particularly true for

94 Bhattacharya and Burns, "What's War Got to Do with It?" p. 75.

95 Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count — Not Just Counting Women," p. 43.

96 Ellerby, "A Seat at the Table Is Not Enough," p. 145; Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count — Not Just Counting Women," p. 43.

97 Krook, "Gender and Elections," p. 18.

post-war countries where low literacy rates and other capacity constraints are widespread among women (such as South Sudan).<sup>98</sup> For example, political parties in El Salvador and Mexico have organised and conducted seminars, workshops, and forums to equip women parliamentarians and politicians to represent women's interests more effectively.<sup>99</sup> In Timor-Leste, UNIFEM organised a national training campaign on transformative leadership.<sup>100</sup> This helped to bring to the fore capable women candidates for future elections. Training programmes and capacity-building initiatives may be most effective if they are designed to target both incumbent and potential future women parliamentarians.

The case of South Sudan equally reveals that educating and sensitising women about their right to political representation can foster a sense of ownership in the struggle for gender equality and inclusion among local women. Education and sensitising endeavours on the part of prominent women political leaders have also enhanced women's awareness of the importance of inclusion at the grassroots level. An increasing number of local women have therefore come to embrace women as their legitimate political leaders.<sup>101</sup> This sense of ownership has enhanced the willingness among women to work for genuine inclusion of women in South Sudan and monitor the full implementation of gender quotas accordingly.

### 3.6 International Political and Financial Support

External support is an inherent feature of any TSM. Both state actors and international actors have provided valuable political, technical, and financial support for women seeking a more active role in peace negotiations.<sup>102</sup> For example, in Burundi, the Tanzanian mediator Julius Nyerere successfully pushed for the presence of women in the negotiation process. In Darfur, the African Union chief mediator accepted women from Darfur refugee camps in the negotiations. This decision followed a hint from Canada's special envoy that no women had previously been included in the negotiations.<sup>103</sup>

In Somalia, UNIFEM provided internet access and gender expertise to Somali women during the 2001 Somalia peace talks. This support empowered the women to successfully lobby for the inclusion of a 12 percent quota for women in the transitional parliament in the resulting peace agreement.<sup>104</sup> Institutional funding mechanisms, such as the Women's Peace & Humanitarian Fund and organisations such as Kvinna til Kvinna, constitute additional sources of financial and technical support for women in peace processes.

98 Kumalo and Roddy-Mullineaux, "Sustaining Peace," p. 10.

99 Krook, "Gender and Elections," p. 18.

100 Niner et al., "Women's Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings," p. 13.

101 Interview with a South Sudanese peacebuilder on 5 August 2022.

102 Bosha, "The Importance of Gender Equality and Women's Inclusion," p. 90; Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count – Not Just Counting Women," p. 9.

103 Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count – Not Just Counting Women," p. 21.

104 Ibid., p. 48.

## 4 Lessons Learned and Conclusions: A Guide to the Use of TSMs for Inclusive Processes and Outcomes

The focus of the research and practitioner communities on the employment of TSMs in peace and political transition processes has hitherto concentrated more on how TSMs can further women's representation and participation in such processes than on whether and how TSMs can also serve as catalysts that enable these processes to give rise to inclusive outcomes—that is, steps towards a peaceful and inclusive society without violence or discrimination, and with equal access to human rights for all individuals.

The strong emphasis that the WPS community has placed on gender quotas is particularly indicative of how, since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, international and local theory and practice have been overly focused on removing the barriers to making peace processes more inclusive at the expense of pursuing opportunities and approaches to enable inclusive outcomes at the same time. TSMs—first and foremost gender quotas and international financial support for capacity-building exercises for women—have spurred women's participation in peace negotiations. However, as illustrated by the analysis presented in Sections 2 and 3, quotas alone—and even inclusive peace processes without inclusive outcomes—struggle to challenge patriarchal gender stereotypes and norms. The unmitigated persistence of these traditional drivers of women's marginalisation has presented major obstacles to women's substantive inclusion in most post-war settings.

The comparative evidence presented in Sections 2 and 3 nevertheless stresses the potential of additional TSMs—such as capacity-building, awareness-raising, and funding—to amplify the positive effect quotas can have on women's formal political representation and influence. Experiences in various post-war and post-agreement settings also suggest that working at the local level—that is, building the capacity of historically marginalised women's groups and ensuring that women's empowerment permeates through the security, economic, justice, and other sectors of society—is equally important in generating inclusive outcomes.<sup>105</sup> TSMs have the potential to produce inclusive outcomes if the international community, political parties, women's networks, and national as well as local politicians contribute to their implementation. Inclusive outcomes, and ultimately inclusive societies, only seem likely to arise from joint efforts by multiple actors.

Based on the above analysis, the sub-sections below formulate 13 lessons learned (see Figure 1). Taken together, the lessons provide a guide to how the use of TSMs can pave the way towards more inclusive peace and political transition processes that in turn give rise to meaningful and sustainable inclusive outcomes.

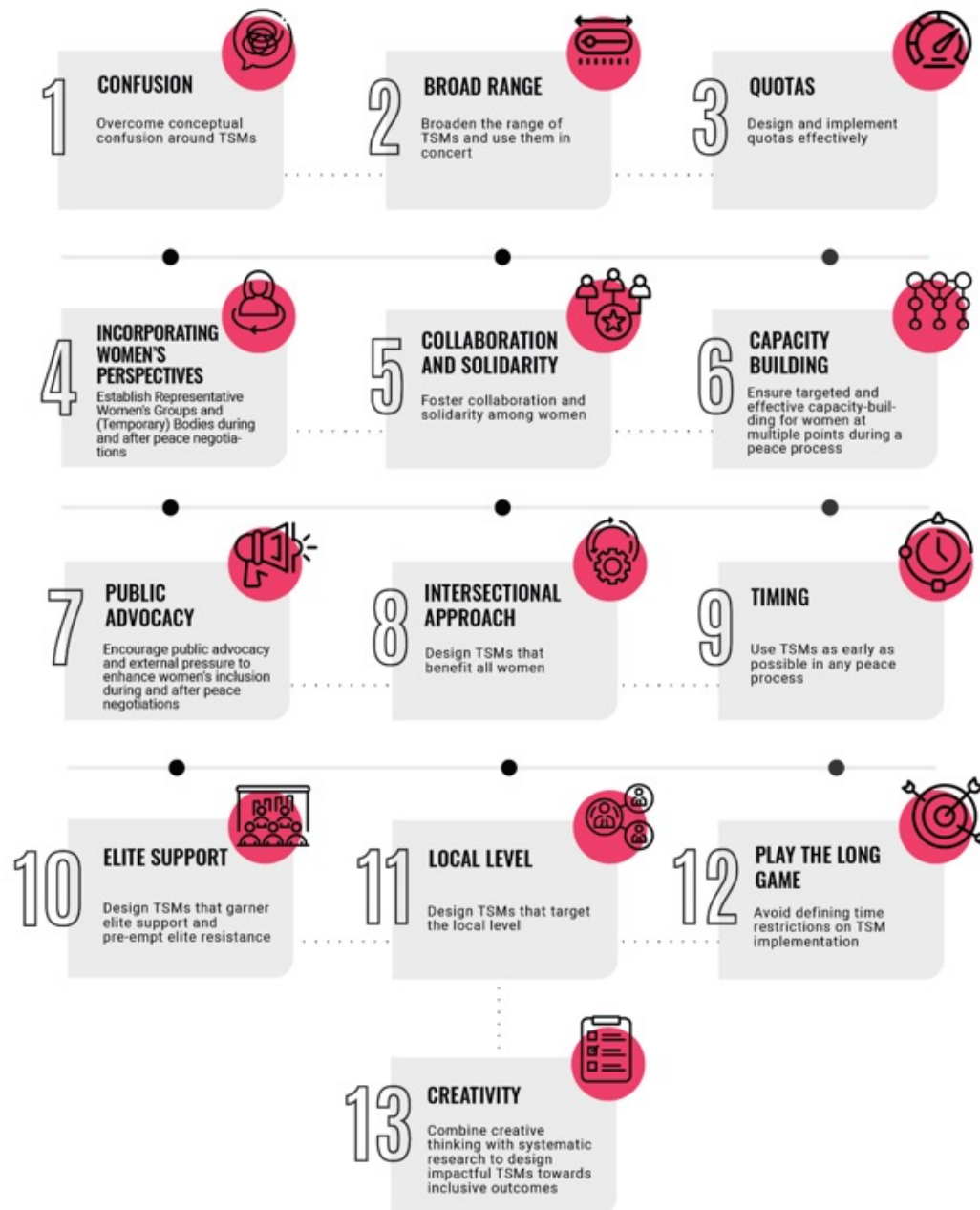
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<sup>105</sup> Jahjaga et al., "Democracy and Diversity in Post-conflict States," p. 434.



Further research would help to fully explain and capitalise on the potential of TSMs in establishing the precedents for inclusive outcomes and ultimately inclusive societies.

**Figure 1. TSMs towards Inclusive Outcomes: 13 Lessons Learned**



## Lesson 1: Overcome Conceptual Confusion to Achieve Goal-Oriented Strategies

Calls for greater women's inclusion in peace processes are often general—and thus unspecific—and thus not as helpful as they could be. Lobbying for women's inclusion often manifests as a conflated agenda that makes no distinction between goals that are intrinsically interrelated but discrete, such as women's representation, gender mainstreaming, and women's influence on peace processes writ large. Each of these goals requires different strategies that can be supported by different TSMs. For example, women's representation can be achieved with a gender or inclusion quota across all bodies in a peace process—from negotiation delegations to consultative bodies or implementation bodies and constitutional commissions. Gender mainstreaming all outcome documents of a ceasefire or peace agreement—as the Colombian case exemplifies—can be achieved via formally mandated gender commissions or gender focal points. Ensuring women's influence over the peace process needs multiple strategies, ranging from discrete lobbying to presenting targeted proposals to mass action or campaigns (see Lesson 2).

## Lesson 2: Broaden the Range of TSMs and Use TSMs in Concert

There is increasing awareness among researchers and practitioners that women's political representation alone is insufficient to ensure truly inclusive outcomes at a broader societal level.<sup>106</sup> It is therefore crucial to supplement technical TSMs—such as gender quotas and capacity-building for women parliamentarians—with additional TSMs that address the underlying causes of gender inequality and of women's marginalisation and exclusion.

A combination of TSMs working in concert has the potential to set in motion a pathway towards inclusive societies. Effectively designed quotas for negotiation delegations or implementation commissions can enhance women's representation in peace processes, whereas establishing women's delegations increases their influence. Additional mutually reinforcing TSMs that can be used to promote women's access and influence during and after peace negotiations include effective training for women delegates in peace negotiations and implementation bodies, coalition-building exercises, the establishment of gender mainstreaming and consultative bodies, and advocacy campaigns that push back against elite resistance to gender provisions.

More generic TSMs could amplify the long-term impact of peace-process-related TSMs and ensure that there will be lasting changes to patriarchal gender

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<sup>106</sup> Scanlon, "Women in Post-conflict Resolution and Reconstruction in Africa," pp. 19–20.

stereotypes. Such TSMs could focus on women's empowerment in the judiciary, the education system, and the economy, and thereby contribute to new relationships between the genders.

In the judiciary system, different forms of TSMs could help to end impunity for perpetrators of violence against women in post-war societies. Such TSMs include the formulation of special laws that outlaw rape, sexual slavery, and other forms of sexual and gender-based violence (e.g. as introduced in Burundi in 2003 and Sierra Leone in 2007).<sup>107</sup> TSMs that provided tangible material support in the form of financial courts, police stations, and prisons would be conducive to the implementation of any new legal framework that protected women. Initiatives to rebuild education facilities for all children (irrespective of their gender)<sup>108</sup> and to train teachers would help girls to acquire the necessary skills to become equal and independent members of society (an example of this can be seen in the Northern Uganda Reconstruction Program).<sup>109</sup>

Economic TSMs would ideally first seek to ensure women's access to basic services, which is often undermined at the beginning of the reconstruction phase.<sup>110</sup> Comparative evidence further demonstrates potentially impactful TSMs that can be used to increase women's economic opportunities in the long run:

- special employment schemes that accelerate women's entry into the formal labour market (e.g. the Sector Strategy 2018–2 of Kosovo's Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare<sup>111</sup>);
- legal TSMs that grant women preferential land rights and give them access to economic production assets (e.g. in Sierra Leone, it has become possible to legally register customary marriages, which is a first significant step towards facilitating women's ability to own property<sup>112</sup>);

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107 M. Tripp, "Legislating Gender-Based Violence in Post-conflict Africa," *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* 5:3 (2010), pp. 9–11.

108 S. Dryden-Peterson, "Policies for Education in Conflict and Post-conflict Reconstruction," in K. Mundi et al. (eds), *The Handbook of Global Education Policy* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), pp. 189–205.

109 S. N. Anderlini and J. El-Bushra, "Post Conflict Reconstruction," in *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action* (London: International Alert and Women Waging Peace, 2004), [www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/101864251-Toolkit-for-Advocacy-and-Action.pdf](http://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/101864251-Toolkit-for-Advocacy-and-Action.pdf) [last accessed: 27 September 2022], p. 59.

110 M. E. Ruiz Abril, "Women's Economic Empowerment in Conflict and Post-conflict Countries," Sida (2009), <https://cdn.sida.se/publications/files/sida51910en-womens-economic-empowerment-key-issues-and-policy-options.pdf> [last accessed: 12 September 2022], p. 25.

111 B. Holzner, "Engendering Governance after Armed Conflict: Observations from Kosovo," *Frontiers in Sociology* 6 (2021), p. 13.

112 A. Hudock, "Protecting Spaces for Women's Economic Participation in Fragile and Conflict-Affected States," in R. Warren et al. (eds), *Women's Economic Participation in Conflict-Affected and Fragile Settings*, Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security (2016), <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Occasional-Paper-Series-Womens-Economic-Participation.pdf> [last accessed: 12 September 2022], p. 10.

- group-funding-based microfinance programmes that promote financial and political inclusion in post-war settings (e.g. as seen in Colombia, Liberia, and northern Uganda<sup>113</sup>);
- state monitoring of lenders and microcredit schemes, and accompanying education programmes for women on how to use microcredits (Bosnia and Timor-Leste serve as warning examples where microcredit schemes were poorly designed and therefore did not enhance women's economic advancement<sup>114</sup>).

It may be most effective for policy-makers to refrain from defining an expiry date for special measures to enhance women's education and employment opportunities in advance. This may ensure that the measures remain enacted until women enjoy equal education and employment opportunities to men. Targeted financial support by international organisations may help to amplify the effect of government-sponsored TSMs intended to enhance women's education and employment prospects.<sup>115</sup>

### Lesson 3: Design and Implement Quotas Effectively

Quotas are and will likely continue to be the most widely used type of TSM, and they entail significant transformative promise if used in an effective way that does not just ensure women's participation or representation but also begets women's influence. As such, quotas can overcome paradoxical inclusion and serve as amplifiers in attempts to move from inclusive processes to inclusive outcomes. This is most likely to happen when:

- quotas ensure women's access to decision-making power<sup>116</sup> or when women form a unified group with coherent interests in the negotiations (e.g. as in the case of the Colombian Gender Sub-Commission<sup>117</sup>);
- quotas target all levels of government and political parties (e.g. as seen in Nepal and South Africa<sup>118</sup>);

113 G. O. C. Bongomin et al., "Microfinance Accessibility, Social Cohesion and Survival of Women MSMEs in Post-war Communities in Sub-Saharan Africa: Lessons from Northern Uganda," *Journal of Small Businesses and Enterprise Development* 27:5 (2020), pp. 749–74; S. W. Johnson, "Post-conflict Reconstruction, Microfinance and Democratic Engagement," *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy* 24:3 (2018), pp. 1–12; Reyes and Fattori, "Microfinance as a Means for Women Empowerment."

114 M. F. Johnston, "Frontier Finance: The Role of Microfinance in Debt and Violence in Post-conflict Timor-Leste," *Review of International Political Economy* 27:6 (2020), pp. 1305–29; E. B. Stavrevska, "The Mother, the Wife, the Entrepreneur? Women's Agency and Microfinance in a Disappearing Post-conflict Welfare State Context," *Civil Wars* 20:2 (2018), pp. 193–216.

115 Reyes and Fattori, "Microfinance as a Means for Women Empowerment," p. 133.

116 Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count – Not Just Counting Women."

117 Phelan and True, "Navigating Gender in Elite Bargains," pp. 178–85.

118 Bramble and Paffenholz, "Implementing Peace Agreements," p. 21; Krook, "Gender and Elections," p. 16.

- quotas are employed as part of a package of TSMs working in tandem to overcome patriarchal and authoritarian values and promote affirmative action (see Lesson 2).

The effect of quotas is substantially reduced and they might even restrict women's influence and sustainable inclusion under the following circumstances:

- the quotas do not guarantee women access to decision-making power, which leads to their interests being sidelined in peace negotiations (e.g. as seen in Nepal and Yemen<sup>119</sup>);
- the conflict parties or elites use gender quotas to appear inclusive and thereby boost their reputation and attract international funding, while making little progress in advancing meaningful inclusion;
- the quotas are not accompanied by supplementary measures that tackle authoritarian and patriarchal values that perpetuate women's political and economic marginalisation.

## Lesson 4: Establish Representative Women's Groups and (Temporary) Bodies, and Implement Gender Mainstreaming

If well designed, quotas enhance the representation of women in peace processes. Comparative evidence further indicates that representative women's groups and (temporary) bodies—such as separate women's delegations or unified women's coalitions across formal delegations—are an effective means of increasing the influence women can exert during negotiation processes.<sup>120</sup> Formal bodies such as the Gender Sub-Commission in Colombia and the Syrian Women's Advisory Board have therefore institutionalised women's participation in peace processes. Opaque or biased criteria that guide the selection of women representatives in peace negotiation or implementation processes undermine the influence of women's bodies (e.g. as seen in Burundi).<sup>121</sup> Using TSMs, such as quotas, to ensure that women's delegations represent the heterogeneity of women in the country is a means of boosting the legitimacy of such bodies.

119 Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count— Not Just Counting Women," pp. 20 and 24.

120 Ibid., p. 30.

121 Féron, "Gender and Peace Negotiations," p. 107.

The effectiveness of gender mainstreaming will be enhanced when the following are enacted:

- the establishment of ministries and departments dedicated to women's inclusion within the government (e.g. the Office for Gender Equality in Kosovo<sup>122</sup> and, in Liberia, the Women and Children Protection Section, the Gender Affairs Unit of the Liberian National Police, and the Office of the Gender Advisor, part of the UN Mission in Liberia<sup>123</sup>);
- the implementation of gender quotas or the creation of sub-committees dedicated to the promotion of women in security sector bodies or potential truth and reconciliation commissions (e.g. as seen in Sierra Leone<sup>124</sup>);
- funding and technical support as part of a larger package of TSMs intended to help these bodies to grow in strength and become institutionalised;<sup>125</sup>
- the application of society-wide "inclusion formulas" that reflect the composition of society and politics (e.g. by ethnicity, race, religion, tribe, gender, age, and geography), that apply to short- or medium-term formal implementation bodies, and that can guide political and societal change on all levels (e.g. as seen in Nepal and South Africa<sup>126</sup>).

## Lesson 5: Use TSMs to Foster Collaboration and Solidarity among Women

Coalition-building is a key means of fostering collaboration and solidarity among women. There is increasingly rich quantitative and qualitative evidence that stresses the important role of women-led CSOs in rendering peace negotiations more inclusive.<sup>127</sup> Platforms for exchange between women negotiators and women-led CSOs have helped to give rise to gender-sensitive peace agreements in various settings, including Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Northern Ireland.<sup>128</sup> International (both regional and global) networks, such as women mediator networks, are another common and effective manifestation of

122 Holzner, "Engendering Governance after Armed Conflict," p. 9.

123 R. Kunz, "Messy Feminist Knowledge Politics: A Double Reading of Post-conflict Gender Mainstreaming in Liberia," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 22:1 (2020), p. 66; L. S. Shulika, "Women and Peace-building: From Historical to Contemporary African Perspectives," *Journal of Conflict and Social Transformation* 5:1 (2016), p. 23.

124 Scanlon, "Women in Post-conflict Resolution and Reconstruction in Africa," pp. 15–18.

125 See Koester et al., "How Can Donors Improve Their Support to Gender Equality in Fragile Settings?"; O'Connell, "What Are the Opportunities."

126 Bramble and Paffenholz, "Implementing Peace Agreements," p. 45.

127 Krause et al., "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace"; Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count – Not Just Counting Women"; Phelan and True, "Navigating Gender in Elite Bargains"; True and Riveros-Morales, "Towards Inclusive Peace."

128 Krause et al., "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace."



coalition-building. These networks can help to advance a range of aims, including an equality agenda, foreign policy agendas and objectives, access to insider mediators at track one level, increased local and/or regional ownership of mediation efforts, and provision of capacity-building and/or transfer of mediation best practices. Additionally, in the case of women mediator networks, they can serve as a means of fulfilling normative WPS commitments. These networks may be most effective when they operate in such a way as to influence peace processes at the national and local levels at any given point in the process, as required. Such flexibility would be a major asset given that the constant negotiation and renegotiation of the social and political contract at the heart of peace processes occurs in multiple spaces, including track one negotiations but also beyond them in more informal spaces at the national and local levels.

TSMs that strive to foster coalition-building among women are most effective when they:

- create civil society platforms that bridge ethnic, religious, class, or clan identities and unite women to jointly initiate mobilisation campaigns for women's inclusion in peace negotiations (e.g. as seen in Colombia, Guatemala, and Somalia<sup>129</sup>);
- target all women to avoid tensions between sub-groups, as this is detrimental to the collective empowerment of women (e.g. as seen in Rwanda in the tensions between Hutu and Tutsi women<sup>130</sup>).

Women's coalitions are often successful in amplifying women's voices but may quickly disband once peace agreements have been signed.<sup>131</sup> However, research on civil society and peacebuilding shows that this trend is not a problem per se.<sup>132</sup> The metamorphosis of former women activists into formal politicians rather indicates new opportunities for women's empowerment and inclusion in the post-war period.

Donors' ambitions to turn civil society networks into permanent, well-funded bodies have given rise to numerous professional NGOs in various post-war settings.<sup>133</sup> Evidence from Bosnia, Guatemala, and Sri Lanka indicates how this "NGO-isation" of networks, movements, and transition processes has fuelled

129 S. Nakaya, "Women and Gender Equality in Peace Processes: From Women at the Negotiating Table to Postwar Structural Reforms in Guatemala and Somalia," *Global Governance* 9:4 (2003), pp. 459–76; S. Nakaya, "Women and Gender Equality in Peacebuilding," in T. Keating and W. A. Knight (eds), *Building Sustainable Peace* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2004), p. 151; Phelan and True, "Navigating Gender in Elite Bargains," p. 173.

130 M. E. Berry, "Barriers to Women's Progress after Atrocity," pp. 837–9.

131 Nakaya, "Women and Gender Equality in Peace Processes"; Scanlon, "Women in Post-conflict Resolution and Reconstruction in Africa," p. 8.

132 T. Paffenholz et al., "Enabling and Disabling Factors for Civil Society Peacebuilding," in T. Paffenholz (ed.), *Civil Society & Peacebuilding: A Critical Assessment* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2010), pp. 405–24.

133 Ibid., p. 422.

competition for influence and international funding among civil society actors.<sup>134</sup> Creating various competing, permanent women-oriented NGOs will therefore do little to increase women's organisational strength or their ability to push back against patriarchal backlashes in the post-war period. TSMs that help women's networks to quickly reassemble and mobilise former and new members to call for the genuine inclusion of women will rather help women to collectively raise their voice if need be. For example, the Rwandan Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion started an initiative after 1994 to support women in setting up platforms to trigger the exchange of ideas.<sup>135</sup> Women-to-women mentoring programmes, as implemented in Bosnia (for example), have also enhanced women's capacity to sustain networks.<sup>136</sup>

## Lesson 6: Ensure Targeted and Effective Capacity-Building to Achieve Inclusive Peace Processes and Sustain Gender Equality

It is important not to overfocus on women's perceived needs—particularly in terms of training to develop additional capacities—to the detriment of paying attention to their strengths. Nonetheless, in certain contexts and in specific respects, capacity-building initiatives can bolster women's ability to influence peace processes.<sup>137</sup> Effective capacity-building to ensure inclusive peace processes and sustain gender equality may encompass the following elements:

- various forms of political, technical, and legal training to boost women's ability to scrutinise and contribute to formal peace negotiations;
- workshops and training sessions at various points during peace processes;<sup>138</sup>

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134 Paffenholz et al., "Enabling and Disenabling Factors for Civil Society Peacebuilding," p. 422.

135 J. Arostegui, "Gender, Conflict, and Peace-Building: How Conflict Can Catalyse Positive Change for Women," *Gender & Development* 21:3 (2013), p. 541.

136 P. Pospieszna, "Democracy Assistance and Women's Political Empowerment in Post-conflict Countries," *Democratisation* 22:7 (2015), p. 1259.

137 For example, in some cases in sub-Saharan Africa, girls and women have limited access to education and therefore lack the requisite political legal expertise to participate in peace negotiations; see A. A. Adebajo, "Women and Peace Processes in Africa," in O. Yacob-Haliso and T. Falola (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of African Women's Studies* (Cham: Springer, 2021), p. 648.

138 E. Zuckerman and M. Greenberg, "The Gender Dimensions of Post-conflict Reconstruction: An Analytical Framework for Policymakers," *Peacebuilding and Reconstruction* 12:3 (2004), p. 72; see also Section 3.5.

- capacity-building exercises in the realms of service delivery and leadership for newly elected women parliamentarians and candidates<sup>139</sup> to improve their reputation and thereby counter men-held stereotypes about women being unfit for political office<sup>140</sup> in the long run;<sup>141</sup>
- a combination of leadership training for women and awareness-raising campaigns to attract and prepare women candidates for assuming a formal political role (e.g. as seen in the work of the Fund Sukhumi in Georgia<sup>142</sup>);
- psychological and legal counselling for women about their right to protection and strategies they can use to react to violent attacks (e.g. as seen in Bosnia);<sup>143</sup>
- financial support to increase women politicians' geographical mobility and help them to interact with their constituents.<sup>144</sup>

Given their vast experience, non-governmental actors constitute a strong partner for state governments in efforts to start a capacity-building programme for women with political aspirations. This is one form of TSM that can be used after a peace agreement has been signed.

## Lesson 7: Encourage Public Advocacy and External Pressure

Broad public support and buy-in are key enablers of women's inclusion in peace negotiations and during the post-agreement phase.<sup>145</sup> Negotiating parties are likely to be unwilling to include women in negotiations and implement gender

139 For example, in Nepal, international organisations and Nepalese women's organisations have organised such training initiatives for Nepalese women parliamentarians and candidates; see A. Falch, "Women's Political Participation and Influence in Post-conflict Burundi and Nepal," Peace Research Institute Oslo (2010), [www.prio.org/publications/7259](http://www.prio.org/publications/7259) [last accessed: 27 September 2022], p. 26.

140 Such gender stereotypes have been observed in conflict-affected countries, such as Timor-Leste; see Niner et al., "Women's Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings," p. 14.

141 O'Connell, "What Are the Opportunities," pp. 459–60.

142 M. L. Cárdenas, "Women-to-Women Diplomacy in Georgia: A Peacebuilding Strategy in Frozen Conflict," *Civil Wars* 21:3 (2019), pp. 399.

143 Pospieszna, "Democracy Assistance and Women's Political Empowerment," p. 1259.

144 C. Castillejo, "Women Political Leaders and Peacebuilding," Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (2016), <https://ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/resources/docs/6ccaf3f24b120b8004f0db2a767a9dc2.pdf> [last accessed: 27 September 2022], p. 5.

145 C. Bell and C. Turner, "Models for Women's Inclusion in Track One Mediation in Peace and Transition Processes," UN Women (2020), [https://peacerep.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/WPS-Paper-2\\_FinalFeb2021.pdf](https://peacerep.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/WPS-Paper-2_FinalFeb2021.pdf) [last accessed: 27 September 2022]; A. Schädel et al., "Incremental Inclusivity: A Recipe for Effective Peace Processes?" Berghof Foundation (2020), <https://berghof-foundation.org/library/incremental-inclusivity-a-recipe-for-effective-peace-processes> [last accessed: 27 September 2022].

quotas if they expect major resistance from their constituency to doing so.<sup>146</sup> Nevertheless, there are several advocacy and constituency-building means that can be used to prevent pushback against gender quotas and pressure conflict parties to include women in peace negotiations and political processes during the post-agreement phase:

- public advocacy campaigns that call for women's inclusion at the negotiating table (e.g. as seen in Afghanistan, Colombia, and South Sudan<sup>147</sup>);
- pressure exerted by international mediators on conflict parties to accept women as equal negotiating partners (e.g. Cuba, Norway, and Sweden pushed particularly hard for women to influence the drafting of the peace agreement in Colombia<sup>148</sup>);
- continuous public advocacy campaigns that call for the implementation of gender provisions in the post-agreement phase to prevent pushback from conflict parties against the implementation of a peace agreement's gender provisions (e.g. such pushback was observed in Guatemala and Somalia<sup>149</sup>).

## Lesson 8: Pursue an Intersectional Approach

To produce inclusive outcomes, all TSMs employed in peace processes will ideally be embedded in an intersectional strategy that recognises the heterogeneity of women's identities.<sup>150</sup> Women's exclusion in post-war societies is often informed by multi-dimensional discrimination, such as around class, ethnicity, race, and other identity traits. Marginalisation of some groups of women commonly persists under the following circumstances:

- when international organisations and donors that operate in post-agreement environments target elite women as the beneficiaries of their interventions to promote inclusive peace processes and outcomes<sup>151</sup>

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146 Bell and Turner, "Models for Women's Inclusion in Track One Mediation in Peace and Transition Processes," p. 7.

147 Berry and Lake, "Women's Rights after War," p. 466.

148 Phelan and True, "Navigating Gender in Elite Bargains," p. 186.

149 Bell, "Text and Context," p. 21; Nakaya, "Women and Gender Equality in Peace Processes."

150 Close, "Gendered Political Settlements"; F. Ní Aoláin and E. Rooney, "Underenforcement and Intersectionality: Gendered Aspects of Transition for Women," *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 1:3 (2007), pp. 338–54.

151 Berry and Lake, "Women's Rights after War," pp. 461–70; Niner et al., "Women's Political Participation in Post-conflict Settings," p. 7.

- when international organisations and donors neglect rural, Indigenous, or other minority women and do not undertake efforts to mitigate their exclusion;
- when the final peace accord only recognises the divergent experiences of broad groups (such as women and Indigenous people) and does not make more fine-grained classifications of women (e.g. the 2016 Colombian peace agreement does not mention Indigenous women as a distinct group, which could explain their continued marginalisation in the post-agreement phase<sup>152</sup>);
- when the biased allocation of international support has generated tensions between the national elite women and the local, marginalised women, and the latter do not feel represented by the former.<sup>153</sup>

The following activities would therefore be conducive to the genuine inclusion of all women:

- conducting a thorough gender and broader exclusion analysis;
- ensuring that any TSM has the scope to be implemented in a flexible way and applies to all women;
- establishing women's associations or organisations that will pursue an intersectional approach to peace and counter the marginalisation of specific sub-groups of women after an armed conflict has ended (e.g. the Association of Women with Disabilities has created platforms for exchange, offered leadership training, and thereby helped disabled rural women to gain access to the welfare system and other sectors of society in post-agreement Sri Lanka<sup>154</sup>);
- ensuring that negotiation parties incorporate intersectionality into the early stages of the peace negotiations to make sure that the talks address the needs and interests of all women (e.g. the Gender Sub-Commission set up during the Colombian peace negotiations urged the FARC and the Colombian government to acknowledge the different experiences of various societal groups during the conflict<sup>155</sup>).

152 Berry and Lake, "Women's Rights after War," p. 468; Close, "Gendered Political Settlements," p. 9.

153 Close, "Gendered Political Settlements."

154 L. Meier, "An Intersectional Approach to the Understanding of Patterns of Marginalisation among Ex-combatants with Disabilities in Sri Lanka," *Conflict, Security & Development* 20:4 (2020), pp. 441–65;

A. Richardson, "A Gender-Just Peace in Post-conflict Sri Lanka: The Power of Intersectional Peace-building," *Trinity Women & Gender Minorities Review* 5:1 (2021), pp. 88–101.

155 E. B. Stavrevska and S. Smith, "Intersectionality and Peace," in O. Richmond and G. Visoka (eds), *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Peace and Conflict Studies* (Cham: Springer, 2020), p. 6.

## Lesson 9: Start Using TSMs as Early as Possible

When women are included in peace negotiation processes, it tends to be at a later stage. TSMs such as quotas, capacity-building, coalition-building support, and inclusion bodies are most effective when they are designed to ensure women's engagement in a peace process at the earliest possible stage. The same is true for inclusive commissions that operate in the post-agreement period to ensure the full implementation of all agreement provisions.<sup>156</sup>

When women are included at earlier stages of a peace process (often through quotas), their participation tends to be sustained during the implementation phase and even in post-agreement political institutions. Further and more specifically, enshrining women's participation in a ceasefire or in a previous agreement helps to ensure women's inclusion in full or subsequent peace or political transition negotiations.<sup>157</sup> The peace processes in Kenya and South Africa each had relatively high levels of inclusion during their negotiation and implementation phases.<sup>158</sup> In both of these cases, a combination of the TSMs outlined in this study—both existing and potential<sup>159</sup>—facilitated greater inclusion of women and enhanced their influence over the negotiation process, and this helped to consolidate and sustain inclusion gains during the agreement and implementation phases. The TSMs included coalition-building across political divides (Kenya and South Africa), financial and technical support for the women's coalition and women in the negotiations (South Africa), and a gender quota for implementation commissions (Kenya).<sup>160</sup>

As such, when women are involved early in a peace process, a precedent is set for their inclusion that continues throughout the negotiation and implementation process and ultimately enters normal social and political life.<sup>161</sup> Moreover, the earlier that unarmed actors beyond the main conflict parties—notably women—can bring their experiences, aspirations, and influence to bear on peace processes, the greater the likelihood that these processes will give rise to more inclusive negotiated settlements to armed conflict, with more sustainable implementation.<sup>162</sup>

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156 Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count — Not Just Counting Women," p. 33.

157 Ibid., p. 47.

158 Bramble and Paffenholz, "Implementing Peace Agreements," p. 45.

159 As mentioned in Section 1.2., some of the special measures that this paper explores have not involved state support in the past and therefore do not necessarily count as TSMs at present. However, these measures could become TSMs if supported by states or other entities.

160 "Women in Peace and Transition Processes: Kenya (2008–2013)," Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative (2016), [www.inclusivepeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/case-study-women-kenya-2008-2013-en.pdf](http://www.inclusivepeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/case-study-women-kenya-2008-2013-en.pdf) [last accessed: 21 October 2022]; "Women in Peace and Transition Processes: South Africa's Democratic Transition (1990–1998)," Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative (2018), [www.inclusivepeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/case-study-women-south-africa-1990-1998-en.pdf](http://www.inclusivepeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/case-study-women-south-africa-1990-1998-en.pdf) [last accessed: 21 October 2022].

161 Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count — Not Just Counting Women," p. 47.

162 Ibid., p. 6.



## Lesson 10: Design TSMs that Can Garner Elite Support, Pre-empt Elite Resistance, and Ensure that Inclusive Processes Lead to Inclusive Outcomes

Inclusion is a highly political subject and requires much more than a solely technical approach. Who is included, how, where, and when are all decisions that affect the power dynamics at work in peace processes. As such, inclusion is often supported, regulated, co-opted, or restricted by “gatekeepers” of inclusion, notably key elites.<sup>163</sup>

The attitude of elites to inclusion goes a long way towards determining the prospects of women’s efforts to gain access to and influence formal peace negotiations and implementation mechanisms. Christine Bell and Kevin McNicholl present robust evidence that inclusive peace negotiations and gender-responsive peace agreements are more likely to materialise when elites embrace political equality and power-sharing and are open to women and other groups joining them at the negotiation table.<sup>164</sup> The Gender Sub-Commission in Colombia is a case in point and only came into being once both government of Juan Manuel Santos and the FARC had approved its formation.<sup>165</sup>

At the same time, elite resistance to the implementation of peace agreements helps to explain the gap between inclusive processes and inclusive outcomes.<sup>166</sup> Key elites have hampered the progress of peace negotiations and the implementation of peace agreements across various country settings. For example, in Kenya and Nepal, in defence of the political status quo, members of the political elite orchestrated public campaigns to undermine the legitimacy of implementation commissions or even of the whole peace agreement.<sup>167</sup> Some Kenyan elites also undermined the implementation process by deliberately disregarding the recommendations formulated by the implementation committees.<sup>168</sup> Similar forms of elite resistance prevented the implementation of the peace agreement in Guatemala.<sup>169</sup> Importantly, elite resistance to agreement implementation is more likely in cases where public pressure pushes elite members to sign an agreement against their will; Eritrea, Fiji, and Togo are three

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163 Bramble and Paffenholz, “Implementing Peace Agreements,” p. 42; A. Hirblinger et al., “Supporting or Resisting Change: Elite Strategies in War to Peace and Political Transitions,” Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative (2019), [www.inclusivepeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/report-elite-strategies-en.pdf](http://www.inclusivepeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/report-elite-strategies-en.pdf) [last accessed: 15 August 2022].

164 Bell and McNicholl, “Principled Pragmatism and the Inclusion Project.”

165 Bell and Turner, “Models for Women’s Inclusion in Track One Mediation in Peace and Transition Processes,” p. 9.

166 Bell and McNicholl, “Principled Pragmatism and the Inclusion Project,” p. 28; Bramble and Paffenholz, “Implementing Peace Agreements.”

167 Bramble and Paffenholz, “Implementing Peace Agreements,” p. 44.

168 Ibid., p. 44.

169 Bell, “Text and Context,” p. 21; Bramble and Paffenholz, “Implementing Peace Agreements,” p. 44.

cases in point.<sup>170</sup> Overcoming elite resistance to the implementation of peace agreements is therefore key to ensuring that inclusive processes can lead to inclusive outcomes.

TSMs offer potential ways to bridge the gap between inclusive processes and inclusive outcomes, and ensure a smooth implementation process even under conditions of elite resistance. The following measures are conducive in this regard:

- include clear provisions in the peace agreement regarding implementation mechanisms for gender provisions;
- set up bodies that will monitor the implementation of specific parts of the peace agreement (the case of Kenya illustrates the effectiveness of such dedicated implementation bodies);<sup>171</sup>
- ensure women's representation in all implementation bodies to increase the pressure on the elites to implement all of the gender provisions they agreed to during the peace agreement—for example, through quotas (e.g. as seen in the DRC and South Sudan);<sup>172</sup>
- organise public advocacy campaigns to enhance public buy-in for gender provisions in the peace agreement, either proactively or in response to elite propaganda against the peace agreement and its gender provisions.

## Lesson 11: Extend the Focus to the Local Level

Most TSMs in peace processes have focused on women's inclusion at the national level at the expense of the local level. Initiatives that seek to achieve local inclusion will ideally encompass the following elements:

- boosting women's representation in local politics (e.g. as seen in the LLEA in Nepal);
- creating specialised administrative positions that are responsible for overseeing the implementation of gender provisions and national action plans on WPS at the local level (e.g. the National Coordinator for WPS in Liberia<sup>173</sup>);

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170 Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count — Not Just Counting Women," p. 50.

171 Bramble and Paffenholz, "Implementing Peace Agreements," p. 43.

172 Bell and McNicholl, "Principled Pragmatism and the Inclusion Project," p. 28.

173 Kunz, "Messy Feminist Knowledge Politics," p. 67.

- organising awareness campaigns and disseminating copies of UNSCR 1325 (translated where required) at the local level to change local perceptions of women that play an active role in politics and public life (one example is Liberia<sup>174</sup>);
- acknowledging the importance of local customary judicial systems and using TSMs to strengthen the role of women in these systems rather than sidelining them (examples where sidelining has been seen include Afghanistan and Timor-Leste<sup>175</sup>).

## Lesson 12: Play the Long Game

While TSMs are expected to expire at some point, there is no established norm for when that expiration should be. Given that many initiatives to empower women in peace processes only focus on short-term formal representation, it may be effective to design more long-term TSMs that take account of the fact that rebuilding and transforming a political settlement is a complex undertaking that takes time.<sup>176</sup> There are two elements of an impactful TSM regime that seeks long-term inclusion:

- formalised, well-funded institutional bodies that have a permanent mandate to monitor and reinforce the implementation of gender provisions on the ground (similar to the National Cohesion and Integration Commission in Kenya);<sup>177</sup>
- formalised implementation bodies that feature a substantive number of women or women's groups (e.g. the Nagaland People's Action Committee monitored the ceasefire agreement in India's northeastern Nagaland state and the Civilian Protection Component of the International Monitoring Team did the same in the Philippines).<sup>178</sup>

Importantly, the absence of any time restriction on the work of permanent bodies will mirror what should be the signatory parties' awareness of the lengthy process of moving towards an inclusive and peaceful society. Refraining from defining a time limit on the existence of monitoring bodies therefore seems a realistic and promising approach.

174 Kunz, "Mess Feminist Knowledge Politics," p. 67.

175 Swenson and Campbell, "Legal Pluralism and Women's Rights after Conflict," pp. 141–4.

176 Close, "Gendered Political Settlements"; F. Ní Aoláin et al., *On the Frontlines: Gender, War, and the Post-conflict Process* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 19.

177 The commission was set up after the outbreak of electoral violence in 2007–8. It organises schooling and training programmes to enhance trust between Kenya's ethnic groups, lobbies for legal and policy reforms to achieve ethnic equality, and monitors inter-ethnic tensions on the ground.

178 C. Buchanan et al., "From Clause to Effect: Including Women's Rights and Gender in Peace Agreements," Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (2012), [https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IncludingWomensRightsInPeaceAgreements\\_HDC2012.pdf](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IncludingWomensRightsInPeaceAgreements_HDC2012.pdf) [last accessed: 27 September 2022], p. 77.

## Lesson 13: Foster More Creativity in Defining Milestones on the Path towards Inclusive Societies

TSMs have the potential to set the precedents for and sustain inclusive outcomes, and in turn pave the way towards more inclusive societies. To this end, it may be helpful for academia, international organisations, and NGOs to:

- avoid discussing quotas as the supreme form of TSM and engage in creative thinking about how to exploit the potential of other TSMs;
- use innovative research initiatives to compile more systematic evidence on TSMs in peace and political transition processes;<sup>179</sup>
- think about how TSMs can both reflect and further an understanding of peace processes that situates these processes as one part of a broader and long-term societal transition and transformation;<sup>180</sup>
- provide spaces for creative thinking and exchange about which specific TSMs could generate inclusive processes and outcomes in conflict-affected countries and implement them on the ground.

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179 Krook, "Gender and Elections," p. 14.

180 Paffenholz, "Perpetual Peacebuilding."

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