

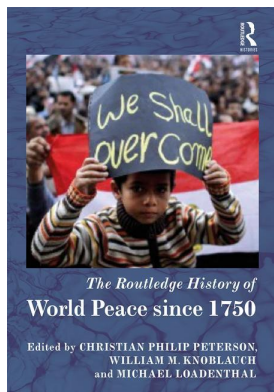
This article was downloaded by: 10.2.97.136

On: 22 Sep 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *CRC Press*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



The Routledge History of World Peace Since 1750

Christian Philip Peterson, William M. Knoblauch, Michael Loadenthal

Unincluded

Publication details

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315157344-34>

Natalie W. Romeri-Lewis, Sarah F. Brown, Benjamin T. White

Published online on: 04 Sep 2018

How to cite :- Natalie W. Romeri-Lewis, Sarah F. Brown, Benjamin T. White. 04 Sep 2018,
Unincluded from: The Routledge History of World Peace Since 1750 CRC Press

Accessed on: 22 Sep 2023

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315157344-34>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT

Full terms and conditions of use: <https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms>

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

UNINCLUDED

How women are passed over in peace processes
and how data fails to capture their efforts

Natalie W. Romeri-Lewis, Sarah F. Brown, and Benjamin T. White

Perhaps no other issue in this century is as important as creating and sustaining peace. Conceptionally, everyone wants more peace. However, ironically, bitter disagreements often engulf peace negotiations. Because such negotiations often involve the warring parties while ignoring the majority of the country's residents affected by war, *peace talks* often ignore those most interested in holistic, positive peace. One solution with immense promise is the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) Movement. When peace negotiations include women, countries are 20 percent more likely to enjoy peace for two years and 35 percent more likely to enjoy peace for fifteen years.¹ However, because scholars traditionally study the state and the most violent factions that cause war, fewer studies focus on the majority of residents—women, indigenous groups, and unarmed populations—who are not fighting. Most chapters in this volume provide detailed, local analyses or case studies of the peace process via historical, sociological, or peace studies methodologies. Many are also about men's perspectives on peace because, traditionally, women were not considered actors in conflicts or peace processes and their efforts were deemed unworthy of academic scholarship. This chapter argues, instead, that the peace process—the way out of war—should reflect women and gender issues because the route into war or dialogue surrounding war may be entirely shaped by men or perceived masculinities. Moreover, although women should be included in peace negotiations, barriers discussed below have prevented their on-the-ground gains over the last few decades. As a result of their exclusion, women peacebuilders do not receive attention, funding, access to negotiations, or positions of influence, and fighting continues within and between countries. Collecting data on women peacebuilders would highlight women's contributions to education, advocacy, and deradicalization, hopefully bringing more attention, funding, and opportunities to women pursuing peace. Of course, some women further violence and some men promote peace; but the pages that follow highlight some of the benefits of including women in peace processes. Women tend to raise topics that speak to the underlying problems often provoking wars and to long-term community development concerns that need attention (e.g., anti-personnel mines within Afghanistan, child recruitment in Sierra Leone, human rights, health, justice, and education).²

Scholarship supports these assertions. For example, one study noted that during 1945–2009, 103 countries experienced civil wars, with 56 percent resuming hostilities.³ This cycle illustrates the “conflict trap,” the costly patterns of political conflict, prolonged civil wars, or successive coups d'état that Paul Collier claims entrenches countries in poverty.⁴

Shockingly, conflict returns within five years of signing more than half of peace agreements.⁵ Therefore, sustainable peace requires women's participation.⁶ Three other studies noted that when women participated and advanced their preferences, the various negotiating parties reached an agreement. Generally, parties implemented negotiations at higher rates, and countries were less likely to return to conflict because their peace was more comprehensive.⁷ Kenyan women, for example, helped warring parties move toward agreement by focusing the parties on why they even entered conflict.⁸ Similarly, in the 1990s Rwandan women led post-conflict reconciliation efforts (e.g., leading clean-ups, generating jobs, placing orphans with families, planning for future generations), and by 2012 some Afghani women mediated at community levels, and government and NGOs encouraged women's formal recognition in peacebuilding. Philippina women have also become major members of women's peace organizations, with many lobbying the government for peace agreements or running as candidates (or elected officials) trying to resolve ongoing violence.⁹

Research also shows that women participants can both enhance negotiation methods and foster a more inclusive society. Recent studies suggest that women frequently foster inclusive, transparent decision making; empathy, fairness, and social justice; and more collaborative (and less hierarchical) communication.¹⁰ These tendencies, along with a reliance on community networks, may increase the utility of the negotiations.¹¹ Also, when filling formal roles during peace processes, women frequently include female-focused provisions and demand greater funding for gender issues and participation.¹² They call for justice for sexual assault and new laws to increase protection. Melanne Verwee, Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues, urges that improving women's status is more than a moral priority, but a strategic key to economic progress, international peace, and better foreign policy.¹³ The organization UN Women goes further in saying that peace and security (P&S) requires gender equality.¹⁴

Despite these findings, women still typically do not serve in *formal* positions, including "Track One" (e.g., mediator), UN-level (e.g., head of mission), or national-level (e.g., diplomat, peacekeeper, military advisor) positions. More commonly, women serve in *informal* positions such as "Track Three" (e.g., doing paid and unpaid non-violence training and negotiating between communities and combatants). However, many countries do not systematically record women's "civil society" activities (e.g., lobbying, protesting, or leadership in non-governmental organizations that push for peace).¹⁵ Because countries do not track women's civil society involvement, their contributions are less visible and they are not valued as stakeholders. It's data such as this that makes what's invisible visible. Scholars, policymakers, women themselves—everyone concerned in peace—needs standardized, comparative, and holistic data on the entire WPS movement. Knowing the value women provide to P&S, this chapter (1) summarizes the barriers to women's P&S involvement, (2) raises some of their accomplishments despite these barriers, and (3) identifies missing gaps within WPS research and a solution to remedy those gaps.

Multi-level barriers to peace and security involvement

Women face discrimination in all aspects of the P&S movement, including formal P&S careers. A study of thirty-one peace processes that occurred between 1992 and 2011 reported that women made up only 2.4 percent of chief mediators, 3.7 percent of witnesses, 4 percent of signatories, and 9 percent of negotiators.¹⁶ Despite United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs) on WPS, sadly UN Peacekeeping employs very few women in formal

positions.¹⁷ Even more puzzling, the UN “has never officially appointed a woman to be the chief mediator of a peace process,” and, although twelve of fourteen UN-supported mediation processes in 2011 had females in mediation support teams, only four delegations included women.¹⁸ Because of their sparse access to P&S positions, women have less experience, more restricted choices, and far less ability to influence democratization processes or pursue peace.¹⁹ Additionally, states influence political culture, configurations of power, and the environments in which women engage in P&S.²⁰ Even in the decade after landmark UNSCR 1325 in 2000, only 27 percent of signed peace agreements refer to gender.²¹ Although gender matters, hardly anyone promoting conflict and peace-process education talks about it at the national-level.

When women try to build peace outside formal public careers, they also face discrimination. At the local level, women supporting or leading peace efforts often face “micro-aggressions” (e.g., routine acts and speech that degrade and exploit another, such as insults, indifference, discrimination, and violence).²² Micro-aggressions result in a lowering of self-worth and avoidance of careers of power. Women leaders within civil society also face local and national patriarchal norms that lead to discrimination, the defunding of their projects, harassment while publicly protesting, and assassination. In sum, such norms, discrimination, and absences translate to a lack of formal power and titles within P&S institutions and access-problems for women’s civil society organizations (CSOs) when trying to reach negotiators and mediators.²³

Furthermore, academics and practitioners add to the problem when they solely focus on women as victims, especially of sexual violence. This may have a germ of truth—violent conflict over the last decade has disproportionately targeted and harmed women and children.²⁴ Rape expert Darah Kay Cohen reported significant levels of rape during fifty-nine of ninety-one civil wars between 1980 and 2012.²⁵ In Sudan, government forces and militias on all sides employ sexual violence to instill fear, destroy communities, and seize control of resource-rich areas.²⁶ Scholars have shown that in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), where the scale of sexual violence is unparalleled, rape was “perceived as a particularly effective weapon of war and used to subdue, punish, or take revenge upon entire communities.”²⁷ New-found trauma, public health concerns, and displacement, among other hardships, create high barriers to women’s P&S involvement.

However, feminist scholars today challenge the frustrating and counterproductive dominance of the woman-as-passive-victim-of-sexual-violence trope in international law and armed conflict policy. Gender and war scholar Carol Cohn warns that generalizing women’s lives during war may commit “conceptual violence” to their everyday experiences, while human rights and gender scholar Ni Aolain explains how writers add to women’s vulnerability when they name, shame, and call forth action only in response to sexual violence, ignoring the structural injustice and daily discrimination they face before, during, and following armed conflict.²⁸ Leading international relations and gender scholars have argued that male bias in academia means we *see* the nation state or men as the main international relations actors, while being blind to women’s varied, but “invisible” experiences.²⁹ Ni Aolain agrees that scholars across disciplines have been blind in defining academic problems and selecting methodologies, research structure, and language.³⁰ Gender and war expert Ann Tickner declares that international relations studies, for example, is not “gender neutral, meaning gender [is] . . . irrelevant to its subject matter as many scholars believe, but that it is so thoroughly masculinized that the workings of these hierarchical gender relations are hidden.”³¹

Lastly, all things being equal, some women who want to become involved in promoting peace simply cannot, due to overwhelming familial and community expectations. Women are “time-poor,” working full-time jobs in the paid economy or agriculture *and* full-time jobs in the home within the same day.³² Many do not have the time, resources, or power to meet these disproportionate expectations. For example, while men migrated out of Northern Uganda to escape conflict, women faced the increased burdens of accomplishing work traditionally considered male, in addition to their own work, in the midst of even scarcer resources.³³ In post-conflict Guatemala, one study concluded that “double the proportion of women are both time and income poor when compared to men.”³⁴ In sum, women’s participation in peace processes may reduce their marginalization and foster more durable, sustainable society-wide peace.³⁵

Some scholars conclude that when lacking formal power or titles, women leverage relationships and pre-existing networks to build coalitions, end conflict, and influence peace proceedings, all to bring “the top and bottom levels of society together to resolve conflict.”³⁶ For example, in 2012 WPS policy analysts Diaz and Tordjman found that, “Women’s groups often represent and voice women’s priorities and concerns, and indeed are more likely to do so than women within negotiating delegations, who are bound to their particular party’s interests.”³⁷ When treated as second-class citizens, women tenaciously learn innovative ways to participate.³⁸ For example, following the 1999 abduction of 150 Colombian citizens, women continually pressed to know the fate of those missing, and the army opened military base space to the advocates who created an information center.³⁹ Diaz and Trojman reported:

[W]hen excluded from the peace table venue, women have held parallel processes of their own. When locked out of the rooms where decisions are made, women have pushed their position papers and their recommendations through the gaps under the doors. When ignored, they have approached decision-makers on airport tarmacs to get a meeting, or barricaded the meeting room to force the delegates to reach a settlement, as in Liberia in 2003. When silenced, they have taken to the streets and even the chamber of the UN Security Council to make themselves heard.⁴⁰

Women also influence long-term peacebuilding and reconstruction as educators in their communities, encouraging “structural and societal transformation that is built on principles of gender equality.”⁴¹

From barriers to accomplishments

Although it was late-coming, over time women’s responses to conflict have carved out more attention, formal opportunities, and even written understandings demanding their inclusion. This section will help activists and researchers understand how the WPS movement evolved despite above-noted barriers. While international women’s networks have advocated for peace since at least WWI, the modern WPS movement was only beginning in the 1970s.⁴²

After advocating for the UN Decade for Women in order to gather information on the living conditions of women worldwide, the 1975 First World Conference on Women acknowledged how crucial their participation in peace processes is and encouraged member states to include women.⁴³ Groundbreaking progress came in 1979 when the UN General

Assembly (UNGA) adopted the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). CEDAW urges nations to eliminate discrimination in politics by taking “all appropriate measures, including legislation” to guarantee them “the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.”⁴⁴ Although CEDAW is legally unenforceable, experts assess CEDAW as “the most authoritative and steady piece of the international women’s rights discourse.” The 1975 World Conference and women’s organizations encouraged women’s participation in civil society, but their involvement in P&S remained limited.⁴⁵ However, by the end of the 1970s, peace processes vastly underrepresented women who still disproportionately bore the negative impacts of conflict. Also, data on how armed conflict impacts women was not generally available.⁴⁶ The delegates at two World Conferences on Women (in 1980 and 1985) demanded increased women’s involvement in peace negotiations, government recognition, and enforcement of these rights.

A critical turning point occurred when women mobilized for broad-based P&S during the 1980s, following a three-decade state-led genocide against indigenous Mayans in Guatemala. National government forces had targeted pregnant Mayan women and used rape to divide spouses and thus families. In response to the violence, indigenous, refugee, and non-indigenous activist women created a variety of NGOs within and outside of Guatemala to provide victims’ services and advocate for their rights.⁴⁷ To counter assassinations, military-enforced disappearances, and the increasing plight of indigenous widows, indigenous women formed “mothers’ movements.” Indigenous and non-indigenous women alike joined CSOs that pressed for land reform, rights for refugees, and socio-economic equality, and later advanced gender equality.⁴⁸ From this activist build-up in Guatemala, Marxist, feminist, indigenous activist, and traditionalist women formed a coalition to argue that women endured disproportional conflict-related burdens and barriers to participation in economics, policy, and society. This ideologically and ethnically diverse coalition quickly found consensus and formed the Women’s Sector within the Civil Society wing of the negotiations, which presented policy papers, demanded entry to meetings, and inserted gender equality provisions in the 1996 agreement, which made Guatemala’s “one of the most inclusive, participatory” negotiations of the decade.⁴⁹

Overall, in the 1990s, women’s involvement in P&S accelerated. In 1993 the UNGA adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, which acknowledges violence against women as “a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which has led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women.”⁵⁰ Then, at the 1995 Fourth World Conference of Women, NGOs and member-state delegates co-created the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. In addition to reminding the UN and member-states’ of their previous commitments to women’s rights, the Platform outlined a twelve-part plan of action—including a section recognizing that women’s legal rights were irrevocable during conflict and that sustainable peace was only possible through gender equality—acknowledging that women “often work to preserve social order during armed and other conflicts,” and often work as “peace educators both in their families and in their societies.”⁵¹ The Platform finally called on governments to protect women’s safety during conflicts and preserve their decision-making power during peace negotiations.⁵² 1996 saw the establishment of the Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition (NIWC), an all-women political party. Surprisingly, NIWC won two of the total 110 peace-talks seats at the Northern Ireland Forum for Political Dialogue (1996). NIWC supported women’s political participation, normalized women’s

participation in peace processes, and worked as trusted brokers between parties to foster the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, ending decades of conflict in Ireland.⁵³

In the 2000s, more WPS initiatives emerged. WPS NGOs, armed with “relevant literature and references and ‘agreed language’ from previous UN documents and statements, met with Security Council members, and enabled women from conflict-affected areas to share their stories with them.”⁵⁴ At this pivotal moment, the UN Security Council responded by passing UNSCR 1325, a landmark Resolution featuring three firm declarations: (1) women often bear the majority of the negative consequences of conflict, (2) this reality has a negative outcome on the durability of peace, and (3), women, traditionally excluded from peace processes, must equally contribute to these processes. UNSCR 1325 also proclaims that only by “effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation” can women “contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security.”⁵⁵ It was the first formal recognition of women’s right to peace and to participate in peace processes.

At the 2005 ten-year follow-up to the Fourth World Conference on Women, with countries reporting their progress on the Beijing Platform for Action, something remarkable happened: The UNGA and UNSC co-established the Peacebuilding Commission. This advisory Commission had the authority to coordinate and fund peacebuilding programs with UN agencies and NGOs and, momentously, integrate female perspectives throughout all stages of P&S planning and implementation.⁵⁶ Just a year previous, the UNSC had mandated the protection of women and children in its missions in Burundi, Côte d’Ivoire, Haiti, and Liberia.⁵⁷ UN Peacekeeping operations also took steps to support WPS. Praised as a model of gender equality, the first all-female UN Police unit formed in Liberia in 2007; quickly, the percentage of women in Liberia’s security services increased from 6 to 17 percent.⁵⁸

Even though the international community made strides on paper, implementation lagged. For example, in 1999 the DRC’s ceasefire failed to require women’s participation during the peace process and the constitution-drafting periods.⁵⁹ Of the 26 percent of UN mission staff in DRC who were female, only two held senior positions. Peacekeepers conducting assessments consulted village elders, “almost invariably men,” and did not seek out local women leaders.⁶⁰ Women leaders faced additional obstacles: Rebels ransacked their offices and issued threats, the UN supported civil society groups mostly comprised of men, and the UN Mission mandate specified women as vulnerable victims, but not as human-rights monitors or leaders in peace.⁶¹ Their exclusion is noteworthy, as this initial lack of participation makes it difficult to include women later on.

In the 2010s, WPS has undergone both improvements and stagnation. In 2010, the UNGA consolidated various UN entities, forming “UN Women,” which today runs a training center that instructs on how to prevent sexual violence in conflict areas, incorporate women from conflict-affected communities into local and national decision making, and implement the women-inclusion policies within CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action.⁶² Additionally, the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations now mandates the comprehensive inclusion of women in peacekeeping-related hiring, decision-making, and operational activities.⁶³ Out of the thirteen peace agreements signed in 2013, nearly half included text regarding WPS, an improvement when compared with 30 percent in 2012 and only 22 percent in 2010, and increasingly, ceasefire agreements explicitly prohibit sexual violence.⁶⁴ By August 2014, the proportion of women serving on the UNSC reached a record of 40 percent (six out of fifteen seats).⁶⁵

In 2015, member-states and the NGO community reviewed state implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action, and while UN reports reveal that efforts to promote WPS fell short of UNSCR 1325 goals, some progress had been made.⁶⁶ Additionally, the UN launched a high-level review of UNSCR 1325, noting significant successes and highlighting remaining implementation inadequacies.⁶⁷ Finally, four women served as primary negotiators of the 2015 Iran nuclear agreement.⁶⁸ Supporting the findings of this chapter, the EU's lead negotiator remarked that "having many women at the table in key positions helped us be concrete and pragmatic the whole way."⁶⁹

Data in visualizing and advancing the women, peace, security movement

Why has no country implemented the full WPS agenda? One cause may be a data drought on women's P&S participation. P&S research still focuses primarily on the nation state, but scholars acknowledge that marginalized people are "knowledge producers" and that social change requires females as marginalized peoples to engage in activism, advocacy, and self-expression.⁷⁰ Women who protest on the streets, create and advocate through NGOs, and disseminate peace education to communities, build and strengthen peace. But because data does not recognize women's informal advocacy as official or mainstream peacebuilding work, all too often women become pigeon-holed in inferior positions, thus lacking the recognition to merit academic study. Combatting discrimination within P&S, therefore, means addressing the data gap. Scholars need to document women peacebuilders as legitimate forces for change and publish their positive accomplishments. Generating more data will also help policymakers and researchers view women as true stakeholders—and valuable contributors—in P&S.

Because the scant "data on women makes what's invisible visible," the first step is for researchers and policymakers to know where to find the little WPS data that does currently exist.⁷¹ Table 33.1 packages for researchers the world's few international and regional institutions exclusively devoted to women and peace or women and security.

As the information available at these institutions shows, women in P&S have been largely invisible. Scholars and activists need more data to show the true impact of women in P&S.

The social sciences have come to rely on scales comprised of related "indicators," compilations of organized and processed data about one theme, used to compare performance of units of analysis (e.g., countries), combined with other indicators to form a scale with which to rank the unit.⁷² Examples of these indicators may include killings/year (the easiest human rights-related data to quantify) or women's national literacy rates/year.⁷³ Such indicators and the scales they compose do more than interpret a complex society; research shows that they can influence societal thinking and impact state-level governance.⁷⁴

Our never-before seen scale illustrates the need for this data. It builds upon three similar scales, two on peace and the rule of law and one on women's security. These scales help to explain the current state of the field and how and why we constructed our scale. Note that in none of these three scales does data on the two themes of peace and women overlap.

An explanation of scales: The first scale, the Global Peace Index, compiles data on twenty-three indicators to rank 162 countries across three areas: Societal safety and security, level of domestic and international conflict, and level of militarization.⁷⁵ This ambitious scale aims to comprehensively measure peace, but does not reflect women's roles in formal or civil society peacemaker work. The second scale, the Rule of Law Index, ranks 102 countries

Table 33.1 Institutions advancing relationships between women and peace

| <i>Organization name</i> | <i>Coverage</i> | <i>Focus</i> |
|--|---|--|
| Consortium on Gender, Security, and Human Rights | Worldwide | Maintaining scholarly database on WPS research to bridge academic-practitioner/policymaker gap |
| Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security | Worldwide | Providing WPS academic research (mostly case studies and policy papers); Facilitating academic collaboration |
| Inclusive Security | Worldwide | Training WPS leaders; Networking women peacebuilders throughout conflict areas; Providing research; Advising policymakers |
| International Civil Society Action Network (iCAN) | Middle East, South Asia, North/Central Africa | Connecting, funding, training, and documenting individuals and organizations promoting WPS; Organizing civil society–government dialogue; Authoring the Better Peace Tool |
| NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security | Worldwide | Providing UN leadership and UN member states specific WPS recommendations; Monitoring and providing policy analysis of the UN Security Council’s WPS-related activities |
| N-Peace Network | South/Southeast Asia | Training and networking women at all WPS levels to implement the WPS agenda and UNSCR 1325 |
| PeaceWomen | Worldwide | Maintaining databases on WPS civil society organizations, resolutions, and National Action Plans; Monitoring WPS policy implementation |
| WomanStats Project | Worldwide | Maintaining comprehensive cross-national database on women’s legal, social, employment, and other statuses; Creating unique scales, maps, and empirical research on relationship between women’s security and state security |
| Women in International Security (WIIS) | Worldwide | Providing leadership training and networking for women in international security careers; Research on gender and security policy |

across forty-seven indicators on how legal experts and ordinary people experience the rule of law in “practical, everyday situations” around the world.⁷⁶ This scale’s indicators include: Open government, fundamental rights, and order and security, drawing on surveys of households among non-marginalized and marginalized populations; in doing so, it utilizes the voices of the governed, *in addition to* those who govern.⁷⁷ The third scale, the WomanStats Physical Security of Women Scale, measures women’s security within a country and across eight indicators.⁷⁸ Coders hunt for and then fuse three types of data: Legality, rates, and on-the-ground practice.⁷⁹ The result is a comprehensive scale that merges qualitative and quantitative data on all angles of a problem. However, this scale lacks data on women fighting back—organizing, creating solutions, or leading efforts to decrease the violence. Because no existing scale fuses data on women with data on security careers and peacebuilding efforts, below, we propose a new scale.

Before describing our solution, we also note that within one decade, data on the general status of women worldwide has swung, in the words of leading gender statistics and national

security scholar Valerie Hudson, from so little data you need to “scavenger hunt,” to an overwhelming mass of unorganized data that still contains gaps and requires wading through.⁸⁰ Scholars looking for data on women in economics, politics, and human development have many sources to turn to.

One solution: A proposed women, peace, and security scale

According to one theory on the four phases of indicator development, resources, a major influence on the conceptualization phase, unfortunately limited our data collection to existing datasets.⁸¹ Even if this scale is limited—because countries and NGOs do not systematically track women’s grassroots peacebuilding initiatives, and scholars currently lack the resources to collect the micro-level data—it is a first step towards revealing the impact women have on peace initiatives. When no proxy data for local-level WPS activity was available, those indicators were removed from the scale. It does, however, allow for future packaging of remaining indicators and portrays countries’ performances through color-coded maps that are “clear and easy to use, conceptually simple, and visually attractive.”⁸² To do so, this WPS Scale is comprised of twenty-one indicators (see Figure 33.1). We hope that the final product empowers governments, advocates, and researchers to visualize for 176 countries (1) sex-ratios within Track One Diplomacy processes, (2) sex-ratios in UN P&S-related positions, and (3) sex-ratios within a country’s P&S industry.

This scale has benefits and weaknesses. First, the benefits: It will add to the growing body of data tracking the progress of females in WPS and identify sex-imbalances that hinder long-term P&S; encourage governments and the UN to document the sex ratios in

Nation-Level Variables:

1. Official female negotiators
2. Official female mediators
3. Female signatories
4. Female witnesses
5. References to gender or women in peace agreements
6. Females in militaries in countries in conflict
7. Females in parliament
8. Females as head of state
9. Females in ministerial positions (in the cabinet)
10. Voting record for UN Security Council Resolutions pertaining to Women, Peace and Security
11. Country’s funding of UN peacekeeping
12. Country’s funding of UN Women, Peace and Security
13. Specifics on what the NAP sets out for future women in WPS leadership
14. Gender Gap Index Score (from the World Economic Forum)
15. National Action Plan: existence and funding

UN-Level Variables:

16. Female UN Mission heads (Ambassadors to the UN)
17. Female force commanders in UN peacekeeping missions (and special envoys, etc.)
18. Females in civilian forces in peacekeeping operations
19. Females in police forces in peacekeeping operations
20. Females in the military in peacekeeping operations
21. Females as gender advisors in post-conflict processes

Figure 33.1 Proposed women, peace, and security scale

employment throughout P&S industries (a long overdue data gap); and expose certain policies that—once visible and acknowledged—can be debated and changed. States interested in increasing their overall scores, for instance, could look to the practices of other higher-scoring states.⁸³ Regarding weaknesses, sadly this scale does not account for women's contributions within CSOs, where more women work compared to government and military positions. This is because no standardized data or proxy indicators currently exist to measure women's civil society involvement in peace processes, largely due to the complex reality that a few committed and active CSOs in one country may have the equivalent impact of many CSOs in another country. Additionally, women's access to high-level peace negotiations through civil society is complex; it is based on strategy, relationships between parties, political-opportunity structures that determine participation, and background of the situation.⁸⁴ For these reasons, data on civil society activism and civil society variables have been omitted from this scale. To fill this void and increase women's visibility, national statistics bureaus must start tracking women's informal peacebuilding efforts and researchers need to contribute data from their fieldwork toward creating improved scales.

Recently, two organizations created WPS “scorecards,” or simplified versions of a WPS scale, with more accessible data on a few well-documented countries. The organization PeaceWomen released its Security Council Scorecard, which visualizes how the five UNSC members implement WPS. Its scorecard purportedly highlights “gaps between commitments and accomplishments, especially around conflict prevention and disarmament,” and includes WPS-related statements at the UNSC and proxy indicators (i.e., women's participation in parliament, levels of sexual violence, and financing of military versus gender equality).⁸⁵ A second scorecard comes from the NGO Women in International Security. It rates ten NATO countries on their implementation of UNSCR 1325, specifically within military operations, with scores measuring gender mainstreaming, the existence of accountability mechanisms, and the national political will to implement UNSCR 1325.⁸⁶ Both scorecards begin to chip away at the data availability problem that WPS-scholars and advocates face. They name and shame countries, which may have an impact on future national-level policy. Like the scale presented in this chapter, neither attempts to address women's P&S efforts at the local or civil society level, the arena where women are most likely to participate.

A full WPS scale will require data not currently available and too expensive to gather in one research project or outside a national statistical bureau. Despite lacking a major realm of activity, the above two scorecards are a start. Both begin to present WPS data in a persuasive, visual format. Thus, we the authors chose to pause our data collection until countries collect more micro-level data or until the scorecard creators choose to expand their focus. With the support of national statistics bureaus and financial support, we may be able to continue the WPS scale in the future.

Conclusion

Women deserve decision-making power over their lives. Because women may positively improve negotiations and development, including women in P&S adds value to all stakeholders. UNSCR 1325 was a major leap for the WPS agenda because it requires countries to fill decision-making roles with women. Even with this Resolution, however, countries lag in their implementation. Even more disingenuous, when included in significant negotiating positions, women remain constrained by traditional norms and institutional structures, among other barriers. As conflict and post-conflict periods create a window of time to alter

gender relations positively, those selecting representatives for the peace table should seize the opportunity to appoint and involve women.

Women-focused research has widely expanded, and academic institutions have begun to study the field of WPS. (For sources that contain the largest inventories of indicators on women, please see “Further Reading.”) Despite the growing abundance of general data on women, data on women within P&S careers and P&S advocacy at the local level is scarce, unstandardized, and urgently needed. Because data disaggregated by gender exposes sex-ratio imbalances, collecting sex-disaggregated data in P&S positions and women’s local, innovative advocacy could have policy impact. An original WPS scale is thus particularly expedient. Because no existing scale or scorecard fuses data on women with data on security careers and peacebuilding efforts, we proposed a new scale. A WPS scale that visualizes data on women in formal positions and in civil society activism would more publicly reveal women’s contributions, amplify their credibility as true stakeholders, and quite possibly build a more sustainable peace. Sadly, until more data becomes available, a comprehensive WPS scale is not possible. We, the authors, urge social scientists and national statistical bureaus to fill this gap.

Notes

- 1 Laurel Stone, “Quantitative Analysis of Women’s Participation in Peace Processes,” *International Peace Institute*, 2015, 34, accessed April 4, 2018, www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/IPI-E-pub-Reimagining-Peacemaking-rev.pdf.
- 2 Patty Chang, Mayesha Alam, Roslyn Warren, Rukmani Bhatia, and Rebecca Turkington, *Women Leading Peace: A Close Examination of Women’s Political Participation in Peace Processes in Northern Ireland, Guatemala, Kenya, and the Philippines* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security, 2015), 28, accessed April 4, 2018, <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/sites/giwps/files/Women%20Leading%20Peace.pdf>; Pablo Castillo Diaz and Simon Tordjman, *Women’s Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence* (New York: UN Women, 2012), 12, accessed April 4, 2018, <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/03AWomenPeaceNeg.pdf>.
- 3 Barbara F. Walter, “Conflict Relapse and the Sustainability of Post-Conflict Peace,” (World Development Report 2011: Background Paper, World Bank, September 13, 2011), 1, accessed April 4, 2018, https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/9069/WDR2011_0008.pdf?sequence=1.
- 4 Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About It* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008), x.
- 5 Theresa de Langis, “Across Conflict Lines: Women Mediating for Peace,” *The Institute for Inclusive Security*, 2011, 1, accessed April 4, 2018, www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/2011-Colloquium-Report_FINAL.pdf.
- 6 Mary Caprioli, Valerie Hudson, Rose McDermott, Chad Emmett, and Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, “Putting Women in Their Place,” *Baker Journal of Applied Public Policy* 1, no. 1 (2007): 15; Radhika Coomaraswamy, *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325*, United Nations, 2015, 15, 24.
- 7 Thania Paffenholz, Nick Ross, Steven Dixon, Anna-Lena Schluchter and Jacqui True, *Making Women Count—Not Just Counting Women: Assessing Women’s Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations*, The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies and UN Women, April 2016, 5–6, 16, accessed April 4, 2018, www.inclusivepeace.org/sites/default/files/IPTI-UN-Women-Report-Making-Women-Count-60-Pages.pdf; Jacqueline Demeritt, Angela D. Nichols, and Eliza G. Kelly, “Female Participation and Civil War Relapse,” *Civil Wars* 16, no. 3 (2014): 357–359; International IDEA, *Women in Conflict and Peace* (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2015), 43.
- 8 Chang et al., *Women Leading Peace*, 78–82.

- 9 International IDEA, *Women in Conflict and Peace*, 42–46, 89, 143–145.
- 10 Chang et al., *Women Leading Peace*, 28, 112, 118, 120; Kevin P. Clements, “Building Sustainable Peace and Compassionate Community,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Intergroup Conflict*, ed. Linda Tropp (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 354; Ronald J. Fisher, Herbert C. Kelman, and Susan Allen Nan, “Conflict Analysis and Resolution,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, ed. Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears, and Jack S. Levy (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 513; Alice H. Eagly, Mary C. Johannesen-Schmidt, and Marloes L. van Engen, “Transformational, Transactional, and Laissez-faire Leadership Styles: A Meta-analysis Comparing Women and Men,” *Psychological Bulletin* 129, no. 4 (2003): 569.
- 11 Fisher et al., “Conflict Analysis and Resolution,” 513.
- 12 Paffenholz et al., *Making Women Count*, 10; Diaz and Tordjman, *Women’s Participation*, 13.
- 13 Melanne Verbeke, “Why Women Are a Foreign Policy Issue,” *Foreign Policy Magazine*, May/June 2012, accessed October 8, 2017, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/04/23/why-women-are-a-foreign-policy-issue/>.
- 14 Coomaraswamy, *Preventing Conflict*, 55.
- 15 Karen Hagemann, “Civil Society Gendered: Rethinking Theories and Practices,” in *Civil Society and Gender Justice: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, Vol. 4, ed. Karen Hagemann, Sonya Michel, and Gunilla Budde (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 20. Here, “Civil society” refers to groups of goal-oriented people, institutions, or movements who use personal initiative to advocate for social action and who act outside family, state, and business enterprises; also, “Track Two” reflects organizations that serve as the bridge between the other two “tracks,” bringing high-level and grassroots-level stakeholders together to hear each other. Accessed April 4, 2018, www.civicus.org/downloads/Methodological%20note%20on%20the%20CIVICUS%20Civil%20Society%20Enabling%20Environment%20Index.pdf.
- 16 UN Women, “Facts and Figures: Peace and Security,” *United Nations*, 2016, accessed June 1, 2017, www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures.
- 17 Coomaraswamy, *Preventing Conflict*, 25.
- 18 Diaz and Tordjman, *Women’s Participation*, 7–8.
- 19 International IDEA, *Women in Conflict and Peace*, 12; Annika Björkdahl, “A Gender-Just Peace? Exploring the Post-Dayton Peace Process in Bosnia,” *Peace & Change* 37, no. 2 (2012): 287.
- 20 Lee Ann Banaszak, Karen Beckwith, and Dieter Rucht, “When Power Relocates: Interactive Changes in Women’s Movements and States,” in *Women’s Movements Facing the Reconfigured State*, ed. Lee Ann Banaszak, Karen Beckwith, and Dieter Rucht (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 17–18.
- 21 UN Women, “Facts and Figures,” 2016.
- 22 Valerie M. Hudson, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Mary Caprioli, and Chad F. Emmett, *Sex and World Peace* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 17; Laura Sjoberg, *Gender, War, and Conflict* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2014), 3.
- 23 Diaz and Tordjman, *Women’s Participation*, 4.
- 24 UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000), On Women and Peace and Security, S/RES/1325, 1, accessed April 4, 2018, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf>.
- 25 Dara Kay Cohen, *Rape during Civil War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016), 1.
- 26 Suk Chun and Inger Skjelsbæk, *Policy Brief: Sexual Violence in Armed Conflicts*, (Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, 2010), 2, accessed April 4, 2018, http://file.prio.no/Publication_files/Prio/Sexual-Violence-in-Armed-Conflicts-PRIO-Policy-Brief-1-2010.pdf.
- 27 Marion Pratt, Leah Werchick, Anaia Bewa, Marie-Louise Eagleton, Claudine Lumumba, Katherine Nichols, and Lina Piripiri, *Sexual Terrorism: Rape as a Weapon of War in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo* (Washington D.C.: USAID, 2004), 5.
- 28 Carol Cohn, “Introduction,” *Women and Wars*, ed. Carol Cohn (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2013), 2; Fionnuala Ni Aolain, “The Gender Politics of Fact-Finding in the Context of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda,” in *The Transformation of Human Rights Fact-finding*, ed. Philip Alston and Sarah Knuckey (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 90–91, 97.
- 29 Ann J. Tickner, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 4–5, 14, 17; Hudson et al., *Sex and World Peace*, 3, 5, 17.
- 30 Ni Aolain, “The Gender Politics,” 93.

- 31 Tickner, *Gender in International Relations*, 8.
- 32 Sarah Gammage, "Time Pressed and Time Poor: Unpaid Household Work in Guatemala," *Feminist Economics* 16 no. 3, (2010): 85, 102, 105; C. Mark Blackden and Quentin Wodon, "Gender, Time Use, and Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa," *World Bank Working Paper*, no. 73 (2006): 1–2.
- 33 Blackden and Wodon, "Gender, Time Use," 13, 33.
- 34 Gammage, "Time Pressed and Time Poor," 102.
- 35 Azza Karam, "Women in War and Peace-building: The Roads Traversed, the Challenges Ahead," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 3, no. 1 (2000): 6–7, 11; Elisabeth Porter, "Women, Political Decision-Making, and Peace-Building," *Global Change, Peace and Security* 15, no. 3 (2003): 250, 257.
- 36 Chang et al., *Women Leading Peace*, 119.
- 37 Diaz and Tordjman, *Women's Participation*, 4.
- 38 Swanee Hunt and Cristina Posa, 2001, "Women Waging Peace," *Foreign Policy*, no. 124 (2001), 41.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 42.
- 40 Diaz and Tordjman, *Women's Participation*, 12.
- 41 Jackie Kirk, "Promoting a Gender-just Peace: The Roles of Women Teachers in Peacebuilding and Reconstruction," *Gender and Development* 12, no. 3 (2004): 50.
- 42 "A Short Introduction," *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, 2017, accessed August 5, 2017, <http://wilpf.org/wilpf/who-we-are-NEED>.
- 43 *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year*, United Nations, 1976, 105–106, 138–139, accessed April 4, 2018, www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/otherconferences/Mexico/Mexico%20conference%20report%20optimized.pdf.
- 44 United Nations General Assembly, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, New York, December 18, 1979, *United Nations, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights*, Art. 2, 3, and 6, accessed October 8, 2017, www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CEDAW.aspx.
- 45 Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 169–170.
- 46 "The World's Women 1970–1990: Trends and Statistics," *United Nations*, 1991, 156, accessed April 4, 2018, <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/Worldswomen/WW1990.pdf>.
- 47 Chang et al., *Women Leading Peace*, 54.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 59–60.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 58–59, 62, 63–66; Sumie 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, no. 4 (2003): 463, 465.
- 50 United Nations General Assembly Resolutions, 1993, Resolution 48/104, Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, 2, accessed October 7, 2017, www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/48/104.
- 51 "Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women" (New York: United Nations, 1996), 58, accessed July 5, 2017, www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/Beijing%20full%20report%20E.pdf.
- 52 *Ibid.*
- 53 Chang et al., *Women Leading Peace*, 32, 37, 50.
- 54 Karen Barnes, "The Evolution and Implementation of UNSCR 1325: An Overview," in *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice*, ed. Funmi Olonisakin, Karen Barnes, and Eka Ikpe (New York: Routledge, 2010), 18.
- 55 United Nations Security Council Resolutions, 2000, Resolution 1325, Women and Peace and Security, 2, accessed October 7, 2017, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement>.
- 56 "Peacebuilding Commission's Gender Strategy," United Nations, 11–13, accessed August 18, 2017, www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/pdf/oc/07092016-%20PBC%20Gender%20Strategy_FINAL.pdf.
- 57 United Nations Economic and Social Council: Commission on the Status of Women, *Review of the Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action* (Forty-ninth session, December 6, 2004), 48–49, August 5, 2017, accessed April 4, 2018, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/636/83/PDF/N0463683.pdf>.

- 58 UN News Service, "Hailed as 'Role Models,' All-Female Indian Police Unit Departs UN Mission in Liberia," *United Nations*, 2016, accessed August 5, 2017, www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=53218#.WGWiXpkrLIV.
- 59 Nadine Puechguirbal, "Women and War in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28, no. 4 (2003): 1274–1275.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 1277.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 1274–1277.
- 62 UN Women, "Training for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," 2017, accessed October 8, 2017, www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/capacity-development-and-training; UN Women, "Female Peacekeepers Take the Helm, to End Gender-Based Violence," May 28, 2015, accessed April 4, 2018, www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2015/5/female-peacekeepers-take-the-helm.
- 63 UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Gender Equality in UN Peacekeeping Operations* (New York: United Nations, 2010): 2–4, accessed April 4, 2018, www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/gender_directive_2010.pdf.
- 64 UN Women, "Facts and Figures."
- 65 UN News Service, "Record Number of Women Makes History at UN Security Council," *United Nations*, 2014, accessed May 1, 2017 www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=48711#.WGXDf_krK00.
- 66 United Nations Economic and Social Council, *Commission on the Status of Women: Report on the Fifty-fourth Session* (New York: United Nations 2010) 4, 41, 51–52; UN Women, *Summary Report: The Beijing Platform for Action Turns 20* (New York: United Nations, 2015), 9, 22–24, accessed April 4, 2018, www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2015/02/beijing-synthesis-report.
- 67 Coomaraswamy, *Preventing Conflict*, 13–14.
- 68 Maïa de la Baume, "The Women Behind the Iran Nuclear Deal," *Politico*, July 17, 2015, accessed October 8, 2017, www.politico.eu/article/the-women-behind-the-nuclear-deal/; "Press Availability on Nuclear Deal With Iran" *U.S. State Department*, July 14, 2015, accessed April 4, 2018, www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2015/07/244885.htm.
- 69 Suzanne Kianpour, "Iran negotiations: The women who made the Iran nuclear deal happen," *BBC*, August 6, 2015, accessed April 4, 2018, www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-33728879.
- 70 Pascha Bueno-Hansen, "The Intersectional Analysis of the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission," in *Researching War: Feminist Methods, Ethics, and Politics*, ed. Annick T. R. Wibben (New York: Routledge, 2016), 190–191, 198.
- 71 Quote from Valerie Hudson, "The Security of Women and the Security of States," a presentation at Brigham Young University, March 23, 2017.
- 72 Kevin E. Davis, Benedict Kingsbury, Sally Engle Merry, "Introduction: The Local–Global Life of Indicators: Law, Power, and Resistance," in *The Quiet Power of Indicators: Measuring Governance, Corruption, and the Rule of Law*, ed. Sally Engle Merry, Kevin E. Davis, and Benedict Kingsbury (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 4.
- 73 Merry, Davis, and Kingsbury, "Introduction," 2; Patrick Ball, "The Bigness of Big Data: Samples, Models, and the Facts We Might Find when Looking at Data," in *The Transformation of Human Rights Fact-Finding*, ed. Philip Alston and Sarah Knuckey, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 426.
- 74 Merry, Davis, and Kingsbury, "Introduction," 2, 21.
- 75 "Global Peace Index: 2015," *Institute of Economics and Peace and Vision for Humanity*, 2015, 2, 101, accessed April 4, 2018, http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Global-Peace-Index-Report-2015_0.pdf.
- 76 "The Rule of Law Index 2015 Report," *The World Justice Project*, 17, accessed October 8, 2017, https://worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/roli_2015_0.pdf.
- 77 *Ibid.*, 23.
- 78 "Multivariate Scale #1," *The WomanStats Project*, 2014, accessed July 25, 2017, www.womanstats.org/new/codebook/.
- 79 See "Codebook," *The WomanStats Project*, 2017, accessed April 4, 2018, www.womanstats.org/new/codebook/.
- 80 Caprioli, Mary, Valerie M. Hudson, Rose McDermott, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Chad F. Emmett, and S. Matthew Stearmer, "The Womanstats Project Database: Advancing an Empirical Research

- Agenda,” *Journal of Peace Research* 46, no. 6 (2009): 839–840; Valerie Hudson, “Getting Serious About Data on Women,” *openDemocracy*, January 6, 2014, accessed October 7, 2017, www.opendemocracy.net/5050/valerie-hudson/getting-serious-about-data-on-women.
- 81 Davis, Kingsbury, Merry, “Introduction,” 10–12.
- 82 *Ibid.*, 12.
- 83 Hudson, “Getting Serious.”
- 84 Chang et al., *Women Leading Peace*, 12.
- 85 “Security Council WPS Scorecard,” *PeaceWomen*, 2016, accessed October 8, 2017, www.peacewomen.org/scorecards.
- 86 “The 1325 Scorecard,” *Women in International Security*, 2016, accessed May 1, 2017, <http://wiisglobal.org/programs/unsr-1325-nato/>.