

INCREASING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN
MEDIATION PROCESSES: WHAT ROLES FOR THE
UNITED NATIONS, REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
AND MEMBER STATES?



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BACKGROUND PAPER PREPARED FOR THE HIGH-LEVEL SEMINAR ON
STRENGTHENING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES:
WHAT ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR STATES?



The high-level seminar was convened by UN Women in collaboration with the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation in Rome, Italy, 3-4 December 2019



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The high-level seminar on “Strengthening Women’s Participation in Peace Processes: What Roles and Responsibilities for States?” convened in Rome from 3-4 December 2019, and the following background paper were made possible through generous contribution of the Government of Italy. UN Women would like to thank Italy, namely its Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation for the support to our work on enhancing women’s participation and leadership in peace, national dialogue and reconciliation processes. Appreciation is extended to the participants at the high-level seminar, whose knowledge and expertise informed the final version of the background paper. Special thanks go to Mukondeleli Mpeiwa, Teresita Quinto Deles, Salma Yusuf and Magda Zenon for their diverse perspectives and generous reflections. In appreciation of their substantial contributions, UN Women would also like to thank Marita Sørheim-Rensvik (Norwegian Special Envoy for Women, Peace and Security), Catherine Turner (Durham Law School) and Joakim Kreutz (Uppsala University), and the following colleagues at UN Women and the United Nations: Semiha Abdulmelik, Ecoma Alaga, Pablo Castillo Diaz, Marie Josee Kandanga, Carla Silbert and Harriette Williams Bright.

The background paper was prepared by Magda Cardenas with inputs from Mireille Affa’a Mindzie. It was edited by Leigh Pasqual.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The adoption of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) and subsequent resolutions on women, peace and security has motivated an extensive range of policy initiatives among Member States and international organizations to advance women's participation in peace processes. However, 20 years after the adoption of UNSCR 1325, these efforts have yet to produce a substantial increase in women's meaningful participation.

This background paper was prepared ahead of the high-level seminar, UN Women organized, in collaboration with the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, on "Strengthening Women's Participation in Peace Processes: What Roles and Responsibilities for States?" in Rome, Italy, on 3 and 4 December 2019. The study contributed to the seminar by analyzing the policies and strategies that Member States and other international actors have adopted to foster women's meaningful participation, particularly related to mediating peace, and how these actions are translating (or not) into more specific involvement of women in peace negotiations.

The paper first presents an empirical mapping of women's involvement in peace processes, namely as mediators. The proportion of women mediators remains low despite some representation in an increasing number of peace processes. Recently, some modest gains have been more visible as the United Nations, regional organizations and Member States actively promote women's participation in peace talks by introducing institutional reforms in their design and by implementing a wide range of policy and normative mechanisms.

Second, the paper provides a systematic overview of the main instruments developed by the United Nations, regional organizations and Member States, which aim to enhance women's participation in peace processes. For Member States, National Action Plans (NAPs) on women, peace and security constitute the main tool for tracking the implementation of the WPS agenda at national level. Among the 83 NAPs launched globally in late 2019, more than 68 per cent include efforts to increase women's representation in peace negotiations, and 48 per cent have specific provisions on mediation. An important distinction must be made between countries that have a current or recent experience of armed conflict and those that do not. Funding also remains a significant factor impacting women's participation in peace processes both for State-led and civil society-led initiatives.

Third, the study identifies good practices, emerging initiatives, and underdeveloped aspects to increase women's participation in peace processes. One of such developments is the recent focus on supporting multi-track diplomacy. This is explored especially with regards to regional networks of women mediators that hold great potential to bridge divides between tracks. While these networks are 'less political', they are diplomatically strong and reputable, and they provide a community of female mediators that include individuals with conflict management expertise rather than just a record of high-level appointments. Nevertheless, it is still early to assess the impact of these networks.

Finally, the paper formulates recommendations addressing respectively women mediator networks, Member States,

and regional organizations and the United Nations.

To women mediator networks:

- Within the framework of the Global Alliance of Regional Women Mediator Networks, develop a clear communications strategy, which maps areas of expertise, and identifies best practices among the strategies developed by each of the networks to continue strengthening women mediators’ capacities and sharing information.
- Establish routines to systematically collect and analyze experiences from women mediators’ deployments and develop opportunities for partnerships and support.
- Strengthen advocacy with Member States, international and regional organizations leading preventive diplomacy initiatives and peace negotiations, in order to get early access to such processes.
- Strengthen and implement sustainable strategies to facilitate dialogue among women mediators and women’s organizations at the grassroots level, including intergenerational dialogues with young women mediators.

To Member States:

- Adhere to the Commitment 2025 spearheaded by Finland and Spain, and design and implement multi-year financial and technical assistance in accordance with the Commitment’s provisions.
- Make explicit commitments to nominate and appoint women as mediators, including in leadership positions; and implement and advocate for the effective implementation of existing normative and legal frameworks

to promote women’s participation in peace processes.

- Encourage negotiating parties to include women within their delegations.
- When leading mediation efforts, encourage the practice of consultations with local women’s organizations at different stages of the peace negotiation. These consultations should encompass a broad range of themes such as ceasefires, demobilization, demining, among others, and not only themes labeled as “women’s issues”.
- Incorporate staff with gender expertise within mediation teams. Ensure that the gender dimension is integrated as a key component of the conflict analysis and discussions of every theme in the agenda.
- Encourage and facilitate women’s participation in national and local infrastructures for peace, including by the adequate funding and effective implementation of women, peace and security NAPs and other strategies.
- Address the institutional barriers that prevent women’s participation in peace negotiations by ensuring transparency in the process of mediators’ recruitment and promoting a cultural shift in gender-biased narratives and mainstreamed discriminatory practices. Likewise, address logistical barriers such as travel and translation by allocating rapid response funds.
- Facilitate the increased, direct and meaningful participation of women in monitoring the implementation of peace agreements.
- Incorporate the implementation of WPS as a requirement for accessing funds in projects taking place in conflict-affected countries.

To regional organizations and the United Nations:

- Develop accountability mechanisms for mediators and special envoys to ensure the meaningful inclusion of women and gender perspectives at all stages of the negotiation process, including pre-talks.
 - Strengthen technical capacity of mediators, special envoys and mediation experts to conduct gender-sensitive conflict analysis as a key component of planning and deployment of mediation teams, and provide gender expertise.
 - Nominate and appoint women as lead mediators and as mediation experts, including by reaching out to women's mediator networks.
 - Support Member States with the implementation of their commitments
- to increase the meaningful participation of women in peace processes, including through the appointment of women mediators.
- Provide political and financial support for women's organizations and women from conflict-affected areas to engage in dialogue with track 1 and to provide insights to the negotiation.
 - Ensure wide socialization and training on the UN's "Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies" as well as other methodological tools on conflict analysis with a gender perspective.
 - Encourage the use of women mediators' expertise in thematic areas of peace negotiations in which women are often sidelined, for instance, DDR, demining, land reforms, among others.

INTRODUCTION

The adoption of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) and subsequent resolutions on women, peace and security (WPS) has motivated an extensive range of policy initiatives among Member States and international organizations to advance women’s participation in peace processes. Yet, 20 years after the adoption of UNSCR 1325, these efforts have not produced a substantial increase in women’s participation. Although scholars have analyzed the important role that women play in peace processes, and in achieving peace agreements that are followed by more durable peace,¹ this remains an emerging field of research with many areas still underexplored. This study seeks to add to ongoing discussion by analyzing the policies and strategies that Member States and other international actors have adopted to foster women’s meaningful participation, particularly related to mediating peace², and how these actions are translating (or not) into more specific involvement by women in peace negotiations.

Mediation in conflict settings

Mediation is, in broad terms, and according to the United Nations, a “process whereby a third party assists two or more parties, with their consent, to prevent, manage or resolve a conflict by helping them to develop mutually acceptable agreements”³. Building on this definition, and focusing on violent conflict settings, it is important to clarify the distinction between mediators and the negotiators who represent the warring sides.⁴

There is a vast literature about different mediation strategies. The assistance provided

to warring parties ranges from (i) facilitating information-sharing and inter-party communication; (ii) overseeing the process of meetings and maybe some agenda setting; and (iii) developing solution-proposals and maybe even issuing ultimatums.⁵ In practice, mediation thus could consist of acting largely in the background, or taking a more active part in the settlement process. In fact, it is common that third parties act in different ways at different stages of the peace process, and that different mediators in a team might fulfill different roles.

A common preconception is that mediators should be from outside the actual conflict country – representing the UN, regional organizations, or other States. However, this is not consistent with practice.⁶ This paper discusses both external and local mediators, taking a broader approach than many existing approaches, although still consistent with the UN definition. It includes for example, local mediators defined as third parties from the conflict-affected society that “assist (...) to prevent, manage or resolve the conflict” such as local civil society actors that join a peace process to introduce proposals for a future political agreement.⁷

The United Nations Secretary-General’s guidelines on mediation as well as the United Nations Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs’ (DPPA) mediation policy acknowledge the role of local actors and advocates for gender-inclusive mediation processes, and specify the importance of women’s *meaningful* participation – a qualitative leap from just numeric or descriptive representation⁸ – and the application of gender-sensitivity throughout the peace process. Meaningful participation

requires that “women not only be present, but that their concerns are heard and taken on board, they have the opportunity to articulate their contributions and expertise, to ensure that gender perspectives and analyses inform and shape peace processes, and that outcomes benefit the whole of society”.⁹

Context and structure of this study

This background paper was prepared ahead of a high-level seminar organized by UN Women, in collaboration with the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, on “Strengthening Women’s Participation in Peace Processes: What Roles and Responsibilities for States?” in Rome, Italy, on 3 and 4 December 2019. The meeting sought to examine the role of Member States in advancing the full and effective participation of women in mediation and peace processes.

The paper is structured firstly, as an empirical mapping of women’s involvement in peace processes, particularly as mediators, and beyond being present at the signing of a peace agreement. This provides a baseline trend about the presence of women mediators with more comprehensive data than earlier studies.¹⁰ Second, the paper provides a systematic overview of the main instruments developed by the UN, regional organizations and Member States aimed at enhancing women’s participation in peace processes. These instruments encompass track 1 mechanisms to support women as formal participants in official peace negotiations, as well as track 2 and track 3 mechanisms aimed at engaging civil society in peace processes. Third, the analysis of the material identifies some good practices, emerging initiatives, and underdeveloped aspects to increase women’s participation in peace processes. Finally, the

paper concludes with recommendations about steps forward and priority areas for the UN, regional organizations, and Member States.

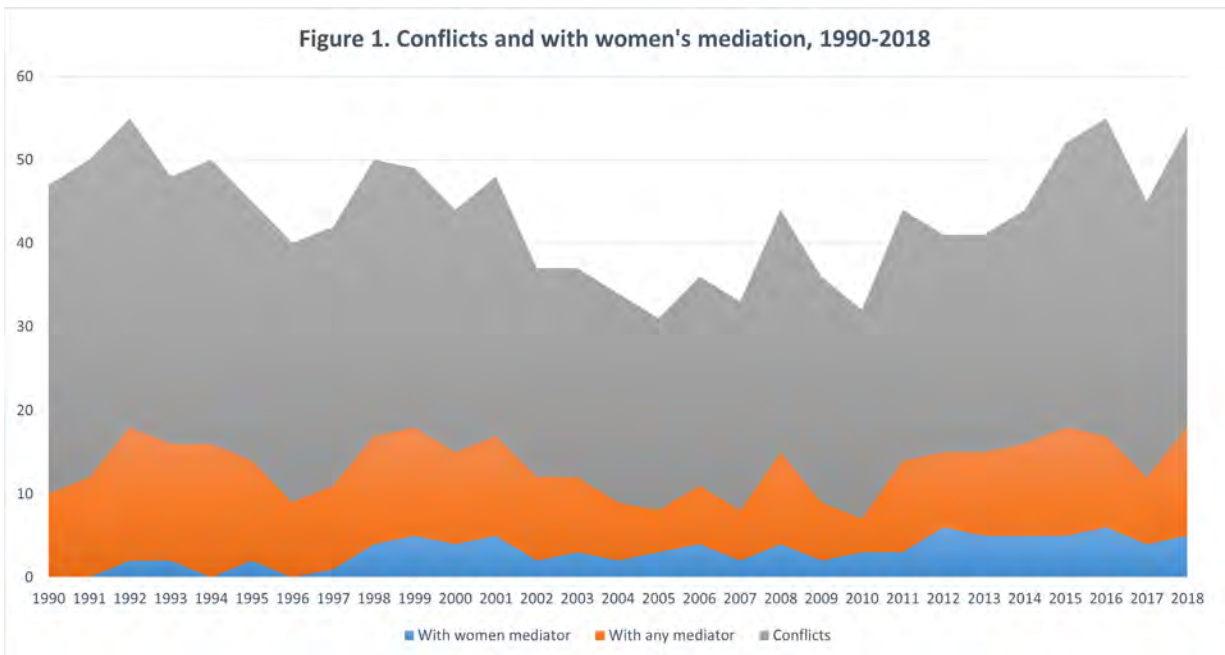
I. WOMEN MEDIATORS

Various studies have examined the participation of women in peace processes, highlighting their continued marginalization and its principal causes, as well as inclusion modalities or the strategies women have used to contribute meaningfully to peace processes.¹¹ Overall, despite relative progress since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security, women are still significantly underrepresented in formal conflict resolution and mediation efforts – including in processes led or co-led by the UN. Civil society, and women’s organizations in particular, often promote peace initiatives during conflict. However, their participation in formal peace talks generally happens late in the process and is temporary, their roles are not always substantive, and their capacity to influence may be directly hampered by conservative gatekeepers.¹²

To support efforts to advance women’s inclusion in peace processes in general and as mediators in particular, this paper presents an overview of all instances of mediation in armed conflicts from 1990-2018, to identify trends in women’s participation as mediators. In contrast to existing research, the data focuses specifically on mediation and covers actual peace processes rather than just signed peace agreements, meaning in effect, that instead of a few dozen cases, the data consists of 876 conflict-year observations from 76 different countries. Compiled by Cardenas & Kreutz (2020), the data covers all international

and civil conflicts in the world between 1990-2018 as identified by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), to identify when and where negotiations between warring sides were underway and assisted by any mediator.¹³ For every conflict-year in which mediation occurred, information from existing datasets and case-specific material in the form of academic research, NGO reports, and news sources was used to identify whether at least one mediator in the conflict was a woman. The findings indicate a consistent gender imbalance in the practice of mediation.

and there are no instances of women-only mediation. Although the gender imbalance remains clearly visible, the gap has decreased slightly in recent years, which may be an indication of the greater attention given by States and the international community to the WPS agenda. During 2012-2018, women have been present as mediators in 36 of 75 mediation efforts (see Figure 1, data from Cardenas & Kreutz, 2020). It is worth noting, however, that there has been no mediation at all in two-thirds of active conflicts in this time period.



Over the period considered, mediation in general, is unfortunately only accepted in some conflicts and not in every year of active fighting. Out of a total of 876 conflict-years (an average of 30 active conflicts/year), only 34 per cent include any mediation at all (an average of 10 conflicts/year). However, in only 89 conflict-years (10.2 per cent, or about 3 conflicts/year) did any mediation effort include at least one woman as co-mediator,

As mediation continues to be relatively rare in conflicts and the shift towards greater participation of women mediators is recent, it is too early to conclude whether this trend is sustainable.

Table 1: Overview of systematic data on women’s participation in peace negotiations

Study		Countries	Time	Mediation efforts with women participants (% of all efforts)	Women’s general
UN Women (2012)*	31	25	1992-2011	3 (9.7%)	
Stone (2014)	156		1989-2011		39 (25%)
Paffenholz, Ross, Dixon, Schluchter & True (2016)**	40	33	1990-2014		28 (70%)
Aggestam & Svensson (2018)		29	1991-2014	75 (8%)	
Krause, Krause & Bränfors (2018)	82		1989-2011		13 (16%)
Bell & Badanjak (2019)	353		1990-2018		17 (4.8%)
CFR (2019)	42	32	1992-2018	4 (9.5%)	
Cardenas & Kreutz (2020)	876	76	1990-2018	89 (10.2%)	

*Re-formatted here to compare across peace processes, when analyzed as the number of individuals then “4% of signatories, 2.4% of chief mediators, 3.7% of witnesses and 9% of negotiators were women.”

** 13 cases (32.5%) not directly linked to armed conflict.

The overall findings from this new data suggests that the presence of women mediators in 10.2 per cent of conflicts is broadly in line with findings from previous studies analyzing peace agreements solely (see Table 1). To compare, a 2012 study by UN Women indicated that out of 31 major peace processes between 1992 and 2011, there were women mediators only in three conflicts (9 per cent). Aggestam and Svensson (2017) found women mediators in 8 per cent of cases between 1991-2014, while a study of 42 peace processes and agreements between 1992-2018 by the Council of Foreign Relations (2019) found that women constituted an average of 9.5 per cent of mediators.¹⁴

The Global Study on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2000), compiled ahead of the UN Security Council High-Level Review of the women, peace and security agenda in October 2015, highlighted the benefits of women’s meaningful inclusion in peace processes. Such benefits cover broadening of the peace process by including larger constituencies beyond the fighting parties and spoilers; putting greater pressure on the parties to reach an agreement or return to the negotiating table when the talks have faltered; bringing qualitative consensus-building to the talks; deepening peace dividends by integrating a gendered and inclusive perspective on issues of security, justice, governance and recovery; and facilitating broader social acceptance and commitment to the peace deal from communities and those affected by the conflict. Regarding women mediators, additional benefits have been observed, notably their ability to facilitate the inclusion of women from diverse backgrounds in the peace process. The Global Study found that the role of mediators, especially women

mediators, was one of the most important factors in determining the quality of women’s participation in peace talks.¹⁵

II. THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS: AN EMERGING ARCHITECTURE FOR PEACE AND INCLUSIVE MEDIATION

The United Nations represents both a forum where much of the development of the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda has taken place, and an actor with a substantial role in global conflict prevention and management. This dual role provides opportunities for promoting and supporting women as mediators. Yet, it also presents challenges as the organization needs to articulate the WPS agenda with other policies across different UN agencies and with Member States.

1. The women, peace and security agenda

The WPS agenda initiated by UNSCR 1325 (2000) and developed further by nine other Security Council resolutions until 2019,¹⁶ encompasses the goal of increasing women’s participation in peace negotiations and the formulation of gender-sensitive agreements, as a means to achieve gender-inclusive peace processes. Building on the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, which called for increased participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels, the WPS resolutions contribute to shaping the UN’s, its Member States’, and international and regional organizations’ roles in advancing women’s participation and leadership in peace and security processes.

UN Security Council resolutions and women's participation in mediation and peace processes

- ✓ **Resolution 1325 (2000)** recognizes women's role in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace negotiations; and stresses the importance of women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security.
- ✓ **Resolution 1889 (2009)** urges Member States, international and regional organizations to take measures to improve women's participation during all stages of peace processes, particularly in conflict resolution, post-conflict planning and peacebuilding. It also calls upon the Secretary-General to develop a strategy to increase the number of women appointed as Special Representatives and Special Envoys, and to take measures to increase women's participation in United Nations political, peacebuilding and peacekeeping missions.
- ✓ **Resolution 2106 (2013)** recognizes the role of gender advisors in ensuring that gender perspectives are mainstreamed in policies, planning and implementation by all peace mission elements.
- ✓ **Resolution 2122 (2013)** recognizes the need to continue increasing women's participation and the consideration of gender-related issues in all discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of armed conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and in post-conflict peacebuilding. It also calls for specific actions to increase women's participation in conflict resolution through consultation by UN Special Representatives of the Secretary-General and Special Envoys; by making gender expertise and gender experts available to all UN mediation teams; by supporting the appointments of women at senior levels as UN mediators; and by calling on all parties to peace talks to facilitate the equal and full participation of women at decision-making levels.
- ✓ **Resolution 2242 (2015)** reiterates the call of the Security Council on Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention and resolution of conflict; encourages those supporting peace processes to facilitate women's meaningful inclusion in negotiating parties' delegations to peace talks; calls upon donor countries to provide financial and technical assistance to women involved in peace processes, including training in mediation, advocacy, and technical areas of negotiation, as well as providing support and training to mediators and technical teams on the impact of women's participation and strategies for women's effective inclusion; encourages the meaningful participation of civil society organizations at international and regional peace and security meetings, as appropriate, including donor conferences, and encourages the hosts of such meetings to give due consideration to facilitating a cross representation of civil society participants.
- ✓ **Resolution 2493 (2019)** urges Member States to commit to implementing the WPS agenda and its priorities by ensuring and promoting the full, equal and meaningful participation of women in all stages of peace processes, including through mainstreaming a gender perspective. It urges Member States supporting peace processes to facilitate women's full, equal and meaningful inclusion and participation in peace talks from the outset, both in negotiating parties' delegations and in the mechanisms set up to implement and monitor agreements. It encourages Member States to support efforts, including timely support to women to enhance their participation and capacity-building in peace processes, in order to address the unequal representation and participation of women in the peace and security agenda. It also requests the Secretary-General, with the support of all Heads of UN Entities, to develop context-specific approaches for women's participation in all UN-supported peace talks, including country-specific situations, in order to contribute to full, equal and meaningful participation of women in peace and security.

Despite this comprehensive normative development over the last two decades (see Figure 2), the implementation of the WPS agenda remains limited. This unfortunately includes the UN’s own efforts to ensure the meaningful participation of women and the inclusion of gender perspectives into peace processes and peace agreements.¹⁷ In 2019, the annual report of the Secretary-General on women, peace and security¹⁸ noted that none of the three ceasefire or peace agreements reached in United Nations-led or co-led processes in 2018 included gender-related or women-specific provisions. Moreover, out of a total of 52 peace agreements signed in 2018, only 4 (or 7.7 per cent) contained gender-related provisions. The Secretary-General’s report went on to stress the links that exist between women’s continued marginalization and the rise in political violence targeting women, including attacks against women peacebuilders.

2. Existing efforts to further implementation of the WPS agenda

a) The Informal Expert Group of the Security Council on Women, Peace and Security

One way the UN system has sought to increase monitoring and accountability for the WPS agenda is through the Informal Expert Group (IEG) of the Security Council on Women, Peace and Security. With UN Women as its secretariat, the IEG was established in 2016 as an outcome of the 2015 High-Level Review of implementation of Security Council resolution 1325 (2000). It provides a space for transparent, regular, systematic and timely consultations between Member States and

the UN system on WPS concerns. These consultations increase the flow of quality information to the Security Council, thus enabling greater oversight and coordination of implementation efforts.

Since its creation, the IEG has convened briefings on the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Libya, Mali, Myanmar, South Sudan, and Yemen, among others. By doing so, it facilitates comprehensive gender analysis of all the situations on the agenda, including in themes such as violent extremism and terrorism, women’s representation and leadership, ceasefire monitoring arrangements, and the implementation of peace agreements. Three years after the IEG’s establishment, the integration of WPS into Security Council mission mandates has increased significantly – in 2018, 72 per cent of all decisions adopted by the Security Council contained explicit references to WPS issues, compared to 50 percent in 2016 and 14 percent fifteen years ago. Even so, the IEG is not immune to the complex dynamics among Security Council members, which ultimately impact the effectiveness of the WPS agenda. This was evident for example in 2019, when a WPS resolution was adopted for the first time ever with two abstentions – from China and the Russian Federation. In addition, the effective follow-up of IEG recommendations has yet to involve all Security Council subsidiary bodies, including sanctions committees.

b) Gender parity in the UN system

Another means of furthering the implementation of the WPS agenda is to address the underrepresentation of women across the UN system. Moreover, greater representation of women in senior positions

facilitates women’s involvement in mediation efforts. Soon after taking office in January 2017, UN Secretary-General António Guterres prioritized the promotion of women’s representation within the UN system through the *System-wide Strategy on Gender Parity*¹⁹, which aims to achieve gender parity at the senior leadership level (Under-Secretary-Generals, Assistant-Secretary-Generals, Special Representatives of the Secretary-General (SRSG) and Special Envoys) by 2021, and across the entire UN System before 2030.²⁰ In March 2018, Rosemary DiCarlo became the first woman appointed Head of the Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA) and gender parity was achieved among resident coordinators globally. By December 2018, it was reported that women comprised 35 per cent of heads and 48 per cent of deputy heads of United Nations peacekeeping and special political missions, representing an increase from 26 per cent and 35 per cent respectively, from the year before.²¹ In January 2020, the UN achieved gender parity – 90 women and 90 men – in the ranks of its full-time senior leadership, two years ahead of the set target. In addition to SRSGs and Special Envoys who can be involved in mediation processes, the gender parity policy is being implemented in recently created structures within the UN system such as the Secretary-General’s High-Level Advisory Board on Mediation, which is comprised of 18 members (9 women and 9 men) including global leaders, senior officials and experts who can bring different perspectives to the UN’s efforts around conflict resolution.

c) [The Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs and the WPS agenda](#)

DPPA is the lead UN entity for conflict prevention and resolution. It is tasked with implementing specific measures to enhance gender-sensitivity in peace operations and promote women mediators within the UN, as outlined in its 2019 women, peace and security policy, which calls for incorporating gender-responsive approach into all of its analytical, policy, mediation and programmatic work. In mission contexts, this requires for example, that missions highlight the need to counter discriminatory practices at the institutional level that disenfranchise women from participating in peace efforts. DPPA also provides support to ongoing negotiation efforts, which, since 2018, has been organized through the Mediation Support Unit (MSU) and includes a Standby Team of Mediation Experts. In 2019, three out of eight members of the Standby Team were women, although all appointed members are assessed for their expertise in gender mainstreaming.²² Further, DPPA provides gender advisors to field missions or offices of Special Envoys. In 2018, a total of 19 full-time gender advisors were assigned to 16 field missions or offices of special envoys, and an additional 94 staff members were assigned gender focal point duties²³. It is worth noting, however, that gender advisors are not necessarily women, and that this is not the only area of expertise where women contribute. Indeed, a recent investigation developed by Turner (2018) highlights that although women account for 41 per cent of mediation experts, only 11 per cent of them are gender experts. Turner also found that women are particularly well represented as experts on constitutional design and transitional justice.²⁴

Another example of DPPA’s specific efforts to promote the WPS agenda is its series of

Special Envoys and civil society initiatives for peace

Consultation mechanisms between Special Envoys and civil society can offer valuable opportunities for input from a wider variety of actors and ensure that gender concerns are raised in talks with the warring sides. Such mechanisms – like the Civil Society Support Room established along the intra-Syrian talks in Geneva – are necessary both during the official (Track 1) diplomatic effort, and during peace implementation to prevent the risk that the agreement fails. These approaches have been used in the Central African Republic where the UN peacekeeping mission cooperated with local women to facilitate local peace agreements between rebels and self-defense militias in Bambari and Bouar through the establishment of mediation cells comprised of 30 per cent women²⁵. Similarly, local women’s involvement has helped manage intercommunal tensions in Burundi and Mali²⁶. While these types of measures are often considered Track 2 and Track 3, and therefore more relevant after a ceasefire, research has shown that combining tracks increases the likelihood of peace agreements and their sustainability²⁷.

High-level Seminars on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Processes, which since 2013, has involved over 200 participants including envoys, senior mediators and mediation experts from 11 regional and sub-regional organizations and civil society.²⁸ The seminars introduce practical mediation tools for more inclusive conflict analysis and design of peace processes, including gender-relevant provisions in the different thematic areas of peace agreements.²⁹ This process has provided useful input for the *2017 Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies*, which emphasizes the importance of maintaining effective dialogue with women’s organizations and local women in conflict zones.

d) The role of UN Women

UN Women is the UN’s lead entity for gender equality and the empowerment of women. The agency is responsible for gender

supporting Member States in the implementation of the WPS agenda. UN Women works with civil society partners, particularly women’s organizations, to increase women’s effective participation in peace processes. UN Women also collaborates with regional and sub-regional organizations to increase the availability and quality of gender expertise in mediation processes as well as with UN Country Teams and Special Envoys. .

For example, in 2015 in Yemen, UN Women collaborated with the Office of the Special Envoy to create the Yemeni Women’s Pact for Peace and Security (Pact) as a consultative mechanism which discussed alternative solutions in preparation for the resumption of peace talks. The Pact was directly managed by UN Women and grew to include some 60 Yemeni women by late 2018. In 2016, the Office of the Special Envoy invited a

delegation of seven Yemeni women from the Pact to UN-sponsored peace talks in Kuwait, although the women were not directly involved in the negotiations. Likewise, in South Sudan, UN Women’s support for women’s groups contributed to the signing of a peace agreement that included a 35 per cent quota for women’s representation in transitional institutions.

The mandates of DPPA and UN Women – in terms of promoting women’s participation in peace processes – are highly complementary, as emphasized by the organizations’ joint strategy on gender and mediation launched in 2011. This cooperative effort aims to increase the availability and quality of gender expertise in mediation processes and to support the meaningful participation of women at all levels of conflict resolution.³⁰

3. Ongoing challenges impacting implementation of the WPS agenda

Despite progress in the policy frameworks within the UN peace architecture, it is still unclear how to ensure the inclusion of gender advisors and women mediators from an early stage of a peace process, including in “pre-negotiations” or during exploratory initiatives. Related to this is the challenge of ensuring that gender-sensitive analysis is conducted. Recent trends highlighted in the 2019 report of the UN Secretary-General on women, peace and security show, in the six peace processes led or co-led by the UN in 2018, women were included in 14 out of 19 delegations (as mediators and/or negotiators for the warring sides).³¹ Even though female delegates remain numerically fewer than males on delegations, female presence overall has slightly increased

over the years. In 2013, the report of the Secretary-General noted that out of nine UN-led peace processes with active negotiations in 2012, six had at least one female delegate (including one female head of delegation) or other women providing technical expertise to the team.³²

Another area of complexity revolves around recognizing the importance of women’s participation in peace negotiations beyond the demand of numerical representation. Senior women identified within the UN system combine mediation skills with thematic expertise in several areas, not only those labeled as “women’s topics”³³. In other words, promoting the expertise of women beyond traditional notions that women only speak for other women and are only experts on gender equality issues. In fact, several mediators have stated that they focused primarily on reaching a conflict settlement and do not consider the advancement of women’s rights as part of their work.³⁴

Beyond improving equality in participation, the WPS agenda urges that all actors involved in mediation efforts, whether men or women, commit to a gender-sensitive approach as an essential component of conflict analysis in mediation efforts, which remains largely a work in progress. To overcome this challenge, WPS was incorporated to the Secretary-General’s compact with UN Senior Leaders – including Special Representatives in peace and special political missions, and Special Envoys leading mediation efforts – thus offering an important avenue for both commitment and accountability to including women and gender perspectives in peace processes.³⁵ Further, the responsibility of Special Representatives and Special Envoys leading peace processes was

strengthened by the Secretary-General in his 2019 report on women, peace and security, when he called on them to actively promote and facilitate the meaningful participation of women, including with negotiating parties, and to consistently advocate for the direct participation of women leaders and women’s organizations in all peace processes, including through partnership and joint efforts with regional organizations and other relevant stakeholders.³⁶

Some institutional practices in the recruitment of UN mediators – such as the lack of public advertisement of mediation positions – have resulted in questions over transparency and equal opportunities as well as accountability for the WPS agenda. The UN is addressing this in several ways, including through, elaborating “terms of reference” for mediators intended to create a fairer selection process. This approach contributed to the appointment of a female UN Special Envoy to Myanmar, and a female interim Envoy to the Cyprus conflict in 2018.³⁷

Other factors likely to undermine the implementation of the WPS agenda relate to discrepancies about the inclusion of gender approaches into the mandates of different UN agencies in a country. There is a need to strengthen existing structures of cooperation and communication across all UN agencies both at headquarters and in the field, not limited to one-way communication lines – where for example, a WPS checklist is simply added to existing policies. Instead, active, regular dialogue on advancing the WPS agenda should be pursued, supported by insights from conflict resolution processes. To that end, recognizing that neither the UN, nor Member States and regional organizations

are on track to achieve concrete results in implementing the WPS agenda by the twentieth anniversary of resolution 1325 (2000), the UN Secretary-General has called on DPPA to organize context-specific high-level strategy meetings with Special Envoys or Special Representatives, key staff and experts on designing and supporting inclusive processes, at the start of every mediation process and every subsequent year for ongoing processes.

III. REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND WOMEN’S INCLUSION IN PEACEMAKING

Regional organizations are playing an increasingly important role in conflict management. The combination of local connections with transnational legitimacy and resources means that regional organizations have been at the forefront of promoting multi-track mediation, as well as providing opportunities for women to reach high diplomatic positions.

Twenty different organizations were recorded as active “peace brokers” from 1945-2010.³⁸ There are, however, notable variations with regard to the mandate, capabilities, institutional design and mechanisms across regional organizations, which influence not only their performance as mediators or in providing mediation support, but also how they implement the WPS agenda. This section focuses primarily on the 11 regional organizations that have developed Regional Action Plans (RAPs) on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2000). Although eight of these have been active in mediation, only three (the African Union, the European Union, and the

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) have deployed female mediators. Moreover, the African Union and European Union were early adopters of RAPs or similar instruments.

One common feature of these regional organizations when intervening to prevent or resolve conflict is that they rarely act on their own, preferring instead to work in collaboration with the UN and/or some Member States. In some cases, multiple regional organizations may overlap across a particular geographical coverage. While the existence of a wide range of institutional mechanisms may help reinforce the peace architecture, it can also pose challenges in terms of coordination. This is particularly the case for peace processes that involve multiple actors including Member States, regional organizations and the UN at various stages of the peace process, which can raise issues of coherence, uniformity or complementarity vis-à-vis the negotiating parties, as well as the lead and co-lead organizations, other regional and international mediation actors and civil society actors (including women's groups).

1. Engaging with the WPS agenda

The African Union, which has been implementing equal gender representation among its eight Commissioners since it was established in 2002, formally incorporated the WPS agenda into its institutional and legal frameworks through the 2003 Protocol to the Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol) and the 2004 Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGGEA).³⁹ As a clear signal of commitment to women's leadership, South African Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma was

appointed Chairperson of the AU Commission from 2012-2017.

In March 2018, the AU adopted its Continental Results Framework (2018-2028), a tool for reporting on and monitoring implementation of the WPS agenda in Africa by the AU Commission as well as its Member States. A similar approach of different protocols related to certain aspects of the WPS agenda is used by other African sub-regional organizations that have adopted RAPs, with further adaptation to the local context.⁴⁰ Even so, women's representation as Special Representatives and Special Envoys of regional organizations to peace processes remains limited. A recent study found that only four of 30 signed peace agreements in Africa between 2012 and 2016 had a female lead mediator or guarantor.⁴¹

For the European Union, gender equality is an integral part of key instruments from the 1957 Rome Statute to the 2009 Treaty of Lisbon, which treat it as a founding value of the organization and an essential part of all EU activities. The WPS agenda is emphasized in the 2008 Comprehensive Approach to the EU implementation of UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 1820, and in the current EU Strategic Approach to Women, Peace and Security. The latter recognizes gender equality as a prerequisite for dealing with conflict prevention and resolution and emphasizes the importance of gender analysis and gender mainstreaming to develop all EU policy and normative frameworks.⁴² Since 2019, Germany's former Federal Minister of Defence, Ursula von der Leyen, has served as President of the EU Commission. Between 2014 and 2019, Italian Federica Mogherini served as High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President

of the Commission.

Some regional organizations engage with WPS primarily at the operational level without specific goals concerning women’s participation in peace processes. This includes the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which recognizes the importance of gender equality and includes this aspect in all its operations and cooperation with other actors. Similarly, the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which has a Regional Strategy on Women, Peace and Security (2018-2022), primarily focuses on gender equality within its institutions and among Member States, rather than in direct reference to conflict management efforts.

The Cairo Declaration by the League of Arab States (LAS) emphasizes gender equality in policymaking, and there has been a growing focus on women mediators by the organization and its Member States. However, this has not yet manifested in the appointment of any women mediators thus far.⁴³ Some ambiguity also exists with regards to the approach taken by the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF). The founding document of security cooperation in PIF, the 2000 Biketawa Declaration adopted in the shadow of coup d’état in both Fiji and the Solomon Islands, recognizes the important role of all citizens, without discrimination, in prevention and early response to crises. The PIF also adopted a RAP, where the importance of women in peacebuilding, and the need for security policies to be gender-sensitive, was reiterated.⁴⁴ Yet, when the organization updated its security agenda through the Boe Declaration in 2018, emphasis was put on climate change as the main threat in the region and no reference was made to WPS throughout.⁴⁵ Such examples suggest

that although the importance of women in peacebuilding may be recognized, there is less acknowledgement that women’s participation is in fact, also central in all security-related matters including terrorism, criminality, environmental threats, etc.

Several regional organizations have complemented the broader objective of WPS implementation with more specific priorities corresponding to the regional context. For the LAS, these priorities cover the protection of women and girls from “conflicts, Occupation, wars, and terrorism”⁴⁶ while the EU specifically outlines the role of WPS in the sectors of security, governance and civil society, economic security, health, education, and humanitarian aid. Other organizations have developed policies in separate sub-fields relevant to the promotion of women’s participation in peace processes. While these are encouraging actions, it is important to examine the types of roles that are attributed to women in these respective agendas, some of which could render their participation ineffective – for instance, specific protection measures that actually serve to restrict women’s agency to engage in the conflict prevention agenda and peacemaking.

Some regional organizations have created high positions or institutions to advocate for WPS implementation. The AU and NATO have appointed Special Representatives for WPS,⁴⁷ while the EU has had a Principal Advisor on Gender since 2015. Bineta Diop, the AU Special Envoy has led an advocacy strategy to promote women’s leadership and peace initiatives particularly in conflict-affected countries. This includes “solidarity missions” that have supported women’s involvement in the National Reconciliation Forum in the

Central African Republic, and the South Sudan National Women’s Peace strategy to facilitate women’s participation in the implementation and monitoring of the August 2015 peace agreement.⁴⁸

2. Supporting women’s participation as mediators

Oftentimes mediators are invited or appointed to mediate a conflict because they hold or have held high political positions. This is a chief reason why career opportunities within regional organizations, especially for senior positions, can directly influence and facilitate women’s participation in peace processes. As mentioned, the AU and the EU have made political commitments and implemented gender-sensitive appointment policies. In addition, the AU also established the Panel of the Wise within the Peace and Security Architecture as a gender-equal body. For the term 2018-2022, the Panel of the Wise includes three women (Liberia’s former President, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Uganda’s former Vice-President, Speciosa Wandira Kazibwe, and Gabon’s former Cabinet Member, Honorine Nzet Bitéghé) and two men (Amr Moussa, former Egyptian foreign minister and Hifikepunye Pohamba, former President of Namibia). The Panel of the Wise has established FemWise-Africa (the Network of African Women in Conflict Prevention and Mediation) as a subsidiary mechanism, which comprises over 300 registered members. At the EU, in addition to former Vice-President Mogherini, several women have held leadership positions including Secretary-General of the European External Action Service (Helga Schmid – who actively participated in the negotiations for the nuclear deal with Iran signed in 2015), and

Special Representatives to Sudan and South Sudan (Rosalind Marsden), and to Central Asia (Patricia Flor), among others.

To facilitate the ready availability of women mediators, and provide support to those that are appointed, many regional organizations have established specific units and working groups. The AU set up the African Standby Capacity Roster in 2015 to recruit and educate civilian experts for peace support, mediation, and post-conflict projects – the roster requires 50 per cent women’s representation and gender-sensitivity is integrated in the training. More recently, in 2019, the AU operationalized its Mediation Support Unit (MSU), with support from partners including DPPA. The MSU provides technical expertise to mediators as well as tools for conflict analysis and early warning. Similarly, the EU supports the participation of mediators in the Informal Task Force on WPS, which has proven to be a relevant platform for exchanging experiences within and outside the EU.⁴⁹

Regional organizations have also engaged with civil society in mediation efforts, recognizing their critical role as important allies and for increasing the legitimacy of a peace process. The EU commitment to a multi-track approach explicitly emphasizes that women leaders and women’s groups should be strongly connected to high-level mediation processes.⁵⁰ Nepal, Myanmar, Papua New Guinea and Somalia are some examples where the EU has facilitated civil society initiatives. A similar approach is taken by the OSCE, which has developed guidelines for mediators to engage women’s organizations in peace negotiations and mediation efforts.⁵¹ For instance, in 2019, the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina and OSCE Mission in Kosovo facilitated a dialogue

of women and civil society organizations from five religious communities in Kosovo.

3. Funding challenges

Scarcity of funds and the related reliance on short-term projects are key challenges several regional organizations face in fully implementing the WPS agenda, including supporting women in mediation. An analysis by the AU concluded that it is “donor reliant, limited in resources capacity, and (...) despite the advocacy, frameworks and the training of women mediators, progress has been slow in terms of women’s representation in peace-making processes.”⁵² Another study conducted by the European Centre for Development Policy Management acknowledged that despite the incorporation of gender equality and women’s empowerment as crosscutting issues within the EU External Financing Instruments, the promotion of the WPS agenda as an explicit objective still remained a challenge. The projects developed within the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP) illustrate this. Between 2014-2018, only four projects had support for UNSCR 1325 as a specific objective. These consisted of a project in Niger/Burkina Faso to strengthen women’s organizations to participate in peacebuilding, another on raising awareness of UNSCR 1325 among Pakistani parliamentarians, and two more to support the implementation of WPS National Action Plans in Afghanistan and Nepal.⁵³

Funding constraints derive from the perennial gap that exists between recognition of the critical role women in general, and women’s groups more specifically, play in conflict-affected and fragile contexts, and their continued lack of access to sustainable

funding sources. In 2019, the report of the UN Secretary-General on women, peace and security recalled that, over the period 2016–2017, US\$82 million went directly to women’s peacebuilding efforts, accounting for only 0.2 per cent of total bilateral aid to fragile and conflict-affected situations. Regional organizations have started adopting new ways to overcome funding shortfalls including for example, by emulating the UN Peacebuilding Fund and several Member States in establishing dedicated funding mechanisms. The AU Peace Fund was created under the 2002 Protocol establishing the Peace and Security Council to finance continental peace and security operations. Among these operations, the Peace Fund has opened a window for mediation and preventive diplomacy activities, which could directly support WPS implementation, namely regional efforts to increase the participation of women in preventive diplomacy and mediation.

IV. MEMBER STATES AND WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES

This section offers an overview of the policy instruments that Member States have developed to support women’s participation in peace processes. National Action Plans (NAPs) on women, peace and security provide a national framework for WPS activities, and constitute the main tool for tracking the implementation of the WPS agenda, although they are not the only instrument used to facilitate progress. The identification and setting of specific responsibilities to relevant national institutions, as well as ensuring that funding is provided, are important benefits of

implementing the WPS agenda through NAPs. However, it must be said that, in practice, still only 43 per cent of NAPs contain an allocated budget.⁵⁴

Following a review of all 83 NAPs in place in 2019, this section focuses primarily on NAPs that include specific measures to promote women’s participation in peace processes (see Annex 2 for a complete overview of provisions). In addition, it also examines the role of foreign policies in fostering women’s participation, and other mechanisms developed by Member States to coordinate efforts around the WPS agenda.

Among the current 83 NAPs, 61 include at least some provisions on women’s participation in peace negotiations. Only 40 NAPs contain specific provisions on mediation. An important distinction should be made between countries that have a current or recent experience of armed conflict and those that do not. Between 2015 and 2018, a total of 44 countries are reported as having at least one year of armed conflict,⁵⁵ and 50 per cent of these (22) have a NAP, with 14 containing specific provisions on mediation. For countries affected by armed conflict, these provisions are primarily aimed at facilitating women’s participation in the national peace process as well as informal processes at local and provincial levels. Different approaches are used to promote conflict resolution and prevent recurrence such as peace committees in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), mediation units in the Central African Republic, and community-based initiatives in East Timor.

By contrast, Member States without current or recent conflict experience usually focus more on advancing women to high-level positions

and promoting women’s participation in broader peace and security decision-making. However, cooperation with conflict-affected countries is increasingly advocating a multi-track approach as illustrated by the NAPs of the Nordic countries, Canada and Japan. The latter, for instance has allocated resources to women-related projects within the UN Peacebuilding Fund, and through its cooperation agency, JICA, has supported women’s peacebuilding initiatives led by NGOs. In addition, several Member States are supporting the drafting of NAPs in other countries. Finland, for instance, supported NAP drafting processes in Afghanistan (2015) and Kenya (2016) as well as the implementation of the NAP in Nepal (2011–2016) and from 2016 onwards in Jordan and Tunisia.

1. Promoting opportunities and opening spaces for women in high-level decision-making

Since mediators are often selected from high-ranking positions, increasing women’s meaningful participation as mediators, and in mediation efforts requires institutional practices that guarantee women’s involvement in high-level decision-making on international peace and security issues. This includes deploying more women in diplomatic corps, especially in senior positions, promoting gender-balanced delegations, and increasing opportunities for women’s high-level representation in the international arena.

Norway is an example of a country that has committed to this approach. In 2017, the proportion of women in Norwegian delegations was 40 per cent, while the proportion of women in other teams in

processes where Norway had a formal role ranged from 40 per cent to 67 per cent. In 2018, Norway appointed female special representatives in both peace processes it was formally involved in – Colombia and the Philippines.⁵⁶ Similar commitments to increase gender equality in appointments to diplomatic positions are made in the NAPs of Brazil, France, Spain and Switzerland, while New Zealand specifies advocacy for more women in high-level UN positions and in UN-led peace processes.

While policies of gender-equal participation can contribute to greater visibility for women mediators, peace processes are not automatically made gender-sensitive by the increased numerical involvement of women. The link between women’s participation and the overall objective of advancing gender equality in the WPS context is rarely explicit in many existing NAPs and other policy instruments and projects, which may limit the long-term implications of current efforts in two ways. First, it may be assumed that having a woman in the peace negotiation ensures that the outcomes are gender-sensitive by default, and second, that the WPS agenda gets disconnected from the overall objective of improving the quality of peacemaking.

This is further complicated by gender stereotyping about women as a monolithic whole, and in relation to their role in peacemaking. For example, while *some* women may be particularly skillful mediators, and *some* women may have very good contacts with grassroots organizations, such stereotypes are ultimately not helpful for ensuring gender-sensitive peace processes. If women are assumed to only represent women (or certain themes, or specific

groups), there is a risk that their competence will be sidelined, or limited to “soft” social or community issues.⁵⁷ A related risk is if the increased presence of women mediators removes the need for gender advisors, resulting in the women mediators then expected to be fully responsible for inclusivity in the peace process. This may limit which women are invited as mediators, and what competence is requested, which in turn could lead to the skills of women mediation experts being underutilized or even discounted.

2. Supporting women’s participation beyond track 1: multi-track mediation

Mediation does not only occur through formal peace processes. It is useful to distinguish between efforts that support women mediators as part of formal and official peace processes (Track 1) and measures that engage with local-level mediation and civil society (Track 3).

According to a recent study conducted by the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security, 60 per cent of post-Cold War peace processes (38 out of 63) also include informal initiatives and among these, three-quarters (27 cases) include women’s groups.⁵⁸ Supporting participation through these informal mechanisms is gaining prominence in NAPs, with more and more countries actively supporting local women as mediators and improving linkages between different tracks of diplomacy. There is also growing interest in supporting local organizations already in the pre-negotiation phase.⁵⁹

A consistent goal of Sweden’s NAPs since 2006 has been the strengthening of women’s

participation in peace processes through civil society engagement. Lessons from NAP implementation have consistently fed back into Swedish policy development to inform more context-specific measures. Sweden's development cooperation and peace support operations in Afghanistan in 2018-2019 offer a useful illustration of how WPS can form part of the development aid agenda, and more specifically, support the involvement of local women. Besides support for international organizations in the country, Sweden allocated almost ten percent of its annual country budget to support women's meaningful participation in national and local policymaking. For example, specific strategies by Folke Bernadotte Academy, among other government agencies, have focused on providing mediation training for local women.⁶⁰ A similar approach to strengthening local women's organizations is used by Switzerland in its support to the Peace Circles in Mali, an initiative implemented through the pan-African organization "Women in Law and Development in Africa" (WILDAF).

The connection between peace and reconciliation initiatives at grassroots level and official peace negotiations is also central to Norway's approach of multi-track mediation. Different tracks are not competing initiatives "but complement[ary] efforts to increase women's participation in the parties' delegations and in the main negotiations."⁶¹ To this end, Norway has provided political, diplomatic and financial support to women's groups, and it has worked creatively with negotiation parties, the UN and other mediation actors. For instance, in official peace negotiations in Colombia and the Philippines, Norway provided technical assistance and gender expertise to facilitation teams.

It is not always external actors that pursue multi-track efforts. States in conflict contexts themselves can support alternative peacebuilding initiatives. One example is the Philippines, the first country in Asia to adopt a NAP (2010-2016), which emphasized women's participation from a wide range of actors and sought to promote capacity-building and support for local women leaders including from indigenous groups, the Moro minority, and other local communities. Simultaneously, the Philippines appointed a female academic, Miriam Colonel-Ferrer, as the lead negotiator in the Moro peace process. The commitment to WPS remains visible in local action plans and in the second generation NAP (2017-2022) that underscores women's contribution to conflict transformation and women's agency to continue promoting women's positions at the peace table (Track 1) and through informal spaces among grassroots and civil society (Track 2 and 3).⁶²

In Georgia, women's organizations played a key role in the implementation of the WPS agenda and contributed to the formulation of the NAP 2018-2020 which incorporates specific stipulations on women's involvement in peace issues through people-to-people diplomacy. Thus, the formal negotiations about settling the conflicts in Georgia – the Geneva International Discussions (GID) and the Incident Prevention and Response Mechanism (IPRM)⁶³ – include some consultations with civil society. However, women's organizations largely perceive these interactions as a formality and not as a real opportunity to provide inputs to the process.⁶⁴ In Papua New Guinea, despite only meriting one specific mention in the Bougainville Peace Agreement forged in 2001, women played active roles as conflict mediators in the Autonomous Region

of Bougainville. Women activists and peace leaders have continued to promote the WPS agenda in Bougainville, contributing in 2016 to the Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG) passing the Bougainville National Action Plan on WPS.

Similar ambitions exist in many other cases. In Kenya, the NAP 2016-2018 contains provisions for the development of a national network of female mediators, and capacity building for local networks. In Timor-Leste, which adopted its first NAP on women, peace and security in 2016, women participate as mediators and focal points in peace and security through community mechanisms of conflict resolution. In CAR and DRC, the establishment of local mediation teams involving women is considered a viable mechanism to prevent violence and provide early conflict management.

The analysis of NAP commitments in recent years highlights the more salient role attributed to civil society in the implementation of the WPS agenda and therefore, an increased focus on multi-track conflict management. One of the advantages of the multi-track framework is that local actors are better able to provide an early response to dynamics on-the-ground and therefore prevent crises from escalating into large-scale violence. More efforts are needed however, to increase women's participation in the early stages of conflict management, including the pre-negotiation phase, and at every level of multi-track diplomacy.

It is also important to consider how to ensure gender-sensitive practices throughout a multi-track conflict management approach. For example, women-specific Track 2 and 3

interactions should not be isolated from other community activities but should complement them and multiply – rather than exclude – existing communication channels. To that end, it is important that women participate not only in efforts aimed at promoting women's rights, but also are represented in efforts around other issues such as economic development, security and human rights issues, and in DDR processes.

Finally, it is worth noting that engagement of civil society in the implementation of the WPS agenda is possible even in the absence of a NAP. In Colombia, the 2016 Final Agreement for Ending the Conflict and Building a Stable and Lasting Peace followed successful activism by local women's groups, which was crucial for achieving the appointment of women delegates to the negotiation team and creating the Sub-commission of Gender.

3. The WPS agenda and States' foreign policy

Some Member States have integrated the WPS agenda as part of their foreign policy goals and strategies. As a result, in all their political and diplomatic contacts and cooperation with conflict countries, they commit to promoting greater participation of women in peace processes. This often implies the leadership of the State's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the implementation of the NAP. For instance, the United Kingdom's incorporation of WPS in its foreign policy was followed by the appointment of the first Foreign and Commonwealth Office Special Envoy for Gender Equality, Joanna Roper, in February 2017.⁶⁵

Other Member States, while not focusing

specifically on the promotion of women’s participation in peace processes, have incorporated WPS as part of their national policies and aid and development cooperation strategies. Some of the most notable examples include Australia’s Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment strategy, Denmark’s SCR 1325 in Foreign, Security and Development policy, Finland’s National Action Plan on Gender Equality 2016-2019 combined with the NAP on Fundamental Human Rights 2017-2019, Germany’s Development Policy Action Plan on Gender Equality 2016-2020, Japan’s Development Cooperation Charter 2015 and the UK International Development (Gender Equality) Act (2014) which establishes that all development assistance must meaningfully consider the impact on gender equality.

Several Member States have officially declared their commitment to feminist foreign policies and development assistance policies. Based on the idea that gender equality issues must be incorporated into all processes and state responsibility structures, Sweden introduced its feminist foreign policy in 2014.⁶⁶ The fulfilment of the foreign policy requires the strengthening of women’s leadership within the Foreign Service, as well as the use of a gender-sensitive approach in policy design and implementation, and in setting the agenda that the State will promote within multilateral organizations. Because of its feminist foreign policy, during Sweden’s membership period in the UN Security Council from 2017-2018, there was constant focus on the WPS agenda, a gender balance among those briefing the Security Council, and references to women, peace and security in 100 per cent of the Security Council’s presidential statements.⁶⁷

In 2018, Canada became the second country to adopt a “feminist international assistance policy”. Accordingly, Canada increased its financial support to gender equality from its Peace and Stabilization Operations Program (PSOP), where 95 per cent of all PSOP investments will explicitly target (15 per cent) or integrate (80 per cent) WPS activities by 2021-22.⁶⁸ In 2019, France proclaimed a feminist foreign policy, when it committed to include gender issues in all its diplomatic affairs, and promote this agenda during its G7 presidency,⁶⁹ as well as provide the necessary financial commitment, including through increasing the grants budget of the French Development Agency. In December 2019, Mexico became the fourth country to announce its feminist foreign policy, the first in Latin America. The policy is central to Mexico’s international engagement and aims to reduce and eliminate gender-related structural differences, gaps and inequalities.

Since countries with feminist foreign policies and development policies at present are still few and quite recent, it is too early to draw any decisive conclusions about their effects. One positive trend that has already emerged however, is the fact that when gender equality is a core priority for all foreign policy activities, existing gatekeepers and gender-biased institutional structures can be circumvented. Furthermore, there are other benefits including a greater role for men in promoting and supporting the gender equality agenda more broadly, and an enhanced role for gender advisors beyond just promoters of WPS, to experts with knowledge about how all types of policies have gendered repercussions.

4. Other Member States' initiatives

Besides actions to increase the provision of qualified women mediators to conflicts, Member States have launched several initiatives to coordinate mediation efforts, share best practices, and expand the training of mediators. A few of these are notable for their specific focus on the WPS agenda.

One example is the Group of Friends of Mediation, set up by Finland and Turkey in 2010, and meeting annually at ministerial level in the margins of the UN General Assembly, and more regularly at the level of Permanent Representatives and Experts in New York. The network has grown to 52 Member States, as well as representatives from the UN, regional organizations, and other international organizations. The Group of Friends seeks to develop good practices for mediation – which include the promotion of women's participation at all stages of the peace process – and was influential in pushing the issue of women mediators onto the agenda in the UN General Assembly, and providing a platform for experience-sharing.⁷⁰ The network also fostered the adoption of four General Assembly resolutions on mediation, three of which underscore the importance of assuring gender balance and gender expertise within mediation teams; encourage the Secretary-General to appoint women as lead mediators; and call for the practice of gender-sensitive conflict analysis.⁷¹

The Women, Peace and Security Focal Points Network, launched in 2016 by Spain and co-sponsored by Canada, Chile, Japan, Namibia and the United Arab Emirates, is another example. At its meeting in Namibia in April 2019, the network counted 85 states and regional organizations as members. The

network's chief aim is to strengthen and advance the implementation of the WPS agenda in decision-making processes, by sharing best practices in areas such as drafting NAPs, women's leadership and participation, and by improving the coordination of funding programs.⁷² It was in this forum that Finland and Spain first announced the 2025 Commitment initiative they are spearheading, which calls on UN Member States to commit to long-term actions to support the meaningful participation of women in peace processes. The Commitment urges Member States to assure the nomination and appointment of women to senior diplomatic positions, to require the inclusion of women in all delegations of peace negotiations, and to provide political, technical and financial support to ensure the involvement of women's organizations in formal peace negotiations and informal processes of mediation.

Yet another prominent example of a state-driven initiative is the strategy developed by the British, Norwegian, and US envoys for the Sudan and South Sudan to actively advocate for, and support women's participation in the South Sudan peace negotiations. In cooperation with the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), these efforts contributed to the presence of five female representatives in the high-level talks and, subsequently, seven women signatories to the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS) in September 2018 (including Koiti Emmily, a youth representative among them).⁷³

National Networks of Women Mediators

At country-level, women have also established national networks that advocate their involvement in local and national conflict prevention and resolution. One example is the Nigeria Women Mediators Collaborative Network (NWMCI), which worked to build women’s capacity and seek out opportunities to mediate conflicts in tracks 1, 2 and 3 processes. In Burundi, a nationwide network of women mediators – comprised of 516 women – dealt with over 14,000 conflicts (political, land-related, issues related to youth, domestic violence etc.) between 2016 and 2018. They also organized community dialogues on a wide range of issues including peace and security, sexual and gender-based violence, and economic recovery. Funded through the UN Peacebuilding Fund and the UN Women-supported Women, Peace and Humanitarian Fund, the Burundi network has proven effective in preventing violence at the local level, slowing the risk of potential spillover into wider tensions, dispelling false rumors, and mitigating the impact of the country’s political crisis on communities.

This innovative approach was complemented by a Norwegian-Swedish initiative to establish a working group on women, peace and security in Juba to strengthen coordination of efforts in the implementation of the agreement. Other members in this group include Canada, the Netherlands, Germany, Japan, and the EU.

V. WOMEN MEDIATOR NETWORKS AND MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY

The establishment of regional women’s networks to pursue the realization of the WPS agenda began over a decade ago. In West Africa, the experiences of the Network on Peace and Security for Women (NOPSWECO) in the ECOWAS Region, the West African Network of Young Women Leaders (ROAJELF) and the Mano River Women’s Peace Network (MARWOPNET) provide examples of joint advocacy initiatives to get access to peace processes and to strengthen capacity for women’s involvement in conflict prevention, resolution and peacebuilding.

Since 2017, regional networks made up more specifically of women mediators have been created to pursue multi-track approaches to women’s participation in peace negotiations, which not only tackles meaningful participation in formal processes, but also seeks to develop capacities at the local level on conflict prevention approaches. Although their ultimate objectives are similar and they often independently implement comparable strategies, there are important differences in the structures of regional networks of women mediators – such as in their membership criteria, operational dynamics and funding channels – which lend useful comparative advantages to joint action. For instance, the Nordic Women Mediator’s Network has a formal process of nomination while FemWise-Africa has an open selection process. In 2019, FemWise-Africa had 400 members from 49 countries. Networks may also differ in how they been created and formalized, whether this is led by Member States, regional organizations, or civil society or by a combination of actors. As reflected in a recent study by PRIO, the comparative advantage of

those led by states or regional organizations is often that they have more access to financial and political support and connections than civil society-led networks.⁷⁴

One of the most important contributions these women mediator networks bring to the field of WPS is the creation of rosters of available mediation experts, who can be rapidly deployed to facilitate or support peace processes. Another contribution is the complementarity they offer to Member States in their implementation of the WPS agenda. This is particularly so for the Nordic Women Mediators network, which is comprised of individual networks from each of its Member States, namely Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. Meetings of the network help coordinate efforts by Norway that work through special envoys and gender advisors in Mozambique, the Philippines, Myanmar and elsewhere, with those of Sweden, whose policy focuses more on working with civil society to provide training and technical assistance to local women leaders in conflict-affected and post-conflict countries.⁷⁵

Women Mediators networks also provide a valuable platform for sharing knowledge and practices from different contexts and tracks, which facilitates a powerful partnership for women peacemakers on the ground, including young women.⁷⁶ For instance, the mentorship program developed by FemWise-Africa “has made senior mediators accessible to young women, students can talk with women who have been presidents”.⁷⁷ Likewise, the Women Mediators across the Commonwealth (WMC) bridges grassroots with national and international experiences through “peer-to-peer mentoring”, training and network development workshops with

women mediators in Kenya, Nigeria, Pakistan and Papua New Guinea, among others.⁷⁸ The Mediterranean Women Mediators Network created the Cyprus and Turkish antennas (national branches), which respond to context-specific needs of women peacemakers using different approaches including trainings, awareness-raising campaigns in rural areas, and inter-communal workshops to assess opportunities of community-based strategies of conflict resolution.

There are examples of successful cross-regional cooperation among networks. For example, the Mediterranean Women Mediators Network and the Nordic Women Mediators Network provided technical support to Libyan women political leaders, who participated in the 2018 Peace Conference in Palermo, Italy. This and other similar initiatives were precursors to the launch of the Global Alliance of Women Mediators Network in September 2019, which brings together the Nordic Women Mediators network, the Network of African Women in Conflict Prevention and Mediation (FemWise-Africa), the Mediterranean Women Mediators Network, and the Network of Women Mediators across the Commonwealth, to address through multi-track strategies, women’s underrepresentation in peace negotiations and lacking gender provisions in peace agreements. Using its wider platform for dialogue and advocacy, the Global Alliance aims to strengthen joint action to promote women as lead mediators, to advocate for the early use of gender analysis, and for the inclusion of women at an early stage of the peace process.⁷⁹ In line with this, the Global Alliance considers the continued use of a multi-track approach as critical to acknowledging the multiple and complementary roles women

can play in the same peace process.

Potentially, the Global Alliance offers a useful platform where the capabilities, experiences and challenges faced by its different member networks can be shared to inform cooperation strategies. The prospects for continued expansion are positive, with the recent addition of the Arab Women Mediators Network. In the future, the Alliance could also expand to Latin America through the regional initiative of the “Federal Network of Mediators with Gender Perspective”.⁸⁰ At the same time, a direct channel to the DPPA Mediation Support Unit and the Secretary-General’s High-Level Advisory Board on Mediation offers concrete opportunities for the Global Alliance to influence high-level discussions and to provide inputs on how to improve women’s contributions to the UN’s preventive diplomacy and mediation architecture.

In order to strengthen its strategies and guarantee its sustainability, the Global Alliance needs to address a number of political, operational and financial challenges. One priority is to map existing capacities and gaps at the political, technical and financial levels, to inform formulation of more assertive cooperation instruments, and to avoid overlapping or duplication of efforts. How to maintain connections among members beyond physical meetings – which has tended to be expensive and time-consuming – as well as documenting good practices are other priority issues that can impact the Alliance’s sustainability.

The support of Member States and regional organizations will be instrumental to strengthen the relevance and sustainability of

the Global Alliance, first by facilitating early access of the women mediators to peace negotiations, and second, by allocating the necessary resources to sustain it. This support could be activated through the effective implementation of NAPs/RAPs on women, peace and security; or through bilateral and multilateral cooperation and development strategies.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The proportion of women mediators remains low despite some representation in an increasing number of peace processes. There was no immediate rise in their numbers after the adoption of UNSCR 1325 even though it motivated the first normative and institutional developments towards this end. Some modest gains have been visible in the last few years as the United Nations, regional organizations and Member States have actively promoted women’s participation in peace talks by introducing institutional reforms in their design and by implementing a wide range of policy and normative mechanisms. The highlighting of low women’s participation in the 2015 Global Study, and the adoption of the 2017 UN Gender Parity Strategy, helped contribute to these developments.

The objectives pursued by international, regional and local actors, including Member States, coalesce around the importance of getting more women to the negotiation table. More than 68 per cent of the current NAPs on women, peace and security globally include efforts to increase women’s representation in peace negotiations, and 48 per cent have specific provisions on mediation. The fact that mediators are often recruited

among individuals in high diplomatic and political positions is of critical importance, suggesting the need to remove structural barriers that exist for women to reach such positions. However, equally important is the need to understand the potential risk that this will create an uneven pool of candidates dominated by Member States that champion gender equality and women's empowerment.⁸¹

Funding remains a significant factor impacting women's participation in peace processes both for State-led and civil society-led initiatives. In the first instance, the review of several NAPs shows that although they indicate the responsible institutions for financing them, they rarely establish the necessary accompanying budget and accountable mechanisms. For civil society-led initiatives, access to and sustainability of resources is a continuous challenge considering the ongoing widespread practice of project-based allocation of resources and short-term planning among international donors.

A clear development in recent years has been an increased focus on supporting multi-track diplomacy, as reflected in NAPs, RAPs and other policy instruments. By connecting formal and informal tracks, the intention is that the ideas and aspirations of actors excluded from formal politics can still reach the negotiation table. This is explored especially within the more recently established regional networks of women mediators that hold great potential to bridge divides between tracks. It is still too early to assess the impact of these networks in this context, and several questions still need to be addressed with regard to their operational structures and the scope of their agendas to avoid competition for funds or

overlapping efforts. While these networks are 'less political', they are diplomatically strong and reputable, and they provide a community of female mediators that include individuals with conflict management expertise rather than just a record of high-level appointments. Importantly, the strategies of these networks do not only address the issue of women as mediators but the WPS agenda more broadly.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To women mediator networks:

- Within the framework of the Global Alliance of Regional Women Mediator Networks, develop a clear communications strategy, which maps areas of expertise, and identifies best practices among the strategies developed by each of the networks to continue strengthening women mediators' capacities and sharing information.
- Establish routines to systematically collect and analyze experiences from women mediators' deployments and develop opportunities for partnerships and support.
- Strengthen advocacy with Member States, international and regional organizations leading preventive diplomacy initiatives and peace negotiations, in order to get early access to such processes.
- Strengthen and implement sustainable strategies to facilitate dialogue among women mediators and women's organizations at the grassroots level, including intergenerational dialogues with young women mediators.

To Member States:

- Adhere to the Commitment 2025

- spearheaded by Finland and Spain, and design and implement multi-year financial and technical assistance in accordance with the Commitment's provisions.
- Make explicit commitments to nominate and appoint women as mediators, including in leadership positions; and implement and advocate for the effective implementation of existing normative and legal frameworks to promote women's participation in peace processes.
 - Encourage negotiating parties to include women within their delegations.
 - When leading mediation efforts, encourage the practice of consultations with local women's organizations at different stages of the peace negotiation. These consultations should encompass a broad range of themes such as ceasefires, demobilization, demining, among others, and not only themes labeled as "women's issues".
 - Incorporate staff with gender expertise within mediation teams. Ensure that the gender dimension is integrated as a key component of the conflict analysis and discussions of every theme in the agenda.
 - Encourage and facilitate women's participation in national and local infrastructures for peace, including by the adequate funding and effective implementation of women, peace and security NAPs and other strategies.
 - Address the institutional barriers that prevent women's participation in peace negotiations by ensuring transparency in the process of mediators' recruitment and promoting a cultural shift in gender-biased narratives and mainstreamed discriminatory practices. Likewise, address logistical barriers such as travel and translation by allocating rapid response funds.
 - Facilitate the increased, direct and meaningful participation of women in monitoring the implementation of peace agreements.
 - Incorporate the implementation of WPS as a requirement for accessing funds in projects taking place in conflict-affected countries.
- To regional organizations and the United Nations:***
- Develop accountability mechanisms for mediators and special envoys to ensure the meaningful inclusion of women and gender perspectives at all stages of the negotiation process, including pre-talks.
 - Strengthen technical capacity of mediators, special envoys and mediation experts to conduct gender-sensitive conflict analysis as a key component of planning and deployment of mediation teams, and provide gender expertise.
 - Nominate and appoint women as lead mediators and as mediation experts, including by reaching out to women's mediator networks.
 - Support Member States with the implementation of their commitments to increase the meaningful participation of women in peace processes, including through the appointment of women mediators.
 - Provide political and financial support for women's organizations and women from conflict-affected areas to engage in dialogue with track 1 and to provide insights to the negotiation.
 - Ensure wide socialization and training on the UN's "Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies" as well as other methodological tools on conflict

- analysis with a gender perspective.
- Encourage the use of women mediators' expertise in thematic areas of peace negotiations in which women are often sidelined, for instance, DDR, demining, land reforms, among others.

ANNEX 1: TABLES OF WOMEN IN MEDIATION PROCESSES

Table 1. Mediation in active armed conflict (UCDP definition)			
Country	Year	Mediator	Representing
Afghanistan	2015	Sadeqa Balkhi	NGO
Afghanistan	2015	Hasina Safi	NGO
Afghanistan	2015	Habiba Sarabi	
Angola	1992-93	Margaret Anstee	UN
Azerbaijan	1995-96	Terhi Hakala	OSCE
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1995	Pauline Neville-Jones	UK
Burundi	1999-2000	Carolyn McAskie	UN
Central Africa Republic	2012-13	Margaret Vogt	UN
Colombia	2014-15	Rita Sandberg	Norway
Colombia	2015-16	Leila Zerrougui	UN
DRC	2001-03	Ellen Johnson Sirleaf	AU
DRC	2008	Liberata Mulamula	NGO
DRC	2012-13	Sahle-Work Zewde	UN
DRC	2013-14	Mary Robinson	UN

Ethiopia-Eritrea	1998	Susan Rice	US
Ethiopia-Eritrea	2000	Madeleine Albright	US
Georgia	2008-09	Heidi Taligavini	EU
Guinea-Bissau	1998-99	Ulla Andren	Sweden
Guinea-Bissau	1998-99	Ms Gomes	Political party
Guinea-Bissau	1998-99	Ms Vaz Turpin	Political party
Israel	1992-93	Mona Juul	Norway
Israel	1997-2000	Madeleine Albright	US
Israel	2004-08	Condolezza Rice	US
Israel	2009-13	Hillary Clinton	US
Israel	2010-14	Catherine Ashton	EU
Israel	2011-12	Helga Schmid	EU
Israel	2014	Federica Mogherini	EU
Liberia	2003	Adwoa Coleman	AU
Liberia	2003	Theresea Leigh Sherman	NGO
North Macedonia	2001	Anna Lindh	EU
Nepal	2006	Junko Sasaki	UN

Nigeria	2013	Aisha Wakil	Member of Committee on Dialogue and Peaceful Resolution of Security Challenges in the North
Russia	1999	Tarja Halonen	EU
Philippines	2009-15		NGO (Conciliation Resources)
Philippines	2014-2016	Elisabeth Slåttum	Norway
Philippines	2017	Idun Tvedt	Norway
Sierra Leone	1999	Adwoa Coleman	AU
Somalia	2000-04	Asha Hagi Elmi	NGO
Somalia	2007-08	Marika Fahlén	Sweden
South Sudan-Sudan	2012	Rosalind Marsden	EU
South Sudan-Sudan	2012	Mary Robinson	NGO
South Sudan	2015-2018	Amer Manyok	NGO (Women's Bloc of South Sudan)
Sri Lanka	2000-05	Kjersti Tromsdal	Norway
Sri Lanka	2002		NGO
Sri Lanka	2003	Yoriko Kawaguchi	Japan

Sudan	2001-05	Hilde F. Johnson	Norway
Sudan	2002-2006	Mobina Jaffer	Canada
Sudan	2006		NGO
Sudan	2006	Agnes van Ardenne	Netherlands
Sudan	2010-13	Rosalind Marsden	EU
Sudan	2016-18	Ehlam Naser, Gamar Habani, Mawahib Elhaj, Nawal Khidir, Samia Elhashmi, Eman Alkhawad, Zainab Alsawy, Entisar Abdel Sadig, Kamilia Kura, Safaa Elagib, Suad Abdel Al, Tamadur Khalid, Maria Abbas, and Huda Shafiq	NGO (Sudan Taskforce on the Engagement of Women)
Syria	2016-17	12 members	NGO (Syrian Women's Advisory Board)
Uganda	2006-08	Anna Sundström	EU
Uganda	2006-08	Heidi Johansen	Norway
Ukraine	2014	Catherine Ashton	EU
Ukraine	2014	Federica Mogherini	EU
Ukraine	2014-15	Heidi Taligavini	OSCE
Ukraine	2015-16	Angela Merkel	Germany

United Kingdom (Northern Ireland)	1998	Monica McWilliams	Political party
United Kingdom (Northern Ireland)	1998	Liz O'Donnell	Political party

Table 2. Mediation in political crises/frozen conflict			
Country	Year	Mediator	Representing
Cyprus	1998-99	Ann Hercus	UN
Cyprus	2013	Lisa Bittenheim	UN
Gambia	2016	Ellen Johnson Sirleaf	ECOWAS
India-Pakistan	2009	Hillary Clinton	US
Kenya	2008	Graca Machel	AU
Papua New Guinea	2001	Ruby Mirinka	NGO
Serbia-Kosovo	2011-13	Catherine Ashton	EU
United Kingdom-Argentina	2010	Hillary Clinton	US

ANNEX 2 NAP MEASURES TO SUPPORT WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES

Country	Participation in peace process	Mediation	Civil society engagement	Indicators	Budget
<i>Burundi*</i>					
<i>C.A.R.*</i>					
<i>Canada</i>					
<i>Denmark</i>					
<i>Jordan*</i>					
<i>Lebanon*</i>					
<i>Mali*</i>					
<i>Norway</i>					
<i>Sweden</i>					
<i>Australia</i>					
<i>Belgium</i>					
<i>Brazil</i>					
<i>Cameroon*</i>					
<i>Finland</i>					
<i>Ghana</i>					
<i>Iceland</i>					
<i>Indonesia*</i>					
<i>Ireland</i>					
<i>Italy</i>					
<i>Japan</i>					
<i>Kenya*</i>					
<i>Montenegro</i>					
<i>Namibia</i>					
<i>Senegal</i>					
<i>South Sudan*</i>					
<i>Spain</i>					

Switzerland					
Timor Leste					
UK					
Philippines*					
DRC*					
Serbia					
Moldova					
Nepal					
New Zealand					
Poland					
Ukraine*					
Georgia					
Germany					
Guatemala					
Mozambique*					
Liberia					
Palestine*					
Niger*					
Nigeria*					
Sierra Leone					
Angola*					
Netherlands					
Solomon Islands					
South Korea					
USA					
Afghanistan*					
Austria					
Cote d'Ivoire					
Estonia					
Guinea Bissau					

<i>Rwanda*</i>					
<i>Burkina Faso*</i>					
<i>France</i>					
<i>Guinea</i>					
<i>Argentina</i>					
<i>Iraq*</i>					
<i>Tajikistan</i>					
<i>Uganda*</i>					
<i>Chile</i>					
<i>Portugal</i>					
<i>Armenia</i>					
<i>Albania</i>					
<i>Kosovo</i>					
<i>Bosnia-Herzegov.</i>					
<i>Croatia</i>					
<i>Czech Republic</i>					
<i>El Salvador</i>					
<i>Gambia</i>					
<i>Kyrgyzstan</i>					
<i>Lithuania</i>					
<i>Luxembourg</i>					
<i>North Macedonia</i>					
<i>Paraguay</i>					
<i>Romania</i>					
<i>Slovenia</i>					
<i>Togo</i>					

Based on the analysis of all NAPs (2019) looking for the following information. (1) Provisions that address women's **participation in peace processes**; (2) Provisions that specifically mention **mediation**; (3) If provisions on participation specifically link to **work with civil society**; (4) Specific **indicators** about women's participation in peace processes; (5) General **budget** provided for the NAP. * denotes countries involved in armed conflict (according to Uppsala Conflict Data Program) at least one year 2015-2018. (NAP of Tunisia missing).

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STRENGTHENING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES:
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The high-level seminar was convened by UN Women in collaboration with the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation in Rome, Italy, 3-4 December 2019



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