



JUST THE FACTS

A SELECTED ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY TO SUPPORT EVIDENCE-BASED POLICYMAKING ON WOMEN, PEACE & SECURITY

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OUR **SECURE** FUTURE

Women Make the Difference
a program of One Earth Future

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Cover Images:

First row, from left: OSF and the Nobel Women's Initiative's Designing Our Secure Future event; Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs Margot Wallström at NATO meeting, NATO; Young woman reads official Peace Caravan flyer in Mali, UN Photo, Marco Dormino; Women of the US Navy during panel discussion on women's representation in peacekeeping, UN Photo, Eskinder Debebe.

Second row, from left: Michelle Bachelet addresses panel on role of women in governance, UN Photo, Paulo Filgueiras; Members of the Women in Peacebuilding Network campaign for peace during Liberian elections, UN Photo, Emmanuel Toby; UNMIL women officers participate in medal parade in their honor, UN Photo, Christopher Herwig.

Third row, from left: Inauguration Ceremony of Centre for Listening to Women in Ivory Coast, UN Photo, Abdul Fatai Adegboye; United Nations Security Council, White House Photo, Eric Draper.

Fourth row, from left: Our Secure Future Director Sahana Dharmapuri meets with Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation Mission Command and Leadership.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Just the Facts: A Selected Annotated Bibliography to Support Evidence-Based Policymaking on Women, Peace and Security represents the culmination of several years of research and technical input by Our Secure Future staff, partners, and experts in the field of Women, Peace and Security.

This literature review would not exist without the goodwill and hard work of many individuals. Our Secure Future: Women Make the Difference thanks its partners and colleagues for their contributions to this project, including Chantal de Jonge Oudraat (Women in International Security), Professor Marie Berry (Sié Chéou-Kang Center for International Security and Diplomacy, Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver), Lauren A. Eason (WomenStats), Joan Johnson-Freese (US Naval War College), Rafia Bhulai (Center for Global Security Cooperation), Jolynn Shoemaker (Independent Consultant/Our Secure Future Fellow), Sarah Williamson (Protect the People/Our Secure Future Fellow), Julie Arostegui (Independent Consultant), and Kathy Glockel (Independent Consultant). Their commitment and expertise are essential to advancing the field of Women, Peace and Security.

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On March 8, 2000, Ambassador Anwarul K. Chowdhury remarked in his International Women’s Day statement at the United Nations Security Council,

...members of the Security Council recognize that peace is inextricably linked with equality between women and men. They affirm that the equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and equality.ⁱ

Later that year, the United Nations Security Council unanimously passed the landmark resolution (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security. UNSCR 1325 is the first formal recognition of the critical role of women in effective conflict resolution and peacebuilding. The mandate requires attention to gender equality in all aspects of international peace and security decision-making. The vision of UNSCR 1325 is to fundamentally change often exclusionary peace and security approaches so that they are fully inclusive and sensitive to the needs and capacities of the entire population.

Historically, gender inequality has remained outside the sphere of consideration for many security actors and policymakers. Unlike any other foreign policy agenda, Women, Peace and Security (WPS) originated from a global constituency of non-state actors—women. As a result, WPS promotes nonviolent, human rights–based approaches to peace and security decision-making. This approach explicitly acknowledges equality between men and women as intrinsic to achieving lasting peace.

Since 2000, the international community, including member states and civil society, has been working to implement UNSCR 1325. Policy practitioners, peacebuilders on the ground, and security actors in a variety of institutions have focused on the following strategies:

1. increasing the participation of women in decision-making; and,
2. applying gender perspectives to international peace and security matters.

Efforts to implement UNSCR 1325 have led to various questions from international peace and security stakeholders. Frequently, these audiences ask why WPS matters and for evidence showing positive outcomes on peace and security. As the WPS agenda advances, more fundamental questions arise, such as how equality between men and women may change the way we think about security, and what a gender-sensitive security framework might look like in various contexts.

Since the passage of UNSCR 1325 in 2000, attention to research in this area has been increasing. The academic community, nongovernmental civil society organizations, international institutions, and governments have all taken an interest in how to implement WPS and in tracking its impacts on policies and programs. Despite the growing body of literature that examines women’s roles and gender perspectives in international peace and security, the research on the impact of WPS remains dispersed across disciplines. It is not easily known or accessible to policymakers or practitioners.

Unlike any other foreign policy agenda, Women, Peace and Security originated from a global constituency of non-state actors—women.

This selected annotated bibliography aims to help fill this gap. This resource is intended to aid policymakers and practitioners in addressing why women’s participation and the application of gender perspectives matter in international peace and security decision-making.

Although researchers have examined many dimensions of peace and security and gender equality, this bibliography is not intended to cover all of them. Instead, this selected annotated bibliography focuses very specifically on the question that is raised so often by policymakers:

How does implementing the Women, Peace and Security agenda make international peace and security efforts more effective?

This annotated bibliography presents robust empirical evidence that gender is a powerful factor in governance, peacebuilding and conflict resolution, peace and security operations, and countering violent extremism. The publications reviewed show that the WPS agenda, with

its emphasis on participation and gender perspectives, enhances international peace and security outcomes. This is relevant for policymakers who want to achieve more durable peace agreements, adopt policies to improve human security and increase stability, and increase the effectiveness of policy and program implementation across sectors.

II. METHODOLOGY

Just the Facts is the culmination of an extensive literature review conducted by Our Secure Future: Women Make the Difference, a program of One Earth Future, over a two-year period. **It examines research that addresses the question, “How does implementing the Women, Peace and Security agenda make international peace and security efforts more effective?”**

While there is an extensive body of literature on the topics of women in war, the impact of conflict on women, the gendered aspects of armed conflict, sexual and gender-based violence in conflict, and human trafficking in conflict and post-conflict situations, these topics were not in the purview of this literature review. Topics such as gender and climate change, the gendered aspects of nuclear security, or the gendered aspects of small arms or light weapons were also not included in this review. **This is because the primary research question for this review focuses specifically on the impact of the WPS agenda on international peace and security outcomes.**

Within the larger body of literature on the gendered aspects of peace and security, there are fewer publications that address this question. This annotated bibliography examines publications (both published and unpublished) available in English from 1990 to 2018, including articles, reports, surveys, programmatic interventions, and books related to the WPS topic. The research in the literature review examines countries and conflicts that span Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East and North Africa region, and North and South America. The scholarship presented includes both country-specific studies and global studies. In 2017–2018, Our Secure Future conducted a peer review process that involved experts from the WPS field, including members of the U.S. Civil Society Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, based in Washington, D.C.

*This resource is intended to aid **policymakers and practitioners** in addressing why **women’s participation and the application of gender perspectives matter in international peace and security decision-making.***

III. SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

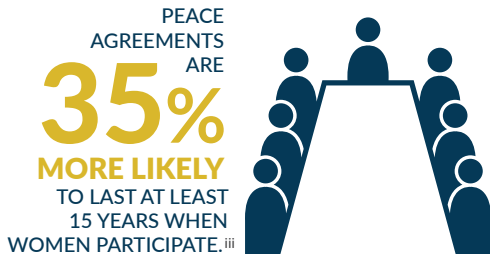
There is a growing body of research on the impact of women’s participation and gender perspectives. To address the question, “How does implementing the WPS agenda make international peace and security efforts more effective?” this annotated bibliography examines research in four thematic areas:

1. governance;
2. peacebuilding and conflict resolution;
3. peace and security operations; and,
4. countering violent extremism.

The review yielded the following significant findings, regardless of sector, country, or conflict:

1. A state’s treatment of its female citizens correlates to more peaceful state behavior.
2. Applying gender perspectives and including women increase the effectiveness of peace and security actors, laws, policies, programs, and operations. However, gender blindness continues to be a major obstruction to realizing these benefits.
3. Peace agreements fail less than 50 percent of the time when women are included.
4. WPS positively affects outcomes in related public policy areas, such as health, education, livelihoods, and social welfare across countries and sectors.

A GROWING BODY OF EVIDENCE SHOWS THAT THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN ALL ASPECTS OF PEACEBUILDING HAS A **TANGIBLE POSITIVE IMPACT ON HUMAN SECURITY.**ⁱⁱ



STATES WITH A **LARGER GENDER GAP*** & FEWER RIGHTS FOR WOMEN TEND TO HAVE:^v

HIGHER LEVELS OF PERCEIVED & ACTUAL CORRUPTION

GREATER LIKELIHOOD FOR INTER- & INTRA-STATE VIOLENCE

HIGHER RATE OF DISEASE

LOWER LIFE EXPECTANCY

STATES WITH A **SMALLER GENDER GAP** TEND TO HAVE:^{vi}

DURABLE PEACE AGREEMENTS

LOWER LEVELS OF CHILD MORTALITY

GREATER FOCUS ON SOCIAL WELFARE

HIGHER TRUST IN THEIR GOVERNMENT

EXISTING GAPS IN WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

SINCE 1992, WOMEN ONLY ACCOUNT FOR **2.4% OF CHIEF MEDIATORS** ON PEACE AGREEMENTS.^{vii}

2% FUNDING FOR WPS IS LOW ACROSS ALL AREAS, COMPRISING ONLY 6% OF TOTAL AID & 2% OF AID FOR PEACE & SECURITY.^{viii}

ONLY 2 STATES HAVE EXISTING WPS LEGISLATION, YET OVER **70** STATES HAVE NATIONAL ACTION PLANS^x

75 COUNTRIES UNDERTOOK CONSTITUTION REFORM FROM 1990-2015, BUT **ONLY ONE IN FIVE** DRAFTERS WAS A WOMEN^{ix}

ⁱⁱDefined by the Global Gender Gap Index, the gender gap refers to the relative gaps between women and men across the areas of: health, education, economy, and politics.

IV. CHALLENGES TO RESEARCHING THE IMPACT OF WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

The early trajectory of the WPS agenda focused on unpacking and examining the impact of conflict on women and the gendered aspects of security and peace. It is now more widely understood that women, men, girls, and boys all experience conflict differently and have different needs and priorities. It is also clear gender has a direct impact on the effectiveness of policy and programs on the ground.

In tandem with this evolution of understanding about the gendered experiences of conflict and its prevention, mitigation, and resolution, the WPS agenda gained momentum, and member states began to adopt National Action Plans (NAPs) and other policy tools to implement it. This has encouraged some policymakers and security actors to evaluate their decision-making from the vantage point of linking gender equality and security.

However, understanding does not necessarily lead to action. To turn policy into practice also requires persuasion. From the advent of this agenda, advocates have debated which approaches will resonate with policymakers. Advocates have utilized two main arguments: the human rights argument and the effectiveness argument. The human rights argument is founded on the fact that women are 50 percent of the population and, therefore, should be included in decision-making. The effectiveness argument emphasizes that the full participation of women in international peace and security decision-making increases the likelihood of creating peace and stability. In recent years, the effectiveness argument has been increasingly embraced to incentivize new approaches, especially among security actors. The work included in this literature review demonstrates that both the human rights and effectiveness frameworks are salient and valuable for advancing this agenda.

Another challenge the field continues to face is that WPS is viewed by many in the peace and security field as a peripheral issue that is not a central priority in the design or implementation of peace and security

policymaking. Advocates continue to encounter repeated questions about whether this agenda matters and what evidence exists about the impact of gender equality when interfacing with peace and security actors.

A third major challenge to the field is the multiplicity of methods used to understand the impact of WPS. For example, research on WPS and its effectiveness has relied on both qualitative and quantitative methods, often reflecting the provenance of the researcher and the dominant methodologies of various disciplines, including international relations, political science, and other areas of social science. The research surveyed in this annotated bibliography demonstrates an increasing awareness of the complexities involved in implementing the agenda, and the need for a rich and nuanced view of security and peace challenges. It is just as important to give weight to women's and men's narratives of change and transformation as it is to utilize objective evidence. To paraphrase one researcher, this is because no one can as accurately assess change in their situation as the women and men, girls and boys whose lives are affected by an intervention. Time and again, qualitative research lends nuanced insight, reveals specific strategies, and provides clarity to quantitative findings.

No one can as accurately assess change in their situation as the women and men, girls and boys whose lives are affected by an intervention.

Despite these challenges, the strategies and research springing up in the agenda underscore emerging understandings about security: mainly, that equality between men and women has a central role in securing the peace for everyone.

V. KEY FINDINGS FROM THE RESEARCH

Governance

- Political strategies such as gender quotas, assistance with campaign financing, election training, and capacity-building increase the role of women at all levels of government, which has the potential to bring about institutional and social change.^{xi}
- Religion may help or hinder women politically, depending on the context.^{xii}
- Women's status in a country is a predictor of peace. When women have few rights or opportunities to participate in decision-making, there are higher levels of violence and conflict. Changes in the treatment of women are among the first indications of instability.^{xiii}
- More equal societies are associated with lower levels of intrastate armed conflict.^{xiv}
- States with higher levels of gender equality exhibit less violent behavior domestically and internationally.^{xv}

Peacebuilding and Conflict Resolution

- Women help to prevent violence and provide security, often with inclusive approaches that include trust-building, dialoguing, and bridging divides.^{xvi}
- The quantity of women included in the peace process matters, but the quality of their involvement is also crucial.^{xvii}
- There is extensive evidence of women's influence through informal peace processes even when they are not represented in formal negotiations. Women's groups often work through parallel processes and engage in critical local peacebuilding efforts.^{xviii}
- There is preliminary evidence that women play a positive role in ceasefires, but more research is needed.^{xix}

- Women have influence in whatever roles they play, whether as moderating and peaceful forces in communities or as armed combatants or military leaders.^{xx}

Peace and Security Operations

- Women's inclusion in peace and security operations results in more effective interventions with fewer risks and better outcomes.^{xxi}
- Women are especially important when working at the local level. They open pathways to dialogue and trust with communities.^{xxii}
- There is a need for more research on how to apply gender and inclusion principles in daily peace and security operations.^{xxiii}
- There is a lack of data and research on women's participation in national security institutions.^{xxiv}
- There are prevalent social norms and gender biases within the security sector that dissuade equality.^{xxv}

Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) and Counterterrorism

- There is a need for more research to document women's specific roles in CVE and other forms of organized political violence.^{xxvi}
- More research is needed on the adverse effects violent extremism and counterterrorism policies have on women's groups.^{xxvii}
- There is a lack of technical capacity and logistical support for women in CVE programming.^{xxviii}
- Women have in-depth knowledge of local context and community needs. This is critical to humanitarian assistance, peace operations, and sustainable peace agreements.^{xxix}
- Women are advocates for preventing conflict before it breaks out. In numerous countries, women are on the forefront of campaigns to curb escalating violence and defuse tensions between groups.^{xxx}

VI. OVERVIEW OF THE SECTIONS

There is a growing body of research on the impact of women’s participation and on the application of gender perspectives in international peace and security. The bulk of the literature that focuses on the impact of WPS falls into four key issue sets, which are reviewed in this bibliography:

- governance;
- peacebuilding and conflict resolution;
- peace and security operations; and,
- countering violent extremism (CVE) and counterterrorism.



Section I. Governance

It is generally understood that good governance is a cornerstone of democracy, yet gender equality and women’s participation have not been highly prioritized in improving governance. This anno-

tated bibliography shows that gender equality is critical for peaceful, democratic, and sustainable political transitions. The literature included here specifically focuses on how women’s political participation impacts state aggression, political corruption, and policy priorities.

The literature demonstrates that when women are in leadership roles, their unique perspectives and skills can improve the functions of governments. Beyond a moral imperative for gender equality, having more women in politics also improves the policies and cultures in governments. Specifically, women’s presence can change parliamentary culture and influence legislation for the benefit of all citizens.

Gender quotas, which are often implemented following state conflicts, are one of the most tangible methods to guarantee a set percentage of women representatives in public office.^{xxxix} Although their impact on policy is still a matter of debate, gender quotas have been studied often, and the evidence shows that the use of quotas has positive results in increasing women’s representation. However, other studies indicate that gender quotas can be tokenistic and ineffective if the women are not viewed

as legitimate representatives—either because of gender bias or because the government itself is viewed as corrupt.

The research also shows that some traditional religions and cultures openly question women’s political representation and decision-making roles. However, it is important to understand how these factors may hinder or, in some cases, help women’s influence. In some cases, such as in Egypt, Indonesia, and Morocco, Muslim women have empowered themselves through religion, organizing and mobilizing in support of Islamist candidates. Further research on the context in which religious women operate is needed to understand this pattern.

Research Highlights

• CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

A study across African countries found that increasing the number of women in office led to a decrease in the gender gap in political engagement. That is, even seeing female representatives in office led to a higher level of voter turnout and participation by other women.^{xxxii} Women’s increased presence in legislatures also led to increased respect for women in politics and beyond.^{xxxiii}

• LEGISLATIVE PRIORITIES AND EFFECTIVENESS

Female representatives often pressed for different policy priorities than male representatives. For example, female parliamentarians were 122 percent more likely than their male counterparts to engage in a health-care debate.^{xxxiv} In African countries, research highlighted that female representatives successfully pressed for legislation on gender-based violence, female genital mutilation, maternity leave, and progressive laws on domestic violence and reproductive rights.^{xxxv} A study examining the US Congress found that women were more effective legislators. Women in the minority party were 31 percent more effective at pushing legislation through than their male counterparts, and women in the majority were 5 percent more effective.^{xxxvi}

• CORRUPTION IN POLITICS

There was debate about whether women in government were less corrupt than men. One study found a strong and statistically significant correlation between the proportion of women in a given country’s legislature and the level of perceived corruption in

that state.^{xxxvii} Other studies found a direct correlation between greater gender equality in politics and diminished levels of actual corruption—although these findings seemed to be limited to functional democracies where the removal of corrupt candidates from office was a viable option. Studies also indicated that the level of democracy, as well as culture and context, determine levels of corruption.^{xxxviii}

• HUMAN RIGHTS

One study found that greater political gender equality, measured by the presence of both women chief executives and women in parliament, correlated with lower levels of human rights abuses at the hands of state agents.^{xxxix} Research also demonstrated the roles of civil society organizations (CSOs)—including women’s CSOs—in demanding state-level compliance with international human rights law and applying these norms at the local level.^{xl}

• WARFARE

While state aggression tended to increase when a female leader is the head of state during times of warfare, a study found that a 5 percent increase in the number of women in a legislature decreased the state’s overall likelihood to use violence by nearly five times.^{xli} Another study found that greater state gender equality also led to a lower likelihood to use military action to settle international disputes.^{xlii} Furthermore, when at least 35 percent of the legislature was female, it both reduced state likelihood to go to war and reduced the likelihood of a state’s relapsing into civil war to virtually zero.^{xliii} However, when there were perceived security threats, voters and political parties preferred male candidates because of perceptions that they were stronger on security.^{xliv}

the peaceful qualities that women bring to the table. Others argue that not all women are peaceful and can be supporters and perpetrators of violence. Some argue that women’s inclusion should not be based on their “peaceful temperaments” as it also marginalizes them in certain roles, and that inclusion should be based on principles of gender equality.

The research shows that women have influence in a variety of roles during conflict. In terms of peacebuilding and conflict resolution, data demonstrate that women engage in critical approaches, including:

- preventing violence and providing security, including involvement in nonviolent campaigns;
- moderating extremism;
- strengthening peacemaking;
- promoting dialogue and building trust;
- bridging divides and mobilizing coalitions;
- raising issues that are vital for peace;
- prioritizing gender equality;
- rebuilding more peaceful societies by using a more inclusive approach;
- broadening societal participation; and,
- reducing the chances of relapse into war.

Studies show that women have broader visions of what peace and peacebuilding mean than what is reflected in the predominant male discourse. Women push traditional notions of security to consider the needs of their families, communities, and human security, including issues such as education, jobs, access to health care, clean water, safe communities, and bridging ethnic divides.

The research demonstrates that since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000, women’s inclusion rose. The number of references to women in peace agreements also rose, from 11 percent between 1990 and 2000, to 67 percent in 2014, which indicates that UNSCR 1325 is having an impact on changing norms and policies about peace and security. However, women were still underrepresented in formalized peace processes and, since 1992, women accounted for only 2.4 percent of signatories to peace agreements and less than 10 percent of peace negotiations. In addition, funding for WPS programming was low, comprising only 6 percent of total aid and 2 percent of aid for peace and security specifically.

Section II: Peacebuilding and Conflict Resolution



Research shows that the security of women is linked to the security of states, and that equality between the sexes is correlated with peaceful states behavior. However, there is debate over whether women are inherently peaceful. Traditional discourse by women’s groups highlight

The research also reveals evidence of women’s influence through informal peace processes when they are excluded from formal negotiations. Multiple studies point to women’s ability and willingness to reach across divides and to build coalitions for peace. This is evident in country case studies on Northern Ireland, South Africa, and Guatemala where national women’s movements were critical to peacemaking. Women’s groups often influence peace from the outside through parallel processes and engage in negotiations and ceasefires directly with their communities. The peacebuilding work that women do in communities—such as mediating local disputes, creating safe spaces for women, and re-establishing schools—has an impact on both the private and public spheres, encouraging peace within the home and influencing broader social norms and behaviors.

Research Highlights

- **CONFLICT ZONES**

In Afghanistan, women’s impact on security was found to be significant in civil affairs; disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR); and security forces.^{xiv}

- **PEACE PROCESSES AND AGREEMENTS**

A study that analyzed 40 peace processes over the course of 35 years found that, when women were able to influence peace processes, an agreement was almost always reached.^{xvi} Research also showed that women advocated for issues, such as housing, education, and childcare, that were often ignored by male negotiators, and that they often supported inclusion, participation, and consensus throughout these processes.^{xvii} A study in South Africa demonstrated that women viewed and practiced peacebuilding differently than the international, male-dominated discourse. Women identified peacebuilding as a long process that entailed the satisfaction of basic needs such as food, water, and shelter. The group also identified addressing domestic violence as part of peacebuilding.^{xviii} Studies of peace processes in Colombia and Northern Ireland also showed that women broadened the agenda to include the grievances of affected communities.^{xix}

- **SUSTAINING PEACE**

Research data revealed that including women in peace processes made them 64 percent less likely

to fail and 35 percent more likely to last at least 15 years, meaning women’s participation led to more sustainable peace.ⁱ An examination of 39 different peace agreements demonstrated that the 31 agreements that failed also neglected to include women.ⁱⁱ A study of all civil wars between 1980 and 2003 found that including women in social and political society decreased the risk for civil war relapse and that investing in women’s inclusion improved the prospects for postwar peace.ⁱⁱⁱ

- **POST-CONFLICT POLICIES**

A study showed that women in post-conflict contexts in Africa were instrumental in driving regional and national policy related to gender equality and women’s empowerment.ⁱⁱⁱⁱ Another study that examined four post-conflict countries—Democratic Republic of Congo, the Philippines, Serbia, and Sierra Leone—demonstrated national improvement as a result of National Action Plans on WPS but also highlighted common problems with implementation of those plans.^{liv}



Section III: Peace and Security Operations

Security sector reform is crucial for promoting peace and good governance, and women’s engagement is a key part of this process.

Women in leadership in peace and security operations serve as role models for other women and promote the inclusion of women in post-conflict political, economic, and military structures. Women’s representation among peacekeeping and security personnel, and the use of gender perspectives in these operations, improve access to local populations and increase their support. This trust with communities leads to increased information and situational awareness, and smarter interventions with fewer risks and better outcomes. The research also shows that female police officers are more likely to emphasize communication over force, are more trusted by both men and women in local communities, and more effectively address issues such as sexual assault and domestic violence. Some studies show that integrated units of men and women—rather than separate women’s units—are more effective because segregated units can further marginalize women and imply that women and men cannot work together.

The effectiveness of integrating women into peacekeeping and policing is evident in a variety of country contexts including Liberia, Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the United States. Studies that were reviewed for this annotated bibliography show that incorporating gender perspectives improves operational effectiveness and increases security in a number of ways, including:

- enhancing situational awareness through unique observations and varied perspectives;
- providing information about specific security threats;
- promoting operational effectiveness through gender-sensitive development;
- influencing the conflict narrative;
- moderating political and religious extremism;
- using gender norms to engage male informants;
- increasing force acceptance; and,
- strengthening the capacities of government partners.

Research Highlights

• OPERATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

An examination of the cases of Namibia, Cambodia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, El Salvador, and South Africa showed that women's presence increased access to the local population, improved behavior of male colleagues, and increased the range of skills, approaches, and perspectives in a mission, thus rendering it more effective.^{lv} A study of five Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan found that the inclusion of female soldiers in NATO operations in Afghanistan served to enhance force protection and strengthen security.^{lvi}

• PEACEKEEPING AND GENDER EQUALITY IN-COUNTRY

Statistical evidence shows that the mere presence of peacekeeping missions can have a positive impact on state likelihood of adopting gender balance reforms. One study found that states without peacekeeping missions had only a 51 percent probability of adopting gender reforms, whereas those with peacekeeping missions had a 73 percent probability of adopting them.^{lvii} In other studies, countries with better preexisting gender equality were more likely to have successful peacekeeping operations.^{lviii}

• MITIGATING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

According to UN research, a critical mass of female peacekeepers of 30 percent or higher had a civilizing effect on peacekeeping forces and helped mitigate instances of sexual and gender-based violence perpetrated by peacekeeping troops.^{lix} As peacekeepers, women fostered greater community trust and were viewed as more accessible to other women, who were more likely to come forward to report instances of sexual and gender-based violence to a woman peacekeeper than to a man.^{lix}

• EXCESSIVE FORCE

Multiple studies found correlations between female police and fewer complaints of excessive force. Research also showed that female police officers responded more effectively to violence committed against women and were more likely to act against domestic abuse compared to their male colleagues.^{lxi}

Section IV: Countering Violent Extremism and Counterterrorism



Women play critical roles in preventing and countering violent extremism (CVE). This field remains underexplored, and women continue to be unrecognized and underrepresented in CVE and counterterrorism policy efforts.

In many places, women are well positioned to detect early signs of radicalization because their rights and physical integrity are often targeted by fundamentalists. In addition, innovative research shows that mothers may have unique perspectives on why their sons or daughters radicalize. They are often the frontline in building resilience in the home and community. Because mothers are influential in the family, extremist groups often try to persuade them to support the ideological commitment and courage of their sons to join these movements. Reaching out to mothers and wives of insurgents can help to extract them and reintegrate them back into society as part of deradicalization efforts. However, it is important to note that there have been criticisms about strategies that instrumentalize women or perpetuate gender stereotypes and roles.

There is some debate about women as positive forces in preventing and countering violent extremism. The counterargument is that this angle overlooks women's roles as supporters and perpetrators of violence. Some women join violent political movements and groups for ideological reasons. Others join extremist or armed groups to escape patriarchal structures and empower themselves. Extremist and terrorist groups exploit gender imbalances by enticing women with messages of empowerment. Violent extremism is inherently gendered in its power structures, target audiences, and messages. The consideration of women as peaceful actors or as perpetrators of violent extremism does not have to be mutually exclusive, as women play multifaceted roles. While there is still much to learn about the effectiveness of such programs, thus far the evidence indicates that including women in CVE efforts has the potential to reduce incidents of terrorism and violent extremism.

Research Highlights

- **CVE POLICY AGENDA**

Research indicated that existing policies on countering violent extremism often devalued the pursuit of women's rights and failed to acknowledge those rights as a cornerstone of peace.^{lxvi} A study of the UK counterterrorism strategy demonstrated that community engagement solely through the lens of CVE and on the basis of faith can increase women's insecurity while instrumentalizing the engagement of women.^{lxvii}

- **INTEGRATING GENDER INTO CVE**

A study of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and Asia regions highlighted that religious extremism was spreading into the mainstream throughout the regions and in countries with significant Muslim populations. Women were also directly targeted by extremist groups and were mobilizing to counter the impacts of extremism by engaging with communities, promoting religious tolerance and human rights, and advocating for gender equality.^{lxviii} Case studies in Bangladesh and Morocco showed considerable success in reducing support for violent extremism with both direct and indirect emphasis on women's empowerment to fight terrorism and the factors that drive recruitment and radicalization.^{lxix} A qualitative and quantitative study of mothers in Northern

Ireland, Israel, Palestine, Egypt, Pakistan, and Nigeria also highlighted that mothers believe they are in a primary position to address potential radicalization of their sons.^{lxx}

- **CVE PROGRAMMING**

Research revealed the constructive impact of women's inclusion in CVE efforts. A study on Nigeria showed that mainstreaming gender and the role of women in CVE brought about a fundamental change in the recruitment of volunteers in the Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF). For example, women were recruited to conduct bodily searches of other women and girls, and to gather information due to the limitations on male interactions with females in Muslim society.^{lxxi} In Iraq, Daughters of Iraq, a program that hired women to work at checkpoints and conduct searches of other women, helped to mitigate the short-term threat of terrorist attack.^{lxxii} Another initiative piloted in multiple countries sought to train women in how to detect radicalization among their children and provide counternarratives in the home. These Mothers Schools, were shown to have a mitigating effect by lessening children's likelihood of joining terrorist or violent extremist groups.^{lxxiii}

- **UNDERSTANDING TERRORISM PERPETRATED BY WOMEN**

Some research has examined why women participate in acts of violent extremism or terrorism, finding that these women were often motivated by revenge, redemption, relationships, and respect. It was found that oppression in women's home cultures, oppression by occupying forces, and the loss of family members were all common drivers for women to join terrorist groups.^{lxxiv} Another study found that violent political organizations are more likely to recruit women as they grow.^{lxxv}

VI. LOOKING AHEAD

The vision of UNSCR 1325 is to incorporate gender perspectives and change the way that peace and security is approached. The larger WPS agenda aims to transform the way security is conceptualized and pursued by national, regional, and international actors. However, the impact on international peace and security of gender

inequalities, power, social status, and violence, which are intimately linked, have remained somewhat obscured.

This selected annotated bibliography is intended to make the invisible more visible to policymakers and practitioners. The emerging body of literature on the effectiveness and impact of the implementation of the agenda opens the aperture of thinking on security. Policy actors and decision-makers must now consider what security is and how to create it from a gendered perspective. The qualitative and quantitative evidence available today provides decision-makers many opportunities to examine more holistic and effective approaches from a wide spectrum of sources. Taken as a baseline, this bibliography offers a compelling and robust picture of the various ways that the agenda can improve the effectiveness of international peace and security decision-making.

However, further research is needed on the impact of the agenda. The field needs to continue to examine the questions of both why and how it matters. This will assist policymakers and practitioners to devise better ways of addressing peace and security challenges across a range of countries and contexts.

GOVERNANCE



Political Representation

Sahar F. Aziz, “Democracy, Like Revolution, Is Unattainable Without Women,” *United States Institute of Peace Peacebrief* 152 (June 8, 2013), <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/PB152.pdf>.

How do women in Arab Spring countries transform their leadership during revolutions into high-level governance positions after revolutions? Women have a long history of pivotal positions in mass protests and political movements in the Middle East, but as soon as conflict ends, society reverts to traditional gender roles. Stable democracy is not possible without the contribution and leadership of women. This report makes **three recommendations** to promote their representation in the public sphere. **First, revise election laws to promote equal participation using programs such as quotas or gender ordering, which can be phased out after women’s participation is normalized. Second, increase women’s access to high-level employment to generate economic empowerment.** Economic development and sustainability are dependent on women’s participation in the workforce. **Finally, address “deeply embedded cultural stereotypes” of women by changing the way women are portrayed within the education system.** One way to change stereotypes of women is through revising textbooks to include past and present powerful women leaders.

Julie Ballington and Azza Karam, *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers, a Revised Edition* (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2005), <http://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/women-parliament-beyond-numbers-revised-edition>.

Experience has shown that increased representation of women at the highest levels of governance has made a difference in raising awareness, changing agendas, and providing gender-sensitive legal frameworks. However, despite this progress, women face many obstacles to participation, and legislatures and other public and private institutions are still dominated by men. Increasing women’s participation in politics is critical to democratic development and sustainability. This handbook examines ways of not only increasing the numbers but also increasing the effectiveness of the women who are elected. The key themes include the effect of socioeconomic and cultural biases and overcoming the challenges in winning elections to parliament; the central role that political parties and electoral systems play; increasing women’s access to decision-making bodies through special measures such as quotas; and enhancing the effectiveness of women politicians in transforming the institution of parliament and effecting policy changes. It examines more than twenty-five case studies from all regions of the world. Findings include the following: (1) women face political, public, cultural, and social barriers to political participation; (2) while electoral systems alone do not determine the level of women’s representation, they are important because they can be regularly changed; (3) in some countries the introduction of quotas has been successful, and in other countries they have not resulted in an increase in the number of women in politics or their empowerment; and (4) women can change the inherent masculinity of legislatures by using and changing the rules.

Tiffany D. Barnes and Stephanie M. Burchard, “Engendering Politics: The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women’s Political Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa,” *Comparative Political Studies* 46, no. 7 (November 2012): 767–790, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0010414012463884?journalCode=cpsa>.

This article explores the relationship between women’s descriptive representation (defined as “similarity between representatives and the represented”) and symbolic representation (defined as “feelings of being fairly and effectively represented”) and the gender gap in political engagement. Barnes and Burchard hypothesize that as women’s descriptive and symbolic representation increases, the gender gap between men and women’s political engagement will narrow. They discuss the relationship between descriptive and symbolic representation, and political efficacy: descriptive representation sends a signal to the so-called described that their interests are represented in the political arena. If women feel represented by political officials, they may be more inclined to feel that their vote counts. Having women in office thus changes the perception of politics from a man’s world to one in which women are involved. The study uses

survey data from 90,000 respondents from 1998 to 2008 across twenty African countries. The cross-country data sets include countries with both high and low descriptive representation of women. **The study supports the hypothesis that increases in women’s descriptive representation are associated with decreases in the political engagement gender gap.** However, the study also finds that once women reach a threshold of 25 to 35 percent in legislatures, the predicted probability of political engagement is the same for women as for men.

Gretchen Bauer, “Let There Be a Balance: Women in African Parliaments,” *Political Studies Review* 10, no. 3 (September 2012): 370–384, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1478-9302.2012.00272.x/abstract>.

What impacts can we identify from having more women in African parliaments? The article examines women’s presence in African parliaments in terms of their descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation—“in brief, standing for women, acting for women and role modeling women.” Regarding descriptive representation, quotas were most effective at getting women into office in Africa. Quotas were facilitated by political transitions, international women’s movements, regional and continental bodies, and transmission of international norms. The discussion of substantive representation examines how African women legislators have advocated for women’s interests once elected, focusing on Rwanda, South Africa, Uganda, and Tanzania. **Various pieces of legislation in the surveyed countries can be attributed to women members of parliament (MPs), such as the Gender-Based Violence Bill in Rwanda, the Anti-Female Genital Mutilation Bill in Uganda, maternity leave in Tanzania, and progressive laws on domestic violence and reproductive rights in South Africa, among others.** Some argue in Rwanda that while representation may have had less of an effect on legislation, women’s presence has positively changed parliamentary culture. Improvements to the parliamentary environment are cited in Tanzania as well. **Women’s participation in cross-party women’s parliamentary caucuses and governmental collaboration with women activists and women’s organizations from civil society also improve outcomes for women in parliament.** Regarding symbolic representation, which many argue is the most significant, the author argues that women’s increased presence in legislatures leads to increased respect for women in politics and even beyond, permeating in some cases into family and community settings.

Lisa Blaydes and Safinaz El Tarouty, “Women’s Electoral Participation in Egypt: The Implications of Gender for Voter Recruitment and Mobilization,” *Middle East Journal* 63, no. 3 (2009): 364–380, https://www.jstor.org/stable/20622926?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents.

This study examines women’s participation in Egypt’s 2005 parliamentary elections in order to understand how women’s political participation can lead to economic and political empowerment. According to the author, the question of how everyday women respond to the opportunities and incentives presented by parliamentary elections has been largely ignored in favor of studies of the political prospects for female elites. The article argues that voters in Egypt fall into two categories: (1) those who expect monetary or other benefit via clientelist networks and (2) those who are ideologically motivated and support the Islamist party, the Muslim Brotherhood. In either case, voter recruitment is gendered. In the first instance, women’s votes are “cheaper” to buy because many women do not work, thus their opportunity costs for voting are lower than those of men. In the second instance, women have proven to be highly effective political recruiters for Muslim Brotherhood candidates. Since the 1970s in Egypt, Muslim women have organized in response to the secular state, seeking empowerment through religion. Many see themselves as active in the political process due to their involvement in various religious activities and have been mobilized as highly effective recruiters of voters, especially women. In addition, the presence of veiled voters at polling stations makes people more aware of Islamist candidates and cuts down on the likelihood of government oppression. **The participation of Islamist women is, therefore, a powerful and politically motivating symbol for both male and female voters. In sum, the study finds that in countries such as Egypt, the clientelist system tends to empower women economically rather than politically because it offers an opportunity for disadvantaged women to sell their votes. On the other hand, supporting Islamist candidates can benefit women politically. Such gender considerations likely translate to other countries as well. Given the lack of research on the subject, more should be done.**

Ana Catalano, “Women Acting for Women? An Analysis of Gender and Debate Participation in the British House of Commons 2005–2007,” *Politics and Gender* 5, no. 1 (March 2009): 45–68, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/politics-and-gender/article/div-classtitlewomen-acting-for-women-an-analysis-of-gender-and-debate-participation-in-the-british-house-of-commons-20052007div/670A9C75C7ED58EF815C6CF0F14BAAB5>.

Is the increased descriptive representation of women in parliament making a substantive difference in terms of the types of policies passed, behavioral norms, and procedures? Are women using debate as a forum to achieve greater substantive representation in areas of perceived women’s interests? Previous literature suggests that women do not share an exclusive set of political interests, except for the eradication of gender-based discrimination. Men and women are thought to have many of the same social and political experiences. However, the case of male and female members of the British Parliament offers some evidence that female MPs have a distinct set of political interests. The study conducts a quantitative analysis of bill debates in the British House of Commons, **hypothesizing that women are more likely to “participate in health care debates than men because they feel a particular, gendered duty to represent women’s perspectives on issues popularly construed as ‘women’s issues.’”** It separates debates into feminine (health care) and masculine (finance) between May 2005 and August 2007. **It finds that female parliamentarians are 122 percent more likely than male parliamentarians to participate in a health-care debate.** Furthermore, the analysis found that men generally participate more prolifically in debate than women, with those men who speak making a greater number of interventions on average than those women who speak, though women are just as likely to participate.

Amy Ciazza, “Does Women’s Representation in Elected Office Lead to Women-Friendly Policy?” Institute for Policy Research Research-in-Brief, May 2002, <https://www.csus.edu/indiv/n/nalderk/vwomen%20legislators%20and%20woman%20policy.pdf>.

This brief analyzes whether having more women in elected office is associated with more women-friendly policy in the United States. It does so by examining whether variations in women’s levels of elected representation coincide with increases in women-friendly policy across the fifty states. Women’s representation varies widely among states; in some, women hold positions of governor, lieutenant governor, or other executive positions; in others, women make up less than 10 percent of the legislature and hold no high-level positions. The checklist of women-friendly policies includes protection from violence, access to income support, employment protections, legislation protecting sexual minorities, and reproductive rights. **The study finds that the relationship between women’s representation and women-friendly policy is very strong: states with more elected women in office have more women-friendly policies.** However, women’s resources and rights may influence the number of women elected to public office.

Kelsey Coolidge, “Advancing Women’s Rights in Davao City, Philippines: The Role of Local Civil Society,” One Earth Future Research, 2017, <https://oefresearch.org/publications/advancing-womens-rights-davao-city-philippines-role-local-civil-society>.

State commitment to international human rights treaties is often ceremonial, and research has found that commitment to such treaties has the greatest effect when local citizens demand compliance. **This article shows how the work of local civil society organizations (CSOs), including women’s CSOs, may be essential to ensuring state compliance with international human rights law and questions the orthodoxy by which states sign and implement international human rights treaties.** It also demonstrates the possibility that international law can be applied locally without national-level compliance. The author’s argument is supported by a case study on women’s rights legislation from Davao City, Philippines, where local CSOs were the catalyst for the implementation of the Women and Development Code—legislation that affirms women’s rights within the city. The code directly implemented the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and was passed and executed throughout the city more than a decade before similar legislation was passed at the national level. This affirmed the agency and central role CSOs play in the advancement of international human rights

law—inclusive of policy, governance, and the advancement of women. The case study, based on policy research and interviews drawn from a collaborative project on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 through National Action Plans—which included representatives from government, the security sectors, and civil society—affirms there are multiple ways to implement international law. In this case, action at the local level preceded recognition of the CEDAW at the national level. The article also illustrates the trend that emerging democracies and post-conflict and transitional societies, such as Davao City after the fall of the Marco regime, are ready and capable of demanding change at the local level in the implementation of human rights law. While reinforcing the belief that CSOs are fundamental to the progress of human rights and women's rights, the author calls for greater cross-national research focusing on how local CSOs are achieving change with local governments on the basis of international human rights law.

Sophia Francesca Del Prado Lu, “Women’s Electoral Participation in Muslim Majority and Non-Muslim Majority Countries,” *Journal of International Women’s Studies* 14, no. 3 (July 2013): 137–147, <http://vc.bridgew.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1686&context=jjws>.

How does Islam affect the electoral participation of women? This study considers data from 329 parties in twenty-six countries— twenty Muslim majority and six non-Muslim majority. **The data show that religion, and particularly Islam, is a strong factor in women’s political participation, with lower electoral participation for women in Muslim majority countries.** However, religion is not necessarily the only factor and must be considered in the broader socioeconomic and political contexts of each country. Additionally, while some research indicates Islam can be a barrier, **women have expanded their political participation and social status by “returning to Islam” and being active in Islamic parties; and the Islamization of the state has led to the enhancement and betterment of women’s skills, knowledge, and sense of self.** The increased participation of women in the Middle East was evidenced by the Arab Spring uprisings; however, they led only to change of leadership, not system, which has the greatest impact on policies. Despite the constant repression of women’s rights and political freedoms, women in Islamic states have continued to strive for change in the social and political spheres, and this may lead to their eventual victory in the political arena. Further research should be done on the gains of women as a result of Islam.

David Dollar, Raymond Fisman, and Robert Gatti, “Are Women Really the ‘Fairer’ Sex? Corruption and Women in Government,” *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 46, no. 4 (December 2001): 423–429, <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S016726810100169X>.

This article examines the relationship between female participation in legislatures and the level of perceived corruption. Existing literature in behavioral studies suggests that women are more likely to exhibit helping behavior, vote on social issues, score higher on integrity tests, and behave more generously than men. Using this literature as justification for its research question, the article examines the relationship between female participation in government legislatures and the level of perceived corruption. It employs a cross-national study of 100 countries with data from 1985, 1990, and 1995. **It finds a strong, negative, and statistically significant relationship between the proportion of women in a country’s legislature and the level of perceived corruption, meaning increased numbers of women in parliament are associated with lower levels of perceived corruption.** However, it qualifies its findings stating that since it involves cross-country data, there may be an unobserved variable that is causing both high female participation in government and low corruption.

Maria Escobar-Lemmon and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson, “Women Ministers in Latin American Government: When, Where, and Why?” *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 4 (October 1, 2005): 829–844, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3647700?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents.

This article examines why Latin America experiences more gender parity in ministerial cabinets than other regions. This is particularly of interest considering Latin America’s traditionally macho culture. The study examines this question by looking at the conditions under which women join presidents’ cabinets and the types of portfolios women

receive. Literature suggests that electing women to political office is a result of supply and demand. The supply of female ministers is affected by factors including women's desire for the positions and the number of qualified women. The authors develop three hypotheses regarding the supply side in that the more women having advanced education, having experience in the workforce, and comprising the legislature result in the increased probability that women will be appointed to the cabinet and will receive top-ranking posts. The demand side is determined by the cost versus benefit of electing a woman instead of a man. **The authors hypothesize that the probability that women will be appointed to the cabinet and will receive top posts increases: (1) when the president is from a left party; (2) when the president's party has a secure majority in the legislature; and (3) when the electoral situation for parties is intensely competitive.** The study also considers other factors. It is based on data from 1980 to 2003 in eighteen democratic Latin American countries. It finds that increases in the percentage of female members of cabinets, high societal education, leftist party presidents, and competitive elections can be attributed to more women in the legislature. Education and workforce experience, however, did not correlate with women's representation. The study also found a small effect from domestic factors, and a significant relationship between participation and international pressure and regional diffusion.

Maria Escobar-Lemmon and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson, "Getting to the Top: Career Paths of Women in Latin American Cabinets," *Political Research Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (December 2009): 685–699, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25594440?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents.

This article questions whether cabinet positions are gendered positions in Latin America. Presidents worldwide are under pressure to represent not only partisan and political interests in their cabinets but also to include minority and women's representation. In Latin America, presidents are criticized for not including women in their cabinets. **This article argues that the extent to which women receive important, visible, and diverse posts determines whether presidential cabinets are representative institutions or are biased in a gendered way.** To test this, the authors use data from eighteen Latin American countries from 1980 to 2003. They define "feminine policy domains" as children and family, culture, education, health and social welfare, and women's affairs. They define "masculine policy domains" as agriculture, fisheries and livestock, construction and public works, defense and public security, finance and economy, foreign affairs, government or interior, industry and commerce, labor, science and technology, transportation, and communication and information. They identify four benchmarks to evaluate whether cabinet positions are gendered: (1) there are differences in career length between men and women; (2) women receive feminine posts, and men receive masculine posts; (3) masculine posts offer greater potential for upward mobility; and (4) women must be better qualified than men to receive appointments. The article finds: **(1) there is no significant difference in career length between men and women; (2) women are statistically significantly overrepresented in feminine cabinet posts and significantly underrepresented in masculine cabinet posts; (3) there are mixed results regarding upward mobility— neither masculine nor feminine cabinet posts are universally good stepping-stones; and (4) women cabinet members tend to have fewer party credentials than men, suggesting that experience and connections in other areas are more useful for them in securing cabinet appointments.** The authors conclude that even though women are starting to gain appointments to high- profile and masculine-domain cabinet posts, the overall evidence supports the conclusion that there are gendered patterns to cabinet appointments.

Federation of Women Lawyers of Kenya, *Key Gains and Challenges: A Gender Audit of Kenya's 2013 Election Process* (Washington, DC: National Democratic Institute, 2013), <https://www.ndi.org/files/Kenya-Gender-Audit-2013-Electoral-Process.pdf>.

This report assesses the electoral process and the gains and setbacks that were observed with regard to the participation and representation of women in Kenya's 2013 elections through analyzing Kenya's new legal framework and institutional interventions. It finds that the constitution, national legislation, and international treaties provided the most favorable and inclusive election environment in Kenya's history. However, the biggest obstacle was the incomplete implementation—

and in some instances complete violation—of the law. While some institutions followed the constitution with regard to gender gains, most were passive and minimalistic in implementation. The assessment included interviews of women candidates focused on their campaigns, nominations, and the 2013 Election Day. The interviews identified verbal intimidation, propaganda, and underhanded actions as the most prevalent challenges these women faced. The interviewees most commonly attributed their success to their previous work, reputation, and party choice. The report notes the historical steps made in women’s representation in political positions but is wary of the trends to fulfill the bare minimum of representation by governing bodies. **It makes recommendations to various stakeholders to reform laws and their implementation, to enhance inclusivity and promote equal participation as envisioned by the constitution.**

Richard L. Fox and Jennifer L. Lawless, “Entering the Arena? Gender and the Decision to Run for Office,” *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 2 (2004): 264–280, https://www.jstor.org/stable/1519882?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents.

This article theorizes that the gender gap in politics is due to individual decisions to run for office rather than a systematic gender bias in the political system. Previous literature has identified the “incumbency advantage” and the “eligibility pool” as two main factors keeping women out of politics. However, the previous literature had not examined how gender interacts with the initial decision to run for office. This article conducted a national survey of “eligible” men and women in the United States to collect data on this question. The survey targeted individuals in professions that are common pathways to holding electoral office: business, law, and education. The results of the study are based on 3,765 respondents—1,969 men and 1,796 women. The article confirms that an individual’s gender, when controlling for education, income, race, political party and attitudes, previous campaign experience, and whether the individual received encouragement to run for office, significantly affects his or her decision to run for office. Men are more likely than women to consider running for office and are more likely to run for office. With these results, the article tests interactions with previously identified areas of gender socialization and the decision to run for office. These include political culture, family responsibilities, self-perceived qualifications, and ideological motivations. **The article finds that self-perceived qualifications are the only statistically significant factor affecting women’s decision to run for office and that women receive less external encouragement to run for office.**

Roseanna Michelle Heath, Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson, “Women on the Sidelines: Women’s Representation on Committees in Latin American Legislatures,” *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 2 (2005): 420–436, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3647686?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents.

This article examines the ability of traditionally dominant political groups to marginalize traditionally non-dominant political groups from committee assignments in legislatures to understand why variation exists under certain conditions. **Particularly, the article studies how male legislators may marginalize female legislators through limiting committee assignments.** Studying this divide between men and women is appropriate given that many countries have instituted gender quotas and increased the number of women in legislatures, whereas other traditionally marginalized groups like ethnic minorities have not received that treatment. Furthermore, committee assignments represent important political resources that help legislators win reelection and allow for the opportunity to develop, modify, and block legislation. The study includes data from legislative committees from six Latin American countries: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Honduras, and Venezuela. It analyzes women’s issues committees, social issues committees, economics/foreign affairs committees, and power committees. **The article finds that women are unequally represented across different types of committees, with more women on committees on women’s issues and social issues. Furthermore, the article determines that isolating women on social issues committees, which are rarely influential in the congress, appears to be a strategy used by male politicians to hoard scarce political resources in the chamber.** The article suggests that male legislators may feel threatened by the risk of sharing political resources with newer female legislators and, when given the option

through committee selection structure, will isolate women legislators to social or women's issues committees. The article concludes by emphasizing the importance of considering formal and informal legislative rules to understand how new groups will be treated in legislatures.

Happy Kayuni and Ragnhild L. Muriaas, "Alternatives to Gender Quotas: Electoral Financing of Women Candidates in Malawi," *Representation* 50, no. 3 (July 2014): 393–404, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00344893.2014.951235?journalCode=rrep20>.

Gender quotas address the rules of candidate selection, reflecting a "demand-side" solution to women's underrepresentation in politics. This article examines alternatives to gender quotas that address the "supply-side" barriers to women's representation, which include the lack of resources, knowledge, or motivations that prohibit women from running for office. **It suggests that the representation of women is likely to increase when the number of women running for office increases, because research shows that women win elections at relatively the same rate as men.** The authors provide a critical case study of Malawi's 50-50 Campaign ahead of the 2009 elections. This campaign focused on providing resources to female candidates with the rationale that **campaign finance is one of the greatest obstacles to women interested in running for office.** With donor assistance, aspiring female candidates were provided with a "starter pack" of approximately \$231, and female candidates who won primary elections received 1,000 campaign t-shirts and 2,000 campaign posters. The campaign also aimed to sensitize prominent political figures to the importance of increasing women's representation. After the 2009 elections, there was a 9.3 percent increase in female legislators, increasing the total percentage to 22.3 percent. However, some of the increase represented a larger number of women running as independents, suggesting that the campaign failed to sufficiently address the role of weak and biased party organizations. The article asserts that electoral financing can avoid certain disadvantages of gender quotas; however, it does not necessarily overcome the negative perceptions of women in politics.

Paul Kirby and Laura J. Shepherd, "The Futures Past of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda," *International Affairs* 92, no. 2 (2016): 373–392, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/ia/futures-past-women-peace-and-security-agenda>.

The authors of this piece make the argument that the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda is intended as a "fundamental challenge to contemporary global order" but that increasing focus on the protection pillar in United Nations Security Council resolutions and the state-centric approach of the movement lead to a gap between WPS ambitions and realities. This leads to a lack of focus on other pillars, such as participation, which are critical to the success of the movement, and lack of acknowledgment of the ways the pillars are interrelated. The article discusses the successes and limits of the WPS architectural design, based on the institutionalization of UNSCR 1325 and its imperfect implementation. The authors situate their observations and critiques in the context of the WPS agenda's key aspirational domains (protection, participation, prevention, relief and recovery, and normative dimension), while using the motifs of plural pasts and futures to support and illustrate the multiplicity of meanings, tensions, and stakeholders that influence its implementation and efficacy. Two key tensions that characterize the current WPS agenda—its advancement and dilution—are discussed in detail, in the context of three possible futures: the "Men, Peace and Security" agenda; the rise of feminist foreign policy; and the remaking of "security" as a category. In envisioning these possible futures, the authors argue that "the first suggests a shift in the content of the WPS agenda, the second a pluralization in its principal actors, and the last an interpretation of its historic purpose" (emphasis in original). **In sum, this article examines achievements and failures while illustrating the paradox that progress can only be measured against an agenda that demands transformation beyond the internal strategy.** Highlighting a series of policy failures (in peacekeeping, participation, national ownership, and UN Security Council implementation), institutional barriers, and the inconsistencies and limits that plague both WPS language and National Action Plans on WPS, the authors call for a radical reenvisioning of global security—in a manner that echoes the spirit of the earliest articulations of the WPS agenda.

Kosovo: Overcoming Barriers to Women's Political Participation (Washington, DC: National Democratic Institute [NDI], 2015), <https://www.ndi.org/files/Gender-Assesment-report-eng.pdf>.

NDI conducted this assessment of women's political involvement in Kosovo's 2013 local elections and 2014 parliamentary elections. It focused on challenges in women's access to decision-making positions, nomination by political parties, recruitment as candidates, and roles within political parties' campaigns. The assessment included interviews with government officials, opposition and political party leaders, members of parliament, representatives of the media, academia, civil society, and the international community; an online survey to a self-selected sample of eighty-one women party members from across the political spectrum; and three focus groups with branch-level women party members. The assessment found that while the gender quota laws have generally been followed, the women were not offered the same support offered to the men and were less likely to be nominated by party branches or have incumbent status. Women were further disadvantaged by operating outside of male-dominated networks and were often added as last-minute candidates to fill quotas. Finally, while women made up a significant portion of voters, campaigns were rarely targeted toward female voters. In order to support gender quality within political parties in Kosovo, NDI made the following recommendations: strengthen the legal framework protecting women's political participation; understand and respond to women's voting power; recruit and retain women to run for office; increase campaign support to women candidates; create inclusive party structures and leadership positions; and develop women's leadership.

Fiona MacKay, "Gendering Constitutional Change and Policy Outcomes: Substantive Representation and Domestic Violence Policy in Scotland," *Policy and Politics* 38, no. 3 (July 2010): 369–388, <http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/tpp/pap/2010/00000038/00000003/art00004?crawler=true>.

This article examines the outcomes of the Scottish Constitutional Convention of 1989 as it relates to policy developments in the field of domestic violence. It suggests that the gender-inclusive convention process, gender-balanced politics thereafter, and new constitutional and institutional arrangement in Scotland following the 1989 convention led to positive gendered policy outcomes. It is compared to the progress made at the UK level in the same time frame (1998–2007) but without the same gendered processes. In Scotland, women's organizations and activists mobilized to attain inclusion in the constitutional reform process. They were successful in increasing the number of women parliamentarians and building key institutional arrangements for gender, including a more inclusive and consultative style of policymaking. The article finds that the comparison between Scotland and the broader context of the UK—which was slower to address domestic violence in policy—shows that the devolution effect, or the combined effect of new democratic institutions, new principles, and accountability mechanisms, accounts for the positive change in domestic violence policy. From 1998 to 2006, Scotland passed a series of new laws to combat domestic violence. The findings suggest that the policy process had successfully become "re-gendered" as an outcome of the Constitutional Convention. However, the author qualifies this finding by noting that success in this area is partially affected by relative unity among various political actors on the importance of combating domestic violence and also by limited public recognition of the success of the policy change.

Erik Melander, "Political Gender Equality and State Human Rights Abuse," *Journal of Peace Research* 42, no. 2 (2005): 149–166, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0022343305050688>.

This study provides evidence that the presence of political gender equality, measured by the number of women chief executives and the proportion of women in parliament, is directly correlated with reduced levels of rights abuses by state agents. The author provides three possible arguments in support of his hypothesis: (1) the "essentialist" argument that women are less inclined toward violence due to their biological reproductive roles; (2) the "constructivist" argument that women are socialized to be less violent than men; and (3) the "spurious correlation" argument that sees women's rights as human rights and the presence of women in politics as an indicator that human rights are already being maintained by the state so human rights cannot be caused by the presence of women in politics. Using statistical analysis and controlling for regime type, the author found his initial hypothesis correct, that

female chief executives that are non-dynastic are associated with lower levels of human rights abuse and that higher levels of women in parliament are similarly associated with lower levels of rights abuses.

Theresa Schroeder, “When Security Dominates the Agenda: The Influence of Ongoing Security Threats on Female Representation,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 3 (August 2015): 564–589, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0022002715603097>.

This article tests the relationship between external security threats and female representation in government. Previous research has found that the presence of an external security threat increases military spending and state aggression. **This article argues that female representation is not simply a product of domestic characteristics such as religion, level of development, or electoral system but is also affected by the international security environment a state operates within. Specifically, the presence of an external threat not only increases military spending and state aggression but also lowers female representation.** This hypothesis is tested using twenty-one democracies with a long history of free and fair elections. The results indicate that when security is the main concern, voters are more likely to prefer male candidates, whom they perceive as more capable of maintaining security than women, and parties will thus run fewer female candidates. These results support previous literature and suggest that when security concerns dominate the political agenda, men will dominate political leadership.

Mona Tajali, “Women’s Rise to Political Office on Behalf of Religious Political Movements,” in *Women and Gender in Middle East Politics*, POMEPS Studies no. 19 (Washington, DC: Project on Middle East Political Science [POMEPS], May 2016), http://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/POMEPS_Studies_19_Gender_Web.pdf#page=18.

Despite the official religious ideology in many Muslim majority countries that sees women’s place in the home and denies them the public sphere, women have been playing increasingly powerful roles in Islamic political movements and parties. During the rise of Islamic parties in the 1960s and 1970s, women were recruited as grassroots organizers; however, after the turn of the century they began taking on more political roles. More women were elected from Islamic parties than secular or liberal parties in national elections in Tunisia, Turkey, Iran, Yemen, and Jordan, among others. Although Islamic parties often give token recognition to women to seem more democratic in the face of Western pressure, this ignores the women’s own roles in pressuring for greater access to political positions. The author’s research suggests that more attention needs to be paid to women’s organizing and mobilizing efforts to increase their access to political decision-making positions. **Decades of women’s politicization and grassroots organizing in support of the Islamist movement have resulted in a caliber of women who want decision-making power.**

Lise Togeby, “The Gender Gap in Foreign Policy Attitudes,” *Journal of Peace Research* 31, no. 4 (November 1994): 375–392, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/424593>.

Are women more peaceful than men? Studies of the presidential elections carried out in the United States in 1980 indicated that there was a gender gap in voting caused by a gender gap in attitudes toward war and foreign politics, specifically in attitudes toward war, armament, and nuclear weapons. As women were more peace-loving or more “dovish,” they voted against more “hawkish” presidential candidates. This article looks at whether this trend expands to other countries, examining the case of Denmark in the 1980s. It examines several theories about this gender gap: (1) women are generally less involved in politics of foreign policy; (2) women have more peace-loving values; and (3) women’s more peaceful attitudes toward foreign policy come from the political and feminist radicalization of women. The article concludes that Denmark’s gender gap in foreign policy attitudes in the late 1980s was due primarily to a general left-wing mobilization of women. However, this development also seems linked to a revitalization of traditional women’s values. **The article’s discussion of the systemic causes of the gender gap and of its election impact centers around three factors: the salience of foreign policy, the political mobilization of women, and the available political alternatives in a given election.**

Tunisia's National Constituent Assembly: Gender Assessment (Washington, DC: National Democratic Institute [NDI], March 2014), <https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Tunisia-Gender-Assessment-National-Constituent-Assembly-ENG.pdf>.

This gender assessment's objectives include understanding women deputies' capacity to perform their duties in Tunisia's National Constituent Assembly (NCA); the way the NCA supports the work and capacity of deputies; the extent to which gender equality practices are mainstreamed in the NCA; and women deputies' interactions with political parties, civic organizations, and international actors. NDI staff interviewed eighteen female and four male deputies at the assembly and eight parliamentary staff, both men and women. Due to women's visible and active role in the revolution and continued engagement, there is strong support for women's political participation in Tunisian society. However, survey participants reported negative attitudes and comments, harassment, and aggression toward women deputies. Additionally, women deputies have more difficulty being heard in political debates, being judged on their competence and character, and have not been able to establish a women's caucus. **To address these challenges, this assessment recommends a regularized assembly calendar, an MP handbook that outlines rights and responsibilities of MPs and staff, prioritized office space with telephone and computer access, encouragement of women to apply for leadership positions in staffing, development of a women's caucus, continued work with civil societies, comprehensive gender strategies within parties, and party-supported capacity development for women MPs.**

Craig Volden, Alan E. Wiseman, and Dana E. Wittmer, "The Legislative Effectiveness of Women in Congress," Working Paper 04-2010, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, CA, August 2010, <https://www.vanderbilt.edu/csdi/research/files/CSDI-WP-04-2010.pdf>.

Based on findings that women in US congressional minority parties have greater success than their male counterparts in keeping proposed legislation alive, **this article proposes that women in Congress are more effective lawmakers than their male counterparts.** While this finding appears to be limited to the success of women in minority parties, the findings indicate at least minimally higher success rates of women legislators in both minority and majority parties. **Women in the minority are found to be 31 percent more effective than their male counterparts, and women in the majority are found to be 5 percent more effective.** Effectiveness for both minority and majority party women appears to be more pronounced when they champion legislation that focuses on women's issue areas.

The White House, "The United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security," Washington, DC, December 2011, http://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/us_nationalactionplan_2011.pdf.

Based on evidence that peace agreements are likely to be secured and to endure when women are meaningfully involved, the first US National Action Plan (NAP) on Women, Peace, and Security states one primary goal: **"to empower half the world's population as equal partners in preventing conflict and building peace in countries threatened and affected by war, violence, and insecurity."** This NAP is guided by five principles that are detailed with key indicators and government action steps to be carried out. The first is the engagement and protection of women as agents of peace and stability, which is identified as critical to security, conflict prevention, and the rebuilding of societies. The second is to complement existing initiatives to advance gender equality and women's empowerment. This step is complemented by the 2006 Law Against Sexual and Gender-Based Violence. The third is that the US government should be guided by principles of inclusion that extend beyond the inclusion of women to embody youth; ethnic, racial, and religious minorities; persons with disabilities; displaced and indigenous persons; and the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community. Fourth, the plan calls for coordination across relevant departments and agencies. Finally, the plan requires accountability for implementation, meaning the US federal government will monitor and review its implementation of these principles.

The White House, “The United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security,” Washington, DC, December 2016, <https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1868/National%20Action%20Plan%20on%20Women%2C%20Peace%2C%20and%20Security.pdf>.

Following the premise and the foundation of the first US National Action Plan (NAP) on Women, Peace, and Security, this NAP maintains the same five principles of engagement and protection of women as agents of peace and stability. It complements existing initiatives to advance gender equality and women’s empowerment, inclusion, and coordination across relevant departments and agencies, and to monitor and review the implementation of these principles. While much of the content is similar between these two NAPs, **the 2016 NAP has a stronger focus on the role of women in countering violent extremism, which represents a shift in the language and political considerations of the US WPS strategy.**

Corruption

Vivi Alatas et al., “Gender and Corruption: Insights from an Experimental Analysis,” *Southern Economic Journal* 75, no. 3 (January 1, 2009): 663–680, https://www.jstor.org/stable/27751409?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents.

This article examines gender differences in attitudes and perceptions of corruption using experimental methodology in Australia, India, Indonesia, and Singapore. Australia and Singapore are consistently ranked as the least corrupt countries in the world, whereas India and Indonesia are consistently ranked as two of the most corrupt countries in the world. The study set up a three-person, sequential-move game where the first player is a “firm” given the option to initiate a corrupt transaction, the second player is an “official” who can reject or accept the bribe, and the third player is the “citizen” who can respond to the corruption by choosing to punish the firm and the official. In all, there were 1,326 participants across the four countries: 642 in Australia, 309 in India, 180 in Indonesia, and 195 in Singapore. **The study found that while women in Australia were less tolerant of corruption than men, there were no significant gender differences in attitudes toward corruption in India, Indonesia, and Singapore.** This finding suggests that attitudes and perceptions of corruption are more culture and context specific rather than universally gender specific.

Justin Esarey and Gina Chirillo, “‘Fairer Sex’ or Purity Myth? Corruption, Gender, and Institutional Context,” *Politics and Gender* 9, no. 4 (December 2013): 361–389, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/politics-and-gender/article/fairer-sex-or-purity-myth-corruption-gender-and-institutional-context/E33CD848226B8BE25F34E5291F1FB351>.

This article responds to Dollar, Fisman, and Gatti’s argument (above) that female legislators are less likely to be involved in corruption. It challenges the notion that women are innately less corrupt than men and suggests that women may be differently affected by the risk of being involved in corruption. It poses the question, “Does women’s tolerance toward corruption depend on political institutions (democratic versus autocratic) that either condone or encourage corruption?” The theoretical background argues that women will be less tolerant of corruption in democracies, where corruption is discouraged. Women are often more risk averse than men and “more powerfully subject to social norms because systematic discrimination against them makes their position more tenuous.” However, in autocracies, where corruption is often a normal part of doing business as expected and the risk of being caught is negligible, women will be as susceptible to corruption as men. The study surveys sixty-eight countries between the years 1999 and 2002, using a Polity score to measure level of democracy. It finds little difference in corruption tolerance between men and women in countries that rank lowest (most corrupt) on the Polity scale. However, it finds a significant difference—men more tolerant than women—in democratic countries. **The authors conclude that female participation in government only reduces corruption in functional democracies where the electorate tends to punish corruption via removal from office and where women can influence policy. They argue that in areas where women are discriminated against, they will not be able to influence change and reduce corruption.** Thus, while recruiting women to government in these types of areas would have other benefits of

reducing gender inequality, they would still not expect increasing female participation in government to reduce corruption in states where women were legally, culturally, and/or economically unequal.

Anne Marie Goetz, “Political Cleaners: Women as the New Anti-Corruption Force?” *Development and Change* 38, no. 1 (January 2007): 87–105, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2007.00404.x/abstract>.

Are women less corrupt than men? Some aid donors have cited statistical evidence that countries with larger numbers of women in politics and in the workforce have lower levels of corruption. **The author asserts that this finding can be explained by the fact that there are more women in politics and the workforce in liberal democracies that are already less corrupt than poorer, less liberal regimes.** She further asserts that the myth of women’s incorruptibility is grounded in essentialist notions of women’s higher moral nature and an assumed propensity to bring this to bear on public life, particularly in politics. The author demonstrates that some of the recent studies about gender and corruption record perceptions about propensities to engage in corrupt behavior, and rather that it is the gendered nature of access to politics and public life that shapes opportunities for corruption. In addition, corruption can be experienced differently by women and men, which has implications for anti-corruption strategies. A gendered analysis of corruption is a useful entry point to the examination of gender-specific gaps in current attempts to promote good governance.

Farzana Nawaz, “State of Research on Gender and Corruption,” Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, 2009, <http://www.u4.no/publications/state-of-research-on-gender-and-corruption/>.

This article summarizes the literature on gender corruption as of June 2009, looking specifically at the following questions: (1) What is the state of research knowledge about gender and corruption—both in terms of its impact on women and how a gender-disaggregated approach can make progress against corruption? (2) What are the “quick wins” on this issue? (3) What about gender in fragile states? Overall, it finds inconclusive evidence on whether women are more or less corrupt than men. However, and more importantly, corruption appears to have a disproportionate impact on women and especially on women in fragile states. It categorizes gendered impacts on corruption by access to decision-making power, protection of women’s rights, and access to resources. **It recommends strategies to mitigate the effect of corruption on women including the right to information campaigns, gender budgets, public advocacy by women’s organizations, use of informational communication technologies for naming and shaming, and increasing the number of women in security forces.**

Hung-En Sung, “Fairer Sex or Fairer System? Gender and Corruption,” *Social Forces* 82, no. 2 (December 2003): 703–723, <https://academic.oup.com/sf/article-abstract/82/2/703/2234644>.

This article addresses literature that suggests a relationship between gender and corruption. Particularly, it dismantles two recent influential studies that found that larger representations of women in government reduced corruption. **It argues instead that it is the level of liberal democracy—a political system that promotes gender equality and better governance—that accounts for less corrupt governments and more women in politics.** The article suggests that previous research relied on individual-level findings of female honesty to propose hypotheses about groups and that observations of corruption based on individual behavior did not necessarily translate to truths about the aggregate. Instead, this study conducts a cross-national statistical test on gender and corruption while controlling for the type of political system. It measures liberal democracy by three indices including rule of law, freedom of press, and democratic elections sourced from the Fraser Institute and Freedom House. It finds that, although female participation in government may be correlated to lower levels of corruption under some circumstances, in most cases it is actually the political system that determines levels of corruption and female political participation.

Gender Quotas and Reserved Seats

Lori Beaman, Raghavendra Chattopadhyay, Esther Duflo, Rohini Pande, and Petia Topalova, “Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias?” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 124, no. 4 (2009): 1497–1540, <http://economics.mit.edu/files/3122>.

This article pulls observational and survey data from a “natural experiment” in the Indian state of West Bengal to test the effect of exposure to female leaders on public attitudes and on electoral outcomes. Since 1998, in every council election one-third of councilor and pradhan positions across the district were “randomly reserved” for women. Many believe that the gender of policymakers matters to policy outcomes, and thus supporting “early cohorts of female politicians” can help to reduce voter bias by demonstrating women can lead effectively. This logic has supported the adoption of gender quotas. The article measures this by first documenting electoral gains for women candidates contesting unreserved councilor and pradhan positions where pradhan positions were previously reserved for women in the past two electoral cycles. **It found that, relative to councils that never had a female pradhan, almost twice as many women stood for and won where the position had been reserved for women in the previous two elections.** Similar results were found where the position was not reserved for women. Additional survey data show that exposure to female leaders radically altered male villagers’ perceptions of female leader effectiveness as well as their association of women with leadership activities as opposed to domestic activities. The article concludes that the use of political affirmative action, such as gender quotas, affects political outcomes by **influencing voters’ perceptions** of traditionally disadvantaged groups. In this case, exposure to **female leaders improved villagers’ perception of the effectiveness of female leaders.**

Lindsay J. Benstead, “Why Quotas Are Needed to Achieve Gender Equality,” in *Women and Gender in Middle East Politics*, POMEPS Studies no. 19 (Washington, DC: Project on Middle East Political Science [POMEPS], May 2016), http://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/POMEPS_Studies_19_Gender_Web.pdf#page=18.

This article examines issues of women’s access to government resources and the role that often-overlooked structural factors play in contributing to this problem. It draws from a survey of 200 Moroccan and Algerian parliamentarians and field research conducted in 2006–2007, investigating the link between parliamentarian gender, quotas, and service provision to women. Especially in corrupt and authoritarian countries, parliamentarians often assist their constituents in accessing services. However, women are often excluded from these informal networks. This is because the networks tend to be male centered. The author posits that this is due to homosociality—meaning that people tend to socialize, collaborate, and work with others of their same gender. This perpetuates male-only networks, which provide men more resources while keeping women marginalized. Because women have fewer patronage networks, they are less likely to stand in elections, and have fewer resources and less influence. Where patriarchal structures are the norm and services are distributed through informal networks, men have substantial advantages in winning elections and accessing resources and services for their constituencies. **The study provides compelling evidence that quotas—both reserved seat and party candidate—create mandates to serve women and increase gender equity in access to services.** This also has implications for the United States and other Western countries, where men still hold a clear majority of leadership positions both in the public and private sectors. Without some sort of gender quota system, male-dominated networks will still exclude women from access to resources.

Rikhil R. Bhavnani, “Do Electoral Quotas Work After They Are Withdrawn? Evidence from a Natural Experiment in India,” *American Political Science Review* 103, no. 1 (February 2009): 23–35, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1148421.

Do electoral quotas for women alter women’s chances for winning elections after they are withdrawn? The author argues that this question is significant because quotas are intended to be a temporary policy. Furthermore, quotas are contentious, as many argue that they hurt the chances of non-target groups in achieving political office. If quotas only need to be temporarily

implemented to promote women's accession to political office, they may be less controversial. The study explores the case of Mumbai, where seats reserved for women are randomly chosen and change from election to election to ensure fairness. Because the quotas rotate seats each election, it is possible to observe the outcomes of quotas' being effectively withdrawn. The reservations were effective in electing women to the reserved seats. Furthermore, the study finds that after quotas are withdrawn, **women are five times more likely to be elected than in a constituency that had never implemented quotas.** This works by introducing female candidates into politics who can run for and win elections even after reservations lapse and by allowing parties to learn that women can win elections.

Li-Ju Chen, "Do Gender Quotas Influence Women's Representation and Policies?" *European Journal of Comparative Economics* 7, no. 1 (2010): 13–60. <http://eaces.liuc.it/18242979201001/182429792010070102.pdf>.

This article analyzes two questions on women's representation: (1) what is the effect of gender quotas on the representation of women in parliament? And 2) does government spending on "different functions" (welfare, defense, education, etc.) change as a result of more women in government? Previous literature reviewed suggests that women may have different preferences than men based on gender normative social roles and responsibilities. While those preferences may change over time, there is an association with female legislators and policies that favor education, health, and welfare issues. The article tests these questions using a data set that includes 103 countries between 1970 and 2005, which contains 22 countries with legal gender quotas, 46 countries with voluntary party quotas, and 43 countries with no gender quota. The article finds that gender quotas do increase the number of women in government as much as 1.52 times for OECD countries and 1.31 times for non-OECD countries. Voluntary party quotas are more efficient at increasing the number of women in government than legal gender quotas as countries with voluntary party quotas have 4.18 percent more female legislators than countries without party quotas. **On average, countries with gender quotas spend 3.8 percent more on social welfare than countries without gender quotas.** It concludes that female legislators exert positive influences on health, education, and social welfare and negative influences on defense.

Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo, eds., *The Impact of Gender Quotas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

This book summarizes a variety of perspectives on the impact of implementing gender quotas. Various authors examine the impact of differing gender policies, including reserved seats, party quotas, and legislative quotas, as well as the way countries reach the decision to implement gender quotas. Overarchingly, the book illustrates the different types of representation women can expect because of quota implementation, including their descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation. Examining a variety of country case studies, including Belgium, India, France, the UK, South Africa, and Rwanda, the authors of this book came back with results as to the real impact of gender quotas for improving gender equality or creating legislative change. It was noted that gender quotas could often result in only elite women gaining positions in office, which had little impact on citizens' perception of this effectiveness or the corruptibility of their government. However, it was also found that **exposure to female leaders had the potential to change cultural perceptions of women and improve citizens' confidence in women's qualifications as leaders.** The verdict was out on women's substantive representation. In Rwanda, researchers found that women had little impact on policy outcomes, but other studies found that women did have a symbolic impact on policy outcomes in India. Finally, **the book concludes that when it comes to symbolic representation, voters may gain a more positive understanding of women in political office if they do not become disenfranchised by the idea that women are being given a seat at the table due to political elitism or nepotism.**

Susan Franceschet and Jennifer M. Piscopo, "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina," *Politics and Gender* 4, no. 3 (September 2008): 393–425, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/politics-and-gender/article/div-classtitlegender-quotas-and-womenandaposs-substantive-representation-lessons-from-argentinadiv/7AA9E3D4D0DEB6754A4528FDCCD9811D>.

This article examines the relationship between women's descriptive representation (women's presence in politics) and women's substantive representation (the promotion of women's interests). It argues that gender quotas create both opportunities for and obstacles to women's substantive representation. The authors differentiate between two types of substantive representation: substantive representation as process, where women change the legislative agenda, and substantive representation as outcome, where female legislators succeed in passing women's rights laws. They examine Argentina, where gender quotas were implemented in 1991. The case combines data from bill introduction and legislative success from 1989 to 2007 with data from fifty-four interviews conducted in 2005 and 2006. **It finds that gender quotas might create a "mandate effect" where women in government, as a result of gender quotas, have an obligation to act on behalf of women's interests; however, they also reinforce negative stereotypes about women's capacities as politicians. Representation depends on the institutional environment and norms, which simultaneously facilitate and obstruct women's substantive representation.**

Melanie M. Hughes, Mona Lena Krook, and Pamela Paxton, "Transnational Women's Activism and the Global Diffusion of Gender Quotas," *International Studies Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (June 2015): 357–372, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/isqu.12190/abstract>.

This article examines how global pressure from international organizations and the international women's movement affects national gender quota adoption. In the past thirty years, there has been a rapid spread of gender quotas across countries. Using event history techniques, this is the first study to examine global, transnational, and national influences on quota adoption in 149 countries between 1989 and 2008. A country's ties to women's international organizations, especially more activist-oriented organizations, increased the likelihood of gender quota adoption. However, and surprisingly, the presence of local activist women's organizations decreases the influence of global pressure emanating from the international women's movement. **The article suggests that international interactions among women's local and international organizations may have mixed effects as women have been most able to make gains toward gender equality in politics when they are the least connected to international activist organizations.** This finding has important implications for the relationships among local and international civil society organizations, suggesting that independence, rather than interconnectedness, may be more beneficial.

Mona Lena Krook and Diana Z. O'Brien, "All the President's Men? The Appointment of Female Cabinet Members Worldwide," *The Journal of Politics* 74, no. 3 (July 2012): 840–855, http://mlkrook.org/pdf/krook_obrien_12.pdf.

This article examines the variations in women's access to ministerial power by considering three theoretical explanations: (1) the structure of political institutions, (2) social indicators of gender equality, and (3) the presence of more women among the political elite, which shapes both the supply of and demand for more and more nontraditional female cabinet appointments. To test these theories, the authors use an original data set of 117 countries called the Gender Power Score, which differentially weights cabinet positions based on the proportion of female cabinet ministers and the prestige of their ministries, with greater weight given to "nominations breaking most with traditional distributions." The article finds that the majority of cases, roughly 60 percent, are statistically explained by the political elite hypothesis, while roughly 80 percent of the cases can be explained by both the political elite hypothesis and the institutional hypothesis. **This suggests that, while slower processes such as women's social and economic empowerment shape cabinet nomination processes in a small group of states, political factors have the greatest impact on cabinet nominations.** The authors, therefore, argue that, as opposed to being dependent on changes to the political system or deeply held gender norms, **increasing**

the number of women among political elites through concrete political strategies such as gender quotas may improve women's access to positions of power within governments.

Diana Z. O'Brien and Johanna Rickne, "Gender Quotas and Women's Political Leadership," *American Political Science Review* 110, no. 1 (February 2016): 112–126, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-political-science-review/article/gender-quotas-and-womens-political-leadership/0C8CC7B51CC37871A1B1FD925A8AA976>.

This article is the first to examine the effect of gender quotas on women's access to and perceived qualification for leadership positions within political parties. The study is based on a "natural experiment" of gender quota introduction in Sweden. In 1994, a 50–50 zipper gender quota was imposed on 290 local Swedish Social Democratic parties by the national party. The data allowed the authors to test whether the quotas had an acceleration effect on women's leadership and if there was a trade-off effect. Acceleration effects augment and improve the pool of female candidates for leadership posts. Trade-off effects, on the other hand, imply that women's immediate gains come at the risk of increased stigmatization that can damage their long-term career prospects. **The article finds that municipalities with gender quotas had a great impact on women's descriptive representation and were more likely to appoint (but not reappoint) a female leader.** Furthermore, municipalities with gender quotas experienced larger gains in the number of women perceived as qualified for these positions. **These results dispel trade-off effects and show that gender quotas have a long-term positive impact on women's access to positions of political leadership.**

Pamela Paxton, Melanie H. Hughes, and Matthew A. Painter II, "Growth in Women's Political Representation: A Longitudinal Exploration of Democracy, Electoral System and Gender Quotas," *European Journal of Political Research* 49, no. 1 (January 2010): 25–52, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2009.01886.x/abstract>.

Previous research has associated certain political factors, such as proportional representation systems, gender quotas, and level of democracy, with higher levels of women's representation. This article examines the long-term effect of these political factors through an analysis of longitudinal data on women's political representation across countries by studying the growth of women's representation in 100 countries from 1975 to 2000. **The study finds that quotas do increase women's political representation but often at a lower level than legally mandated;** the impact of a proportional representation system on women's political representation is steady over time; and democracy, especially civil liberties, does not affect the level of women's political representation in the earliest period but does influence the growth of women's political representation over time.

Mona Tajali, "Gender Quota Adoption in Postconflict Context: An Analysis of Actors and Factors Involved," *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 34, no. 3 (July 2013): 261–285, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1554477X.2013.820115?journalCode=wwap20>.

The adoption of gender quotas is significant in addressing women's political underrepresentation. While low levels of women in parliament are a global phenomenon, in recent decades developing countries have been at the forefront of gender quota adoption. **This article analyzes the process of gender quota adoption during post-conflict reconstruction, a reality that is prevalent in much of the developing world.** It argues that the period of post-conflict reconstruction provides quota advocates with unique opportunities to demand women's political presence. This article considers the quota adoption process of two developing countries, Rwanda and Afghanistan, in the context of their post-conflict reconstruction, with a particular emphasis on the actors and factors involved.

Aili Mari Tripp and Alice Kang, "The Global Impact of Quotas: On the Fast Track to Increased Female Legislative Representation," *Comparative Political Studies* 41, no. 3 (March 2008): 338–361, <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/9521/5fff0aa8d65472e928526d0f41837c6f010a.pdf>.

This article examines the impact of quotas since the 1990s, demonstrating that the rapidly increasing use of quotas has helped overcome constraints on women's representation posed by economic underdevelopment, cultural influences, and electoral systems, and that the introduction of quotas, together with electoral systems that allow for greater candidate turnover, explains the increase in women's representation globally. The study seeks to improve on existing research on women's representation by expanding and updating the analysis, taking into account institutional changes since the mid-1990s and especially after 2000. **Findings include that quotas, particularly reserved seats and voluntary party quotas, are a significant factor in the presence of women in legislatures around the world; there is no strong link between level of democracy and women's representation; there is no significant relationship between the time women have had to run for office and women's representation except in established democracies; outside of the Middle East, Islam per se does not necessarily affect women's representation; and quotas play a more important role than do economic measures.**

Pär Zetterberg, "The Downside of Gender Quotas? Institutional Constraints on Women in Mexican State Legislatures," *Parliamentary Affairs* 61, no. 3 (July 2008): 442–460, <http://pa.oxfordjournals.org/content/61/3/442.abstract>.

Do female legislators elected through a gender quota face greater institutional obstacles than female legislators who are elected without a gender quota? Previous literature has identified three main obstacles to female legislators' performance: tokenism, or the belief that party leadership selects female candidates whom they believe they can control; marginalization, or the belief that female legislators are prohibited from leadership positions in the legislature; and invisibilization, or the belief that the female legislator is ignored in the decision-making process. There is some evidence for the idea that "quota women" are more likely to suffer from these institutional constraints. This article compares the experience between two district legislatures in Mexico—Zacatecas and Michoacan de Ocampo. Zacatecas had a gender quota while Michoacan did not. Data for this study were sourced from approximately fifty interviews carried out in the two districts in October–December 2006. Survey questions included political and family background, history of party activities or activism in other organizations, the nomination process and focus of their campaigns, their parliamentary work, committee assignments, and relationships with fellow legislators. **The article found no evidence supporting the idea that "quota women" faced larger institutional obstacles than non-quota women. It suggests this result is due to context-specific and contentious candidate selection rules in the Mexican political system and to in-party battles for positions of political power.**

PEACEBUILDING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION



Tuohy Ahern, “An Analysis of Women’s Participation in Peace Negotiations, 1992–2010,” SIT Graduate Institute Capstone Collection 2438, Summer 2011, <http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/capstones/2438/>.

This paper presents an analysis of women’s peacebuilding movements and describes women’s participation in formal peace processes, making the argument that women are often underutilized in the early stages of peacebuilding. To illustrate this point, the author cites a study of 585 peace agreements from the period of 1992–2010, of which only 16 percent contained references to women. Utilizing Galtung’s definition of “positive peace,” the author goes on to say that there are five key reasons that women should be included in formal peace processes: (1) women constitute half the population, and their formal inclusion is, therefore, a moral imperative; (2) women are ingrained in families and communities and often emerge as informal leaders in times of conflict; (3) women have aptitude at bridging ethnic, religious, political, and cultural divides; (4) because their experiences during violence and peace are different from men’s, women bring unique insight into the peacebuilding process; and (5) the presence of women at the negotiating table improves the chances of women’s issues being raised.

Alexandra Amling and Marie O’Reilly, “From Global Promise to National Action: Advancing Women, Peace, and Security in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Philippines, Serbia, and Sierra Leone,” One Earth Future Research, 2016, <http://oefresearch.org/publications/global-promise-national-action-advancing-women-peace-and-security-democratic-republic>.

In response to an upsurge in inclusion policymaking surrounding the drafting and implementation of UNSCR 1325 National Action Plans (NAPs), this report delves into four specific post-conflict case studies in which states implemented Women, Peace and Security NAPs five years after they were each initiated in 2010. **While the country context was unique in each case, the authors did find that each country experienced national improvement as a result of their NAP but that each also faced problems with implementation.** In the Democratic Republic of Congo, the NAP led to increased incentive to tackle conflict-related sexual violence, but little progress was made in women’s participation in peace and security. In the Philippines, the opposite was true. Women’s participation in peace processes and governance saw a dramatic increase, but implementation continued to lag in conflict-affected areas. While women’s representation in politics improved in Serbia, this was attributed to efforts to renew a preexisting gender quota, and the area of participation in security that the NAP promised to address remained unchanged. Success was inconsistent again in Sierra Leone, where there was notable improvement in women’s participation in security and policing, but an unforeseen Ebola pandemic put NAP implementation on hold. The authors of the study recommend five key steps for improved NAP implementation in the future: (1) address structural barriers to change, including family law, inheritance rights, and societal attitudes; (2) create flexible plans that can adapt to new security threats, which would have been particularly of use in the case of Sierra Leone; (3) localize plans to address diverse priorities for peace; (4) establish accurate cost estimates, and identify and allocate sufficient funding in the NAP’s development phase; and (5) strengthen political will and coordination during implementation.

Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007).

How and why do women’s contributions matter in peace and security processes? Why should women’s activities in this sphere be explored separately from peacebuilding efforts in general? This book offers a comprehensive, cross-regional analysis of women’s peacebuilding initiatives around the world providing evidence of women’s contributions to conflict resolution and peace processes and assessing progress in implementing UNSCR 1325. It also traces the evolution of international policies in this arena and highlights the endemic problems that stunt progress. The author examines women’s participation in five important areas of international peace and security: (1) conflict prevention; (2) peace negotiations; (3) post-conflict disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration; (4) post-conflict governance and leadership; and (5) transitional justice and reconciliation. **The analysis, based on extensive research, interviews, and field experience, demonstrates how gender sensitivity in programming can be a catalytic component in building sustainable peace and provides concrete examples of how to draw on women’s untapped potential.**

Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, “Women at the Peace Table: Making a Difference,” United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2000, <http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2000/1/women-at-the-peace-table-making-a-difference>.

Written just prior to UNSCR 1325, this report covers the obstacles that women have faced in obtaining seats at the peace table and the strategies they have adopted in response to those obstacles, the experiences and contributions of women once they are at the peace table, and the commitments of the international community to increase women’s participation in negotiations and decision-making. **The author argues that, in a variety of cases including Northern Ireland, South Africa, and Guatemala, national women’s movements have been critical to peace.** This further translates into post-conflict reconstruction when women’s involvement is crucial for negotiating equality and creating sustainable peace. **While the report notes that women’s participation has been distinctly lacking from major peace processes, such as Bosnia, Kosovo, and Sierra Leone, when women are present, they have a positive impact on peace talks and agreements.** For example, they often put forth concerns such as housing, education, and childcare that are often ignored by male negotiators and often support inclusion, participation, and consensus throughout. The author notes that the international community had taken several steps to encourage women’s inclusion in the years preceding the official Women, Peace and Security movement. This support came in the form of UN General Assembly Resolution 37/63, the Declaration on the Participation of Women in Promoting International Peace and Cooperation; UN Security Council Resolution 1265, the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict; and several other resolutions and initiatives in the years leading up to 2000 (the year UNSCR 1325 was decided).

Julie Arostegui, “Gender, Conflict and Peace Building: How Conflict Can Catalyse Positive Change for Women,” *Gender and Development* 21, no. 3 (November 2013): 533–549, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13552074.2013.846624>.

Recent conflict and post-conflict periods have provided women with new platforms and opportunities to bring about change. The roles of women alter and expand during conflict as they participate in the struggles and take on more economic responsibilities and duties as heads of households. The trauma of the conflict experience also provides an opportunity for women to come together with a common agenda. In some contexts, these changes have led women to become activists, advocating for peace and long-term transformation in their societies. **This article explores how women have seized on the opportunities available to them to drive this advocacy forward, including the establishment of an international framework on Women, Peace and Security that includes UNSCR 1325 and other international agreements and commitments to involve women in post-conflict peacebuilding. Women in post-conflict contexts have also been instrumental in driving regional and national policy related to gender equality and women’s empowerment.** The article is based on in-country research and interviews and capacity-building activities carried out in 2012–2013 in the Great Lakes region of Africa—specifically in Uganda, Rwanda, and South Sudan—on the integration of international standards on gender equality and women’s rights into post-conflict legal systems.

Michelle Barsa, Olivia Holt-Ivry, and Allison Muehlenbeck, “Inclusive Ceasefires: Women, Gender, and a Sustainable End to Violence,” *Inclusive Security*, March 2016, <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Inclusive-Ceasefires-ISA-paper-Final-3.10.2016.pdf>.

Overwhelming evidence shows that women’s empowerment and gender equality are associated with peace and stability. However, within peace processes, little attention is given to the inclusion of women in ceasefires, defined in this paper as agreements that “define the rules and modalities for conflict parties to stop fighting” and that are intended to lead to comprehensive peace negotiations. The paper examines the inclusion of women in the 2014 South Sudanese Cessation of Hostilities Agreement and the 2015 Myanmar Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement. The South Sudan agreement was created through a rushed process that did not allow for inclusion. As a result, the language of the agreement is not gender-specific, and the lack of women on monitoring teams most notably limited the collection of accurate data on

gender violence. In Myanmar, women had limited participation throughout the formal cease-fire negotiation, but the presence of several women did allow for gender considerations, reflected in three specifically gendered provisions in the agreement. **Analyzing the literature review and case studies, the report makes several hypotheses as to how women and gender may impact cease-fires in: (1) determining actors, process, and structure for subsequent comprehensive peace negotiations; (2) the text of the cease-fire agreement; and (3) the implementation, monitoring, and verification of the agreement.** Much more research is needed on the inclusion of women in cease-fires. Cease-fires are a critical first step to future peace and transition, and the authors suggest that if women were included in prenegotiation phases such as ceasefires, the outcome would ultimately be stronger.

Julia B. Bear and Anita Williams Woolley, “The Role of Gender in Team Collaboration and Performance,” *Interdisciplinary Science Review* 36, no. 2 (2011): 146–153, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228196582_The_Role_of_Gender_in_Team_Collaboration_and_Performance.

This literature review examines evidence of women’s presence benefiting team collaborations and increasing collective intelligence. **This study found that: (1) a higher ratio of women to men on a team raises the collective intelligence of a group; (2) groups with women show more balance in sharing speaking opportunities among its members; (3) when the gender mix is balanced or favors women, the team outperforms homogeneous teams where the balance favors men; and (4) gender- mixed teams also do better at constructive group processes.** When applied to peacekeeping missions and operations, this article suggests that mixed (male and female) teams and units are more effective.

Cheryl Benard, Seth G. Jones, Olga Oliner, Cathryn Quantic Thurston, Brooke K. Stearns, and Kristen Cordell, *Women and Nation-Building*, Rand Center for Middle East Public Policy, 2008, <https://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG579.html>.

This study surveys literature on women in development, women and governance, women and conflict, and women in nation building. It then focuses on the case of Afghanistan. Chapter 2, “The Security Dimension and Women,” asks two questions: **“What is the impact of security on women?” and “What is women’s impact on security?” It finds that in post-conflict Afghanistan women’s security is impacted in the following five ways: the social and economic front, insurgent attacks, crime (including sexual violence), domestic violence, and a weak and ineffective justice system.** In Afghanistan, women’s impact on security was found to be significant in civil affairs; disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR); and security forces. Civilly, women have assisted the United States in the fight against insurgents through a relationship built on US-provided health care. Through protests and petitions, Afghan women have been at the forefront of the call for the disarmament of private militias. Through the United Nations Afghan New Beginnings Programme, by 2006, 24,536 women ex-combatants had access to DDR resources including education and income-generating opportunities. Women have had little success integrating into the Afghan National Security Forces but were more successful in integrating into the police force. This chapter argues that this success comes from the perceived critical need for female police officers to guard women’s prisons and search female suspects; however, this rationale did not extend into the army.

Jamille Bigio, Rachel Vogelstein, and Anne Cornell, “Women’s Participation in Peace Processes: Colombia,” Council on Foreign Relations, December 15, 2017, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/womens-participation-peace-processes-colombia>.

This article examines the role of women in Colombia’s peace process, **providing evidence that women’s organizing led to better representation of women in peace processes and that women’s presence in peace processes led to greater success.** The authors provide a brief history of women’s involvement, which grew from only one in twenty negotiators being female in 2012, to 20 percent of the government negotiating team and forty-three female FARC delegates in 2015 due to the efforts of the National Summit of Women and Peace. The authors argue that women’s participation had an

impact in four key areas: (1) women broadened the agenda to include the grievances of affected communities, including women, girls, and indigenous populations; (2) women negotiated local cease-fires; (3) women increased the accountability of negotiators on both sides of the conflict; and (4) women built public support for peace processes.

Jamille Bigio and Rachel Vogelstein, “How Women’s Participation in Conflict Prevention and Resolution Advances U.S. Interests,” Council on Foreign Relations, 2016, <http://www.cfr.org/peacekeeping/womens-participation-conflict-prevention-resolution-advances-us-interests/p38416>.

With trends in current conflicts and an alarmingly high recidivism rate for civil war, new thinking on peace and security is needed. A growing body of research suggests that the inclusion of women is a critical strategy for reducing conflict and advancing stability but is often overlooked. Evidence shows that security efforts are more sustainable when women contribute to prevention and early warning, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and post-conflict resolution and rebuilding. This report responds to the criticism of skeptics, including the following. First, involving new actors in negotiations could threaten already fragile deliberations. **However, evidence shows that women’s participation decreases the risk, increases public perception of legitimacy, and improves the likelihood of reaching agreement.** Second, traditional culture is a threat to the feasibility of women’s inclusion. **However, country evidence shows that local actors in conservative societies have led calls for gender quotas and women’s participation.** Third, there is a dearth of qualified women. Because they have been historically underrepresented in politics and national defense, it is true that women are less experienced than men as a whole; however, **that is changing due to training and capacity-building.** Fourth, including women will not necessarily lead to better results because they are not universally peaceful. **While it is true that some women are active as combatants and supporters of conflict as well as peacemakers, this just makes it more essential to include them in both the prevention and resolution of conflict.** Fifth, critics maintain that there is not enough evidence regarding the impact of women’s participation to justify dedicating resources to the issue. However, today’s **empirical evidence strongly supports the notion that women’s inclusion** leads to better and more sustainable outcomes. The report details the qualitative evaluation in peace processes in Guatemala, Northern Ireland, Liberia, and the Philippines. It then argues that given the growing evidence that women’s participation is critical to lasting peace and security, in order to respond effectively to security threats and address the failure of traditional peacemaking methods, US foreign policy should focus more attention on women’s inclusion. It makes several policy recommendations including promoting women’s roles in conflict resolution and post-conflict processes, requiring women’s representation and meaningful participation, increasing investments in efforts that promote women’s inclusion, reforming US diplomatic and security practices to incorporate the experiences of women in conflict-affected countries, strengthening training on inclusion, and promoting accountability.

Jamille Bigio and Rachel Vogelstein, “In Push to End Syrian War, Where Are the Women?” Council on Foreign Relations, February 1, 2018.

This article suggests that the inclusion of women is needed for ongoing peace talks on the Syrian conflict to achieve success. The authors argue that, because women’s participation in peace negotiations makes them, “64 percent less likely to fail and 35 percent more likely to last at least fifteen years,” women’s inclusion in the Syrian peace talks would likewise have a positive effect. **It is proposed that, while women continue to be underrepresented, their increased presence in the talks would have the following impacts: broadening the agenda to include long-term recovery, aid and food delivery, and inquiries into disappearances and the impact of economic sanctions; working across divides and finding consensus on controversial issues; increasing negotiations of local cease-fires; releasing detainees; and better documenting human rights violations.**

Jamille Bigio and Rachel Vogelstein, “Women’s Participation in Peace Negotiations in Northern Ireland Made Them Less Likely to Fail,” *The Hill*, April 13, 2018, <http://thehill.com/opinion/international/383059-womens-participation-in-peace-negotiations-in-northern-ireland-made>.

This article highlights the participation of women in the landmark Good Friday Agreement, which ended thirty years of violence between British Protestant unionists and Irish Catholic nationalists in Northern Ireland. **The authors specifically argue that there are five ways that women’s participation contributed to the success of the 1998 accord.** First, the authors state that women worked across lines in Catholic and Protestant communities. Second, they acted as honest brokers, thus earning the trust of both sides of the conflict, meaning officials turned to them to ease communications. Third, they broadened the agenda by securing language specifically pertaining to victims’ rights. Fourth, they built public support by giving a “human face to conflict.” Fifth, they ensured the success of the public referendum by organizing a massive civil society campaign. The article concludes that without these steps, sustainable peace may not have been possible.

Pinar Bilgin, “International Politics of Women’s (In)security: Rejoinder to Mary Caprioli,” *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 4 (2004): 499–504, <https://pinarbilgin.files.wordpress.com/2011/08/sd2004.pdf>.

Bilgin claims that Caprioli’s consideration of whether democracy and human rights positively affect women’s security, finding that they do not because regimes generally focus on men, fails to consider human security and places the problem purely in the domestic sphere, overlooking the international politics of women’s security. The concept of human security moves modern notions of security away from the state and to the various realms of security of individuals. Bilgin first argues that not only are policies gendered as Caprioli claims, but they are also statist—focusing on the state rather than on individuals—and do not provide for men’s security either. She then argues that current policymaking in democracy promotion and in advocacy of women’s rights is based on a patriarchal international system that not only focuses on state interest but also prioritizes the security of some states, such as the United States, over others. **The author argues that inquiring into “human insecurities” requires questioning the patriarchal philosophy that supports statist approaches to security and narrow definitions of democracy and human rights;** crossing political and cultural boundaries when seeking the roots of structural inequalities and violence; and looking at the histories of colonization and the Cold War, which shaped such assumptions and definitions.

Arthur Boutellis and Andrea O Suilleabhain, “Working Together for Peace: Synergies and Connectors for Implementing the 2015 UN Reviews,” International Peace Institute, May 2016, <https://www.ipinst.org/2016/05/synergies-2015-un-reviews>.

In 2015, the United Nations held three high-level reviews on peacebuilding, peace operations, and the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. This report aims to help member states and other stakeholders understand the reviews by identifying and analyzing common themes, interlinkages, and synergies emerging from the reviews, particularly in four areas: (1) sustainable peace and prevention of conflict; (2) gender equality and women’s participation; (3) collaborative and strategic partnerships; and (4) people-centered approaches. It also identifies keys for operationalizing the reviews’ policy recommendations in three areas: (1) integration and coherence; (2) financing; and (3) accountability, leadership, and governance. **Regarding gender equality and women’s participation, all three reviews found that they are a prerequisite for durable peace, political change, equality, and a people-centered approach. Further, the reviews all called for gender inclusive approaches, specific mandates, and accountability for commitments made by the UN and its members.** This article recognizes the unique strategic position of the Women, Peace and Security agenda due to its normative and operational objectives. To conclude, the report calls for a more holistic and interlinked approach to these initiatives, better incentive structures, and for member states to champion reform.

Virginia M. Bouvier, “Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia’s Peace Process,” UN Women and United States Institute of Peace, March 2014, <http://www.usip.org/publications/2016/11/03/gender-and-the-role-of-women-in-colombias-peace-process>.

Through desk research, literature review, and personal interviews, this paper provides an overview of the Colombian internal armed conflict, the peace process currently under way to transform it, the gender dimensions, and the role of women in the peace process. Colombian women have played an important role in laying the groundwork for a political solution to their country’s armed conflict. The paper considers women’s official, semiofficial, and unofficial roles at, around, and outside the peace talks that began in late 2012 between the Colombian government and the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC-EP). Inside the peace processes, women have had considerable power through various commissions, subcommissions, and thematic working groups. The two key subcommissions where they have been active are the Technical Subcommission on Ending the Conflict and the Gender Subcommission. Colombian women have also lobbied for legislation, defended human rights, promoted a public discourse for peace, mediated or mitigated conflict in their communities, mobilized constituencies, and repaired relations in communities that have been broken by war. In addition, women have engaged in dialogue and action for peace and lobbied for political solutions. **The Colombian case shows that strong, independent civil society organizations, especially women’s groups, can influence the shape of the peace process, both from within and from the outside.** To be effective, women and civil society organizations need to be able to think strategically, coordinate planning across levels, engage in high- quality research and advocacy, and build coalitions. International funding priorities need to be more robust, consistent, and reliable in this regard.

Mary Caprioli and Mark A. Boyer, “Gender, Violence, and International Crisis,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45 (2001): 503–518, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3176309?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents.

This article offers a statistical test of the relationship between gender equality and a state’s use of violence internationally, focusing on the number of women in parliament and whether the state has a female leader. It is specifically interested in whether female leaders are more likely to act peacefully in international crises. Much of the previous literature suggests that states with higher levels of gender equality exhibit less bellicose behavior domestically and internationally. Additionally, some previous literature suggests that women are less aggressive and less violent than men and are thought to be less competitive and more focused on collaboration. Only twenty-four states have had a female leader in office since 1900. Of the twenty-four leaders, women presided over only ten international crises: Golda Meir in seven cases, Indira Gandhi in one case, Margaret Thatcher in one case, and Benazir Bhutto in one case. The study uses international crises data with additional variables including political equality measured by the percentage of women in parliament, number of years women have had the right to vote, severity of violence, initiator, democracy score, trigger, gravity, and power discrepancy. **While it confirms the hypothesis that states with higher levels of gender equality are less likely to employ severe levels of violence in crises, the study also finds that the presence of a female leader increases the severity of violence in a crisis. The study also finds that an increase of women in the legislature of 5 percent decreases state likelihood to use violence by nearly five times.** The article suggests this can be explained by the need of women to “prove themselves” or to emulate men in leadership positions to counteract gendered perceptions, or by the desire of male leaders in office to not lose to a woman during an international crisis.

Mary Caprioli, “Democracy and Human Rights versus Women’s Security: A Contradiction?” *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 4 (December 1, 2004): 411–428, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0967010604049520>.

Do democracy and human rights positively relate to women’s security? By reviewing literature outlining the ways in which women’s security is often systematically violated in public and private spheres, including by states that do not protect or prioritize the protection of women’s security, this article suggests various ways in which violence against women is legitimized by the state and outlines various structural issues that threaten women’s security including inequalities, socialization, gender stereotyping, and a constant threat of violence. It also asserts that the typical human

rights regime assumes gender equality rather than seriously considering it, thus advancing men's superiority. The article conducts a cross-national, statistical study on the relationship between women's security, human rights, and democracy, and measures women's security by personal and health security (fertility rate, number of recorded rapes per year, percentage of births attended by health staff), economic and political security (percentage of women in the labor force and percentage of women in parliament), and social and cultural security (illiteracy rates). **It finds that democracy does not ensure women's security and that there is a statistically negative correlation between democracy and the percentage of women in the legislature.** Measures of democracy and human rights account for a smaller than expected variation in women's security between countries.

Mary Caprioli, "Gender Equality and State Aggression: The Impact of Domestic Gender Equality on State First Use of Force," *International Interactions* 29 (2003): 195–214, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050620304595>.

Does the level of domestic gender equality within a state affect its decisions on first use of force? Liberal peace literature suggests that characteristics of the state affect international policy decisions and, specifically, peaceful domestic norms are replicated in the state's international behavior. Feminist peace literature builds upon this and suggests that states that repress or discriminate against women transfer those forms of violence internationally. This is because structural hierarchies within the state are inherently violent, and if women have a preference for peace, their values would not be represented in that structural hierarchy. However, there is considerable debate about whether women's peaceful tendency is innate or developed through socialization. This study tests the hypothesis that states characterized by gender equality are less likely to use force first in interstate disputes, through an original data set of 141 states involved in militarized, international disputes from 1978 to 1992. It uses an equality index based on the percentage of women in the labor force and the fertility level, and controls for female leaders, whether the state is a democracy, number of allies, geographic proximity, single-day disputes, and economic growth. **It finds that states that score higher on the equality index are less likely to use force first in interstate disputes.**

Mary Caprioli, "Gendered Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research* 37, no. 1 (2000): 51–68, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/425725>.

This study quantitatively tests the relationship between state militarism and domestic gender equality. International relations literature on the impact and potential impact of women on foreign policy suggests that women are more peaceful in that they are less likely than men to support national violence and that a domestic environment of inequality results in militarism on the international level. This study develops four hypotheses to test this relationship. It finds that, **as evidenced by the statistical significance of all three measures of gender equality—political, social, and economic—gender equality is an important predictor of a state's level of international militarism.** The conclusion, therefore, is that **higher levels of gender equality correlate with lower levels of military action to settle international disputes.** This research confirms that the inclusion of women as equal members of society will affect foreign policy in that their domestic equality correlates with lower levels of international militarism.

Hilary Charlesworth, "Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peace-Building," *Feminist Legal Studies* 16, no. 3 (October 2008): 347–361, <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10691-008-9101-6>.

This article poses a critique to Francis Fukuyama's piece, "Women and the Evolution of World Politics," by dismantling the conflation of "sex" and "gender" and how gendered expectations shape women's participation in peace and security. The article argues that if women's participation in peace and security is based on women's innate or instinctual peaceful behavior, women will be restricted to "feminized tasks." Instead, women's participation should be based on the value of gender equality with few task-based restrictions. Reviewing various UN documents on the subject, the article identifies four themes in the international legal and institutional orthodoxy: 1) an assumption that women are better at developing

and sustaining peace than men; 2) women are more vulnerable to conflict than men; 3) women need to be included in formal peace negotiations; and, 4) that in UN documents, gender refers only to women rather than to other gender identities. The article then explores three case studies in the Asia-Pacific—Bougainville, East Timor, and the Solomon Islands—to test this orthodoxy and the idea that women do not benefit from violence. In each country reviewed, the status of women post conflict varied. Bougainville increased participation, East Timor saw some limited gains, and The Solomon Islands saw little change. The article concludes with the argument that, “the first two elements of orthodoxy” should be abandoned and there is a need, “to recognize instead the multiple and contradictory effects of war and peace on women; women can be involved in peace, but also can “create the conditions and manifestations of conflict” as noted by Hillhorst and van Leeuwen. **To this end, two ways the article recommends recasting women’s inclusion in peace and security are to first, base it on an equality framework, thus focusing women’s agency away from ‘women’s work’ and second, ensure that gender issues are brought forward in a manner that does not associate them with just women. As the article states, “Gender should not be confused with sex.”**

Radhika Coomaraswamy, *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325* (New York: UN Women, 2015), <http://wps.unwomen.org/>.

This global study published by UN Women in commemoration of the fifteenth anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 examines developments since its passage in 2000. According to the report, there are several successes since 2000. A comprehensive normative framework on sexual violence in conflict has been adopted at the international level, along with creation of the UN Secretary-General’s Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, and various UN fact-finding missions to investigate sexual and gender-based violence. Governments are beginning to understand the importance of justice and accountability processes post conflict. The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women adopted General Recommendation 30 on women and conflict prevention. Since 2000, 27 percent of peace agreements have referenced women. The number of senior women within the UN has increased, including the first female commander of a peacekeeping mission. Bilateral aid on gender equality to fragile states has quadrupled. However, there remain significant challenges. Despite the international legal framework, there are very few prosecutions of sexual violence. **Women make up only 4 percent of signatories, 2.4 percent of chief mediators, 3.7 percent of witnesses, and 9 percent of negotiators in peace processes. Funding for Women, Peace and Security programs is abysmally low across all areas of the agenda, comprising only 6 percent of total aid and 2 percent of aid for peace and security. However, the number of peace agreements signed with references to women had increased from 11 percent between 1990 and 2000 to 67 percent in 2014.** The report concludes with a set of recommendations: **prevention of conflict must be prioritized over use of force; UNSCR 1325 should be considered a human rights mandate; women’s participation is key to sustainable peace; perpetrators of crimes against women should be held accountable; localization and participatory peace processes are crucial to national and international peace processes; supporting women peacebuilders is important for countering violent extremism; and financing WPS activities must become a priority.**

Theresa de Langis, “Across Conflict Lines: Women Mediating for Peace,” Institute for Inclusive Security, 2011, https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/2011-Colloquium-Report_FINAL.pdf.

This paper draws on and summarizes discussions from the Institute for Inclusive Security’s Twelfth Annual Colloquium “Across Conflict Lines: Women Mediating for Peace” in January 2011 and emphasizes reasons women are vital to peace processes and ways to bring more women to the table. Participants agreed that women had the ability to change the focus, dynamic, and outcomes of negotiations. This was due to a variety of reasons: women have an empathetic approach to dialogue and unique, socially constructed skills as peacebuilders; there are often barriers to women’s inclusion; women are able to provide a fuller security picture and address blind spots that are relevant to women and children; they provide a new framework for resolving disputes and are viewed as more legitimate and trustworthy than male negotiators; women can create national support for peace processes; and women tend to focus on implementation after agreements are made. **To make peace more durable, the colloquium participants agreed three steps should be taken to improve**

peace negotiations and mediation: mediators should include a wider range of players; peace talks should be viewed as a part of a longer process; and accords should facilitate conflict prevention. Participants felt these goals would be better achieved by finding women, creating space for them at talks, and guaranteeing gender as an item on the agenda.

Cheryl de la Rey and Susan McKay, “Peacebuilding as a Gendered Process,” *Journal of Social Issues* 62, no. 1 (March 2006): 141–153, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2006.00443.x/abstract>.

This article examines the intersections of culture and gender with peace processes in the South African context. **While international organizations understand peacebuilding in terms of post-conflict reconstruction, there is little discussion on context-specific peacebuilding, especially in regard to gender and culture.** Previous research has also found that women and men view peace issues and processes differently. Adding to this discourse, the authors interviewed South African women involved in peacebuilding activities. They questioned how these women defined peacebuilding, which processes they found important to peacebuilding, and how those definitions and activities related to international discourse on peacebuilding. The data were collected over the course of a two-day residential workshop with participation from a range of civil society organizations including religious organizations, human rights groups, and community-based organizations. This group identified peacebuilding as a long process that entails the satisfaction of basic needs such as food, water, and shelter. The group also identified addressing domestic violence as part of peacebuilding. Participants associated peacebuilding with love and forgiveness and emphasized the need for creating peace rather than focusing on violence, along with the need to change the public mind-set. **These results confirm that peacebuilding in the South African context is a gendered process in that women view and practice peacebuilding differently than the international, male-dominated discourse.**

Jacqueline H. R. Demeritt, Angela D. Nichols, and Eliza G. Kelly, “Female Participation and Civil War Relapse,” *Civil Wars* 16, no. 3 (September 2014): 346–368, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13698249.2014.966427?journalCode=fciv20>.

Previous literature on civil wars finds a high risk for relapse, commonly referred to as the “conflict trap.” Literature has questioned what causes the conflict trap, ranging from how the civil war was settled, how destructive the war was, or if there was an international presence in the country. **This article applies a gender lens to this question by asking, what is the effect of female participation on the risk of relapse to civil war?** It theorizes that civil war opens a window of opportunity for women and that women prefer peace and have an aversion to political violence; thus, increased female participation should decrease the risk of conflict relapse. It tests three hypotheses: that female participation in the (1) social, (2) political, and (3) economic spheres increases the duration of post-civil war peace. The study conducts a cross-national statistical analysis on all civil wars between 1980 and 2003. Its variables include peace duration; female participation as measured by male-to-female literacy data; the percentage of parliamentary seats held by women; the percentage of women in the labor force; whether the conflict ended by negotiated settlement; war duration; the presence/absence of UN peacekeepers; and national attributes found to impact civil war recurrence including economic development, regime type, and ethnic fractionalization. **It finds that including women in social and political society decreases the risk for civil war relapse and that investing in women’s inclusion improves the prospects for postwar peace. Specifically, increases in women’s literacy education and parliamentary representation reduce the risk of a country’s entering civil war, and when 35 percent of the legislature is female this leads to a near 0 percent risk of relapse into civil war.**

Kara Ellerby, “(En)gendered Security? The Complexities of Women’s Inclusion in Peace Processes,” *International Interactions* 39, no. 4 (October 9, 2013): 435–460, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050629.2013.805130>.

As peacebuilding discourses increasingly stress the importance of including women, to what degree have practices taken heed? Since 1992, women only account for 2.4 percent of signatories to peace agreements and less than 10 percent of peace negotiations. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, passed in 2000, called for a radical change in

women's inclusion in peace processes. However, there has not been a cross-case empirical analysis of the impact of 1325 on formal peace processes. This article attempts to fill this gap by analyzing both descriptive and textual analyses of peace agreements over the past thirty years. It includes all intrastate conflict peace agreements created between 1990 and 2010. The article offers a three-level concept consisting of basic, secondary, and indicator levels that spells out four forms of women's inclusion: representation, incorporation, protection, and recognition. **It finds that more agreements made between 2005 and 2010 included provisions for women than years prior.** Representation is included in fourteen processes total, but there is significant variation in the strength of mandates within these agreements. Incorporation, or the participation of women in the day-to-day functions of a state and peacebuilding, is included in nine peace processes. Thirteen peace agreements include demands for the protection of women against violence, which is the most common form of inclusion. Fourteen agreements include recognition, which focuses on how a "gendered perspective" informs the formation of policies, based upon the belief that women are a vulnerable, special, or distinctly disadvantaged group. **Overall, peace agreements since 2005 better include a gendered security framework, suggesting a positive impact of 1325 on peace agreements.**

David Fite, Mark Genest, and Clyde Wilcox, "Gender Differences in Foreign Policy Attitudes: A Longitudinal Analysis," *American Politics Quarterly* 18, no. 4 (October 1990): 492–513, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1532673x9001800406>.

This article examines whether gender is in fact a determinant in foreign policy attitudes. The authors find that gender differences are significant even with a variety of different controls and that gender is one of the most important predictors of foreign policy attitudes. It uses data from four national surveys performed in 1975, 1979, 1982, and 1986, measuring respondents' attitudes toward foreign policy goals, orientations, and the use of specific instruments of foreign policy in various circumstances. **The authors conclude that partisan and ideological differences explain some of the gender gap.** Socioeconomic and other demographic variables do not seem to explain the gap.

Elisabeth Gidengil, "Economic Man—Social Woman? The Case of the Gender Gap in Support for the Canada–United States Free Trade Agreement," *Comparative Political Studies* 28, no. 3 (October 1995): 384–408, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0010414095028003003>.

Do differences in basic values and concerns underlie differences in the issue positions of women and men? This article assesses this question in terms of the gender gap in support for the Canada–United States Free Trade Agreement in the 1988 Canadian federal election, using data from the 1988 Canadian Election Study. The author theorizes the differences in terms of the "social woman" and "economic man." **The study finds that men were more likely to evaluate the agreement in light of economic considerations while women's opinions were more likely influenced by their greater concern for social welfare programs.** Women tended to see free trade as a social issue rather than a strictly economic issue. **It also finds that women are more egalitarian than men and less likely to value competition or to favor market solutions.**

Theodora-Ismene Gizelis, "A Country of Their Own: Women and Peacebuilding," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 28, no. 5 (2011): 522–542, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0738894211418412>.

Building on her initial piece, "Gender Empowerment and United Nations Peacebuilding," written in 2009, the author revisits the concept of gender equality as a critical factor that contributes to the success of UN peacekeeping missions. **This time utilizing male versus female educational attainment, the author argues that it is not development but the relative status of women compared to men that allows for an environment in which peacekeeping can succeed.** She further states that there are two ways in which women's involvement directly contributes to peacebuilding: (1) UN-led peacebuilding networks can foster local women's organizations for support, and (2) The UN can create links between

vertical and horizontal networks, for example, by integrating women civil society leaders into formal peace processes. **Using statistical evidence, the author finds a highly significant correlation between a higher female to male educational attainment ratio and a decrease in the likelihood of conflictual or passive (as opposed to positive) responses to UN peacekeeping efforts.**

Theodora-Ismene Gizelis, “Gender Empowerment and United Nations Peacebuilding,” *Journal of Peace Research* 46, no. 4 (2009): 505–523, http://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/reconpbpk-wps_genderempowermentunpeacebuilding_gizelis_2009_0.pdf.

The author of this article makes the argument that UN peacekeeping missions will be more successful in countries with preexisting gender equality, stating that when women have greater status, their contributions make peacekeeping missions more successful. Using women’s life expectancy as a measure of their relative power and status, the author first examines Sierra Leone as a case study in which women’s equality was critical to peacekeeping success and then provides statistical analysis of peacebuilding that supports her theory. While women can provide an additional form of social capital for peacekeepers in addition to elites and other social networks, the author cautions that their integration will be a challenge and that peacekeepers should work to understand how their positions within societies are impacted by other forms of identity, such as ethnicity or religion.

Valerie M. Hudson, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Mary Caprioli, and Chad F. Emmett, *Sex and World Peace* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

Does the security of women impact the security of states? Do gender inequities make problems like food insecurity and famine more likely? Do they make poverty, disease, demographic problems, poor governance, and conflict more likely? The authors of *Sex and World Peace* say that ten years of empirically based, interdisciplinary research indicate the answer is yes. **Analysis across the board shows that gender gaps create negative effects: states with a larger gender gap and fewer rights for women tend to have higher levels of both perceived and actual corruption, lower national incomes, higher and less sustainable fertility levels, higher rates of infectious diseases, lower life expectancy for women and for men, and a greater likelihood of both inter- and intrastate violence. Conversely, a smaller gender gap and stronger women’s rights are linked with more durable peace agreements, lower infant mortality and child malnutrition rates, a greater focus on social welfare issues, and higher levels of trust in government.** The authors find that the treatment of women informs human interaction at all levels of society. Their research challenges conventional definitions of security and democracy and shows that the treatment of gender injustice informs “the true clash of civilizations.” To resolve these injustices, the authors examine top-down and bottom-up approaches to addressing violence against women, as well as ways to remedy inequalities in family law and the lack of parity in decision-making.

Valerie M. Hudson, “What Sex Means for World Peace,” *Foreign Policy*, April 24, 2012, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/04/24/what-sex-means-for-world-peace/>.

As a precursor to the book *Sex and World Peace*, the author argues that the treatment of women is a predictor of the peacefulness of states and that a larger gender gap between women and men in a given state can lead to higher levels of intra- and interstate conflict. Relying on over 130,000 data points from the WomanStats database, the author argues that the treatment of women affects state security, stability, prosperity, bellicosity, corruption, health, regime type, and power and that to say a state is at peace when women are treated without equality is oxymoronic. She continues this thought by saying this is particularly true in the case of sex-selective abortion and polygyny, which may lead to an underclass of young adult men with little stake in societies.

Valerie M. Hudson et al., “The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States,” *International Security* 33, no. 3 (Winter 2008/09): 7–45, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/18797/heart_of_the_matter.html.

Does the security of women influence the security and behavior of states? Existing literature has strongly linked the treatment of women to state-level variables including GDP, global competitiveness ranking, economic growth rates, infant mortality, and education. **This article suggests that measures of women’s physical security should be strongly associated with measures of state security** and then tests two hypotheses: 1) higher levels of women’s physical security correlate with the Global Peace Index, the States of Concern to the International Community Scale, and the Relations with Neighbors subcomponent of the GPI, and 2) measures of women’s physical security are “better” predictors of state security than traditionally used explanations including level of democracy, level of wealth, or Islamic civilization. In short, the article **finds evidence that the security of women is linked with the security of states with a strong and statistically significant relationship between the physical security of women and three measures capturing the relative peacefulness of states.**

Ifat Maoz, “The Women and Peace Hypothesis? The Effect of Opponent Negotiators’ Gender on the Evaluation of Compromise Solutions in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,” *International Negotiation* 14, no. 3 (December 2009): 519–536, <http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com/content/journals/10.1163/138234009x12481782336267>.

Do gendered stereotypes around peace and war affect peace negotiations? The “women and peace hypothesis” stereotypes women as more peaceful than men. Lacking real-world data and case studies, this article attempts to empirically test women’s participation in peace negotiations. Previous literature from various fields including sociology, psychology, and political science suggests that women are generally more peaceful than men and supports the women and peace hypothesis. The article examines the gender effect with an experimental study of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. A total of eighty Jewish-Israeli university studies participated in the experiment, divided into two groups: one group negotiated a compromise with a hypothetical think-tank of male Palestinians and the other group negotiated with a hypothetical think-tank of female Palestinians. The experiment was based on actual proposals derived from political solutions in the Two States Peace Plan for Israel and Palestine. The evidence supported the “gendered evaluation effect” where a compromise proposal offered by female opponent negotiators was rated more favorably as compared to the same proposal by male opponent negotiators. **Furthermore, female negotiators were rated as more trustworthy than male negotiators.** The article also suggests, given the asymmetrical nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, that **these findings show that members of more powerful groups (Israelis) are more willing to negotiate resources with “subgroups within less powerful groups” (Palestinians) when they are viewed as more trustworthy.**

Laura McGrew, Kate Frieson, and Sambath Chan, “Good Governance from the Ground Up: Women’s Roles in Post- Conflict Cambodia,” Women Waging Peace Policy Commission, March 2004, http://www.onlinewomeninpolitics.org/cambo/2004_cambo_peace_governance.pdf.

This piece seeks to explain women’s involvement in peace processes in Cambodia and to make the argument that, while women serve as strong civil society actors, women’s roles could be enhanced if they were given more formal positions in negotiations or governance. Women in Cambodia took a large role in urging for government accountability, the use of human rights language in the national constitution, and even women’s participation in governance. As such, the authors found that women were generally perceived as trustworthy and competent politicians, both for their engagement through NGOs and coalitions and due to perceptions of women’s domesticity. However, Cambodia still does not have an official gender quota beyond party lists, where women are generally placed at the bottom. **In sum, the authors argued that, while women had made advancements in influencing politics from the outside and informal roles, governance in Cambodia would be improved by formalizing women’s involvement in politics as well.**

Erik Melander, “Gender Equality and Intrastate Armed Conflict,” *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 4 (December 2005): 695–714, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2005.00384.x/full>.

To what extent are higher levels of gender equality associated with lower levels of intrastate conflict? Previous literature has found a positive relationship between gender equality and peaceful behavior toward other states in the international system, lower levels of state-sponsored abuse, and domestic peace within states. Theoretically, the article argues that states become more peaceful with women’s increased political participation because women are generally more averse to war than men. More equitable societies are more peaceful because norms of mutual respect between men and women are carried over to other state-based relationships (political opponents and ethnic minorities, for example). The article defines gender equality as: (1) whether the leader of the state is female; (2) the percentage of women in parliament; and (3) the female-to-male higher education attainment rate. It tests six hypotheses against these variables. **The article finds that although female state leadership has no statistically significant effect, more equal societies, measured either in terms of female representation in parliament or the ratio of female-to-male educational attainment, are associated with lower levels of intrastate armed conflict.**

Gorana Mlinarević, Nela Porobić Isaković, and Madeleine Rees, “If Women Are Left Out of Peace Talks,” *Revista Migraciones Forzadas*, no. 50 (September 2015): 34–37, <https://www.fmreview.org/dayton20/mlinarevic-isakovic-rees>.

This issue brief argues that the exclusion of women from the process of making peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina has diminished the likelihood for sustainable peace. Furthermore, it argues that women’s experiences as victims of violence and women’s active participation in peacemaking and peacebuilding are not mutually exclusive, and both aspects need to be recognized when negotiating peace. It ties the lack of women at the Dayton Peace Accords to the current dysfunctionality of the Bosnian state. It points out that a large majority of peace treaties since then have failed to include women, including most prominently the attempts at a Syrian peace agreement. Women activists in Bosnia have started an initiative called Women Organizing for Change in Syria and Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has identified two causes for the failures in peace agreements. First, the purpose of peace agreements is only to end conflict and they are not oriented toward developing a sustainable peace. Second, when women’s civil society is not part of the peace talks, serious issues such as domestic violence, trafficking, health care, education, and employment are not considered.

Zohra Moosa, Maryam Rahmani, and Lee Webster, “From the Private to the Public Sphere: New Research on Women’s Participation in Peace-Building,” *Gender and Development* 21, no. 3 (November 2013): 453–472, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13552074.2013.846585>.

This article examines new research that tracks women’s roles in peacebuilding at local levels in five conflict-affected contexts: Afghanistan, Liberia, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sierra Leone. The lack of involvement of women in formal peace processes does not mean that they are not involved in peacebuilding—rather they are very involved at local levels, as organized and active agents of peace. Challenges to women peacebuilders include gender-based violence, food insecurity, access to basic services, and freedom of movement. **The research shows gender differences in definitions of peace. Men’s concepts of peace largely center around the interests and needs of communities and the status of public institutions that serve them, while women focus on the needs of families and communities and individual rights. Because women are absent from peace processes, their needs and priorities are absent from peace agreements.** However, the peacebuilding work that women do in the private sphere—such as mediating local disputes, creating safe spaces for women, and reestablishing schools—has impact on the private as well as the public sphere, by maintaining peace within the home as well as influencing social norms and behaviors. Women’s peacebuilding efforts at the local level are generally not recognized by governments and communities, and their experience does not translate into participation in national and international processes. Action by governments is essential, and a minimum of 30 percent participation by women should be guaranteed in all local, national, and international processes. At the practitioner level, development and peacebuilding programs should recognize and address the barriers to women’s participation in decision-making.

Allison Muehlenbeck and Julia Palmiano Federer, “Women’s Inclusion in Myanmar’s Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement,” *Inclusive Security*, July 2016, <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/publication/womens-inclusion-myanmars-nationwide-ceasefire-agreement/>.

This article focuses on **women’s roles and influence during the Myanmar cease-fire negotiations toward the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) between 2011 and 2015**; whether their involvement **influenced the ceasefire negotiations**; and **how the text of the NCA explicitly mentions women**. These questions were addressed through a review of publications and interviews with eleven civil society stakeholders. The findings concluded that women’s participation was limited throughout the negotiations, with only five women out of ninety-four delegates. Despite the lack of women involved, the cease-fire agreement did include three gender-explicit stipulations. During the negotiations, women played informal roles through observing, supporting, and conducting back-channel negotiations. Additionally, women’s groups and civil societies organized mass advocacy campaigns and provided recommendations. Following the signing of the cease-fire agreement, Myanmar embarked on a formal national peace process, which started with minimal participation of women. The parties then agreed to a 30 percent quota, which has yet to be applied.

Valerie Norville, “The Role of Women in Global Security,” United States Institute of Peace, January 2011, <https://www.usip.org/publications/2010/12/role-women-global-security>.

This special report focuses on three key areas in which women can foster security: (1) peace decision-making and peacekeeping; (2) reconciliation, reintegration, and rule of law; and (3) economic development. One primary reason given for this focus is the need to better integrate women into peace processes, based on a study in which thirty-one out of thirty-nine peace settlements experienced recurrences in conflict, of which all thirty-one had failed to formally include women. The author lists **three key recommendations for better implementation: (1) staff and deploy gender-balanced units at all levels of the military; (2) utilize gender mainstreaming in post-conflict reconciliation and reintegration approaches to justice and security sector reform; and (3) focus on development and budget strategies that emphasize the interests of women and communities**.

Ian O’Flynn and David Russell, “Should Peace Agreements Recognize Women?” *Ethnopolitics* 10, no. 1 (March 2011): 35–50, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17449057.2010.505522?journalCode=reno20>.

How do we make the case for including and recognizing women in peace agreements? Most contemporary peace agreements recognize competing ethnic groups in order to foster political security. However, conflict also affects other groups in society. This article argues that ethnic groups are not the only polity worth representing in peace talks and peace agreements. Further, **it argues that recognizing women is important to foster democracy in deeply divided societies**. It lays out four arguments for recognizing women. The “justice argument” suggests that a peace agreement should include provisions that protect women from arbitrary discrimination or interference by men in their daily lives and include women in determining laws and policies. The “nature argument” suggests that while there may be arguments for believing women are more peaceful than men, gender equality is also about changing the character of politics. Women’s inclusion ensures this change. The “interest argument” suggests that women are the best safeguards for their interests and that men often claim to represent “women’s interests” but are unaware of what these interests are. The “role model argument” suggests that increasing the number of women in parliament sends a positive message to other women. The authors argue that the role model argument is the most plausible (or least problematic) way to justify the claim that peace agreements should recognize and accommodate women as other arguments have various and mixed implications on women’s empowerment and gender equality.

Marie O'Reilly, "Inclusive Security and Peaceful Societies: Exploring the Evidence," *Prism* 6, no. 1 (2016): 21–33, http://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism_6-1/Prism%20Vol%206%20No%201%20-%20Final.pdf.

This article extensively explores evidence on the impact of women's participation on peace and security outcomes. Existing data show how women's inclusion helps prevent conflict, create peace, and sustain security after conflict ends. In particular, it shows that (1) women prevent violence and provide security—when women are involved in decision-making, crises are more likely to be resolved without resort to violence; (2) **women's participation is a predictor of peace—although the cause is not yet clear, gender equality is a better indicator of a state's peacefulness than other factors like democracy, religion, or GDP**, and higher levels of female participation in parliament reduce the risk of civil war; (3) women moderate extremism—women have been effectively using nonviolent approaches rooted in cooperation, trust, and access to communities to counter radicalization and extremism; (4) **women strengthen peacemaking—a study of forty peace processes in the last thirty-five years shows that when women are able to affect the peace process an agreement is almost always reached**—and when women participate, peace is more likely to endure; (5) women promote dialogue and build trust—in addition to their ability to reach across ethnic, religious, and other divides, **women are often seen as less threatening** because they are typically acting outside of formal power structures and are not generally mobilizing fighting forces; (6) women bridge divides and mobilize coalitions—case studies across countries show that **women bridge societal divides as well as connect the vertical divide between elites and grassroots, promoting buy-in and legitimacy for peace efforts**—as women are much more likely than men to reject hierarchies based on group identity; (7) women raise issues that are vital for peace as women raise different priorities than men, are more likely to advocate for other excluded groups, and address the root causes of conflict; (8) women prioritize gender equality, which contributes to the legitimacy of the political order after conflict; (9) women rebuild more peaceful societies by using a more inclusive approach; (10) women break the conflict trap and reduce the chance of relapse into war; and (11) **women broaden social participation—research shows that gender quotas in post-conflict contexts make it more likely that other marginalized groups will gain access to parliament**. More broadly, when women have a voice in post-conflict reconstruction they elicit broader social participation.

Marie O'Reilly, "Why Women? Inclusive Security and Peaceful Societies," *Inclusive Security*, October 2015, <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/publication/why-women-inclusive-security-and-peaceful-societies/>.

As the number of armed conflicts has increased over the course of a decade, the author of this piece argues that traditional approaches to truce-making are falling short and this is largely attributed to the thorough and consistent exclusion of women from peace processes. Calling on a series of big data studies, this article makes the case that **gender discrimination and conflict are inexorably linked**. It argues that women's status is essential to mitigating conflict since the fourteen countries on the bottom of the OECD's index for gender discrimination have also experience armed conflict in the past two decades. It makes the case that women's role in governance is similarly critical, as an increase of as little as 5 percent of women in parliament makes a state five times less likely to use violence during an international crisis. When it comes to peace processes, the author similarly concludes that women are needed for more sustainable peace, calling up the often-quoted data from Laurel Stone that show a peace agreement is 35 percent more likely to last at least fifteen years if women participate in its creation. The author also notes that, in a study of forty peace processes, not a single women's group attempted to derail agreements. Women's political and social participation is similarly claimed to reduce the likelihood of relapse into violence, calling upon statistical evidence that indicates a parliamentary presence of 35 percent women or higher reduces the likelihood of relapse to nearly zero.

Marie O'Reilly and Andrea O Suilleabhain, "Women in Conflict Mediation: Why It Matters," International Peace Institute Issue Brief, September 2013, <https://www.ipinst.org/2013/09/women-in-conflict-mediation-why-it-matters>.

This issue brief focuses on formal peace processes and women's roles as track-one mediators appointed by multilateral bodies, examining the gap between theory and practice. Women's inclusion in formal peacebuilding is impactful for three reasons. First, when women have a role in the negotiation process they are better positioned to represent the wider public and decrease the likelihood that parties who are not at the table will undermine the peace process. Second, negotiation outcomes are often more comprehensive by addressing gender-based, social, and economic issues. Finally, while there are only a small number of cases to draw from, **studies suggest that women's involvement makes peace agreements more sustainable.** Despite these positive outcomes, thirteen years after UN Security Council Resolution 1325, women are at the forefront of informal peace initiatives but still rarely serve as mediators in formal peace processes. A study by UN Women of thirty-one peace processes between 1992 and 2011 found that women only made up 2.4 percent of chief mediators, 4 percent of signatories, and 9 percent of negotiating delegations. This article is particularly concerned with women's participation as chief mediators, who are in a unique position to be involved at every stage of peace processes and ensure implementation of 1325. **This article argues that unless the status of women in member states improves, states will be unlikely to send women to the negotiating table. Further, aggressors in conflict are unlikely to want to share power with women by including them in peace talks.** In conclusion, this article recognizes that the UN Mediation Support Unit is a step in the right direction, encourages member states to incentivize women to apply for high-level mediating positions, and recommends male mediators get female advisers and women as experts as part of their negotiation delegations.

Marie O'Reilly, Andrea O Suilleabhain, and Thania Paffenholz, "Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Role in Peace Processes," International Peace Institute, June 2015, <https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/IPI-E-pub-Reimagining-Peacemaking.pdf>.

This article uses new and previously published research on women and peacebuilding to ask, **"When women do participate, what effect does it have?"** The qualitative and quantitative research presented in the article indicates that women's participation in peace processes makes peace agreements more likely to be reached and sustained. **A case study of forty countries examined the role of women's groups in peace processes and found a positive correlation between the level of influence of the women's group and the chance of reaching a peace agreement. Furthermore, there were no instances in which women's participation had a negative impact on the peace process at hand.** Women's groups with strong influence resulted in a peace deal in all cases except one, and there were no cases where organized women's groups had a negative impact. These findings are used to support the hypothesis that the quantity of women included in the peace process matters, but the quality of their involvement is crucial. Further evidence from a previous study done by Laurel Stone is used to support the argument that women as individuals also have a positive impact on short-term agreements and increase the likelihood of long-term peace. **Located in Annex II, Stone's statistical analysis on the impact of women in peace processes finds that, when women are included, there is a 20 percent increase in the probability of the agreement's lasting at least two years and that this percentage increases over time with women's participation, leading to a 35 percent increase in the probability of peace agreements' lasting fifteen years.** Based on these findings, the article proposes seven models of inclusion to promote women's participation in different forms. The models include direct participation at the negotiation table, observer status, consultations, inclusive commissions, problem-solving workshops, public decision-making, and mass action. Women's inclusion is explored further using two case studies of peace processes in the Philippines, where women have been at the forefront of formal peacemaking. The article concludes with the following four strategies to leverage women's meaningful participation: (1) build coalitions based on normative and strategic arguments; (2) establish a credible selection process; (3) create the conditions to make women's voices heard; and (4) keep power politics—and the public—in mind.

Thania Paffenholz, “Broader Participation Project’ Briefing Paper,” Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, March 2015, <http://repository.graduateinstitute.ch/record/292673/files/briefingpaperbroader%20participation.pdf>.

This research brief discusses the Broader Participation Project, a collaboration between the Graduate Institute of Geneva, the Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding, and Bilkent University. The project focuses on better understanding the impact of broader inclusion on the quality and sustainability of peace and transition agreements and their implementation. The first phase of this project, from 2011 to 2013, focused on broadly describing the types of inclusion options both “at the table” and alongside formal negotiations, identifying seven models of inclusion: direct representation at the negotiation table, observer status, consultations, inclusive commissions, high-level problem-solving workshops, public decision-making, and mass action. This shifted the debate from an inclusion-exclusion dichotomy to the questions of when, how, and under what conditions inclusion works. The second phase of the project, from 2013 to 2014, focused on forty comparative case studies on peace and political transition. The third phase, from 2014 to 2015, focused on analyzing the results from the comparative case study research. **The research found that inclusion does not only take place at the negotiation table; the quality of the influence matters; and the actors included matter. Broader inclusion is mostly motivated by strategic rather than normative considerations. The involvement of women’s groups was strongly correlated with successful negotiation and implementation outcomes.** In sum, these results provide policymakers and practitioners with evidenced-based justification that broader inclusion leads to a much higher rate of sustaining peace and transition agreements.

Thania Paffenholz, Nick Ross, Steven Dixon, Anna-Lena Schluchter, and Jacqui True, “Making Women Count— Not Just Counting Women: Assessing Women’s Inclusion in Peace Negotiations,” Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative (Graduate Institute of International Development Studies) and UN Women, April 2016, <http://www.inclusivepeace.org/sites/default/files/IPTI-UN-Women-Report-Making-Women-Count-60-Pages.pdf>.

Fifteen years after the adoption of UNSCR 1325, women are still severely underrepresented in peace processes. A major challenge is the lack of evidence-based knowledge of the impact of women’s inclusion. The Broadening Participation in Political Negotiations and Implementation project, a multiyear research project started in 2011 at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, fills these gaps by **examining forty in-depth case studies of the role and impact of all actors and groups included in peace** and political transition processes. This report presents an analysis of this research. **It finds that women’s inclusion per se does not increase the likelihood of peace agreements’ being signed and implemented; rather it is the influence that women actually have on the process.** This is supported by six key findings: (1) women have made substantial contributions to peacemaking and constitution-making, and to the implementation of agreements; (2) the strength of women’s influence is positively correlated with agreements’ being reached and implemented; (3) the involvement of women does not weaken peace processes; (4) women’s inclusion is not limited to direct participation at the negotiation table; and (5) process and context factors such as selection criteria, decision-making procedures, support structures, funding, public buy-in, and societal and political attitudes either enable or constrain women’s participation. In addition, when women were found to be influential in a process, it was often because they pushed for concrete and fundamental reforms.

Antonia Potter, “Gender Sensitivity: Nicety or Necessity in Peace-Process Management?” Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2008, <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/2602/f71e8a6d26f313bac79f8ed1eeba9e771608.pdf>.

This article emphasizes the importance of both understanding the cultural components of gender in peacebuilding and including women in formal processes. The author notes that a gender lens involves examining the lived experiences of both males and females, and that the different experiences of women and men are both gendered and essential

to building peace, specifically calling upon the experiences of young men who have previously been militarized as an example. It is proposed that it is not only that women need to be given a seat at the peace table, but also that specific gendered issues should be addressed by formal processes. The author **advocates for women to have a formal position in peacebuilding, stating that women’s participation can benefit negotiations by allowing for better channels of communication among local populations, providing greater support for a middle ground between groups, and allowing for different and alternative approaches (such as nonviolent sit-ins).**

Marie A. Principe, “Women in Nonviolent Movements,” *United States Institute of Peace Special Report*, January 2017, <http://www.usip.org/publications/2016/12/29/women-in-nonviolent-movements>.

How has women’s participation influenced the trajectories and outcomes of nonviolent movements? **Qualitative data show that women have played significant roles in nonviolent campaigns as strategists, organizers, and active participants.** The value and influence of women are underestimated in many societies, and women have taken advantage of being able to “fly under the radar” by evading government and security forces, which typically target men, to raise awareness and engage in acts of defiance. In countries such as Argentina, Chile, Egypt, Liberia, Nigeria, Poland, Somalia, Syria, the Palestinian territories, and the United States, among others, women have changed the status quo. More attention needs to be given to the intersection of gender and nonviolent movements, specifically to how men and women engage, and their impact. Recent research shows that nonviolent movements are twice as likely to achieve their aims as violence. **It also shows that sustainable peace is more likely if women are meaningfully involved, and more quantitative data are needed on the roles women play in nonviolent campaigns.**

Paula M. Rayman, Seth Izen, and Emily Parker, “UNSCR 1325 in the Middle East and North Africa: Women and Security,” *United States Institute of Peace Special Report*, May 2016, <http://www.usip.org/publications/2016/05/04/unscr-1325-in-the-middle-east-and-north-africa-women-and-security>.

This study focuses on the impact of UNSCR 1325 in the Middle East and North Africa region. It examines five case studies of Egypt, Iraq, Israel, the Palestinian territories, and Tunisia, conducted through thirty personal interviews. **It reveals many benefits of UNSCR 1325 including creating a “common language,” providing a unifying approach to diverse women’s groups, and making more funding available to the actors working within Women, Peace and Security. However, there are significant challenges as well.** One challenge is political will to establish National Action Plans (NAPs) and allocate resources. Second is a lack of awareness. The activists and organizations required to implement 1325 are largely unaware of it. Similarly, there is a lack of understanding about the connection between gender, national security, and economic development. To address these challenges, the report recommends elevating the WPS agenda to be considered a complement to security and economic problem-solving during a crisis. Additionally, funding should be used to increase the capacity of local nongovernmental organizations and civil society organizations, and to train on and raise awareness of the universal benefits of women’s rights. Finally, the international community should fund spaces for internal conversations between diverse groups and continue to support the development and implementation of NAPs.

S. Sharoni, *Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Politics of Women’s Resistance* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995).

This text illustrates the relationships between gender, politics, and militarism by addressing the quotidian experiences of women and the rise of women’s movements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, and in Israel since the First Intifada (1987). This text is groundbreaking in its approach to a complex subject matter. Content and conclusions are reflexively addressed in tandem with discussions on the rise of the Intifada, the Madrid Conference (1991), and the Oslo Accords (1993). **Sharoni highlights the critical roles played by women on both sides of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict while enabling vital insight into their shared vision for peace.** The author’s research is contextualized by the structural, social, and historical inequalities that exist between Palestinians and Israelis, which also circumscribe the nature of Palestinian and Israeli women’s movements. While the author carefully deconstructs how this inequality fueled

various challenges and constraints within each women's movement, the strengths and visions of each are profoundly articulated, as are the opportunities and experiences the Intifada created for joint ventures. **The author captures how the role of gender has influenced the conflict and created opportunities for social change, alliance, and idiosyncratic forms of resistance.** This is done using dialogue groups, peace conferences, collaborative projects, and solidarity initiatives, uniquely initiated by women in the region determined to come to resolution by raising gendered issues and working together across divides.

Jolynn Shoemaker and Camille Pampell Conaway, "Conflict Prevention and Transformation: Women's Vital Contributions," *Inclusive Security: Women Waging Peace*, February 23, 2005, <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/publication/conflict-prevention-and-transformation-womens-vital-contributions/>.

This piece is a summary of key takeaways from a consultation of women in conflict prevention, conducted by Inclusive Security and the United Nations Foundation. The study centers upon women's roles in nonviolent transformation, preventing the escalation of conflict, and preventing the resurgence of violence and provides evidence of these roles through a series of case studies. **Through these, it is determined that women have made consistent contributions toward peace and democracy through nonviolent organizing and crossing party lines.** This is sometimes due to their roles as mothers and peacemakers, and, although violence against women activists is common, it often does not deter action. While many additional examples are listed, this conclusion is supported by key examples such as the struggle for women's rights in Iran, women's protests of the regime in Venezuela, and the Macedonian Women's Lobby, which used interethnic and nonviolent cooperation to overcome trust issues and reform the police force in their country.

Chan Shun-hing, "Beyond War and Men: Re-conceptualizing Peace in Relation to the Everyday and Women," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 36, no. 3 (Spring 2011): 521–532, <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/657485>.

Traditional and arguably more masculine conceptualizations of peace have focused on peace as the absence of conflict or war between states in the international system, disconnected from broader issues of injustice and structural violence. However, the Women, Peace and Security community directly challenges such narrow understandings of peace, and links structural and cultural violence with the violence that occurs at the individual level with interconnections between peace and gender, the environment, development, and poverty. **The article examines three case studies of women's contribution to peace work in China.** First, Gao Chin Shu Mei in Taiwan, China represents a kind of positive peace that uses the language of sustaining the environment and indigenous cultures to transform the two kinds of war against Taiwanese people, namely, the possible military antagonism between mainland and Taiwanese authorities due to political tension; and the development that marginalizes the rights of indigenous people and the environments in which they live. Second, the Hong Kong Women Workers Cooperative demonstrates how a women's labor organization in the face of globalization resists capitalist practices of deindustrialization that destroys people's livelihoods. Third, Yang Hailan's work combats environmental degradation in Northern China as resistance to the violence done to the environment due to rapid economic development. Among the three cases, environmental protection and sustainable livelihood emerge as common themes, and peace work at the individual level does have an impact on eliminating structural and cultural violence embedded in government policies, profit-driven economic development, and discrimination.

Laurel Stone, "Can Women Make the World More Peaceful?" *The Guardian*, August 11, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2014/aug/11/women-conflict-peace-society>.

This article makes the case for the incorporation of women into peacebuilding processes for more effective results. **The author's analysis of data from Uppsala's Peace Agreements finds that encouraging the participation of women in peacebuilding increases the probability of ending violence within a year by 24 percent and implementing gender quotas for national legislatures increases the probability of ending violence within five years by 27 percent.**

Laurel Stone, “Women Transforming Conflict: A Quantitative Analysis of Female Peacekeeping,” Seton Hall University Working Paper, August 24, 2014, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2485242.

In this working paper, the author asks, “**How does female peacemaking impact the durability of peace?**” Laying the foundation to her work, the author calls upon a body of literature in support of the theory that improved gender equality often leads to the improved security of states and the inclusion of women in mediations can make peace processes more effective. Using a quantitative analysis of 156 peace agreements, the study finds that **women’s participation, which refers to women’s present inclusion as official participants – negotiators, mediators, witnesses, and signatories – increases the probability of ending violence in one year by 24.9 percent. Furthermore, women’s inclusion, which refers to how many women are included in peace agreement agendas as participants for future peace processes, results in a 25 percent increase in the likelihood of ending violence within five years. When gender quotas are incorporated, the probability of ending violence within five years increases by 27 percent and the likelihood of the peace agreement’s lasting longer than five years is raised by 20 percent.**

Nanako Tamaru and Marie O’Reilly, “How Women Influence Constitution Making After Conflict and Unrest,” Inclusive Security, January 2018, <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/How-Women-Influence-Constitution-Making.pdf>.

This piece examines the numbers, roles, and impact of women in drafting post-conflict constitutions. While the long-term success of these constitutional processes is deemed to be outside the scope of this study, the authors do state that the exclusion of marginalized groups has long been accepted as a root cause of conflict. This extends to a correlation between gender equality and peaceful societies. **The authors argue that constitution-drafting is a significant opportunity for state transformation and that women’s inclusion in the process is critical to addressing the marginalization or inequities that initially contributed to conflict.** Case study examples from South Africa, the Philippines, Rwanda, Nepal, Kenya, East Timor, Colombia, and Tunisia illustrate how women have been instrumental in guaranteeing women’s inclusion in post-conflict constitution-making both as internal and external forces to the drafting process. **The case studies indicate that women have success in implementing these changes both through civil society activism and by pushing for women to be granted formalized roles in constitutional committees and governance.** The study lists five lessons learned for the complementary tactics women can take to influence constitutional negotiations: mobilize early; incentivize women’s participation and go beyond tokenism; cultivate strategic alliances and broad coalitions; frame the debate effectively; and understand the negotiating context and get creative.

UN Women, “Women’s Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections Between Presence and Influence,” October 2012, <http://www.unwomen.org/~media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2012/10/wpssourcebook-03a-womenpeacenegotiations-en.pdf>.

This paper provides an extensive review of the modalities of engagement that have been used in various peace processes to enhance women’s participation or the availability of gender expertise. It also provides extensive evidence of the impact of women’s engagement. It summarizes women’s demands during peace negotiations as articulated in specific statements and declarations, including in the areas of security and protection, socioeconomic development, and political participation. It assesses the gender-related content of peace agreements and offers recommendations for the way forward. **It finds that women’s absence in peace processes cannot be explained by their alleged lack of experience in conflict resolution. Rather, it is due to a lack of effort to integrate them in formal peace processes.**

Clyde Wilcox, Lara Hewitt, and Dee Allsop, "The Gender Gap in Attitudes Toward the Gulf War: A Cross-National Perspective," *Journal of Peace Research* 33, no. 1 (February 1996): 67–82, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/425134>.

In the 1980s and 1990s in the United States, a significant body of research consistently showed that women were less supportive of the use of military force than men. This article examines whether the same could be said of other countries, considering three previously unanswered questions: First, are women merely more likely to oppose the use of force, or do they also differ more broadly in their foreign policy attitudes? Second, are gender differences consistent across all societies, or are they confined to the Western industrialized democracies where they have been observed? Third, what are the sources of these gender differences? The study uses data from a cross-national survey administered in October 1990. Approximately 600 interviews were conducted in Ankara, Brussels, Frankfurt, Lagos, London, Mexico City, Moscow, Paris, Rome, Tel Aviv, and Tokyo. In most cities there were only modest gender differences in the interpretation of events, in actors, and in support for the goals of the UN actions; however, women were less supportive of military action than men in nearly all cities. Although the authors cannot give a definitive reason for the gender gap, the analysis rules out some explanations. **Women do not oppose military action because they are less interested in world events or less attentive to media, out of economic self-interest, or because they have a fundamentally different interpretation of foreign policy events, different foreign policy goals, or different responses toward countries or their leaders.**

"Women's Participation in Peacebuilding: Report of the Secretary-General," United Nations General Assembly Security Council, September 7, 2010, <http://www.unwomen.org/en/docs/2010/9/women-in-peacebuilding-report-2010>.

This report of the secretary-general emphasizes the need for improved implementation of UNSCR 1325 following its tenth anniversary and provides seven commitments as part of an action plan for gender-responsive peacebuilding. Based on the reasoning that **the participation of women and girls is critical for lasting peace**, the report points to a continued lack of inclusion of women in peacebuilding and continued threats to their security. To counter this, and to uphold UN obligations to UNSCR 1325, the following commitments are given for future efforts to promote the Women, Peace and Security agenda. First, promote greater engagement of women in conflict resolution and peace processes. A study of 585 peace agreements from the years 1990 to 2010 found that only 16 percent contained references to women. Second, engage with states to make their post-conflict planning processes more gender-sensitive, a process that will include gender-responsive budgeting. This is essential as a 2010 study on poverty reduction in five countries on the Security Council agenda found that only 6 percent of budgets were being allocated to women's needs or gender equality. Third, institute financing for gender equality and women's empowerment that includes specific "gender markers" for the tracking of said financing. Fourth, identify methods to increase the deployment of women peacekeepers to post-conflict environments and subsequently deploy more women to those areas. This will require the UN system to deploy civilians who have the specialized skills necessary to address women's specific needs in rebuilding state institutions. Fifth, increase the number of women in post-conflict governance, both in appointed and in elected positions. When quota systems have not been used in post-conflict countries, only 12 percent of parliamentarians are women on average. However, when post-conflict countries do use quotas, the average proportion of women in parliament is 34 percent. Sixth, support the rule of law in post-conflict countries. This goal came with a specific commitment to increase the number of women in UN-deployed peacekeeping troops to 20 percent by 2014. Seventh, support economic recovery in a way that promotes women's equal involvement as both participants and beneficiaries.

"Women's Participation in Peace Processes," Council on Foreign Relations, January 5, 2018, <https://www.cfr.org/interactive/womens-participation-in-peace-processes>.

This online tool serves as a data source for Women, Peace and Security, providing evidence from country case studies and global data sources on the effectiveness of WPS implementation in post-conflict peace processes. At its outset, this resource

begins by emphasizing the positive impact the inclusion of women has on the effectiveness of peace processes, concurring with past studies that the participation of civil society groups, **including women's groups, makes peace agreements 64 percent less likely to fail and 35 percent more likely to last at least fifteen years.** However, this tool also illustrates the relative exclusion of women from peace processes, stating that women made up only 2 percent of mediators, 5 percent of witnesses and signatories, and 8 percent of negotiators from 1990 to 2017. In the same time span, the authors note that only 19 percent of peace agreements referenced women and only 5 percent contain mentions of conflict-related sexual violence. On a subsequent page, a specific breakdown of the male-to-female ratios of participants in peace processes is given by specific states and agreements, and specific case study analysis is given for a variety of countries. Yet another lists the accomplishments of women leaders who have taken on prominent roles in these processes. **Ultimately, the authors argue that the importance of these data is in their potential impact on improved and more sustained peacebuilding efforts and that they support the inclusion of women for more effective processes.**

PEACE AND SECURITY OPERATIONS



Sanam Anderlini and Camille Pampell Conaway, “Security Sector Reform,” in *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action*, International Alert and the Initiative for Inclusive Security, 2007, <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/101864251-Toolkit-for-Advocacy-and-Action.pdf>.

This chapter of the toolkit argues that security sector reform (SSR) is crucial for “promoting peace and good governance,” and women’s engagement is key in this process. The vulnerable position of women—particularly as heads of households during war and the aftermath of conflict—highlights the importance of women’s involvement in SSR. This chapter provides examples of women’s exclusion from security sector discussions including the 2004 peace talks in Sudan and the 2004 National Security Council in Nepal, neither of which included any women. There are also examples of the benefits of civil society and women’s engagement in SSR. In Nepal, South Africa, Colombia, and southern Sudan, efforts by women’s groups resulted in gender-based and human rights training for members of the security sector. When women are included in the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration process, as was the case in the Central African Republic and Kosovo, they are able to assist in locating hidden routes and caches. In both of these programs, their role as “gun collectors” was recognized as an asset to the overall disarmament effort. Women are familiar with the areas of common concern within their communities. In Iraq, women reflected their understanding of community needs by recommending improved street lighting as a means to combat violence.

Julie L. Arostegui, “Gender and the Security Sector: Towards a More Secure Future,” *Connections* 14, no. 3 (2015): 7–30, http://connections-qj.org/system/files/14.3.02_arostegui.pdf.

This article explores security sector reform in the context of human security, and specifically the role of women and gender perspectives. UNSCR 1325 calls for an increase in the participation of women at all levels of decision-making, including in the security sector. Women have a fundamental role to play in increasing the operational effectiveness of the security sector and establishing sustainable peace and security globally. They play important roles in security forces, government, the justice sector, and civil society. **Enacting reforms to integrate gender perspectives into the security sector through gender mainstreaming and equal participation are a critical part of security sector reform in all countries. The article discusses the four dimensions of security sector reform and how gender should be integrated into each:** (1) political reform, which involves parliament, government ministries, and the civilian oversight of the security sector; (2) institutional reform, which involves the physical and technical transformation of security entities to be diverse, reflect society, and reorient their focus toward human rights and gender and includes the defense sector, police forces, peacekeeping operations, and the justice sector; (3) economic reform, which involves transparent public financial management of the security sector and gender-sensitive budgeting; and (4) societal reform, which includes changing social stereotypes and attitudes and collaborating with civil society to develop, implement, and monitor security policies and programs.

Judy Battand, Johanna Valenius, “Gender Mainstreaming: Implementing UNSCR 1325 in ESDP Missions,” EU Institute for Security Studies, May 2007, <https://www.iss.europa.eu/content/gender-mainstreaming-implementing-unscr-1325-esdp-missions>.

This article presents original research conducted through interviewing soldiers in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, in addition to drawing upon existing literature, previous research done by Johanna Valenius on the Finnish peacekeeping force in Kosovo, and a questionnaire of UN member states on UNSCR 1325 implementation. **It reveals that outside political influences can be detected by examining changes in women’s public and private roles.** Lack of trust of female peacekeepers is a common concern in Muslim communities; however, this concern is not supported by research. On the contrary, many Muslim states have reported that Muslim men are more comfortable approaching females in uniform than their male colleagues. Female peacekeepers also serve as role models for local women, especially those considering joining the police force. **This article argues that having local women serve as police officers is particularly important in post-conflict areas where there is often an increase in domestic violence.** It further highlights the importance of security

sector consultation with women's groups, arguing that failure to seek women's perspectives can result in loss of trust in international missions and lack of importance assigned to gender-based issues.

Francesco Bertolazzi, "Women with a Blue Helmet: The Integration of Women and Gender Issues in UN Peacekeeping Missions," UN-INSTRAW Working Paper Series, 2010, http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/UN/unbalpk_integrationwomengenderunpeacekeeping_instraw_aug_2010.pdf.

In 2011, UN-INSTRAW conducted and produced this study as one of the first surveys of female peacekeepers. The report focuses on the issue of recruitment and retention of women to UN peacekeeping operations. Women's participation in peacekeeping operations has been low since the UN's inception. From 1957 to 1989, only twenty women served in peacekeeping missions, mainly as nurses in medical units. Since 1948, thirty-one women have held thirty-seven senior leadership positions in UN missions. However, by 1993, eleven out of nineteen UN peacekeeping missions had significant civilian components, and almost one-third of civilian staff serving in them were women. The survey and review of literature found that institutionalizing all-female units can lead to tokenism of women in a peacekeeping mission and may give credence to the idea that men and women cannot work well together. However, **the survey of female peacekeepers underscores their willingness and ability to work with their male counterparts, and that mixed (male and female) teams and units are more effective. Women peacekeepers reportedly had more access to female members of civil society and had an advantage when interacting with local people on issues including sexual exploitation, abuse, and violence.** Further, while few respondents had served under a female superior, those who did reported positively and emphasized that women leaders had an excellent understanding of the mission. Based on the survey, **the article outlines good practices for gender mainstreaming including working with civil societies and governments.** The article also cites challenges including lack of resources for gender mainstreaming.

Mary Caprioli, "Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict," *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (2005): 161–178, <https://www.amherst.edu/media/view/233359/original/>.

This piece seeks to understand the impact of gender on intrastate violence, ultimately concluding that there is a positive correlation between gender inequality and intrastate conflict. Building upon Galtung's four components of structural violence (exploitation, penetration necessitating control by exploiters over the consciousness of the exploited, fragmentation, and marginalization), the author argues that all four can be applied to women. As such, there are two primary ways that gendered violence contributes to intrastate violence. First, gendered structural hierarchies are a natural precursor to intrastate violence by providing a framework in which violence is acceptable. Second, gendered hierarchies have a role in ethnic insurgencies, which impact intrastate conflict. This is made particularly relevant when considering gendered nationalism, which relies upon narratives of women's bodies as essential to nationalistic goals and sets an expectation of women to act primarily as reproductive and domestic agents. The author presents statistical analysis in which this theory is supported by examining the connection between fertility rate and the percentage of women in the labor force with intrastate violence. **She finds that using these indicators as a measure of gender inequality indicates that gender inequality increases state likelihood of internal conflict.**

Civil-Military Co-operation Centre of Excellence (CCOE), "Gender Makes Sense: A Way to Improve Your Mission," NATO, 2008, <http://www.cimic-coe.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Gender-makes-sense-final-version.pdf>.

According to NATO's CCOE, **greater awareness of gender issues results in an enhancement of overall situational awareness and better advice to the senior decision-maker on which to make well-founded, judicious, and balanced decisions.** This study also provides an example of the negative consequences of gender blindness as taken from the experiences of the Coalition Forces in Iraq. In 2004, Coalition Forces detained and interrogated a woman without any male family members present. The woman was from a Shiite-dominated village, in a fundamentalist area. After returning to her village, no one would trust her. The villagers suspected she might have been raped or abused in some way by the military. As a result, the woman was put to death by stoning, and her husband committed suicide because he was unable

to protect his wife. Not surprisingly, the villagers were hostile toward Coalition Forces, resulting in less cooperation with members of the village, and there was a decided increase in the number of improvised explosive devices and suicide attacks in that area.

Sahana Dharmapuri, “Not Just a Numbers Game: Increasing Women’s Participation in UN Peacekeeping,” *Providing for Peacekeeping 4*, International Peace Institute (July 2013), https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/ipi_epub_not_just_a_numbers_game.pdf.

This article argues that the United Nations has fallen short of gender equality in peacekeeping and is unlikely to reach its goals because it has thus far been unable to increase the number of women or integrate a gender perspective within peacekeeping operations. There are three core problems identified: (1) member states do not fully understand Resolution 1325 or other UN gender equality policies; (2) there is a lack of data and research on women’s participation in national security institutions, and (3) there are prevalent social norms and gender biases within the security sector that dissuade gender equality. Gender participation in peacekeeping would improve if the UN developed a clear strategy to implement existing policy and gathered support for those policies from key member states. This article proposes a comprehensive strategic plan including six specific steps: (1) Within the UN peacekeeping police and military, there should be sex-specific measures used in the recruitment, retention, and advancement of women. (2) Support research on women’s recruitment and retention in the UN police and armed forces. (3) The UN Military and Police Advisory Committee should participate in a gender-coaching program. (4) Assign military gender advisers to all UN peacekeeping missions and enforce other UN Departments of Peacekeeping Operations and Field Support standards. (5) Increase understanding of Resolution 1325 and its operational benefits among member states through an outreach initiative. (6) Commission a study on the influence of social norms on gender inequality in UN peacekeeping operations.

Sahana Dharmapuri, “Just Add Women and Stir?” *Parameters* (Spring 2011): 56–70, http://www.thegenderadvisor.com/_content/publications/Just%20Add%20Women%20Parameters%20Summer%202012%20S%20Dharmapuri-1.pdf.

Military officials and policymakers rarely credit gender equality as a factor in increased effectiveness in peacekeeping and security operations. **However, a growing body of evidence from the field shows that the inclusion of women improves operational effectiveness in three key ways: improved information gathering, enhanced credibility, and better force protection through enhanced legitimacy.** The inclusion of women is a key factor, but additional training of military planners and policymakers is required in order to apply a gender perspective more consistently. Additional field research is also required in order to further develop policies on how to best apply a gender perspective in daily operations, and ongoing monitoring and evaluations are necessary to assess the effectiveness of these activities.

Robert Egnell, “Gender Perspectives and Military Effectiveness: Implementing UNSCR 1325 and the National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security,” *Prism 6*, no. 1 (2016): 72–89, <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/publication/gender-perspectives-and-military-effectiveness/>.

This article asks two key questions in the integration of a feminist and a military approach to the Women, Peace and Security movement. First, why should gender perspectives be introduced and implemented in military organizations? Second, how should this process be managed? **The author proposes that gender perspectives and the integration of more women into combat improve military effectiveness.** He argues this is because gender perspectives improve operational information gathering, which is additionally enhanced by the different capacities of women in activities such as speaking to other women. The author pushes back against arguments that women are not fit for warfare and urges militaries to examine the actual needs of their troops, citing Canada as a country that reassessed military needs and found that traditional requirements were no longer as useful in modern warfare.

Laura Huber and Sabrina Karim, “The Internationalization of Security Sector Gender Reforms in Post-Conflict Countries,” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 35, no. 3 (2018): 263–279, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0738894217696228>.

This article examines the impact of peacekeeping on national post-conflict security sector reform (SSR). Gender balancing is the focus of such SSR, and the authors list a variety of methods to obtain it including gender quotas in security, female-focused recruitment, removing gendered restrictions on previously male-only institutions, promoting women, and adopting National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325. **It is argued that peacekeeping opens the door for such reforms by bringing funds and personnel into the state’s security sector that make such changes possible and by directly or indirectly influencing states to adhere to the Women, Peace and Security agenda.** The authors found that states without peacekeeping missions had a 51 percent probability of adopting gender balance reforms, whereas those with peacekeeping missions had a 73 percent probability.

Richard Jolly and Deepayan Basu Ray, “NHDR Occasional Paper 5,” National Human Development Report Office, May 2006, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/nhdr_human_security_gn.pdf.

This report argues in favor of the human security movement over traditional state security values, using National Human Development Reports (NDHRs) as case studies to contradict common criticisms of human security. **Here, the concept of human security is seen as one that naturally relies upon a gender-sensitive and gender-conscious framework.** The report begins by providing the evolution of human security, naming treaties such as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968 and the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972 as the beginning of a shift toward international protections for communities and individuals, which led up to the development of country-specific NDHRs. These NDHRs often include references to UNSCR 1325 or the Women, Peace and Security agenda, directly linking human security with the WPS movement. The authors distinguish human security from state security by emphasizing the interrelated nature of threats, which are not bound by borders or nationality, arguing that human security is a solution to many issues that state security cannot address. The article then discusses thirteen NDHRs, emphasizing the NDHR in Afghanistan, which places special emphasis on addressing gender discrimination such as the establishment of gender quotas for parliament and equal rights for men and women under the state’s constitution. In this way, human security is tied to the WPS agenda.

Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley, “Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing: Token Gestures or Informed Policymaking?” *International Interactions* 39, no. 4 (October 9, 2013): 461–488, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050629.2013.805131>.

Why do some missions receive more women military personnel and others receive less? This article tests three hypotheses: (1) Female peacekeepers are more prevalent in missions that are least risky. (2) Female military peacekeepers are more prevalent where there are greater gender-based needs in the host country. (3) Female military peacekeepers are more prevalent where there are specific UN mandates for the security of women. The study is based on data collected between August 2006 and December 2011. The variables are the proportion of female peacekeepers from the UN Gender Statistics Database, rate of peacekeeper deaths in each mission from the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, fatality estimates during each conflict from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program’s (UCDP’s) battle-related deaths data, estimated number of civilians killed in the recent armed conflict from UCDP, number of sexual violence allegations against peacekeepers, the percentage of women in parliament, gross ratio of primary school enrollment, ratings on the levels of physical security for women, discrepancy between law and practice concerning women, and female infanticide. The article also coded each UN mission mandate for language on gender issues, gender mainstreaming, 1325, sexual violence, or the need to protect women. **The article confirms the first hypothesis that troop-contributing countries send female peacekeepers to the safest post-conflict environments and to countries that are more developed.** There is little evidence that female peacekeepers are sent to missions where the conflict has higher rates of gender-based violence, gender inequality, and gender insecurity. Missions with specific gender language may see more female peacekeepers in their mission. However, all mandates after 2005 have some gendered language.

Gerhard Kummel, “The Bundeswehr and Female Soldiers: The Integration of Women into the Armed Forces (2000–2015), *Connections* 14, no. 3 (2015): 61–86, <http://connections-qj.org/article/bundeswehr-and-female-soldiers-integration-women-armed-forces-2000-2015>.

The composition of the personnel of the Bundeswehr (German armed forces) changed significantly following a 2000 decision of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) that demanded considerably more employment opportunities for women in the military as soldiers rather than solely in medical services. **This article examines the history of women’s participation in the German armed forces and summarizes the findings of various empirical studies regarding their participation.** To address the degree of integration, and whether the forces would be completely open to women, as well as to implement integration in general, the Ministry of Defense established an intraministerial steering group and asked its in-house research institute, the Bundeswehr Institute of Social Research to scientifically aid and support the process. The data include surveys of male and female soldiers on the integration of women in the Bundeswehr in 2000, 2001, 2005, and 2011 and recommendations that were made to the Ministry of Defense. Although there was progress in attitudes toward integration during the period, there remained tensions on the part of male soldiers. Establishing, maintaining, and promoting the social integration of servicewomen was a constant challenge requiring persistent attention. The author asserts that the attitudes of German male soldiers toward integration indicate the need to discuss masculinities because there is an observable reaction to the perceived shifting gender order. The findings also support the theory of tokenism, where female soldiers are not considered as individuals but as representatives of the minority group, with the various stereotypes that represents. Lastly, the author discusses the tendency toward institutional isomorphism—that over time military organizations will all become increasingly alike with regard to the role of women. However, though empirical data show some trend toward homogeneity, there is actually considerable variance in practice; many militaries will respond to societal changes and expectations with new structures that actually only pretend to, or partially respond to, these expectations. The Bundeswehr is a litmus test of integration that is currently under way.

Dean Laplonge, “The Absence of Masculinity in Gender Training for UN Peacekeepers,” *Peace Review* 27, no. 1 (March 2015): 91–99, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10402659.2015.1000198?journalCode=cper20#.V6kGbPkrJhE>.

To what extent do existing practices of gender training for peacekeeping personnel include any consideration of masculinity?

The effect of masculinity on behavior can be problematic in peacekeeping missions. Laplonge suggests that short-term gender trainings are not effective in curtailing this kind of behavior. In many fields that are traditionally patriarchal, such as construction and oil and gas, gender trainings are more concentrated on sexual harassment and hardly include discussion of masculinity. The article analyzes the UN training materials to assess whether the concept of masculinity is included and its effect on peacekeeping operations. Three gender training materials are used as case studies: United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) Standard Generic Training Module (SGTM) 6C on Gender and Peacekeeping, issued in 2003; DPKO’s Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations, issued in 2004; and DPKO’s Gender and Peacekeeping Operations In-Mission Training, issued in 2001. Overall, the materials all focus on gender as an external factor, experienced by those affected by the conflict, rather than discussing how masculinity has affected the peacekeepers themselves. For example, the first focuses on sexual violence but provides no guidance on how the facilitator might encourage the participants to reflect on how cultural understandings of masculinity may affect what individuals and groups of men come to define as sexual violence. The author argues that this omission may come from reluctance by the UN to risk being seen to interfere with the cultural norms of member nations.

Kim Lonsway et al., “Men, Women, and Police Excessive Force: A Tale of Two Genders,” *The National Center for Women and Policing*, April 2002, http://womenandpolicing.com/PDF/2002_Excessive_Force.pdf.

This study was conducted through research from seven major US police agencies. While gender and security sector reform literature does not directly address peacekeeping, it contains useful insights for increasing female peacekeepers.

This study indicates differences in the way male and female police behave in potentially violent situations, specifically regarding the use of excessive force. **The study found that while women only make up 12.5 percent of the police force, they account for only 5 percent of citizen complaints for excessive force, 2 percent of sustained allegations of excessive force, and 6 percent of the legal costs due to excessive force. In other words, male officers cost 2.5 to 5.5 times more than their female counterparts in excessive force liability lawsuit payouts. The average male officer is 8.5 times more likely to have sustained allegations of excessive force and is 2–3 times more likely to have a citizen complaint made against him for excessive force.** Through a review of existing literature, this article addresses a common critique of this evidence, which is that women are less likely to use excessive force because they avoid potentially dangerous situations. However, previous research shows that there is no significant difference in male and female officers' productivity or activities while they are on patrol, or their performance evaluations. Further, **research shows that female officers are more likely to emphasize communication over physical force, are less cynical in their views of citizens, and respond more effectively to cases of domestic violence, which are up to half of the violent crime calls made to police agencies.**

Sanjoy Majumder, "Indian Women to Keep Liberia Peace," BBC News, September 8, 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/5323140.stm.

This BBC article highlights an Indian all-female peacekeeping unit to be deployed in Liberia. The Liberian example demonstrates that the local population's perception of male and female security forces is an important factor in an operation's success. These **female police have reduced tensions and built trust with the peacekeeping operation in Liberia.** This unit is a deliberate effort of the United Nations to increase participation of women in peacekeeping missions. A UN police adviser, Mark Kroeker, speaks to the advantages of female participation, saying, "It enhances our access to vulnerable populations by having women in UN missions and also sends a message to the post-conflict societies where we work that women officers have any position and play a role in the police organizations."

Dyan Mazurana and Eugenia Piza Lopez, "Gender Mainstreaming in Peace Support Operations: Moving Beyond Rhetoric to Practice," International Alert, July 2002, <https://www.international-alert.org/publications/gender-mainstreaming-peace-support-operations>.

Through a review of existing literature this study highlights the significance of gender-aware leadership, the importance of the inclusion of women peacekeepers, and that gender-based violence has a significant effect on peace support operations. **Women peacekeepers provide a role model for equality, potentially encouraging the aspirations and improving the status of women within the host nation. Also recognized is the importance of local women and women's organizations within peacebuilding and that positive media coverage of their involvement enhances their impact.** This study found that women police officers have significantly **lower rates of complaints of misconduct, improper use of force, or inappropriate use of weapons; respond more effectively to violence committed against women; and are more likely to act against domestic abuse compared to their male colleagues.**

NATO, *How Gender Can Make a Difference to Security in Operations*, 2011, http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_topics/20120308_1869-11_Gender_Brochure.pdf.

This brochure created for the NATO Committee in Gender Perspectives presents six case studies and lists "universally applicable" factors that positively influence security in operations. The case studies include the Dutch Military in Kabul, the Canadian Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Kandahar, the US Female Engagement Team in Sangin, the Swedish PRT in Mazar-e-Sharif, the UN Joint Protection Team in the Congo, and the European Union Force in Chad. These case studies demonstrate that using a gender perspective enhances the operational effectiveness of peacekeeping operations in several ways. **One benefit is improved situational awareness, resulting in a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the area of operation,** reducing uncertainty and helping to prevent unintended negative consequences. Further **benefits include building trust of foreign operations within the local community; increased**

access to intelligence, including locations of improvised explosive devices and the identities of Taliban supporters; identification of priority infrastructure and human development needs; information on internal corrupt practices of mission-related infrastructure; increase in the number of women involved in protection efforts; and information on sexual violence and human rights violations leading to reform of peacekeeping practices and procedures.

Åsa Nyquist, *Good and Bad Examples: Lessons Learned from Working with United Nations Resolution 1325 in International Missions* (London: Genderforce, 2007), https://books.google.com/books/about/Good_and_Bad_%20Examples.html?id=cqGUtgAACAAJ.

This publication includes anecdotes from a number of police officers and security sector personnel working in conflict areas throughout the world where female officers are often uncommon. Most contributors were from Europe or the United States, working in areas such as East Timor, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Iraq, Kosovo, and Pakistan. **A reoccurring theme is the importance of having women serve as police officers for the following reasons: (1) it promotes women's equality by having a female in a position of authority; (2) it can change perspectives of local men and women on women's rights, (3) it can increase the reporting of violence against women because female officers often appear more approachable, and (4) female officers can serve as role models for local women.** The report also highlights the importance of **adopting a gendered perspective** from the beginning and the connection between more female managers and less human trafficking. Women officers also had an easier time gaining valuable information from local women. Two of the male contributors explain how enforcing UNSCR 1325 and gender diversity in groups makes operations more efficient and effective.

Louise Olsson, Inger Skjelsbæk, Elise Fredrikke Barth, and Karen Hostens, "Gender Aspects of Conflict Interventions: Intended and Unintended Consequences," Final Report to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Peace Research Institute, 2004, <https://www.prio.org/Publications/Publication/?x=3066>.

This report to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is comprised of three case studies of different interventions: the United Nations Mission in Eritrea/Ethiopia (UNMEE), the NATO Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina (SFOR), and the Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH). **These cases are used to investigate the positive and negative gendered consequences of interventions, through examining how these interventions fulfill the goals of gender balancing and gender mainstreaming.** The UNMEE case showed that the UNMEE women are extremely useful when communicating with local women. For this case, the report recommends that the Norwegian forces make a special effort to attract women to their ranks and allocate women to specific posts in peacekeeping forces especially when the mission works directly with local people. The SFOR case recognized sexual violence as a security threat and, therefore, recommended that SFOR include statistics on interethnic rapes in Bosnia, provide basic education to officers on PTSD as it pertains to sexual violence, establish close relationships to women's groups, and appoint gender officers. The TIPH case focuses largely on education and training for both military/peacekeepers and local people. **The report recommends that military and peacekeeping personnel are educated on gender dynamics and impacts in pre-conflict, armed conflict, and post-conflict situations, as well as local gender practices. Additionally, efforts should be made to ensure that local women have easy access to information about the mission because, historically, this information flow often stops at local men.**

Louise Olsson and Johan Tejpar, eds., "Operational Effectiveness and UN Resolution 1325—Practices and Lessons Learned from Afghanistan," Swedish Defense Research Agency, 2009, https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/1325_PracticeLessonsAfghanistan_SDRM_May2009_0.pdf.

This report produced by the Swedish Defense Research Agency presents evidence revealing that provincial reconstruction teams (PRTs), police services, and military units operate better when they are integrated with male and female personnel. **A study of five PRTs in Afghanistan found that greater outreach resulting from communication with both men and**

women meant that operations received a more nuanced intelligence picture. It demonstrates that the inclusion of female soldiers **in NATO operations in Afghanistan served to enhance force protection and strengthen security.** For example, Italian PRTs used mixed units of male and female personnel to work with local communities, thereby avoiding unnecessary conflict that may have created a backlash against the team. Additionally, when PRTs and other security actors in predominantly Muslim nations reach out to local women, they often find that female members of the local populace are not as restricted as anticipated. For example, when security actors met and consulted with local women, as in the case of some PRTs in Afghanistan, the Afghan women identified themselves in terms of public functions—government officials, police officers, and teachers. They often expressed their right to be included as partners in political consultation and decision-making. Recognizing women in these public positions serves to strengthen them as political actors, increase their status, and stabilize political and military environments.

Jacqueline O’Neill and Jarad Varay, “Allies and Assets: Strengthening DDR and SSR through Women’s Inclusion,” in *Monopoly of Force: The Nexus of DDR and SSR*, ed. Melanne A. Civic and Michael Miklaucic, 77–108 (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2011), <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/publication/allies-and-assets-strengthening-ddr-and-ssr-through-womens-inclusion/>.

This chapter provides case study evidence in support for the necessity to include women in DDR and SSR initiatives as well as recommendations on best practices for implementation. The authors begin by illustrating a variety of cases in which women should have been included in DDR and SSR but were not, leading to fatal consequences later. One such example is the exclusion of women from DDR in Angola, which meant that only roads were demined following the conflict and fields where women performed agricultural tasks were not, putting the lives of both women and children at risk. The authors state that one primary challenge to integrating women’s voices in such processes is the common view that women are victims as opposed to change agents, which disregards the reality that, across a wide variety of country cases, women account for between 10 and 23 percent of fighting forces or that women also often act as peacebuilders at the end of a conflict. The authors argue that the reasons for including women go beyond being a moral “right thing to do” and that **women enhance the effectiveness of stability operations by performing critical tasks such as reintegration of combatants and leading organizations that bring attention to necessary social issues.** They recommend that the following five steps be taken to strengthen DDR efforts: (1) set specific targets for women to participate, (2) adopt eligibility criteria that do not discriminate, (3) design assembly and cantonment facilities in a gender-sensitive way, (4) facilitate the full participation of women in training, and (5) create social support systems that allow women to reintegrate. Arguing that **women police are less likely than male police to engage in the use of excessive force and that women with a critical mass of 30 percent or more can have a civilizing effect on security forces**, the authors also provide key recommendations for SSR operations. (1) Recruit more women into police and military forces. (2) Retain and promote qualified women within those forces. (3) Emphasize inclusion in security oversight and evaluation. (4) Ensure that women in communities experience justice and safety through security operations. Furthermore, the authors make the following recommendations for both DDR and SSR: (1) involve women in planning from the beginning, (2) profile and engage senior-level male champions of women’s inclusion, and (3) target and engage women in community awareness-raising and sensitization efforts.

Camille Pampell Conaway and Jolynn Shoemaker, “Women in United Nations Peace Operations: Increasing the Leadership Opportunities,” *Women in International Security*, July 2008, http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/wiis_PeaceOpsFinal1.pdf.

This study aims to improve understanding of the qualities and skills required to lead UN peace operations, promote the development of more transparent procedures for the recruitment of senior managers for peacekeeping missions, and encourage reform to provide expanded opportunities for women’s leadership. It is based on over fifty interviews from October 2007 to January 2008 of women formerly or currently in high-level UN positions, UN staff with various agencies in New York and in peacekeeping missions, representatives of key national governments, and practitioners and experts in nongovernmental organizations and women’s groups. Based on these interviews, the study finds that the presence

of senior women influences the process and outcomes of peace operations in four key ways: (1) approach and style as leaders—the women in these positions view leadership as contribution-based and human directed, rather than power-based; (2) operational impact—women can obtain information that might not otherwise be shared, reduce tensions with the local populations, improve crowd control, increase trust and confidence of the host community, and improve women’s participation in traditionally male dominated fields; (3) recognition of importance of women’s participation; (4) role models—having women visible in missions, particularly in senior roles, is an example for women’s post-conflict participation in political, economic, and military roles. The report offers extensive recommendations for various stakeholders.

Marriet Schuurman, “NATO and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Time to Bring It Home,” *Connections* 14, no. 3 (2015): 1–7, <http://connections-qj.org/article/nato-and-women-peace-and-security-agenda-time-bring-it-home>.

In this article, NATO’s Special Representative for Women, Peace, and Security highlights NATO’s major achievements in implementing its Women, Peace and Security policy, identifies work ahead, and argues the relevance of the Women, Peace and Security agenda for better responding to today’s security challenges. She argues that we have come far in norm setting, policy design, and raising awareness, but we need implementation for tangible results, which requires political will and leadership. Experience gained from NATO operations, particularly in Afghanistan and Kosovo, has been instrumental in improving integration in NATO military operations. **It shows that having more women in forces and staff and using a gender lens in security give better access to local populations, more popular support, better information, better situational awareness, and smarter interventions with fewer risks and better outcomes. However, comparative data show that progress has been mixed, and beyond institutionalizing gender, it must also be internalized.** A NATO study of best practices in integrating gender into national armed forces includes strong leadership, commitment, targeted recruitment strategies for retaining female officers, implementation of evidence-based measures to prevent sexual violence, gathering accurate data on women’s participation and experiences, implementation of gender policies, and transparency of institutions.

UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), “Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations,” 2000, http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/UN/dpko_mainstreaminggenderperspective_2000.pdf.

This UN DPKO study examines five multidimensional operations, namely, Namibia, Cambodia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, El Salvador, and South Africa. This article is part of a growing body of evidence that shows that the application of a gender perspective improves peace and security operations. It recognizes that gender equality is a force multiplier in the operational planning and mission execution by the political leadership. **The study found that women’s presence makes a difference by increasing access to the local population, improving behavior of their male colleagues, and increasing the range of skills, approaches, and perspectives in a mission, thus rendering it more effective.** This article states that resources should be directed to overcoming inertia against, implementing, and institutionalizing gender mainstreaming and balance. There are several challenges demonstrated, the first being the lack of statistics on female peacekeepers. It was only in 2000 that the UN collected sex-disaggregated data on its peacekeeping missions, with statistics dating back only to 1994. Second, missions tend to not reflect on mistakes of past missions in other areas to determine best practice. Instead they tend to be short-term focused and disregard new policies.

UNIFEM, “Gender Sensitive Police Reform in Post-Conflict Societies,” 2010, <http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2007/1/policy-briefing-paper-gender-sensitive-police-reform-in-post-conflict-societies>.

The all-female Indian UN police unit deployed to Liberia in early 2007 is an example of the UN’s goals of gender-sensitive police reform. This was the first time the UN deployed an all-female peacekeeping contingent, and given the success of the unit, the all-female model has been replicated by other missions. This report focuses on cases of gender-sensitive police reform in Kosovo, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. **The study finds that gender-sensitive police reform is crucial in the**

implementation of UNSCR 1325 and of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Such reform is a means to create accountability and equality and ensure all people's rights are being respected by the police service. **When women are included in tactical security and policing operations, there is a greater opportunity to mitigate violence and build trust within the affected populations.** Reports suggest the presence of these female troops helped Liberian women come forward with complaints, including those regarding gender-based violence, and helped local women join the police force. This article highlights the connection between women's security needs and their ability to participate in peacebuilding, and their inclusion in building a stable democratic government.

UNIFEM and DPKO, *Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice*, June 2010, <http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2010/1/addressing-conflict-related-sexual-violence-an-analytical-inventory-of-peacekeeping-practice>.

Peacekeeping missions are increasingly being mandated to specifically address sexual assault due to United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820. **This article is an inventory of the methods used during missions to address sexual violence.** Gender balancing in peacekeeping helps empower women as security providers and beneficiaries. Prioritizing sexual violence prevention helps peacekeeping operations maintain credibility that is dependent on their ability to protect civilians from violence. Sexual violence or even the threat of such acts can instigate a vicious cycle of violence and displacement, having major security consequences. While rape disproportionately affects women, men are also targets of sexual violence in conflict. Additionally, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration without psychological rehabilitation can exacerbate sexual violence perpetrated by ex-combatants transitioning back into civilian living. Cases of high rates of sexual violence after conflict include Burundi, Northern Uganda, and Liberia. The continued threat of sexual violence after conflict often delays the return of refugees and displaced persons to their communities, directly impacting mandates that require the return of refugees and internally displaced persons. **This article further states that using a gender perspective in the work of a mission is not the sole responsibility of a female gender adviser or of the women in a mission.** For example, in 2009, the UNMIL/Liberia Office of the Gender Adviser and the Office of the Force Commander agreed on areas of collaboration, and this resulted in the appointment of a male military gender officer under direct supervision of the force commander.

Tobie Whitman and Jacqueline O'Neill, "Attention to Gender Increases Security in Operations: Examples from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)," Institute for Inclusive Security, April 2012, https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/NATO-Report_8.pdf.

Studies of stabilization and peacekeeping operations show that greater attention to gender issues increases operational effectiveness. Based on the growing collection of evidence and policy, in 2011 the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives sought assistance from the Institute for Inclusive Security for evidence on how attention to gender can increase security in NATO's operations. The study includes a literature review as well as interviews with diverse multinational and national military and civilian personnel. **The report gives specific examples of how incorporating gender perspectives positively influences operational effectiveness and increases security, including by enhancing situational awareness through unique observations and varied perspectives; providing information about specific security threats; promoting operational effectiveness through gender-sensitive development; influencing the conflict's narrative; moderating political and religious extremism; using gender norms to engage male informants; increasing force acceptance; and strengthening the capacities of government partners.**

Sherrill Whittington, "Gender and Peacekeeping: The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor," *Signs* 28, no. 4 (2003): 1283–1288, <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/368320?journalCode=signs>.

This article explores the role of women during and after independence in East Timor and the role of UN peacekeeping in addressing gender issues, **highlighting the UN peacekeeping mission in East Timor as a lesson for future missions.** As the

people of East Timor fought against Indonesia for their independence, women were key to the resistance. They provided support in the form of health care, food, clothing, and money, and also formed all-women armed units to fight alongside men. Women were also sacrificed in the conflict—thousands experienced imprisonment, rape, and torture. In spite of this, many women remained resilient and loyal to the resistance. Their role is unfortunately underrecognized. The United Nations Transitional Administration of East Timor (UNTAET) was established in 1999 with the task of nation-building. UNTAET also established a Gender Affairs Unit, with the goal to ensure gender mainstreaming in the future Timorese government. This group ensured that women were part of the nation-building process. It held the First Congress of Women of Timor Loro Sae, representing women’s organizations, in which they articulated demands for government. **The gender unit also provided gender analysis and sex-disaggregated data collection, helped establish a Vulnerable Persons Unit to deal with domestic violence, trained in gender-sensitive reporting, and ultimately achieved 27 percent representation of women in the first elected legislature.** The article expresses hope that this mission will be a model for future UN missions and will improve policymaking and theory.

COUNTERING VIOLENT
EXTREMISM (CVE) AND
COUNTERTERRORISM



Rafia Bhulai, Allison Peters, and Christina Nemr, “From Policy to Action: Advancing an Integrated Approach to Women and Countering Violent Extremism,” Global Center and Inclusive Security Policy Brief, June 2016, <http://www.globalcenter.org/publications/from-policy-to-action-advancing-an-integrated-approach-to-women-and-countering-violent-extremism/>.

Despite evidence of the role of women in the effectiveness and sustainability of conflict prevention and resolution efforts, women continue to be excluded from preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE) strategies. Inclusive strategies are more important than ever, especially as many women and girls continue to bear the brunt of extremist violence and others join terrorist and violent extremist groups. It is necessary to understand these dynamics in order to form effective responses. This policy brief explores ways of promoting a cross-sectoral approach to integrating gender into UN and member state P/CVE efforts as called for by UN Security Council Resolution 2242 and understanding potential points of convergence between the P/CVE and Women, Peace and Security communities. In order to address the many challenges that remain to realizing full integration, there is a critical need for gender-sensitive conflict analysis to inform the development of P/CVE strategies that integrate the perspectives of women and the differential impact of CVE. The brief outlines the challenges, including: (1) differing definitions, concepts, and labels, and lack of clarity regarding the difference between P/CVE and counterterrorism; (2) the need for additional research to document women’s specific roles in P/CVE; (3) the adverse effects on women’s groups of both violent extremism and counterterrorism policies; (4) the limited representation of women in law enforcement; and (5) the lack of technical capacity and logistical support in CVE programming. The brief then makes specific recommendations to UN member states, entities, and stakeholders to further integrate gender and ensure the inclusion and participation of women in multilateral P/CVE efforts.

Mia Bloom, *Bombshell: Women and Terrorism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), <http://www.upenn.edu/pennpress/book/14946.html>.

Presenting case studies of female suicide bombers from Northern Ireland to Sri Lanka, Mia Bloom suggests it is necessary to work past gender stereotypes to understand what influences lead women to engage in terrorism. Despite women’s roles in such attacks, Bloom argued that women’s identities as nonviolent actors remained fixed—pointing out that no women were listed as potential terrorists by the Department of Homeland Security following the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon. While each driver or window of opportunity for female terrorism Bloom lists is unique, **she ultimately argues that counterterrorism authorities need to understand their own relationships with women and provide them with options beyond militarization to be successful.** Although cautious to remark that there is no one clear path that leads females to become suicide bombers, the author suggests that women are often motivated by the four Rs of revenge, redemption, relationship, and respect. She adds that, for many women, another motivating factor is redemption for past sins, which is particularly the case in which women are shamed for having illicit relationships. Using case studies such as Hamas in Palestine and the women of Al Qaeda, the author makes the argument that common drivers for women to join terrorist groups include oppression (either by occupying forces or women’s home culture) and the loss of family members. In other instances, she argued that young girls might grow up with a “culture of martyrdom” after being exposed to local or family adulation of female suicide bombers and want to emulate them. Regardless of the drivers incentivizing women toward terrorism, **the author argues that there are case study examples, such as the Daughters of Iraq—Iraqi women conducting searches at checkpoints—that indicate that counterterrorist efforts that include women are successful at mitigating threats in the short term.** These efforts should be accompanied by three Ds: delegitimize, deglamorize, and demobilize. Bloom argues that these steps can be accomplished by illustrating that violence is not sanctioned by religious texts (delegitimization) and that terrorist groups are often corrupt and hypocritical (deglamorization) as well as by eliminating the immediate source of violence in women’s communities (demobilization).

Center for Human Rights and Global Justice, “Women and Preventing Violent Extremism: The U.S. and U.K. Experiences,” NYU School of Law, 2012, <http://chrgj.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Women-and-Violent-Extremism-The-US-and-UK-Experiences.pdf>.

In August 2011, the US government released its strategy *Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States (Empowering Local Partners)*, its first strategy to address ideologically based violent extremism within the United States. **This briefing paper analyzes the new US strategy from a gender and human rights perspective, drawing on the UK’s experience with its Prevent policy, which seeks to prevent individuals from becoming terrorists or supporting terrorist groups.** The study is based on original research as well as interviews with UK officials. The US strategy places emphasis on the role of families and local communities. **The analysis finds that the new US strategy is a mix of the older (pre-2011) UK Prevent strategy, which had a specific focus on the role of Muslim women in CVE efforts, and the newer (post-2011) Prevent strategy, which shifts away from the community integration and resilience strategies of its predecessor but still includes gender equality as a basic British value, and gender inequality as indicative of dangerous ideologies and institutions** where there is risk of radicalization. The US strategy, on the other hand, contains no reference to gender, which the report claims leads to a litany of human rights and security problems. Drawing on a gender and human rights perspective and the UK experience, the briefing paper then makes several recommendations to the US government.

Krista London Couture, “A Gendered Approach to Countering Violent Extremism: Lessons Learned from Women in Peacebuilding and Conflict Prevention Applied Successfully in Bangladesh and Morocco,” *Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence at Brookings Policy Paper*, July 2014, <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Women-CVE-Formatted-72914-Couture-FINAL2.pdf>.

This study identifies best practices through lessons learned from efforts that engage women in CVE. Through both primary and secondary sources and qualitative and quantitative research, the author evaluates CVE approaches and programming in Bangladesh and Morocco, where there has been considerable success in reducing support for violent extremism. Both countries have placed both direct and indirect emphasis on women’s empowerment to fight terrorism and the factors that drive recruitment and radicalization. Country and culturally specific programs have strategically identified women as critical components in CVE strategies. The Bangladeshi government’s gendered approach involves empowering women to affect the drivers and catalysts of extremism. Bangladesh identifies poverty and lack of economic opportunity as two of the country’s main sources of radicalization. **The empowerment of women thus figures prominently in its CVE efforts.** The government has focused on empowering women through microlending programs, primary school attendance, and garment factory jobs. Women have also been involved directly in CVE programming conducted by the US Embassy in Dhaka in collaboration with the Bangladeshi government. Moroccan CVE strategy specifically integrates women, recognizing that the effectiveness of its CVE programs relies on the inclusion of women because of their critical role in Moroccan families and communities. The report reviews two relevant CVE efforts in Morocco. After deadly terrorist attacks in Casablanca in 2003, Morocco’s king passed progressive revisions to the Moudawana (family code) that empowered women socially and economically. A second initiative focuses on a government program that empowers women in the religious and political spheres, certifying female preachers (imams) tasked with promoting religious moderation and tolerance with the aim to curb radicalization. **The author concludes that there is no better long-term, sustainable deterrent against terrorism and radicalization than educated, prosperous, safe, resilient, and empowered communities. Empowering women is a critical part of this.**

Naureen Chowdhury Fink, Rafia Barakat, and Liat Shetret, “The Roles of Women in Terrorism, Conflict, and Violent Extremism: Lessons for the United Nations and International Actors,” Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation Policy Brief, April 2013, http://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/NCF_RB_LS_policybrief_1320.pdf.

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and subsequent resolutions have recognized the roles of women in international peace and security efforts. However, little attention has been paid by policymakers and international counterterrorism actors to the roles of women as they relate to terrorism and counterterrorism issues. Too often, women are seen simply as preventers without consideration to their roles as supporters and perpetrators. To be more effective, counterterrorism and countering violent extremism (CVE) efforts need to understand the multiple roles that women play. With an increased focus on prevention and the need to take a more holistic view of the drivers and possible solutions to terrorism and CVE, there needs to be more interaction between counterterrorism and Women, Peace and Security actors so that the counterterrorism community can draw on the experiences and lessons of the WPS community to develop more nuanced and targeted terrorism prevention efforts. **The brief provides recommendations for a more integrated approach to gender and terrorism prevention: (1) integrate a gender perspective into counterterrorism and CVE design; (2) include a gender perspective in evaluations; (3) facilitate interagency dialogue and coordination among key stakeholders at the UN; (4) enhance gender expertise among law enforcement officials, and build local partnerships and ownership; (5) use strategic communications to counter the appeal of terrorism; and (6) facilitate rehabilitation and reintegration of female detainees or former combatants.**

Gender Action for Peace and Security, “Prioritise Peace: Challenging Approaches to Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism from a Women, Peace and Security Perspective,” April 2018, <http://gaps-uk.org/prioritise-peace-challenging-approaches-to-pcve-from-a-wps-perspective/>.

This paper by Gender Action for Peace and Security (GAPS) outlines several concerns regarding how the preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE) agenda is progressing in ways that are harmful to WPS, women’s rights, and women’s rights organizations in conflict-affected contexts. **First, the P/CVE agenda seems to understand WPS as a way of doing P/CVE, leading to the instrumentalization of women’s rights for security purposes, which devalues the pursuit of women’s rights as its own objective. Second, the political rhetoric regarding women and girls seen in P/CVE agenda statements, resolutions, and policy seldom translates into action and fails to acknowledge those rights as a cornerstone of peace.** The paper outlines two threats to WPS posed by the P/CVE agenda, which are: (1) state efforts would place WPS policy and programming under P/CVE rather than implementing WPS as its own agenda, and (2) use of gendered rhetoric in P/CVE signals an understanding of the political expediency of using that language but does not lead to gender-transformative practice. **The paper argues that this leads to only a tokenistic inclusion of women in the P/CVE agenda and leads to the neglect of other forms of human rights abuses and violence against women,** such as intimate partner violence and early forced marriage. This is determined to be dangerous to women’s rights as WPS and P/CVE become more connected in international decision-making. Applied to women’s civil society organizations (CSOs), **the paper further argues that an emphasis on P/CVE outcomes leads to a shift in funding in which women-run CSOs are beholden to P/CVE funding, which detracts from their ability to advocate for women’s rights. GAPS argues, “The political, social and economic empowerment and realization of the rights of women and girls are ends in themselves and not means to bolster national security, prevent violent extremism or indeed to further any other agenda.”**

Felicity Hill, “Women’s Contribution to Conflict Prevention, Early Warning and Disarmament, Disarmament Forum, 2003, http://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/unidir_womcontributionconfprevention_2006_0.pdf.

This article emphasizes the role of women in conflict prevention and early warning, arguing that it is essential to mainstream gender into early warning efforts by the United Nations in order to develop successful prevention strategies. The author notes that experts who have interviewed women in conflict zones have begun to identify

women's experience as a critical, yet underutilized, resource to prevent deadly conflict and its resurgence, giving specific examples of women's knowledge of arms accumulation and proliferation in Kosovo and Sierra Leone. The article summarizes the growing body of literature in support of conflict prevention strategies, beginning with the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict in the mid- 1990s. The author illustrates how the Carnegie Commission led to an attitudinal shift in support of conflict prevention, which had previously not been considered as a viable option, listing other successes such as Secretary-General Annan's statement of support for a "culture of prevention" in 1999, and the 2000 Brahimi Report calling for enhanced conflict prevention strategies in addition to verbal support as evidence. With the proliferation of early warning indicators, it is advised that such indicators should incorporate gender-based indicators as well, such as sex-specific refugee migrations, sex-specific unemployment, and increases in female-headed households. The author states that UNIFEM's response to this need is through a four-pronged framework for action to: (1) increase the availability of targeted information on the impact of conflict on women and their role in peacebuilding; (2) strengthen the approaches to protection and assistance for women affected by conflict; (3) strengthen the contribution of women to conflict prevention, resolution, and post-conflict peacebuilding at the national, regional, and international levels; and (4) mainstream a gender focus on intergovernmental peace and security initiatives.

Jayne Huckerby, "Women, Gender, and the U.K. Government's Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Efforts: Looking Back and Forward," in *A Man's World? Exploring the Roles of Women in Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism*, ed. Naureen Chowdhury Fink, Sara Zeiger, and Rafia Bhulai, 76–98 (London: Hedayah and the Global Center on Cooperative Security, March 2016), <http://www.globalcenter.org/publications/a-mans-world-exploring-the-roles-of-women-in-countering-terrorism-and-violent-extremism/>.

The United Kingdom counterterrorism policy, CONTEST, is one of the few government programs that has had an explicit and specific focus on the role of women in CVE. This article analyzes the different efforts to engage women in three phases of the UK's counterterrorism strategy: its preventive arm (Prevent) prior to June 2011; the new four-year Prevent strategy released in 2011; and recent efforts to engage women to prevent family members from going to fight for ISIS in Syria and Iraq. The first pre-2011 Prevent focused on the inclusion of women as part of its community resilience strategy to counter violent extremism. It also considered women important voices in challenging the ideology of violent extremism and supporting mainstream voices, regarding them in unique positions as mothers to intervene in radicalization. Based on a review of the program, the post-2011 strategy removed community resilience from Prevent and refocused it on more narrowly defined objectives. The author lists a number of key lessons from the UK experience. **These lessons show that community engagement solely through the lens of CVE and on the basis of faith can increase women's insecurity, and securitizes and instrumentalizes the engagement of women. It is critical to better understand and address barriers to women's engagement, including safety, legality, resources, and other factors. Consultation with local women's groups must guide all aspects of policy.** At the same time, government commitments need to go beyond the local or informal level to change national security architecture, including ensuring that attention is paid to the push and pull factors of female radicalization. Transparency, non-securitization of engagement, and clear delineation of the scope of CVE activities are critical to any human rights-compliant and effective strategy that seeks to support the work that women already do in CVE in ways that avoid risks of instrumentalization, securitization, and backlash.

International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN), "Extremism as Mainstream: Implications for Women, Development and Security in the MENA/Asia Region," Brief 11, Spring 2014, <http://www.icanpeacework.org/dev/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Extremism-as-Mainstream.pdf>.

This policy brief examines the impact of religious extremism in the Middle East and North Africa on women, and women's responses. It asserts that religious extremism is spreading into the mainstream throughout the Middle East and North Africa and in countries with significant Muslim populations. These movements offer values, economic support and services, and a sense of community—especially to disenfranchised youth—in the face of persistent socioeconomic problems, corruption, and poor governance in these countries. Militarized responses foment support for the movements, and conflict and instability

create power vacuums in which extremist groups can operate. **Women are directly targeted by extremist groups through restrictions of legal rights and women’s participation in civic and political life.** Women also experience great personal insecurity and are subject to harassment, assault, and sexual violence. **In every country, women are mobilizing to counter the impacts of extremism. They are directly engaging with communities, promoting religious tolerance and human rights, and advocating for gender equality.** However, these efforts are rarely recognized. The brief asserts that to mitigate the spread of extremism, governments and the international community must focus attention and resources to the underlying socioeconomic problems and recognize the need for inherent dignity and justice.

Chantal de Jonge Oudraat and Michael E. Brown, “Women, Gender, and Terrorism: The Missing Links,” *Women in International Security (WIIS) POLICYbrief*, August 2016, http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/WIIS-Policy-Brief_Women-Gender-and-Terrorism-The-Missing-Links.pdf.

In October 2015, the UN Security Council marked the fifteenth anniversary of UNSCR 1325 by adopting a new resolution, UNSCR 2242, calling on member states and the international community to do more to integrate WPS and counterterrorism policies. Until recently, the counterterrorism and WPS communities have had little interaction. WIIS launched a series of roundtable discussions to bring the two communities together. **This article discusses three steps that are needed: (1) the counterterrorism and WPS communities need to engage each other more routinely and systematically; (2) the counterterrorism community needs to recognize that gender is not a marginal issue; it is a central issue in terrorism as more women are joining terrorist and violent extremist groups; and (3) The WPS community needs to redouble its efforts on terrorism and violent extremism.** These are some of the most critical international security challenges, and violent extremist groups pose some of the greatest threats to women and girls worldwide. Therefore, it is necessary to have a better understanding of how and why women and girls radicalize and are targeted and recruited by extremist groups, and how extremist groups use gender-based appeals to recruit men and boys. The counterterrorism community also needs to increase efforts to prevent the radicalization and recruitment of women and girls, which means more attention to the specific social, economic, and political conditions of women and girls who may be susceptible to radical ideologies.

Kemi Okenyodo, “The Role of Women in Preventing, Mitigating and Responding to Violence and Violent Extremism in Nigeria,” in *A Man’s World? Exploring the Roles of Women in Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism*, ed. Naureen Chowdhury Fink, Sara Zeiger, and Rafia Bhulai, 100–116 (London: Hedayah and the Global Center on Cooperative Security, March 2016), <http://www.globalcenter.org/publications/a-mans-world-exploring-the-roles-of-women-in-countering-terrorism-and-violent-extremism/>.

In this article, the author examines both the radicalization of women in Nigeria as well as their role in countering violent extremism. Research carried out by the National Stability and Reconciliation Program (NSRP) aimed at understanding gender norms and female participation in radical movements in northern Nigeria shows that the roles women play are determined by the men in their lives. For instance, if men radicalize, their wives are expected to participate as well. Although women have been involved with violent extremist groups, they have also been involved in CVE efforts. The author asserts that understanding CVE and designing intervention programs in Nigeria is a novel area. Mainstreaming gender and the role of women in CVE brought about a fundamental change in the recruitment of volunteers in the Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF). Women were recruited to conduct bodily searches of other women and girls and gather information because of the access they have to areas where men are not allowed in Muslim society. Women also play a bigger role in the Nigerian military. The author examines six of these programs and makes the following recommendations: **(1) CVE intervention programs should strategically focus on both men and women; (2) identify and empower women within civil society and security sectors; (3) broaden the conceptualization and implementation of CVE programs to ensure that more women are involved; (4) assess the impact of counterterrorism policies and programs on women; and (5) develop a study to understand why women are joining radical groups.**

Brenda Oppermann, “Hawks, Doves and Canaries: Women and Conflict,” *Small Wars Journal* 10, no. 8 (2014): 1–47, <http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/hawks-doves-and-canaries-women-and-conflict>.

This article discusses the necessity to integrate both women and gender into the calculus that informs stability operations, situational awareness, and conflict diagnoses. The stability operations doctrine stresses the importance of ascertaining all operationally significant actors along the continuum of conflict, but in practice, only male combatants and key leaders are considered. Thus, the role of women as actors in all phases of conflict, both positive and negative, is generally ignored. The author uses the symbolic gestures and imagery of hawks, doves, and canaries to delineate the varied roles women play, in all phases of conflict, arguing that failing to recognize them precludes the development of effective “situational awareness,” necessary to stabilize conflict zones. This, she claims, is detrimental to ascertaining possible courses of action to end conflict and promote stability. Through the application of evidence and analysis, the concept of women’s fundamental roles as hawks (those who foment violence and aim to destabilize communities), doves (those who advocate peace and focus their efforts on stabilizing communities), and canaries (those who serve as warning signs of impending conflict) is explored in depth, across a landscape of disparate conflict zones. By illustrating the scope of women’s active agency regarding pre-conflict, ongoing conflict, and post-conflict activities, and the explicit nature of their roles in all these phases, women are shown as crucial variables in peace operations and international security efforts, thus it is necessary to engage them accordingly. **The article also contributes to a growing body of literature that conceptualizes the role of women in the context of “new” wars and irregular warfare.** The prisms of terrorism, counterterrorism, radicalization, insurgency, suicide bombing squads, and media targeting, coupled with specific references to extremist groups such as Al Qaeda and al Shabaab, are particularly relevant in this respect. **In sum, if substandard situational awareness hinders sustainable peacebuilding efforts, military commanders and their civilian counterparts must reevaluate the assessment of each phase of conflict—early warning, combat, and stabilization—by calculating the meaningful roles women play in each phase.**

Allison Peters, “Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Pakistan: Why Policewomen Must Have a Role,” *Inclusive Security*, March 31, 2014, <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/IIS-Pakistan-Memo-v5c-web.pdf>.

This policy brief presents a case in favor of greater reliance on local police and greater incorporation of women into local police forces to counter violent extremism in Pakistan. Summarizing research conducted on the effectiveness of women police, the author argues that women increase operational effectiveness by building trust with local communities, serving as first responders for female victims of terror attacks, and providing a safe outlet for women to report gender-based violence. However, women account for less than 1 percent of Pakistan’s police force. As a result, the brief recommends a series of objectives for joint efforts between the US government and the government of Pakistan to improve Pakistani police forces through the recruitment, retention, and professionalization of women in police, as well as methods to improve community trust in police.

“Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism,” United Nations General Assembly, December 24, 2015, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/674.

The UN 2015 Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism draws the connection between gender inequality and violent extremism, and provides specific action steps to include women and girls in counterterrorism efforts. Echoing the sentiments of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, the plan emphasizes the need for collective commitment to prevention that includes a diverse array of actors. Arguing that violent extremism leads to lacking socioeconomic opportunities, marginalization and discrimination, poor governance and human rights violations, prolonged conflict, and radicalization, the plan proposes a series of actions that states and regional bodies should take to prevent violent extremism. These steps include creating **National Action Plans on violent extremism that incorporate a gender perspective and focus on the empowerment of women and girls**, mobilizing resources, creating dialogue, strengthening good governance and human rights, empowering youth, and engaging communities with an emphasis on **engaging women and civil society**

groups. The plan includes a section specifically on gender equality and empowering women, which argues that women’s empowerment is critical to peace and emphasizes the inclusion, capacity-building, and funding of women, as well as advises the mainstreaming of gender perspectives across efforts to counter violent extremism.

Mariam Safi, “Afghan Women and Countering Violent Extremism: What Are Their Roles, Challenges and Opportunities in CVE?” in *A Man’s World? Exploring the Roles of Women in Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism*, ed. Naureen Chowdhury Fink, Sara Zeiger, and Rafia Bhulai, 118–140 (London: Hedayah and the Global Center on Cooperative Security, March 2016), <http://www.globalcenter.org/publications/a-mans-world-exploring-the-roles-of-women-in-countering-terrorism-and-violent-extremism/>.

Since the fall of the Taliban in 2001, women in Afghanistan have made important gains in legal rights and participation in the security sector. Most importantly, the author argues, women have also contributed to the field of peacebuilding and conflict resolution in ways that can inform P/CVE efforts as members of the Afghanistan peace process, community development councils, civil society, and as mothers and wives of insurgents. However, their importance in these P/CVE efforts has yet to be recognized by policymakers in Afghanistan. **The article explores the impacts of Afghan women’s efforts, which show that it will be critical to include and strengthen women’s efforts in CVE initiatives, programming, and policy in Afghanistan.** CVE is a new concept in Afghanistan, thus focusing on understanding women’s role in CVE is a lesser priority. Women have been put into formal roles such as within the High Peace Council and Provincial Peace Committees; however, this has mainly been the result of international advocacy, and their presence remains symbolic as they have not yet received the political support they need to carry out these roles. **However, the author finds that women can provide critical support to CVE programming in their capacities as formal members of the peace process, as leaders of civil society organizations, and as mothers and wives.**

Margaret L. Satterwaite and Jayne C. Huckerby, eds., *Gender, National Security, and Counter-Terrorism: Human Rights Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2013).

Extremism, terrorism, and counterterrorism have become major policy concerns since the 9/11 attacks on US soil. It is understood that terrorists seek to achieve their goals through the use of violence that targets, indirectly and directly, the civilian population. Despite the fact that civilian populations are made up of men and women and boys and girls, few have considered the gendered nature of national security strategies and counterterror projects and how these impact and implicate men and women differently. **This book begins to address how national security strategies and counterterror initiatives omit gendered analysis by surveying how government responses to terrorism impact the enjoyment of human rights, especially the rights of women, sexual minorities, and men.** The volume is arranged in three parts. The first set of essays considers how gender is obscured in counterterror measures. The second section examines how counterterror policies and programs use, or more importantly, do not use a gendered analysis. The third part examines how gender is both embedded and erased in counterterror activities. The chapters highlight a variety of topics, providing examples that range from Afghanistan and Somalia to Ireland and Guatemala. Important insights include the documented finding that funding can have adverse impacts on women and women’s rights because of antiterrorism finance laws; that the continued lack of a gender perspective in security programs and policies makes counterterror programs ineffective; and that even agencies that routinely use gender-sensitive indicators do not require their use in the counterterrorism or CVE context because of an assumption that such interventions are focused on men. However, as the same study demonstrates, even programs targeted at men have impacts—whether direct or indirect—on women and LGBT communities, as well as the men who are the intended targets, and those impacts must be monitored.

Edit Schlaffer and Ulrich Kropiunigg, “A New Security Architecture: Mothers Included!” in *A Man’s World? Exploring the Roles of Women in Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism*, ed. Naureen Chowdhury Fink, Sara Zeiger, and Rafia Bhulai, 54–75 (London: Hedayah and the Global Center on Cooperative Security, March 2016), 54–75, <http://www.globalcenter.org/publications/a-mans-world-exploring-the-roles-of-women-in-countering-terrorism-and-violent-extremism/>.

What roles do mothers play in countering violent extremism? Innovative research by Women Without Borders shows that mothers are key actors in preventing radicalization. Mothers are in unique positions to know what makes their children vulnerable to radical influences and are the starting point for building resilience in the home and in communities. The two-part study entitled *Can Mothers Challenge Extremism?* studied qualitative and quantitative data from mothers in Northern Ireland, Israel, Palestine, Egypt, Pakistan, and Nigeria. The first phase involved 200 interviews (40 in each country) to gain an overall picture of the social and emotional environments of mothers with adolescents and young adult sons. The second phase consisted of a questionnaire that explored three main areas: how mothers assess the threat of violent extremism and their role in reducing its attraction; whom mothers would turn to when faced with an imminent threat of radicalization; and what mothers need to be effective in recognizing and responding to warning signs of radicalization. The results were based on 1,023 interviews. **The conclusions show that mothers believe that they are in a primary position to address potential radicalization of their sons.** They believe that violent extremist agendas are disseminated primarily through the internet, radical religious leaders, political organizations, and television, meaning that their children are receiving radical messages from many different sides, leaving very little trusted and protected space. Mothers will turn to other mothers first in a crisis, meaning that they trust themselves and other mothers first in protecting their children. This is notable because the existing security approach focuses implementation within national and local authorities, two groups that evoke significant distrust, and **ignores mothers.** **Applying the findings of the studies, Women Without Borders has been piloting Mothers Schools in Tajikistan, Kashmir, Pakistan, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Zanzibar. The schools aim to equip mothers with the skills they expressed that they need to counter extremism and build community resilience starting in the home.** This includes building confidence and self-esteem, increasing knowledge and reflection of parent-child dynamics, and delivering specific training in countering radicalization. To highlight the key data of the study, in December 2014, Women Without Borders convened a group of mothers from across Europe and Canada whose children had gone to fight in Syria to share their insights with security stakeholders. They were able to paint a picture of their children’s personalities and struggles, and the changes they observed in the early stages of the radicalization process for representatives of institutions equipped to translate the new insights into preventative actions.

Jakana L. Thomas and Kanisha D. Bond, “Women’s Participation in Violent Political Organizations,” *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 3 (August 2015): 488–506, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-political-science-review/article/div-classtitlewomenandaposs-participation-in-violent-political-organizationsdiv/FD35CCB2555B2B3AA023D2A77F894370>.

This article analyzes variations in women’s participation in violent political organizations (VPOs) and suggests that “demand- side” dynamics are more influential to women’s participation than “supply-side” dynamics. While there is not a great deal of previous literature on women’s involvement in VPOs, the existing literature does suggest that men and women have similar reasons for joining violent groups. Women’s rights and equality are not represented in mainstream political discourse but can be a feature in VPOs’ discourse, and women often cite joining VPOs because they believe they can change the status of women in their society through participation. However, the article suggests that these “supply-side” dynamics, or the reasons why women join or do not join VPOs, do not explain variation in women’s actual participation across VPOs. Rather, VPOs show remarkably different preferences for recruiting women. To test this, the article uses a unique data set on women’s participation in 166 VPOs active in nineteen African countries from 1950 to 2011. It follows up its statistical analysis with a representative, comparative case study between the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF). It found that 45 percent of all VPOs had female participants,

87 percent of all rebel groups had female participants, and that, while women often did not participant in combat roles, 36 percent of terrorist groups, 26 percent of self-determination groups, and 11 percent of radical Islamist groups included female combatants. Furthermore, **it found that VPOs are more likely to recruit women as VPOs grow, as VPOs rely on more terrorist tactics, and when VPOs include gender equality on their political agenda.** The case study showed how the EPLF included more women in its ranks than the ELF in support of these findings. The empirical results show strong **support for the argument that organization-based opportunities for women’s participation explain whether female members are present in a group.**

ENDNOTES


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