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Gender and Peace Settlements from a Quantitative Perspective: A global survey

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Abstract

This working paper unpacks quantitative research relating to women and post-conflict settlements from the perspective of gender-as-relational-power. In part one, eleven databases are reviewed. This review reveals that there is very little quantitative information collected about the process of reaching an agreement: for instance, who participates, where the agreement is or how civil society is involved. Analysis also reveals that these datasets code gender in different ways, and these labels cannot be taken at face value. The treatment of gender-as-a-variable means that some databases equate gender with women, mothers, wives and victims. Such representations could reproduce essentialist images about women and obscures the power relations that shape the kind of data that is included and what is considered to “count”. This paper suggests that these databases contribute to the “knowledge” that we have about gender and peace agreements, establishing the basis from which peacebuilding and peacekeeping operates from. The second part of this paper explores what the data shows about women’s involvement in peace processes, and the gendered outcomes of any settlements made. It is clear that existing data about female participation in the peace process is limited and further research is needed to understand the various modalities of participation and who gets involved in the negotiation process. An investigation of what the current quantitative research says about the effects of UNSCR 1325 highlights that the resolution has had a significant upward impact upon the number of references made to women. The working paper concludes by a reflection upon a number of methodological problems that need to be confronted, highlighting the issues with gender-disaggregated data, the normative judgements that we take in asking questions about the world, and reflecting upon the definitional problems inherent in gender-as-a-variable that affect how we can go about developing quantitative perspectives about women and peace negotiations.

Keywords

quantitative, gender, women, peace agreements, peace negotiations, institutional change, UNSCR 1325.

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Executive Summary

This working paper unpacks quantitative research relating to women and post-conflict settlements from the perspective of gender-as-relational-power. That is, I recognise that gender is not neutral or natural, and that gender identity is shaped by a huge range of power relations that shape how we understand gender.

Part one reviews eleven databases and discuss important considerations for methodological framing. The review of databases reveals that there is very little quantitative information collected about the process of reaching an agreement: for instance, who participates, where the agreement is or how civil society is involved. Analysis also reveals that these datasets code gender in different ways, and these labels cannot be taken at face value. The treatment of gender-as-a-variable means that some databases equate gender with women, mothers, wives and victims. Such representations could reproduce essentialist images about women and obscures the power relations that shape the kind of data that is included and what is considered to “count”. This paper suggests that these databases contribute to the “knowledge” that we have about gender and peace agreements, establishing the basis from which peacebuilding and peacekeeping operates from.

The second part of this paper explores what the data shows about women’s involvement in peace processes, and the gendered outcomes of any settlements made. It highlights that existing data about female participation in the peace process is limited and further research is needed to understand the various modalities of participation and who gets involved in the negotiation process. It then discusses three research projects that explore the effects of references to women in the text of the peace agreement. A review of the literature suggests that while references to women have increased since 1990, not all of these references are necessarily meaningful in terms of the achievement of women’s rights. A UN Security Council Resolution, UNSCR 1325 (October 2000), which urges for the inclusion of women in all aspects of the peace process, has had a significant upward impact upon the number of references made to women.

Part two concludes with a reflection upon a number of methodological problems that need to be confronted, highlighting the issues with gender-disaggregated data, the normative judgements that we take in asking questions about the world, and reflecting upon the definitional problems inherent in gender-as-a-variable that affect how we can go about developing quantitative perspectives upon women and peace negotiations.

Introduction

For many women's rights activists, a peace process is viewed as an opportunity to reset or engineer gender relations, establishing a peace which is viewed as gender-just and equal. But, what kinds of roles do women have in making these peace agreements? How does female presence at the peace table change the provisions and implementation of the peace agreement? Certainly, gender advocates frequently argue that the presence of women at peace negotiations bring alternative perspectives and approaches to the processes, resulting in positive gains for women (Anderlini 2007), and even shaping a more sustainable and meaningful peace (Jenkins and Goetz 2010). These questions are increasingly important in light of international gender mainstreaming demands - in particular United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325, which urges for the consideration of gender in all post-conflict processes, passed 31 October 2000) and the associated women, peace and security resolutions.¹ However, it can be tricky to evaluate the effects that female presence at the peace table and/or women's rights provisions within peace agreements have because (a) there are few serious cases to learn from, and (b) data is rather thin on the ground.

This working paper aims to explore some aspects of these questions by surveying and reviewing the existing quantitative literature that assesses the contributions women are thought to bring to the peace process. To do this, it will explore how 'gender' is used as a variable, and the limitations and possibilities created through these representations of gender. This paper's perspective is that gender is a power relation shaped through discourses which we understand as unstable and unfixed, and yet 'gender' is made through identity, sexuality, emotion and narrative (and so on). To unpack the existing quantitative databases and scholarly literature from this perspective is not a case of "quants-bashing" but rather to open ways of critically interrogating how gender has been constructed as a variable and the implications that emanate from this for how we think about the role of gender within peace processes and agreements. As this paper will discuss in the conclusions, this critical interrogation has important implications for policy practice.

Therefore, the intention is not to highlight the gaps that currently exist in terms of gender-disaggregated data (although see Data2x 2014 for a detailed examination of existing gaps) but rather, to *draw attention to the representations of gender in existing research utilising quantitative data*. To this end, this paper will investigate two quantitative sites of knowledge:

1. Datasets that may relate to peace agreements and post-conflict constitutions (Part One).
2. Quantitative scholarship investigating (a) women's involvement in negotiation processes, (b) the gendered outcomes of post-conflict constitutional settlements, and (c) the effects of UNSCR 1325 upon gender-inclusion within peace processes and agreements (Part Two).

The investigation of these two sites of knowledge will seek to interrogate constructions of gender as a means of reflecting upon how 'gender' is represented as a variable. Doing this will

¹ These include UNSCR 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122. See Laura McLeod (forthcoming) 'The Women, Peace and Security Resolutions: from 1325 to 2122' in *Handbook of Gender and International Relations* eds. J. Steans and D. Tepe for a detailed overview.

require this paper to draw attention to, and develop, the methodological dilemmas within quantitative scholarship on gender and peace agreements. It is rare for one inspired by the ideas of post-structuralism to conduct an extended and sustained analysis of quantitative research, so I feel that it is important to make clear a number of provisos. First, and foremost, questioning how gender-as-a-variable has been made is not about dismissing the value or scholarship of the research that I look at. On the contrary, my engagement with this literature has highlighted how a number of very difficult decisions need to be made with regards to the development of coding variables (see Caprioli 2009) and how to do this in a feminist or gender-sensitive way. This has made me frustrated with the (masculinist?) narratives of methodological purity that are not entirely reflective of the research process that are represented within many journal articles in political science: I believe that more discussion and openness of the difficulties faced would serve to develop synergies across theoretical and methodological “camps” (Sylvester 2013).

Second, questioning constructions of gender-as-a-variable is not to say that we shouldn't count, or that quantitative scholarship cannot contribute to feminist goals. Indeed, some of the research which is explored here strongly indicates that the presence of women does have a positive outcome for the achievement of gender equality and justice. The intention behind querying gender-as-a-variable is to avoid simplistic and essentialising explanations. From the perspective that feminist practice seeks to be transformative and open up a world where gender is not a powerful dynamic profoundly affecting opportunities and daily lives for all, I suggest that we look to ways of transforming acceptable boundaries of knowledge. Part of this transformative project may, as this working paper suggests, mean that we should draw upon feminist scholarship and seek to count different things – for instance, the role of feminist (rather than female) presence at the table, or alternative long-term governance goals. This curiosity is more than academic. If feminism is to achieve its transformative ambitions and goals, then we should look at ways of transforming what counts as useful knowledge. The different perspectives gained from querying current boundaries of knowledge and seeking to resist them may open up avenues that surprise us.

What is the current state of play?

Much of the literature which looks at female participation in peace processes is descriptive and normative, focussing upon vignettes of successes (Anderlini 2007) or narrative accounts of a single case study, usually written by the protagonists involved (Fearon 1999). These are valuable for their insights into individual processes, and are especially useful in highlighting the role played by women's organising. The other set of literature - analysed in this working paper - is developed from the perspective of international law (Bell 2008; Bell and O'Rourke 2010) or political science (Anderson 2014, 2012; Anderson and Swiss 2014; Aroussi 2011a, 2011b). They aim to quantitatively investigate the effects of gender inclusion (in the text of the peace agreement) or presence (at the table) upon gendered or feminist outcomes. As this working paper will attest, there are a number of gaps in this area and much more research is needed. However, there is a danger that without paying critical attention to how 'gender' is conceptualised within datasets (and/or research using these datasets), the literature will be used to reinforce essentialising gender representations. Such images may suggest that women are natural peacemakers by the very virtue of their femininity and that men are the obvious holders of political power that women may – as an “exception”, in a “rare case” - disrupt.

Assuming that women as a group make a particular set of contributions via their femininity provokes a number of gender essentialisms. Gender essentialisms are dangerous. As Cynthia Cockburn argues, ‘essentialism is not merely an interesting theoretical concept... it is a dangerous political force, designed to shore up differences and inequalities, to sustain dominations’ (1998: 13). Related to these worries about gender essentialisms are concerns about how we count gendered and sexed bodies in the peace process and within the text of the peace agreement. If we count sexed bodies (i.e. women and men) this implies a prior assumption that men and women behave differently and have different characteristics to bring to the peace table. Furthermore, if men and women are identified differently in the peace agreement, it may presume that men and women are clearly identifiable identity categories needing particular treatment on the basis of the sex granted upon that body. Such an approach misses out the complexity of sexuality, race, disability, class and economic positionality, which often reinforce or interact with gender to shape how everyday life is experienced – a concept often referred to as intersectionality. Thus, one problem with counting sexed bodies is that we miss the complexity of the body and how bodies stick together to form identities.

Related to this, disappointment is sometimes expressed about the women who are present at peace negotiations: feminist civil society activists may point out that the women at negotiations are token women (as in the 2014 negotiations for Syria) or women who are not gender-sensitive (as in the 2006-7 negotiations between Serbia and Kosovo).² This raises broader questions about *which* female (or feminist) bodies can effect gender-positive outcomes in the peace agreement. As this paper will argue in the conclusions, there needs to be more research into the role of feminist civil society in shaping gender-positive outcomes in peace agreements and post-conflict constitutional settlements, as one possible means of developing a more subtle gender analysis.

Peace processes, agreements and post-conflict constitutional settlements: some starting points

At this point, a few definitions are needed to understand the myriad of ways in which we can think about the inclusion of gender in the peace process and peace agreement. First: a **peace process**. Normally, within post-conflict studies, a peace process refers to all attempts to making a peace – including peacebuilding, reconciliation and peacekeeping activities.³ However, in the context of scholarship exploring peace agreements, a peace process generally refers to all the agreements leading up to the final agreement. For instance, a single peace process in Guatemala produced 16 agreements between 1990 and 1996 (Anderson 2014: 6). There are some individual variations in how to count an agreement and what should be included as part of a peace process, which this paper discusses in more detail in the review of existing databases in part one of this working paper. However, in terms of thinking about the quantitative gender questions relating to a peace process, we might ask about how many females have been present during the process, or ask about the effects of early female inclusion upon the gender-sensitive provisions in the final peace agreement.

Second: a **peace agreement**. A peace agreement is usually described as a ‘consensual contract between some or all conflict protagonists to settle all or part of the incompatibility and regulate

² Interviews carried out by Laura McLeod with Igbale Rogova, Director, Kosovo Women’s Network: Pristine, Kosovo 3 June 2008 and Nela Porobic-Isaković, Project Coordinator: Women Organising for Change in Bosnia and Syria: Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina 19 June 2014.

³ **Post-conflict reconstruction** refers to broader processes of rebuilding a country following a violent conflict. **Peacebuilding** is ‘action undertaken at the end of a civil conflict to consolidate peace and prevent a recurrence of fighting’ (Paris 2004: 38). **Peacekeeping** refers to actively maintaining a truce or agreement between nations or communities.

future interaction, with a view to ending armed conflict' (Badran 2014: 194). At their most minimal, peace agreements can merely address the territorial issues deemed to have caused the war. However, increasingly many agreements aim to 'not only end bloodshed; they also seek to remake the state as a liberal democracy, replete with an emancipated role for women' (Anderson 2014: 1). As a result, many (but not all) peace agreements are all encompassing and may remake or establish the institutional structures for the peace, seeking to create long-term conflict prevention through state building – and these (new?) structures have ramifications for how gender is enacted and inscribed into the lives of the population said to be at peace.

And finally, a **post-conflict constitutional settlement** differs from a peace agreement in that the latter is usually broader and may address the disputes thought to have resulted in the war. However, there is no clear defining line between a peace agreement and a post-conflict constitutional settlement. Christine Bell asks if 'peace agreements really [are] treaties or are they really constitutions?' because of the mix of state, nonstate and international actors, laws and conventions that may occur in many agreements (2008, 17). Some constitution-building processes result in peace, such as the 1998 Good Friday Agreement for Northern Ireland and the 1996 South African constitution. Conversely, some peace agreements may include the new constitution for that state, as in the case of the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement that bought an end to the violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the new constitution formed annex four of the Dayton Peace Agreement.

The specific focus on women, gender and peace agreements or peace processes in this working paper means that it does not explore the inclusion of gender in post-war reconstruction, peacebuilding and peacekeeping contexts (although see Stiehm 2001; Gizelis 2009; 2013). Rather, it is the process of **post-conflict governance** which is the main focus in this working paper. Post-conflict governance incorporates ambitions to create a 'functioning government infrastructure at the central, regional, and municipal levels' (Ni Aolain et al 2011: 241). This work frequently begins with constitution-drafting. Post-conflict institution-building has a number of gender considerations, including how to incorporate women (descriptive representation) and how to achieve gender equality policy goals and the advancement of women's rights (substantive representation).

However, the processes of post-conflict institution-building, peacebuilding, peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction are extremely difficult to separate, and there are many overlaps. First, because the presence of international organisations in post-conflict contexts can mean that various institution-building processes are conflated with international peacekeeping and peacebuilding practices. For instance, the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) was tasked with not only peacekeeping duties but also with judicial, legislative and executive powers over the territory of Kosovo (UNMIK 2014), incorporating peacekeeping and post-conflict governance and reconstruction within its mandate. Second, because in many cases, building and keeping a sustainable peace can be reliant upon the development of institutions and governance structures and processes. For instance, in Northern Ireland, the creation of a new executive, legislative structure, government bureaucracy, police force and transitional justice mechanism has proved fruitful in maintaining a fairly stable peace.

Outline of paper

As this paper maintains that it is not possible to *know* gender in peacebuilding, since ‘gender’ is not a fixed and definite identity, this working paper seeks to unpack how ‘gender’ has been treated as a variable, and the consequences of these representations. To do this, it draws upon the growing body of research which undertakes comparative, cross-national large-n surveys about women and post-conflict settlements. This working paper aims to review this particular set of research in two discrete aspects. The first part of this paper reviews 11 databases, and addresses important considerations for methodological framing, and discusses the gender coding of these databases. The second part of this paper explores what the data shows about women’s involvement in peace processes, and the gendered outcomes of any settlements made. This is done in three ways: (a) by summarising and assessing existing data about female participation in the peace process, (b) by comparing different research projects that explore gendered outcomes of the peace settlement, and (c) by highlighting the quantitative exploration of the gendered effects of the women, peace and security resolutions, including UNSCR 1325. It concludes via a reflection upon the data and gender problems that affect how we can go about developing quantitative perspectives upon women and peace negotiations. At this point, it discusses how the analysis in this paper has policy ramifications and relevance.

Throughout the working paper, the focus is on the research making use of large-n⁴ survey data, and virtually excludes the use of qualitative material. This is slightly at odds with the scholarly literature that utilises quantitative methods, which tends to make use of qualitative case studies to support and illuminate analysis. Indeed, the best way of understanding and identifying the conditions for effective inclusion of gender issues in a peace agreement is to identify particular contexts and study them qualitatively. Certainly, much of the literature follows the warning of Bjarnegård and Melander (2013) that ‘any statistical relationship needs a compelling causal story to underpin it’. Thus, it may seem that this paper has stripped the research down to its pure quantitative barebones: this is a deliberate act in order to enable comparison of how the data has been used by different scholars, and allow a detailed exploration of how ‘gender’ has been quantified.

⁴ However, in the strictest sense of the term, these numbers – even the 589 agreements analysed by Bell and O’Rourke (2010), do not count as ‘large-n’ in statistical terms.

Part One: Review of Existing Databases

Eleven databases relating to peace agreements and post-conflict constitutional settlements have been identified. All of these are online in various forms, and can be used in various ways. As will become clear in the following analysis, they all make use of different categorisation processes with variables like time periods or definition of peace agreement. Many research projects draw upon a combination of these databases in order to retrieve the desired information for quantitative analysis. The discussion that follows is based upon two tables which consider, compare and contrast the eleven datasets. Table one illustrates the coverage and information provided by the database, as a means of directly comparing the differences between databases that might influence the selection criteria of a researcher. This particular comparison draws attention to the ways in which we conceptualise conflict and its resolution in a quantitative manner. Table two focuses on how ‘gender’ and ‘women’ have been conceptualised within the same eleven databases, as a means of allowing us to think through ways that gender is made possible and limited within quantitative scholarship. Taken together, these tables, and the corresponding analysis, interrogate how we might go about counting women ‘in’ or ‘out’ of peace agreements and post-conflict constitution-building, and raise broader questions about gender knowledge.

Part One begins with an overview of the databases to contextualise the discussion which follows. Attention then moves to important considerations in the construction of these databases. Here, I highlight some of the definitional issues that come to the fore in the construction of a database – for instance, how we define conflict, peace agreement and/or implementation – and point to how they might affect ways that gender is represented or thought about. Finally, I consider how ‘gender’ and ‘women’ have been coded across the eleven databases, specifically contrasting two databases, to highlight how they affect our understanding of gender differently.

A brief organisational note: The full names, website link and detailed information about each database can be found in appendix A. Each database has been allocated a number, listed in the left hand column of both tables one and two and appendix A. They all correspond and are used as a means of allowing faster identification.

(a) Overview of Databases

Eleven databases have been identified for discussion. They have been chosen because they all potentially shed light on post-conflict constitutions. However, as we can see in table one, they differ in terms of their temporal coverage, how peace agreements and conflicts are counted and defined, and what is considered as implementation. I discuss these in more detail in 1(b), below. The following paragraphs describe the eleven databases as a means of contextualising discussion for the rest of this working paper.

Two of the databases discussed were created by the United Nations (UN) as a reference tool for UN professionals working in post-conflict contexts. These include the *UN Peacemaker database* (2), which is supported by the UN Department of Political Affairs, the primary UN body responsible for mediation and diplomatic support in post-conflict contexts. The database contains at least 750 full-text documents and can be searched by a number of thematic issues, including gender. The other UN-based database is the *UN Women Constitutional Database* (9). While this database refers to all constitutional texts (rather than just post-conflict constitutions),

it is useful as a means of comparing how particular gender-sensitive provisions have been written across regions. Instead of displaying the full text, specific relevant provisions within the constitution are selected.

The *INCORE database* (11, *International Conflict Research Institute*) is a joint project of the United Nations University (Japan) and the University of Ulster (Northern Ireland). Based within the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Ulster, INCORE coordinates the related work of several departments, and thus includes a number of resources relating to peace agreements. These include a peace agreement database hosted by the Conflict Data Services (CDS), which provides pdfs of agreements, organised by region. INCORE also hosts the Peace Agreement Database of the Transitional Justice Institute (referred to in this working paper as the *TJI Database* (1)). This is a searchable database providing information on specific provisions by-and-large (but not exclusively) related to transitional justice concerns in peace agreements since 1990 (e.g. human rights, prisoner release, victims).

Other universities also host databases. For instance, Antwerp University (Belgium) hosts the *Peace Agreements Database on Power-Sharing and Human Rights* (4), which compares the provisions made across 82 peace agreements between 1989-2011 from 20 African countries related to the nature and pattern of human rights. A much bigger dataset is held by Uppsala University (Sweden), which runs the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) that includes 14 datasets related to peace and conflict studies. Most relevant to our curiosity about peace agreements is the *UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset* (3). This dataset is designed to enable studies about the relationship between the conflict and peace agreement via the merging of information across all the datasets held by the UCDP. The University of Notre Dame (USA) hosts the *Peace Accords Matrix (PAM)* (5), which differs from the others discussed so far in this working paper in that it focuses upon collecting data about the implementation of the peace agreement.

The United States Institute for Peace, in its *Peace Agreement Digital Collection* (6), is taken to be the most authoritative source of a peace agreement, given that it has strict criteria about inclusion: any texts must be verified by the signatories. The database is simply a full-text pdf collection of verified agreements. The remaining databases included in the analysis: *ConstitutionNet* (7); *Constitute* (8); and *PCWCR* (10), are all concerned with constitutions around the world, rather than specifically post-conflict constitutional settlements or peace agreements. However, they have been included because they contain information about constitutions that can be utilised to support investigations of post-conflict constitutions. Methodological decisions will need to be made by the researcher about what counts as post-conflict when using these databases.

All of these databases discussed, with the exception of PAM (5), focus on the text of the agreement. Therefore, there is little information about the process around producing that text: such as who participated, where the agreement was made, or the extent of civil society involvement. While this is changing – for instance the UN Department of Political Affairs is making some effort to track the number of women named as the lead envoy and mediator to UN-brokered talks (Data2x 2013: 45) - there are some enormous gaps in this area. As we will see in Part 2 of this paper, the lack of information about the process of producing the text of the peace

agreement has serious ramifications for how we can quantify the effects of female presence upon the peace agreement.

(b) Considerations: Coding, definitions and representations of gender

There are a number of methodological issues at stake in the construction of databases relevant to our curiosity about gender and peace agreements or post-conflict settlements. Many of these issues relate to how we define conflict, peace agreements and implementation, and have been widely discussed (see in particular Bell 2008: 46-76 and Eck 2005). To avoid reiterating this material, I have sought to focus on highlighting how methodological concerns might matter for how we analyse and understand gender. In this section, I explore how data presentation (or coding), definitions of 'peace agreement', and implementation all involve a particular set of considerations that represent gender in a particular way.

How is the database presented? Coding considerations

Few of these databases make use of highly formal quantitative coding, which is an approach that tends to reduce possible responses to numerical answers. The exception is PCWCR (10), which poses 141 specific questions like 'Does the preamble explicitly privilege or make a special appeal for group rights? 0) no 1) yes.' This kind of coding can obscure gender realities on the ground: for instance, from the example quoted, we cannot ascertain from the PCWCR database alone if female rights are explicitly appealed to in the preamble or not. UCDP (3) also uses some formal quantitative coding which is not gender-disaggregated.

However, the emphasis across most of the databases examined is very much upon content analysis where certain provisions made within the peace agreement and/or constitution is extracted and quoted in the database. Frequently coded issues include transitional justice and human rights provisions within the settlement, territorial arrangements, cultural concerns, and the provisions made for military arrangements (withdrawal of forces, DDR and so on). While the extraction of the relevant passage allows for a more nuanced analysis of how specific provisions are made for women, careful attention needs to be paid to the codebook to understand how content has been selected. As I will discuss in more detail in 1b (below), inherent in the methodology utilised to code 'women' and 'gender' are a number of assumptions about how it is possible to count gender and women.

Some quantitative analyses have been based upon researchers undertaking their own coding for certain variables. In this regard, the inclusion of a full text of the agreement is useful. Of particular interest here is a new database launched in September 2013 called Constitute (8) which includes fully searchable pdfs of almost all the current constitutions that exist. However, this particular database will not include all aspects of the peace process, and additional selection to identify post-conflict constitutions will be needed.

How the database has been presented matters for how we might think about gender. For instance a full-text document might allow us to understand how gender (or women) has been situated within the text of the agreement. Conversely formal or content coding could reveal causal patterns – but more gender-disaggregated data is needed to fill in gaps in our knowledge (see Data2x 2013: 42-47). Another aspect of database formation which affects how we might think about gender relates to how we conceptualise peace agreements.

Conceptualising peace agreements

As I have already suggested, peace agreements are tricky to define. Indeed, attempts to compare peace agreements are immediately faced with ‘the challenge that the term ‘peace agreement’ in fact has no core meaning’ (Bell 2008: 47). Certainly, there is no formal registration system (which international treaties are subject to) which to work with (Bell 2008: 54), and this means that it is all the more important to pay attention to the methodological choices made by the authors of the database. Factors such as temporal distance from conflict, understanding of ‘peace’ and what an ‘agreement’ could include all come into play (Bell 2008 47-53). Taken together this raises questions about how we define a ‘peace agreement’, which usefully chimes with much of the feminist scholarship which has doubts about the creation of a hard and fast line between ‘conflict’ and ‘post-conflict’ (Enloe 2010: 211-25; Handrahan 2004: 430-6; McLeod 2011: 596).

A specific conflict may be characterised by a number of peace agreements – particularly if the peace process is complex and involves interim agreements, informal talks, and agreements on the implementation of certain provisions and so on. For instance, the peace process for Guatemala included 16 linked peace agreements. This accounts for the separation of ‘number of agreements’ and ‘number of conflicts’ within table one. Additionally, there is no authoritative and official source of a peace agreement (Bell 2008: 54) and so the definition of what constitutes a peace agreement is variable. In Table One, I summarise the definitions each database operates with. The only database which specifically looks at the final peace settlement - which usually outlines institutional arrangements - is PAM (5), which only includes comprehensive peace agreements. Other databases take a broader perspective of the peace process. This can be important when it comes to considering references to gender within the peace agreement: where is gender mentioned? To what extent does early gender inclusion shape the final outcome? At what point in the process is it meaningful to include gender?

Understanding Implementation

Implementation of a peace agreement has become increasingly important. Some commentators, including Christine Bell, suggest that the aim of a peace agreement has shifted: even in the early 1990s, the agreement was viewed as the endpoint of the peace process, while ‘now the signing of a peace agreement appears as the start of an equally difficult process of social, physical, economic, legal and political reconstruction’ (2008: 7). Some peace agreements detail implementation strategies within the body of the comprehensive agreement, while others leave arrangements for a later date. This is especially the case when an issue is controversial, as in deliberations about the necessary transformations to the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), which was left until the Patten Commission reported in November 2001, establishing the Police Service of Northern Ireland. In these cases, the way in which a peace agreement has been classified is important: for instance, the TJI Peace agreement database (1) includes the Pattern Report as part of the peace process, while PAM (5) includes it as one of the markers of implementation. Some of the databases will only include implementation information on certain provisions, such as the Power Sharing and Human Rights database (7).

The only database containing information about the success of the implementation is PAM (5). For the creators of PAM, this is useful for ‘comparatively explaining why some peace processes succeed while others do not’ (Joshi and Darby 2013: 261). Each of the 51 different codes detailing the provisions includes details about the implementation status for up to ten years after the

signing of the accord (Joshi and Darby 2013: 261). For Joshi and Darby, ten years is enough to capture both progresses and setbacks in terms of achieving implementation goals (2013: 261). Data about implementation is retrieved from UN information outlets, but ‘too much reliance on UN-provided information could lead to biases because the UN tends to report its successes’ (Joshi and Darby 2013: 262). For this reason, they also draw upon information from LexisNexis to seek additional information on the provisions of a peace accord (Joshi and Darby 2013: 262).

Table One: Matrix of databases related to peace agreements and post-conflict constitution-building

| NAME OF DATABASE | YEARS COVERED | NUMBER OF PEACE AGREEMENTS | NUMBER OF CONFLICTS | CLASSIFICATION OF PEACE AGREEMENT | INFORMATION ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION | FULL TEXT OF DOCUMENT AVAILABLE? |
|------------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|---------------------|--|---|----------------------------------|
| (1) Peace Agreement Database: TJI | Since 1990 | 640 | 85 | All agreements setting a framework, including relevant legislation, constitutions, interim constitutions, constitutional amendments, or UN Security Council resolutions. | Yes: detail of enforcement mechanisms developed | No ⁵ |
| (2) UN Peacemaker | 1934 - | 376 | | Formal peace agreements and sub-agreements. Includes informal agreements and declarations, communiqués, joint public statements resulting from informal talks, agreed accounts of meetings, exchanges of letters and key outcome documents of conferences. | - | Yes: searchable pdf. |
| (3) UCDP Peace Agreement | 1989 - 2005 | 139 | | An agreement has to be signed by at least two opposing primary warring parties in an armed conflict, concerning an incompatibility: in effect solving, regulating or outlining a process for how to solve it. | Yes - Integration in army; DDR; Withdrawal of foreign forces; political arrangements; territorial arrangements; cultural and justice procedures | Yes. |
| (4) Power-Sharing and Human Rights | 1989- 2011 | 82 (Africa only) | 20 | | Yes – focus on power sharing; human, political and civil rights; transitional justice; humanitarian concerns. | Yes. |
| (5) PAM | 1989 - | 35 | 35 | Includes only comprehensive peace agreements. Defined as a written document produced through a process of negotiation. It is comprehensive in two dimensions: 1) the major parties in the conflict are involved in the negotiations process and 2) substantive issues underlying the | Yes – identifies 51 different provisions found in peace accords and provides annual information on | Some |

⁵ Rather, the TJI database presents selective information retrieved from peace agreements about how certain issues are treated.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|----|--|---|--------------------------------|
| | | | | dispute are included in the negotiation process. | the implementation status for each provision for a period of ten years. | |
| (6) USIP | 1942 - 2007 | 152 | 49 | | No. | Yes – verified versions only. |
| (7) ConstitutionNet | 1776 - | N/A – does not specifically relate to post-conflict contexts, but rather all constitution-building processes in the Americas, Asia and Africa. | | Covers all stages of the constitution building process: the preparatory phase, the drafting, adoption, and implementation of the new constitution. The collection includes constitutional laws, official reports, draft laws, stakeholder resolutions, minutes of key meetings, rules of proceedings in constituent assemblies and national conferences. | Yes. | Yes. |
| (8) Constitute | All constitutions currently in force. ⁶ | N/A – all current constitutions regardless of conflict. | | | No. | Yes – fully searchable pdfs. |
| (9) UN Women Constitutional Database | 1995 current constitutions. | N/A – all constitutions regardless of conflict. | | | No | No – selects relevant passage. |
| (10) PCWCR | Current constitutions | N/A – all current constitutions regardless of conflict. Focus on formal rules. | | | The formal rules established. | No. |
| (11) INCORE | 1976 - 1999 | 142 | 18 | Internally agreed settlements and externally imposed settlements. | Yes, limited detail for some countries. | Yes – incomplete. |

PAM draws upon what is described as ‘convenience data’ which relies upon information provided by people on the ground. This could include ‘testimonies presented to NGOs, UN Missions, or truth commissions, lists of airstrikes documented by observing them, text messages coming in from disaster-stricken areas, records collected by police forces during their daily duties, investigation records, and press reports, among many, many others’ (Price 2013). This is unsurprising, given the focus of PAM on implementation, which requires descriptive event-related data. However, it is recognised that ‘certain religious or ethnic groups within a population may be more (or less) inclined to report to certain agencies or non-governmental organizations’ (Price 2013). Related to this, events affecting the implementation success of a peace agreement (for instance, occurrences of gender-based and sexual violence), may go unreported or be silenced: and thus, we run the risk of missing significant gender-based data.

Furthermore, when thinking about implementation of the peace agreement, we should be mindful of Elisabeth Porter’s reminder that ‘women’s contributions to peacebuilding usually are informal, ad hoc and rarely part of formal peace processes, so their stories often drift, unacknowledged’ (Porter 2007: 1). That is, the efforts of female civil society in the resolution of conflict are not easily quantifiable. For instance, the Dayton Peace Agreement that ended the

⁶ Currently Constitute includes the constitution that was in force in September of 2013 for nearly every independent state in the world. Certain countries whose constitutional order consists of multiple documents, or whose constitutions are in transition, are temporarily omitted. The aim is to eventually include a version of every available constitution ever written since 1789.

fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina includes provisions for the return of refugees (GFA 1995: annex seven). It is often reported that achieving this has been problematic and ‘unsatisfactory’ (See database 5, PAM). But this misses how women and feminist organisations in Bosnia and Herzegovina have worked towards refugee return in a range of donor-sponsored and informal ways (Helms 2010). It is not that this data does not exist. Indeed, over the past two decades, scholarship capturing female peacebuilding efforts have proliferated (Enloe 2014: 364, fn 9 provides a short sample). Rather than saying that there is *no data* about female peacebuilding efforts, it would be more accurate to suggest that this information is not *included* or (perhaps more troubling), is not taken seriously enough to be considered for inclusion.

We can see that there are some concerns to be had about the claims to gender knowledge that these databases can offer, even where ‘gender’ is not explicitly at consideration. Gender is not neutral, even where gender does not appear to be at stake. Understanding gender-as-relational means recognising that gendered power relations affect the type of data included in the dataset. Maintaining gender-as-a-variable obscures the power relations at stake that shape what kind of data is included and what is considered to “count”. The information that the dataset has about implementation, or the definition used of a ‘peace agreement’ is profoundly and deeply gendered even if gender is not made explicit. This makes more sense if we understand databases as a text which produce and constitute meaning and knowledge, governing (and limiting) what is taken to be an important gender concern. For instance: the exclusion of peacebuilding practices considered to be informal has gendered ramifications about what “counts” as knowledge about implementation; how the database is presented delineates gender knowledge within that database; and the understanding of ‘peace agreement’ utilised by most of these datasets avoids difficult questions tackled by feminists about when the violence ends. The next section further explores how these 11 databases represent gender-as-a-variable, and how these representations further reinforce the existing ways in which we “know” gender.

(c) Comparison of Databases: Thinking about women and gender

Of particular interest here is how gender has been coded across these databases. Noticing this reveals the limitations and possibilities for how we might quantitatively understand ‘gender’ at moments of constitutional change. Table two (below) explores the same 11 databases and compares ways in which gender can be coded and searched for. Some databases do not have any form of gender coding simply because they are full-text databases. PCWCR (10), the most formal database examined here, does not include references to gender in its database.⁷ At the other extreme, the only database which is fully gendered (that is, the whole database is concerned with gender issues) is the UN Women database (9), where it is possible to search and compare all constitutions through a gender perspective (of course while some peace agreements are constitutions, not all constitutions are peace agreements). For some databases, it is possible to cross-tabulate references to women or gender against another indicator. For instance, PAM (5) allows comparison of ‘women’ against a number of topics. Comparing ‘constitutional changes’

⁷ The only exception to this is a question asking about antidiscrimination clauses in the preamble, where the codebook identifies ‘gender’ as one of the antidiscrimination indicators.

and ‘women’ indicate that seven⁸ comprehensive peace agreements have provisions relating to both. It is possible to then bring up qualitative data about what the original accord said about that provision and the implementation status of that particular provision within 10 years of signing of the accord.

Table Two: Matrix of gender coding in databases related to peace agreements and post-conflict constitution-building

| NAME OF DATABASE | GENDER OR WOMEN CAN BE SEARCHED FOR. | GENDER CAN BE MEASURED AGAINST OTHER INDICATORS | WOMEN CAN BE MEASURED AGAINST OTHER INDICATORS | CODING OF “WOMEN” AND “GENDER” TOGETHER |
|------------------------------------|--|---|---|--|
| (1) Peace Agreement Database: TJI | Yes. Word search of description and one of 18 issues addressed. | No. | Possible with own coding of women. | Yes. Women coded alongside gender balance/gender sensitivity/gender-based violence/widows/girls/rape and international legal instruments like CEDAW. |
| (2) UN Peacemaker | Yes – one of 18 thematic categories. | Yes – against regions, thematic categories and years. | Yes – against regions, thematic categories and years. | Yes. Thematic category “women and gender issues” includes references to Women/woman/female/ Girls/girl/wife/mother/ Lactation/sexual violence/rape/sex/ sexes/sexual/gender/gender equality. |
| (3) UCDP Peace Agreement | No | Possible with own coding of gender. | Possible with own coding of women. | N/A |
| (4) Power-Sharing and Human Rights | Women, yes. Gender, no. Dataset specifies relevant articles which mention women. | No. | Yes – related to power-sharing and human rights. | No. Content analysis identifies provisions with word “women”. |
| (5) PAM | Yes – “women” one of the 51 topics. | No. | Yes – against 50 selected topics. Very simple tables automatically created. | No. Coding refers to The protection of women's political, civil, economic, social, and cultural rights, including but not limited to: political participation and leadership, equal access to employment and fair wages, freedom of expression, access to health care and education, economic participation, property ownership, family life, and culture. |
| (6) USIP | N/A – meant to be a database containing verified texts of peace agreements. | | | |
| (7) | Yes – Gender coded as one of the issues | Yes – can search documents by date, | No. | No information on this |

⁸ These include Lomé Peace Agreement for Sierra Leone; Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi; Accra Peace Agreement for Liberia; Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement; Accord for a Firm and Lasting Peace for Guatemala; and the Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement.

| | | | | |
|---|--|--|-----|-----|
| ConstitutionNet | that can search by. | language, author and document type and region. | | |
| (8) Constitute | N/A –a database of fully searchable pdfs. | | | |
| (9) UN Women Constitutional Database | Searchable database that looks at constitutions specifically through a gender lens. Themes include: Equality, Non-discrimination, Rights of Women, Public Authorities, Institutions and Services, Political Participation and Freedom of Association, Citizenship and Nationality, Education, Employment, Equal Before the Law, Marriage and Family Life, Status of Religious/Customary Law, Status of International Law (including Human Rights Law), Limitations and Derogations, General Human Rights Duties, Right to Property/Inheritance, and Reproductive Rights. | | | |
| (10) PCWCR | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| (11) INCORE | No | No | No | No. |

Inherent in the methodology utilised to code ‘women’ and ‘gender’ are a number of assumptions about how it is possible to count gender and women. These assumptions may limit the possibilities for how we can understand the role of feminist transformation. As will become clear, these databases are (with the exception of the TJI database(1)) configured upon a set of assumptions about what ‘women’ means. For instance, as table two (above) indicates; many databases collapse ‘women’ and ‘gender’, suggesting that gender is synonymous with women. More worryingly, the very way in which gender is coded across these databases confine our understanding of women as mothers or as victims. Such classifications reproduce essentialist images of women-as-naturally-peaceful, assuming that a feminisation of peace negotiations will produce ‘better’ peace. To think through these worries, I will compare the TJI (1) and UN Peacemaker (2) databases to reflect on the boundaries constructed around gender knowledge as a consequence of how these datasets are coded.

The two databases have been selected as they have radically contrasting representations of ‘gender’ and ‘women’ within their coding which is not immediately apparent. Thus, they provide a useful entry point into thinking about how gender-as-a-variable has been contrasted differently. Furthermore, the UN Peacemaker database claims on its website to be a tool to ‘support peace-making and mediation professionals’ and so paying attention to how it conceptualises gender is important in terms of reflecting upon policy practice.

The TJI database has ‘women’ as one of its issue areas that you can select from a drop-down list. The codebook defines women as a reference to ‘provisions specifically addressing women, their inclusion, and their rights’. The UN Peacemaker database has ‘women and gender issues’ as one of their thematic categories that can be selected. This may include references to:

Women, woman, female, girls, girl, wife, mother, lactation, sexual violence, rape, sex, sexes, sexual, gender, gender equality.

On the face of it they both pull out all the peace agreements that refer to women. So, what is the problem? The problem is that women-as-a-variable is treated in very different ways and this affects how we conceptualise women within the text of the peace agreement.

First, the UN Peacemaker database collapses ‘gender’ and ‘gender equality’ with ‘women’s issues’ which reflects the way that ‘gender’ is frequently equated with ‘women’ within post-conflict reconstruction and development discourse. This is not just a matter of lazy thinking. It is more than just a definitional issue about ‘getting gender right’ (Zalewski 2013: 40), or

understanding how gender is different to sex. It is a matter of power and how these interchangeable assumptions limit our understanding of gender and sexuality. Furthermore, such conceptualisations also have implications for how we conceptualise men (who also have a gender!). The complexity of gender becomes completely silenced. By equating gender as ‘meaning’ women, the UN Peacemaker dataset reflects the organisational logics of current UN discourse on gender and peace operations: that is, there is no departure from the ‘confines of modernity’ (see Väyrynen 2004). The aim is not to ‘think anew or critically the structures that have rendered gender silent in the first place,’ but rather, to ‘add the gender element to the existing state-centred and patriarchal practices of conflict resolution and peacebuilding’ (Väyrynen 2004: 138). Thus, the collapse of ‘gender’ and ‘women’ actually serves to shore up existing patriarchal and essentialist gender binaries and assumptions, silencing the complexity of gender and sexuality.

Second, the UN Peacemaker database reinforces a range of heteronormative assumptions about gender needs and family arrangements. The inclusion of references to ‘wife, mother and lactation’ within the UN Peacemaker database serves to reinforce assumptions about female roles, placing the woman firmly as a wife and mother. Not only does this sustain essentialising images reinforcing sexual difference, but referring to the role of wife and mother means that we confine women and gender considerations to these roles. More research is needed to analyse how ‘wife’ or ‘mother’ is used in peace agreements and to uncover how the language of these provisions affect women. It may be that these peace agreements are attempting to recast the long-term role of women in the state by including provisions to – amongst others – raise the age of marriage or to make certain healthcare demands relating to childbirth. In this case, the language of ‘wife’ and ‘mother’ would count as a gain for women’s rights and the achievement of gender-justice. But, perhaps there is a case for the UN Peacemaker database to develop more nuanced coding for gender-related concerns. Separating all of the different words that are counted as ‘women and gender issues’, and enabling us to search for just ‘wife’ or just ‘women’ would allow for more sophisticated data.

One issue with coding ‘women’ relates to how to include provisions such as sexual and gender-based violence, as this does not relate to women only. Both the TJI and UN Peacemaker datasets code sexual and gender-based violence as a reference to ‘women’. Bell and O’Rourke (2010: 952) defend this decision for the TJI database by pointing out that references to sexual violence tend to occur in the peace processes where violence against women was a feature of the conflict. Thus, the ‘failure to code as a mention of women would be to fail to recognise that violence against women was the primary motivating factor for the provision’ (Bell and O’Rourke 2010: 952). That is, the inclusion of sexual and gender-based violence as part of the coding for “women” within the TJI database is in response to the understanding that such provisions are made within peace settlements in reaction to a widespread horror that such crimes have been committed against women, and therefore rights should be established for women in peace.

Some consideration of the methodology surrounding ‘gender’ and ‘women’ suggest that we cannot take these labels at face value. Some databases simply pull out all provisions relating to ‘women’ while paying uncritical attention to how women have been referenced. This can be problematic, as Christine Bell and Catherine O’Rourke suggest, qualitative analysis of the content needs to be conducted in order to assess how substantive and meaningful these references to

women are in terms of outcomes (2010: 955). Certainly, in the ITJ database, the codebook defines women as a reference to ‘provisions specifically addressing women, their inclusion, and their rights’: there is a focus on selecting provisions that seek to contribute to gender equality. The content of the reference to ‘women’ or ‘gender’ in the peace settlement matters enormously: some references could be about rolling back women’s rights and yet they will be “counted” alongside the references aimed at achieving gender equality or justice. This acts a reminder that the raw data should not be accepted at face value, and that content-based or full-text databases may offer more meaningful data in terms of allowing us to understand how ‘women’ or ‘gender’ have been referred to.

Summary of Part One

Part one has sought to unpack the databases that are frequently used for quantitative analysis about peace agreements. Eleven databases have been explored to better understand how gender-as-a-variable has been constructed and the ramifications of these representations. Thinking critically about how women/gender has been coded reveals that datasets contribute to the way in which boundaries are placed around the production of gender knowledge and how we “know” gender in peace processes. Without paying attention to how ‘gender’ has been conceptualised, we may fall into the trap of essentialism and fail to challenge the organisational logics that sustain patriarchy and confine women to certain roles. Such an approach could leave certain vulnerable groups untouched, and serve to disrupt the process of building a long-term peace. There has been much research highlighting how a more gender-relational approach to peacekeeping and peacebuilding policy can develop a more meaningful and sustainable peace (Myrtilinen et. al. 2014). I believe that this process begins with the peace agreement, which often establishes the basis from which peacebuilding and peacekeeping will operate from. The development of the language of peace agreements does not occur in a vacuum: these databases contribute to the “knowledge” that we have about gender and peace agreements. Thus, it is important to pay critical attention to how gender-as-a-variable has been conceptualised.

Related to these questions about how gender-as-a-variable has been constructed are considerations about how these different constructions of gender come about. It would be too easy to say that databases put together by gender-sensitive or feminist scholars and organisations respond to the complexity of gender. There are a number of affective, institutional and ideological aspects that cast a particular representation of gender into existence. For instance, institutions like the United Nations are constrained by decades of discourses limiting and making possible a specific meaning of ‘gender’. Furthermore, within the UN ‘there are limitations on what you say because you have to work within a specific mandate and you cannot risk your project by taking the critical perspective that you could as an academic ‘ (Goetz 2014: 341). Looking at why the databases have developed ‘gender’ in different ways would require far more research, paying attention to a wide range of institutional discourses, affective practices and ideological subjectivities that come into play in shaping a database and how ‘gender’ is treated as a variable.

Areas for further development:

- Further disaggregation of data on ‘women’, ‘men’, ‘sexuality’, ‘wife’, ‘mother’, ‘gender’ and so on in order to better capture the complexity of gender.

- Attention needs to be paid to how the categories of 'wife' and 'mother' have been treated in peace agreements to identify in more detail the extent to which the language challenges principles of gender-justice and equality.
- To collect information about the process of producing an agreement, in particular gender-disaggregated data about participation.
- Understanding the range of institutional, affective and ideological practices that shape the meanings of 'gender' within a database.

Part Two: Women and Peace Agreements

Public surveys of people's perceptions about male and female participation in peace activism suggest that people feel that women are more peaceable than men (Tessler and Warriner 1997).⁹ However, as John Brewer (2010: 77) points out, this should come as 'no surprise, for social surveys tap into social stereotypes and reproduce socially constructed gender roles'. There is, of course, a wide debate about representations of women in relation to peace and peacebuilding (see Sylvester 2002: 207-23 for an overview). We know that not all women are passive-maternal-peace-lovers. We know that women can be violent during and after war (see Sjoberg and Gentry 2007 for an overview). We also know that we should not fall into the trap of thinking that women, by the virtue of their sex, can bring particular characteristics to peace negotiations. I will return to these gender troubles in more detail in the conclusions. For now, the analysis in this part of the working paper aims to highlight and overview the ways in which the claim that women bring specific benefits to the peace table has been quantitatively tested.

The focus in Part Two is on describing and reviewing the scholarly literature that uses quantitative research to understand the various relationships between women and peace processes and agreements. The aim of this descriptive overview is to identify areas for further quantitative research into the role of women (not gender) in peace agreements and processes. Quantitative scholarship currently hones in on three areas:

- 1) Understanding female involvement and participation in negotiation processes and any effects that can be noted.
- 2) How women have been referred to in the text of the peace agreement and how this is said to have affected outcomes for post-conflict governance and the lives of women.
- 3) How UNSCR 1325 has changed outcomes for women within peace agreements and peace processes.

The analysis below takes these three areas as the starting point. In the conclusions to this working paper, I evaluate this scholarship in the context of the arguments that I have outlined in the introduction and Part one about understanding gender-as-relational.

(a) Women's Involvement in Negotiation Processes

Upon taking up her post as Chief Advisor for Peace and Security at UN Women, Anne Marie Goetz¹⁰ wanted to concentrate on 'strengthening the evidence base' to demonstrate the extent of the problems faced by women, addressing

assertions being made that were not backed by data, such as "women are excluded from peace talks." Well, nobody had any data on that. What kind of peace talks and which peace talks? What are the consequences of exclusion?

(Goetz 2014: 338)

Much of the research which aims to draw a connection between female participation at the peace negotiations and tangible outcomes in the settlement tends to be narrative and focus on

⁹ However, this hypothesis does not hold statistically significant in the Middle East, particularly in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict (Tessler, Nachtwey and Grant 1999).

¹⁰ Anne Marie Goetz left UN Women in January 2014.

single or comparative case studies. Cross-national large-n survey data in this area still remains somewhat limited, and has mostly been carried out by UN Women in response to Anne Marie Goetz's insistence that this was an area to pay attention to. A 2010 study conducted by Pablo Castillo-Diaz and Simon Tordjman for UN Women reviewed 21 major peace processes since 1992, and found that:

- 2.4% of signatories to peace agreements were women;
- Women were absent as chief or lead negotiators;
- Women accounted for an average of 5.9% of the negotiating delegations in the ten cases for which this detailed information was available.

A later UN Women report, published in 2012, looked at 31 major peace processes since 1992. The report found that for the 17 cases where information was available, women made up 9% of the negotiating delegations and accounted for just 4% of signatories. The slight increase between 2010 and 2012 can be accounted for mostly as a result of the Oslo negotiations regarding the Philippines, where 33% of signatories were women and 35% of the delegations were female. Women remained mostly absent as chief negotiators, making up just 2.4% of all chief mediators, for just 3/31 peace processes analysed (UN Women 2012: 3-5). It is early days, but perhaps there is a slight upward trend here: during 2013, two high-profile peace agreements had female lead negotiators. An April 2013 agreement between Serbia and Kosovo was bought about by Catherine Aston, an EU mediator. At the end of 2013, Nigeria Renteria, the former presidential advisor on women's rights; and Maria Paulina Riveros, previously the head of the human rights

division, were both appointed to the Colombian government's chief negotiating team for talks in Havana, Cuba.

With regard to the two Colombian women, it is important to note that they held key positions in the government. My own research into the negotiation processes that resulted in the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement that ended the violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina has highlighted that women were excluded.

Modalities of Participation (UN Women 2010: 5-10)

1. As mediators or as members of mediation teams.
2. As delegates of the negotiating parties.
3. As all-female negotiating parties representing a women's agenda.
4. As signatories.
5. As witnesses.
6. As representatives of women's civil society with an observer role.
7. In a parallel forum or movement.
8. As gender advisors to mediators, facilitators or delegates.
9. As members of technical committees, or a separate table or working group devoted to gender issues.

Many activists believe that one reason for this is the lack of women in formal politics following the first free multiparty elections in 1990, where just 2.9% of the People's Assembly of the Republic of BiH were women (a fall from 27%).¹¹ As a result, there were no women within elite and

¹¹ Interview, Jasna Baksic-Muftic, Sarajevo, 10 July 2014. The figures are extracted from Besima Boric "Application of Quotas: Legal Reforms and Implementation in

formal politics who could be involved. Putting aside questions about who should ethically be “at the table”, or queries about the lack of civil society inclusion, there is scope to carry out research into the correlation between pre-war and wartime female presence in formal politics, and their subsequent role in the negotiation process.

There are a number of roles that are involved in the peace negotiation process. UN Women describe nine different roles, summarised in the text box above (I would also add lawyers and those who draft the discussion documents). These roles have varying ranges of influence and public visibility – and could result in different types of gender outcomes. For instance, women acting as witnesses are unlikely to wield significant influence, compared to women as chief negotiators. Thinking about these categories is one way of avoiding a fixation on token women, as these various types of participation remind us of the variety of ways in which it is possible to participate in a peace process.

Table Three: Summary of gender-disaggregated data on modalities of participation (Extracted From UN Women 2012: 7-11).

| | |
|---|--|
| As mediators or as members of mediation teams. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The UN has never officially appointed a woman to be the chief mediator of a peace process. • In 2011, the UN was the co-lead mediator in 14 conflicts, 4 of which resulted in an agreement. In these processes, women experts were included in 12/14 mediation support teams. |
| As delegates of the negotiating parties. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 17 peace processes reviewed since 1992, women account for 9% of negotiating delegations. |
| As signatories. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2.4 % when looking at 21 peace processes between 1992 and 2008. • 4% when looking at 31 peace processes between 1992 and 2012. |

However, data about participation is extremely limited. Table three (above) summarises the quantitative findings of UN Women (2012) about the different modalities of participation. While the UN report focussed upon providing case study examples of each modality of participation, it is clear that the gender-disaggregated data that exists about different types of participation remains uneven. Research in the future could more systematically compare levels of gender inclusion across various modalities of participation, and shed light upon which role is most important for influencing outcomes.

Another important area of participation is the role of feminist and women’s civil society. Civil society activists could take a wide range of roles in the peace process: as representatives or partners to key negotiators in the formal (Track I) peace talks, or during Track II talks that seek to influence the outcome via lobbying and advocacy. Bell and O’Rourke (2007: 306) argue that it is tricky to research civil society involvement ‘given the multiple variables involved and difficulties of definition’. However, they go on to suggest that there is potential for further research, perhaps via ‘a mid-level analysis in the quasi-constitutional interpretation of peace agreements’ (Bell and O’Rourke 2007: 306). Furthermore, given that UNSCR 1325, 1889 and 2122 all urge for

Bosnia and Herzegovina” Paper presented at the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)/CEE Network for Gender Issues Conference: Budapest, Hungary, 22–23 October 2004.

the inclusion of female civil society in the peace process, it would be interesting to track the way in which normative statements by the UN Security Council has affected the likelihood of female and feminist civil society inclusion in the negotiation process.

As already stated, much of the existing scholarship that explores female participation in the peace process itself tends to be focussed on single-case studies, perhaps written by those involved in the process themselves (for instance, Fearon 1999). However, even studies which systematically assess other aspects of gender inclusion in peace agreements tend to stick to qualitative examples of female participation. Part of the reason for this is that women’s participation in peace processes is remarkably uneven over time even for the same set of peace processes– and this is true of the men who participate too, as negotiators come and go depending on the matters under discussion. This makes it very tricky to obtain stable figures. For instance, Tatjana Ljubic-Mijatovic, a female member of the Bosnian Presidency during the 1991-5 war, directly participated in two peace talks during 1993, supported the organisation of talks in 1994, but lobbied against the proposals involved in the Dayton Peace Agreement of 1995, and so was not involved in the Dayton negotiations (Pejanović 2004: 181, 211). It is, in this regard, much easier to quantitatively examine the textual provisions made within the agreements, but until accurate figures about female participation in the peace process can be obtained, it is not possible to test the relationship between female presence and gender outcomes.

But why is thinking about *who participates* so important? Can we measure any kind of relationship between who participates and the gender effects of this involvement? Sahla Aroussi (2011b: 192-202) explored the extent to which the involvement of different actors in peace negotiations since

Table Four: Summary of relationships between actor involvement and inclusion of female – related provisions Based upon 112 peace negotiations between October 2000 and December 2008, data retrieved from

Aroussi 2011b: 194-201. Aroussi utilises a crosstabulation followed by the Chi-Square test of association, a test designed to determine whether two variables measured on nominal or categorical scales are related (2011b: 193). The Chi-square test determines how statistically significant the relationship is.

| Who is the actor? | How many agreements are these actors involved in? | How many peace agreements with actor mention women? | Percentage of peace agreements with actor mentioning women. | Percentage of peace agreements without actor mentioning women. | Statistically significant relationship? |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|--|---|
| United Nations | 43 | 25 | 58.1% | 34.8% | Yes |
| Regional Actor | 81 | 35 | 43.2% | 45.2% | No |
| Western Democracies | 36 | 18 | 50% | 40% | No |
| Women’s Participation | 18 | 14 | 77.8% | 37.2% | Yes |

2000 has resulted in references to women in the agreement. It should be noted that she does not quantify how many bodies “acted” as the actor, but rather looks at how many peace agreements included at least one member of that particular actor category. She found that where the UN was

present or where women participated; there was a significantly increased chance that the peace agreement would make at least one reference to women. However, this does not address questions about the frequency, significance or meaningfulness of references to women within the peace agreement. The next section tackles these questions.

(b) Gendered Outcomes of Post-Conflict Constitutional Settlements

Much of the quantitative research that has looked at women and peace agreements has investigated how women are referenced, and what increases the likelihood of gender-just provisions being made in the final settlement. There is also some limited research exploring the relationship between female participation and gender-just outcomes, and the long-term ramifications of the gender provisions made within the peace agreement. Addressing these last two questions enable a sustained investigation of the claim that female presence at the negotiation table produces tangible gender gains in the post-conflict context.

Counting references to women in peace agreements

To date, there are only three studies which comprehensively assess how women are referred to in the peace agreement. They include:

- Miriam Anderson (2014), who asks why there are so many references to women included in contemporary peace agreements as a means of asking how these references reflect international women's rights norms.
- Christine Bell and Catherine O'Rourke (2010), who investigate how references to women changed after UNSCR 1325 was passed in October 2000.
- Aroussi (2011b), who seeks to assess the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in peace agreements.

Comparing these three studies reveal the effects of methodological differences, but also, highlights some notable overlaps which is significant given that they use different timeframes and datasets. Table five (below) provides some comparative details about the three studies.

Let's start with the figures that are strikingly similar. Across all three studies, we can see that at least one-third of the time, women are referenced at least once during each peace process (40%, 34% and 39% respectively). As a reminder: a peace process refers to all the agreements and steps taken to reach the final agreement, while a peace agreement refers to a consensual agreement aimed at ending the conflict. That is, when all the agreements that make up a single peace process are put together, between 34 and 40 per cent of all peace processes will reference women at least once.

How this finding is interpreted relates to the way in which it is utilised to frame the question asked. For Anderson, that 40% of peace processes since 1989 include a reference to women is a finding indicative of a growing norm that is a departure from previous practice (2014: 8). Anderson points out that prior to 1989, there were virtually no references to women in peace agreements at all (2014: 3), and so the rapid increase to 40% is a norm worth investigating.

In contrast, Aroussi believes that 'gender is far from being mainstreamed' (Aroussi 2011b: 160). Aroussi's slightly more pessimistic position arises from her investigation into the quality and quantity of references to women. While she found that at least 34% of the 35 peace processes

that took place between 2000 and 2008 made some mention of women (2011b: 143-58), she found that 12 conflicts made no mention of women *at all* (Aroussi 2011b: 157-8). In looking at the actual frequency with which women are mentioned across all 112 peace agreements, she found that out of the 49 peace agreements that do mention women, 23 of them have *only one mention of women* (2011b: 160). However, there are a few outliers: most notably, the Darfur Peace Agreement with a total of 68 references (Aroussi 2011b: 160). Thus, we can conclude that while women are increasingly more likely to be referenced in peace agreements, these references remain extremely limited. Later on in this working paper, I will explore in more detail the changes that UNSCR 1325 is said to have made to the way in which women are referenced in peace agreements.

Table Five: Comparison of References to women in Peace Agreements (drawing upon Anderson 2014; Aroussi 2011b; Bell and O’Rourke 2010).

| | Percentage of references to women within the sample of peace agreements | Number of peace agreements included in sample. | Number of peace processes in sample (number of conflict situations). | Number of peace processes producing agreements which mention women (number of conflict situations). | Date range of sample. | Database used. |
|------------------------|---|--|--|---|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Anderson 2014 | 28% | 135 | 55 | 40% | 1989-2005 | UCDP (3) |
| Aroussi 2011b | 44% | 112 | 35 | 34% | October 2000 – December 2008 | UN Peacemaker (2) and USIP (6) |
| Bell and O’Rourke 2010 | 16% | 585 | 102 | 39% | January 1990 – May 2010 | TJI (1) |

Christine Bell and Catherine O’Rourke found that 39% of peace processes produced agreements that referred to women. However they focus on their finding that just 16% of peace agreements make a reference to women. This is why it matters to pay attention to how a peace agreement is defined – they investigate a total of 585 peace agreements between 1990 and 2010. Compare this to Anderson, who looks at 135 peace agreements in a not entirely dissimilar time period: she finds that 28% of peace agreements make a reference to women. Anderson uses the UCDP database, which has a strict definition of a peace agreement, and so there are fewer documents that are counted. Especially interesting is how this data is used and presented: the analysis that Anderson undertakes is based on the 40% figure (that women are mentioned in each peace process), while the exploration undertaken by Bell and O’Rourke is based upon the 16% figure (relating to references in peace agreements). This is not a matter of methodological inconsistency, but rather a result of normative judgements made in the process of framing the question. Anderson is

interested in the establishment of a norm – and indeed, she points out that she has not identified any references prior to 1989 (2012: 352), while Bell and O’Rourke are interested in how the number of overall references to gender changed after UNSCR 1325. The questions are framed differently, and so it follows that different interpretations of the data are deemed to be more appropriate.

Back to the analysis by Bell and O’Rourke, who find that only 16% of peace agreements since 1990 make a reference to women. This is all the more astonishing when we remember that this ‘includes all references to women, including those which limited rather than furthered equality, and those with only one small provision’ (Bell and O’Rourke 2010: 955). This is alarming and further research is needed to ascertain how many of these references to women limited equality and how. But, perhaps unwittingly, through their focus on peace agreements rather than peace processes Bell and O’Rourke raise another point about gender mainstreaming. Genuine and meaningful gender mainstreaming should mean that a gender perspective is adopted in *all* aspects of the peace process. That is, nothing should be taken to be gender-neutral. Given that Bell and O’Rourke are making use of a broader definition of a peace agreement (as opposed to the final agreed text), this is an even more damning indication that gender (equated with women) is only being referenced in certain ways.

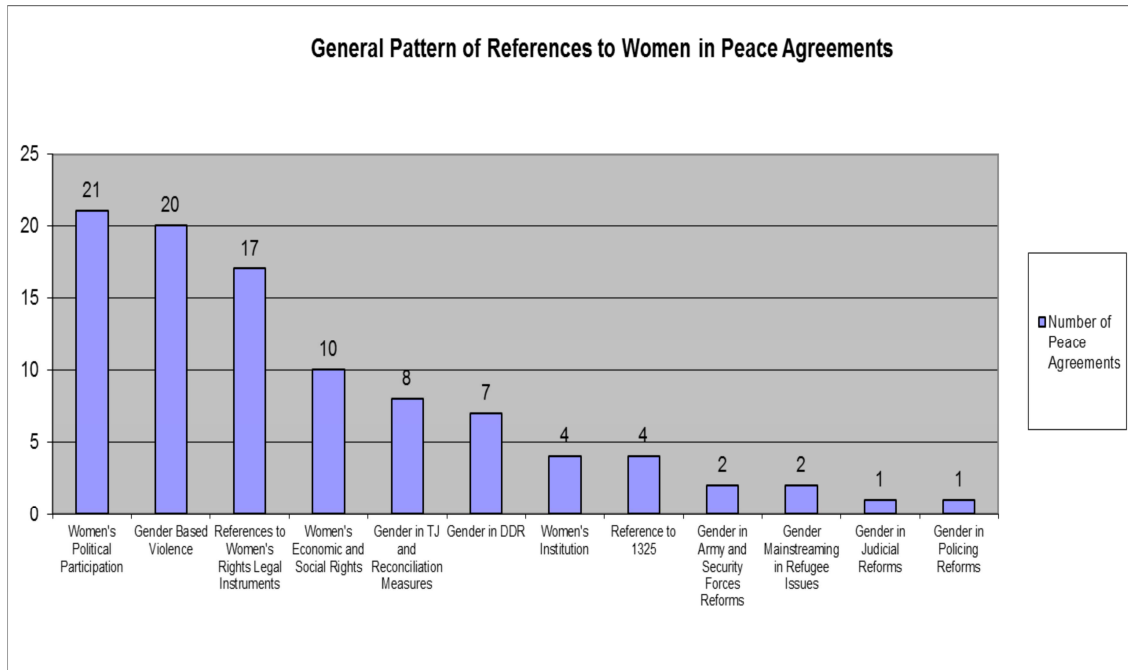
This raises the next question I ask: *how* are women referred to in peace agreements? Women could be referenced simply through the inclusion of an anti-discrimination clause prohibiting discrimination on the basis of gender, or references could be more far-reaching and seek to reshape gender relations within the state. A simple reference to women does not necessarily translate into gender justice or equality.

To better understand this, Aroussi investigates the general pattern of references to women in the 49 peace agreements between 2000 and 2008 that mention women (see graph one, below). The graph indicates that the two highest coded categories of references to women in peace agreements are for women’s political participation and for gender-based violence (Aroussi 2011b: 177). Just two agreements paid attention to women in security and defence sector reforms, and just one noticed women in relation to judicial or policing reforms (Aroussi 2011b: 177). The implication here is that there is a view that certain issues can be gendered, while others can not be.

Qualitative research has indicated that issues that are considered gender-neutral are not. For instance, Megan MacKenzie in her research on former girl soldiers and international DDR processes in Sierra Leone found that many policies were gender-blind and did not account for the specific problems often faced by female ex-combatants (2012). There are also concerns voiced by feminists that peacemakers are failing to address female social and economic rights, and in particular their access to resources (Chinkin 2004). The data supports the claim that “easy” or “conventional” gender concerns (gender-based violence, political participation) occur more frequently in post-conflict settlements than other issues which might be relevant to women – from DDR processes to policing reforms. Certainly, qualitative reviews of peace agreements (for instance, Bell and O’Rourke 2010: 959-68) have found that

many of the references to women are ‘unsubstantial’ and ‘at best, ambiguous in terms of feminist gains’. It certainly does seem that gender is far from being mainstreamed.

Graph One: General Pattern of References to Women in Peace Agreements (Retrieved from Aroussi 2011b: 176.)



What kinds of hopes do these references to women indicate? Many peace agreements are written with the hope and anticipation of refashioning the state to craft a peace which is not only stable and sustainable, but also that might encompass (apparently) modern, liberal values. In what way do references to women within the peace agreement envisage changes to the role of women in the state? Miriam Anderson looked at 135 peace agreements between 1989 – 2005, and looked at how many made references to women directly related to the conflict, transition or long-term reconstruction processes (2012: 346-8). She found that seven peace agreements looked directly to the conflict, and made references to women in relation to sexual violence, demobilisation and humanitarian assistance (Anderson 2012: 346). A further ten agreements made references to women relating to the transition period: for instance in terms of positive discrimination or quotas for women in transitional institutions (Anderson 2012: 346). Some of these transitional provisions may include broader non-discrimination clauses about equal treatment (Anderson 2012: 346). And finally, Anderson found that 28 of the 135 peace agreements made references to women in relation to the creation and affirmation of long-term goals for gender justice: from equality provisions (like the establishment of electoral quota for the new legislatures) or significant legislative changes to marriage, land/housing or healthcare laws (2012: 346-7). As Anderson points out, references to women ‘go far beyond simply addressing issues directly related to conflict’ (2012: 348), and indeed, most references to women seek to alter women’s long-term role in the state.

What factors make it more likely that women's rights are included in a peace agreement?

Quantitative work assessing the conditions under which references to women, and more specifically, to women's rights are included in a peace agreement is still in its early stages.

Type of agreement

In terms of looking at the variations between different types of agreements – including a cessation of hostilities; comprehensive agreements; interim agreements; implementation agreements – there appears to be no statistically significant difference (Aroussi 2011b: 159).¹² That is, it seems that references to women are not shaped by the type of agreement. This finding is also corroborated by Anderson's analysis, which uses a different time frame (Anderson 2014: 152-155).

Third Party-Involvement

Both Anderson (2014) and Aroussi (2011b) tested for the relationship between presence of women's rights in the peace agreement and third-party involvement. I discuss Aroussi's findings in more detail above, but as already discussed, Aroussi found the relationship to be statistically significant in the case of UN involvement. However, it is not clear how many of these references refer to already-existing international gender or gender-sensitive human rights provisions (such as CEDAW, UNSCR 1325, Beijing Platform). For instance, the Dayton Peace Agreement references gender via the inclusion of gender-related international legal statements, but does not refer to gender in other ways.

Anderson does not find a statistically significant relationship between the presence of an international actor and presence of women's rights within the text of the agreement (2014: 153). This finding is very different to that of Aroussi. However, it is difficult to compare like-for-like in this case as Anderson does not distinguish between different types of international involvement, while Aroussi disaggregates between UN involvement, regional actors and western democracies.

Conflict length

For Anderson, the *only* statistically significant variable (that she tested) which increases the likelihood of references to women in the peace agreements was conflict length (2014: 151). That is, there is a significant correlation between the length of a conflict and likelihood that women's rights are present in the final peace agreement. Indeed, Anderson found that for every additional year of the conflict, it became 3.8% more likely that women's rights would be included in the peace settlement (2014: 151). It may be the case that while longer conflicts result in more social rupture, they also enable a space for the development of a more coherent feminist and women's organising, and international links and support networks (Anderson 2014: 151).

The issue of conflict length becomes more intriguing when we look at the quantitative literature exploring new constitutions in general. Aili Marie Tripp compared post-conflict constitutions against new constitutions in general in Africa since 1995. She found that post-conflict constitutions in African countries are *more likely* to include gender-positive clauses than other

¹² Note that pre-negotiation agreements are excluded here: Aroussi's database only has one pre-negotiation agreement (out of a total of 112 peace agreements) which is too limited to reach a statistically meaningful position from.

new constitutions in Africa since 1995 (2013: 1-10). Table six (below) compares female-positive clauses across 27 new constitutions that have been written in African countries since 1995, 19 of them in post-conflict countries. Indeed, the only provision where the transitional context did not seem to matter was in relation to labour rights. Tripp suggests that the issue of labour rights is less controversial than (for instance) customary law (2013: 10). Furthermore, it is the only issue upon which women’s movements in Africa do not appear to have organised around (Tripp 2013: 9). While Tripp’s analysis is regionally specific to Africa, when put in the context of Anderson’s finding that conflict length matters in terms of increasing the likelihood that women’s rights will be included, it seems that the post-conflict moment is indeed a potential constitutional moment where references to women’s rights are more likely.

Table Six: Comparison of female-positive clauses in new constitutions in Africa since 1995 (Data extracted from Tripp 2013: 7-10).

| Constitutional Clauses | % of post-conflict constitutions including this clause | % of non-post-conflict constitutions including this clause |
|------------------------|--|--|
| Equality | 100 | 85 |
| Customary law | 74 | 31 |
| Anti-discrimination | 83 | 46 |
| Violence Against Women | 26 | 8 |
| Quotas | 31 | 12 |
| Citizenship rights | 30 | 8 |
| Labour rights | 39 | 39 |

But what these findings allude to is that feminist and women’s organising during (and perhaps before) the conflict is important to the final outcome. When comparing the three cases considered in the *Understanding Institutional Change: A Gender Perspective* project: Northern Ireland, South Africa and Bosnia-Herzegovina this becomes much more apparent. In Northern Ireland and South Africa, there was a longer history of feminist and women’s organising, and they were able to mobilise quickly when negotiations were announced (see Fearon 1999; and Sheila Meintjes in McLeod and Johnson 2014: 355). Both of these cases are often held up as examples of female and feminist inclusion in the negotiation process, and are viewed as successes in this regard. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, feminist and women’s organising was minimal before the wars, in part because autonomous Yugoslav activism was concentrated in Zagreb (now in Croatia) and Belgrade (now in Serbia). Feminist and women’s organising in Bosnia-Herzegovina is said to have emerged during the war, and largely focussed on humanitarian concerns: refugees, sexual violence and survival, rather than thinking about ways of contributing to formal politics. Furthermore, due to the dynamics of war (separation, isolation, siege, destruction of entire towns and villages) communication between groups was extremely poor. These factors, alongside others, mean that feminist and women’s organisations did not think to vocalise views about Dayton.¹³ And the Dayton negotiations are famously held up as an example of a failure to include women (Lithander 2000: 12). This is a very small-n qualitative set of cases, but extending these thoughts and developing ways of quantitatively testing the association between feminist

¹³ The Bosnia-Herzegovina case is expanded on in more detail in a forthcoming working paper.

and women's organising and references in peace agreements would shed light on the statistical significance of this relationship.

Other factors

Anderson also tested for geographical region, female labour force participation and percentage of female legislators. None of these variables were found to have statistically significant correlations with the presence of women's rights in the peace agreement (Anderson 2014: 152-155). I discuss the effects of UNSCR 1325 in more detail in section c.

What is the relationship between female participation in the peace process and gender outcomes?

Assessing the relationship between female involvement at peace negotiations and gender outcomes in the agreement is tricky because the data on female participation in the peace process is limited. However, Anne-Marie Goetz (2009: 3-4) has taken some tentative steps. She developed a matrix looking at how gender-specific language was included in ten peace accords, measuring against five broad categories (and 31 related sub-categories). These five broad categories – commonly found in peace agreements – included human rights guarantees, physical security, legal security, economic security and political participation. The table reveals that there is a relationship between the presence of women in the peace agreement and the inclusion of gender-sensitive provisions. For instance, in the 2003 Sun City Agreement for the DRC, 5% of the signatories were female, and 12% of the negotiating teams were women. This is a noticeably higher presence compared to the other 21 peace negotiations analysed by Goetz. The matrix shows that the 2003 Sun City Agreement made a number of gender-sensitive provisions relating to healthcare, affirmative action, refugee return, equal pay and employment practices and so on. The data indicate that 'where women have been included, even as non-speaking observers, in peace processes, they have been able to ensure that matters of importance to them are included in peace accords' (Goetz 2009: 3). However, she notes that this does not necessarily mean that difficult issues like sexual and gender-based violence are raised.

What is the relationship between references to women's rights in the peace agreement and post-conflict gender outcomes?

Peace agreements can be seen as documents that imagine the basis of the post-conflict state. For this reason, Anderson (2012) has investigated how peace agreements envisage change in women's role in the state immediately after the conflict, in the transition and long term period. She does not set temporal boundaries around these moments, but rather, identifies certain clauses within the text as speaking to particular moments. For instance, clauses addressing the immediacy of the conflict might include refugee return, while clauses that seek to impact upon women's lives permanently, like the establishment of an institution dedicated to women's issues, are counted as 'long-term' changes. What is perhaps surprising is that 'measures addressing conflict-related issues are less frequent than are provisions targeting the other two time periods' (Anderson 2012: 345). That is, references to women in peace agreements tend to refer to transitional and long-term goals as a means of remaking female roles in the state.

So, how successful are these long-term goals? To what extent do references to women within the peace agreement have tangible ramifications for women's rights in the "remade" state? Research exploring this has been limited and tends to focus on political participation and

representation goals – that is, quotas. Drawing upon event history analysis ten years after the signing of the peace accord, Miriam Anderson and Liam Swiss found that countries that had experienced a peace accord *without* references to women’s rights were predicted to adopt some form of electoral quotas 3.04 times faster than countries that do not have a peace accord (2014: 46). This collaborates with Aili Marie Tripp’s finding discussed above, that African countries which developed a new constitution after a war were more likely to include a range of women’s rights, compared to African countries which developed a new constitution in general (2013). More significantly, Anderson and Swiss found that references to women’s rights within the peace agreement provided for a more tangible outcome: where women’s rights were referenced within an agreement, they found that electoral quotas would be adapted at a rate 5.14 times faster (2014: 48). That is, (a) countries who recently have adapted a peace accord are more likely to adapt electoral quotas than countries which have not; and (b) countries that have peace agreements referencing women’s rights were overall more likely to adapt electoral quotas.

However, exploring individual case studies reveal that the outcomes of quota provisions are uneven. For instance, although a 30% electoral quota for women was introduced in Kosovo, only 8.2% of those elected to the municipal assemblies in the October 2000 elections were women (Nakaya 2003). But, this may not be a result of the lack of a female presence at the peace table, but rather, the presence of enduring patriarchal structures or the unavailability of national and international resources to support female political participation (Nakaya 2003). That is, the adaptation of an electoral quota within the peace agreement (or within ten years of the accord, as in Anderson and Swiss 2014), is not the whole story: there needs to be enough support to enable women to participate.

However, current scholarship does not yet look at the connections between references to women in peace agreement and the achievement of gender-equality goals during peace. I believe that there is scope to draw quantitative conclusions about this relationship by looking at a range of issues associated with the achievement of a gender-just society. Future research could explore the connections between the presence of gender provisions and

- average marriage age,
- land ownership,
- employment prospects,
- judicial efficiency in prosecuting violence against women,
- female access to registration and identity documents,
- female participation in local and national politics,
- public expenditure on services that benefit women and girls
- ...and so on.....

Further research could make use of the peace agreements databases discussed in Part 1 alongside the databases created by the WomenStats project (<http://www.womanstats.org/>) to make sense of the connections between the presence of gender-sensitive provisions and the status of women. WomenStats has data on 360 indicators across 175 countries on a range of issues related to women (for instance abortion, mother’s age at birth of first child,

domestic violence, access to education and so on). By combining this data with the data on peace agreements, it would be possible to develop quantitative understandings of the presence of gender-sensitive provisions within the peace agreement and long-term consequences for gender equality. Another avenue that might be possible is to make use of the PAM database on implementation that I discussed in Part 1. Indeed, research has indicated that countries with higher levels of gender equality are more peaceable (Caprioli 2000), and so it seems that it would be possible to test this assertion further by looking at the relationship between a sustainable peace, levels of gender equality, and references to women within the peace agreement.

(c) The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Resolutions

Many references to women within peace agreements are based upon international human rights norms. Anderson found that by coding peace agreements between 1989 and 2005 according to which articles of CEDAW it reflects, it is apparent that a number of the agreements reflect some of CEDAW's provisions (2014: 33-4). That is, international policy demands appear to matter in shaping the provisions made in the final settlement. This correlates with Christine Bell's finding that international law both establishes moral standards within the peace agreement, but also that peace agreements shape international human rights law (2000: 319). For this reason, we might reasonably expect that the creation of seven linked United Nations Security Council resolutions (often referred to as WPS, Women, Peace and Security), passed between October 2000 and October 2013, all referring to the gender mainstreaming of the post-conflict process, would increase provisions and references to women's rights in the peace agreement.

Some of these resolutions even include a provision urging or recommending the inclusion of women in peace negotiations and agreements. The landmark first WPS resolution, UNSCR 1325, passed by the Security Council in October 2000, under point 8, calls on

all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, *inter alia*:

- (a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;
- (b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;
- (c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and judiciary.

The clarity of this call for the inclusion of women and a gender perspective in the negotiation processes and in the final peace agreement has stimulated much quantitative research looking at the effects of UNSCR 1325 for gender outcomes, and specifically the provisions made for women in the text of peace agreements. On the face of it, UNSCR 1325 appears to have had some positive quantitative effect:

- Bell and O'Rourke (2010: 954) found that references to women in peace agreements have increased significantly since the passing of UNSCR 1325, from 11 to 27%. Furthermore, this

rise is more dramatic for agreements where the UN played a third-party role, where references increased from 4% before the passing of UNSCR 1325 to 12%, compared to agreements where the UN did not have a role (from 7 to 14%).

- When the details are broken down by comparing across peace processes, Bell and O’Rourke found that before the passage of UNSCR 1325, 32% of processes mentioned women. After the passage of UNSCR 1325, 43% of peace processes mentioned women (2010: 957).
- Sahla Aroussi (2011b) mapped the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in 112 peace agreements between October 2000 and December 2008. She found an inconsistent year-on-year increase in references to women since 2000: only 4/13 peace agreements in 2001 mentioned women, while 10/13 peace agreements in 2008 do mention women (2011b: 162).
- When focussing on 82 peace agreements from 20 sub-Saharan African countries between 1989 and 2011, Sahla Aroussi and Stef Vandeginiste found that greater attention was granted to gender issues after the adaptation of UNSCR 1325 (2013: 188). Before UNSCR 1325 was passed, only 3/23 agreements included references to women’s rights, compared with 21/59 agreements in the post-UNSCR 1325 period (Aroussi & Vandeginiste 2013: 189)
- Miriam Anderson found that agreements signed following the passage of UNSCR 1325 are 86.5% more likely to include references to women, while just 13.5% of peace agreements signed before the passage of UNSCR 1325 do (Anderson 2014: 154).
- When exploring peace agreements over five year intervals between 1990 and 2009, the ratio of peace processes which included more than one engendered security clause¹⁴ tended to increase, as indicated in table seven below (Ellerby 2011: 89-90).

Table Seven: Changing ratio of gender security provisions within peace processes 1990-2009

(based upon Ellerby 2011: 90)

| | Count of Peace Process | Peace processes with 0 gender security clauses | Peace processes with 1 or more gender security clauses | Percentage of peace processes with 1 or more gender security clauses. ¹⁵ |
|------------------|------------------------|--|--|---|
| 1990-1994 | 10 | 4 | 6 | 60% |
| 1995-1999 | 15 | 8 | 7 | 46.67% |
| 2000-2004 | 12 | 6 | 6 | 50% |
| 2005-2009 | 11 | 2 | 9 | 81.82% |

There is no doubt that UNSCR 1325 has had some positive effect upon the inclusion of references to women within peace agreements. Broadly speaking, the data does indicate that peace agreements signed after October 2000 are more likely to mention women in some way. But there is an inherent danger in focussing on textual inclusion of provisions about women, as it means that inclusion becomes an end in itself (Bell and O’Rourke 2010: 974). In this regard, we need to

¹⁴ Ellerby counts four engendered security properties, related to specific clauses within UNSCR 1325. These are representation, incorporation, protection and recognition (2011: 74). She applies these clauses to peace agreements pre- and post- the passing of UNSCR 1325 as a way of measuring the effects of UNSCR 1325.

¹⁵ My own calculation.

dig deeper and look at the ways in which UNSCR 1325 has changed the scenery of peace agreements and negotiations for women.

As we noticed earlier, references to women are sometimes unsubstantial and do not go far enough in improving the quality of women's rights and justice. Measuring this can be tricky, but Kara Ellerby has developed a model looking at the four aspects of the gender security agenda promoted within UNSCR 1325, to understand how peace agreements have included increasingly more dimensions of gender security. Ellerby examined 48 peace processes between 1990 and 2009 and explored the changing ratio of references to (en)gendered security provisions embodied in UNSCR 1325 (see table seven, above). She counts four engendered security properties, related to specific clauses within UNSCR 1325: representation, incorporation, protection and recognition (2011: 74), and codes the gender provisions within peace agreements accordingly. Table seven (above) indicates the number of peace agreements that included gender provisions, counted over five year intervals between 1990 and 2009. When looking at all of the data relating to all 48 peace processes, she found that:

- Most peace processes that make references to women focus on one dimension of their security: women as decision makers – which appeared in 14 processes in total (Ellerby 2013: 447).
- Only five out of 48 peace processes that took place between 1990 and 2010 spelled out women's inclusions in peacebuilding to the baseline standard established by UNSCR 1325 (Ellerby 2013: 436). That is, *just five peace processes met all four aspects of engendered security.*

But what effect has the passage of UNSCR 1325 had? Kara Ellerby extends these findings to empirically test the claim that UNSCR 1325 has increased the types of provisions made for women. She found that prior to 2005, most peace agreements tended to only include one dimension of (en)gendered security: recognising women as a special group (2013: 452). By 2005, the picture has changed, and over one-half of peace processes include more than one category of (en)gendered security, 'indicating security for women is being approached in multiple ways rather than unidimensionally' (Ellerby 2013: 452). One reason that peace agreements are now reflecting increased overall levels of (en)gendered security may be because of the increasing institutionalization of the Women, Peace and Security agenda (Ellerby 2013: 456).

Indeed, between 2008 and 2013, a further six Security Council resolutions were passed relating to the WPS agenda, mostly in response to the fear that the gains of UNSCR 1325 might be lost (Skjelsbæk 2012: 160). Many of these later resolutions (in particular UNSCR 1820, 1888, 1960 and 2106) focus on the protectionist agenda of sexual and gender-based violence 'as more manageable to work with' and 'easier to define benchmarks for success' (Skjelsbæk 2012: 160-1). How might this relate to our analysis of women and peace agreements, keeping in mind that UNSCRs 1325, 1889 and 2122 make fairly explicit statements about the need for increased female participation in the peace process?

For instance, UNSCR 1820, passed by the Security Council in June 2008, concentrates upon gender-based sexual violence. Robert Jenkins and Anne-Marie Goetz (2010: 262-4) make a case for the inclusion of provision relating to sexual and gender-based violence in peace agreements. In their review of around 300 peace agreements in 45 conflicts between 1989 and 2008, they

found that only 18 peace accords, relating to 10 conflicts, mention sexual or gender-based violence. Further to this, they found that out of the 18 that do mention sexual or gender-based violence, two mentioned it in the justice chapters, four in relation to the rule of law and human rights, in two it is mentioned in relation to security arrangements and in another two, it is mentioned in relation to DDR processes. In no cases did provisions address sexual or gender-based violence in relation to reparations, economic recovery or development measures. Jenkins and Goetz use these statistics to support their case for the inclusion of sexual and gender-based violence in peace agreements, arguing that the failure to place sexual or gender-based violence on the negotiating agenda results in a less sustainable and resistant peace (2010: 266).

The inclusion of sexual violence in peace agreements has also been explored from a quantitative perspective by Sahla Aroussi (2011a), who adopted content analysis of 112 peace agreements in 35 countries since October 2000. Only five agreements – for Sudan (2006), Uganda (2007, 2008), DRC (2003) and Great Lakes Region (2006) – include provisions linked to accountability for gender-based violence (Aroussi 2011a: 581). Detailed content analysis revealed that while these agreements tend to adopt a ‘narrow concept of justice focused on sanctions and prosecutions’ they fail to look at victim needs – for instance, repatriations or psychological support (588-90). Thus, we can conclude that the way in which sexual violence is referred to remains problematic for meaningful and sustainable resolution.

Finally, the very presence of UNSCR 1325 could contribute to the achievement of more robust data on gender and peace agreements. An April 2010 Secretary-General report established 26 measurable indicators of progress relating to the WPS agenda (S/2010/173). Indicator 8 calls for measurement of the ‘number and percentage of peace agreements with specific provisions to improve the security and status of women and girls’ (S/2010/173: 17). Specific provisions are to be identified with regard to ceasefire agreement, resolving boarder disputes, security and demilitarisation, refugee return, linguistic minorities, human rights and fundamental freedoms, economic restructuring, elections, transitional agreements, constitutional agreements, peacekeeping operations and trust funds (S/2010/173: 17). This indicator has been marked as one where information is available from existing documents, but that they need to be identified collected and systematically analysed. While there is some way to go, ‘now we at least have a better handle on the measurable aspects’ compared to 2005 (Goetz 2014: 339).

Summary: Significant Findings and Gaps to be Addressed

Part two has sought to focus on describing and reviewing the scholarly literature using quantitative research to understand the various relationships between women and peace processes and agreements to identify areas for further quantitative research into the role of women in peace agreements and processes. The following key points have been identified:

- Data on participation is extremely limited. When thinking about participation it is worth considering different types of participation (as outlined by UN Women 2010: 5-10) and not just physical presence at the peace table.
- Prior to 1989, there were no known references to women within the text of the agreement. Since 1989, around 40% of peace have made at least one reference to women. References to women have dramatically increased since the adaptation of UNSCR 1325.
- References to women tend to address women's long-term role in the state, but more research is needed to assess how meaningful these references are for gain made in relation to women's rights.
- References to women within the text of the agreement appear to significantly increase if the UN are involved. However, it seems that references to women are not shaped by the type of agreement, geographical region, female labour force participation or percentage of female legislators.
- That conflict length has a significant impact upon the likelihood that women will be referenced to within the peace agreement is initially surprising. However, it points to the importance of established women's organising and their ability to insist that their rights are included. More research is needed to ascertain the effects of female and feminist civil society upon the outcome of peace negotiations.
- UNSCR 1325 has opened up ways for more diverse ways of understanding women's security within peace agreements.
- There is scope for further investigation of the connections between references to women in the peace agreement and how these provisions translate into the meaningful achievement of gender-equality goals. This could be possible by working with existing data about references to women and making use of the WomenSats or Peace Accords Matrix (PAM) datasets.

Conclusions

We have strong evidence that women play roles in all kinds of things, and in particular in peacekeeping and conflict prevention. They raise issues in these kinds of negotiations, like human rights and human security, that are fundamental to forging a lasting and sustainable peace. But we need more internationally comparable data to examine how women's contributions affect conflict regions. And only then can we really create frameworks for making sure that are included.... we have neither invested enough in collecting gender-sensitive data nor in quantifying how increasing gender yields benefits to societies.

(Clinton 2012, cited in Oudraat 2013: 616).

Feminist scholars of security and post-conflict...rely on writing women as victims in need of protection but also (and somewhat schizophrenically,..) as superheroines, agents of their own salvation, capable of representing the needs and priorities of others and with the capacity to effect positive transformation in their given environments.

(Shepherd 2011: 510-11)

These two anecdotes about scholarship will form the basis of my concluding reflections. The first is extracted from a speech by Hilary Clinton, in launching a new foundation, Data2x during 2012. Data2x is 'a partnership between her office, the United Nations Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and the U.S. Government' which aims to 'advance gender equality and women's empowerment and further global economic and social gains through improved data collection and analysis that can guide policy, better leverage investments and inform global development agendas' (Data2X: 2014). Data2x currently does not seek to develop a new database, but rather to collate the information that already exists. The second, by Laura Shepherd, was written in the context of an evaluation of the discursive shifts between UNSCR 1325 and 1820, and in the extract above, she focuses on the gender expectations placed upon women. Both of them provoke important questions about how we can go about developing quantitative understandings about women, gender and peace negotiations in light of the analysis above.

In this working paper, I have assessed two particular sites of quantitative gender knowledge about peace agreements: datasets (part one) and related research scholarship (part two). Both of these sites of knowledge seek to contribute to an understanding of how a peace agreement can reset or create gender equality. In Part one, I suggested that we need to be attentive to how "gender" has been constructed as a variable and the implications that this has for how we "count" women and men. As part of my concluding reflections, I seek to evaluate the largely descriptive overview of scholarship investigated in Part two of this working paper by considering the methodological difficulties faced by scholars seeking to use gender-as-a-variable. To do this, I highlight three particular issues: first, the difficulties of measurable variable selection; second, the role of normative judgements; and third, gender (and other definitional) troubles about gender expectations and ambitions. Ultimately, we cannot "know" gender, but we should pay attention to how we go about constructing gender knowledge.

Data Problems

As recently as 2009, Mary Caprioli talked of her problems in trying to select measurable variables for undertaking gender analysis: quite simply, ‘women have just not been considered important enough for collecting separate data’ (2009: 427). The lack of gender-disaggregated data is problematic, as has been apparent throughout this paper: one reason that it is so difficult to assess the effects of female participation is because of the limited data about participation. Currently, this material is patchy at best and is certainly not consistently tracked.

The lack of gender-disaggregated data is thought to be especially problematic in addressing post-conflict realities. Nadine Puechguirbal, who has served as a gender advisor in many post-conflict countries, points out that one of the most pressing problems once she took up her post as Senior Gender Advisor for the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti in 2004, was the lack of gender-disaggregated data (Puechguirbal, cited in Enloe 2013:129-30). Without it, she was not able to assess the provision needs of the community and develop strategies that would specifically protect and support women.

For this reason, the Data2x programme aims to address these gaps. In an October 2013 report assessing the current gaps in gender-disaggregated data, they note that ‘data tracking the number of women participating formally in peace and security processes, particularly in leadership roles, is scarce’, and in particular when it comes to quantifying female presence in various modalities during the peace process (Buvinic et. al. 2013: 44). They argue that this should be ‘comparatively easy to develop standards for and gather this information’, suggesting that it is possible to build upon the information collected by UN Women that was discussed earlier in this working paper (Buvinic et. al. 2013: 44-5). More information about participation levels would certainly enable correlations to be drawn between female participation and gender outcomes. It seems that the collection of such data is important and even has the potential to be illuminating and emancipatory in its ability to draw attention to certain problems,

This kind of analysis is deemed to be policy-relevant, as Buvinic et. al. highlight;

Data are also policy relevant when they provide objective information about women’s participation in society that can result in changes in policies and the allocation of societal resources — such as data that quantify the contribution women make to household income in poor households or the social and economic costs of violence against women, or that track the number of women involved in peace negotiations.

(Buvinic et. al. 2013: 13)

But it is not as simple as merely adding gender as a variable, as this runs the risk of a simplistic “add women and stir” approach. As I discussed in Part one of this paper, “gender” can be constructed in multiple ways, and these constructions have ramifications for how problems are represented. Gender is not as simple as “women” and “men”, but there are all sorts of masculinities and femininities at stake, with varying levels of vulnerabilities that need to be considered. For instance, we get “better” at tracking gender in peace agreements, does that mean that we should also be thinking about ways of tracking men in peace agreements? What kinds of men predominate the peace process – military men, warlords, career politicians or fathers? In essence, when thinking about developing better gender-disaggregated data, we need to account for issues surrounding intersectionality and complex identities.

Furthermore, we should not forget that a focus on gender-disaggregated data could hide other aspects of power. Indeed, Laura Parisi, in a discussion of human rights and poverty indicators, points out that ‘sex-disaggregated data captures material dimensions of the achievement of rights, but not the overarching ideological dimension of gender oppression that privileges and normalises a particular understanding of such rights’ (2009: 415-6). In relation to peace agreements this could mean that we focus on participatory issues in terms of simplistic sexed bodies at the expense of legitimate bodies, or broader achievement of the ideological goals of feminism. Care should be taken that we do not fall into a tick-box mentality in terms of gender participation at the expense of achieving the goals anticipated by increased female presence. It is for this reason why we might consider exploring the broader considerations for a gender-positive outcome in the post-conflict context, like civil society engagement or gender advisors.

Identifying Problems: Thinking about normative judgements

I do not wish to rehearse the well-known proviso that quantitative research is not objective or scientific: many of the researchers making use of quantitative data are well aware that they are making a series of normative judgements in the formulation of questions or the selection of data. This is especially apparent when we look at definitional debates about what constitutes a peace agreement: as already noted, Bell and O’Rourke (2010), using the TJI database, include notably more documents (a total of 585) than Anderson (2014), who uses the UCDP database and looks at 185 documents. All the usual cravats about paying attention to the similarities and differences of the data used for comparison apply. However, I wish to take my critique in a different direction, and suggest that we should interrogate the prior assumptions that shape the questions that we ask.

The Data2x report discussed above assumes that more data about women at peace negotiations are needed, and this data would be policy relevant. Certainly, as explored in Part Two, there have been attempts to measure the different ways that women participate, and as this paper has pointed out, data on this is limited. The question that we might be interested in could be “how does female participation in the peace process affect gender outcomes in peace?” This question relies upon a number of prior assumptions and representations. For instance, we assume that a female body can be clearly identified, or that the peace is clearly shaped by the peace process in an accumulative manner. The broader issue here is the notion of participation as a policy goal, and the way in which this goal is tied up with sexed bodies, and what we might miss as a result of a focus on this. Is the decision that this is policy-relevant linked to the creation of “achievable” goals and the ability to establish a box to tick? Do we reinforce thinking about simplistic sexed bodies rather than pay attention to ideological goals? Might we miss other important reasons for how gender-equality provisions appear in peace deals?

Asking questions about our normative judgements is important: not to not query the validity of the question, but rather to consider what we might miss. For instance, a focus on participation could mean that we miss any backslides on the implementation or interpretation of women’s rights provisions within the treaties. By falling into a tick-box mentality of female presence and participation we might pay less attention to ways of ensuring that this participation is meaningful and miss out what actually makes the implementation successful.

Gender (and other) definitional troubles

In the first part of this working paper, I discussed some of the definitional issues surrounding gender and sex, noting the dangers of conflation, essentialism, and (yet) of drawing definitional boundaries. While distinctions are frequently drawn between sex-as-biologically-ingrained and gender-as-social-construction, they belie the complexity of gender and retain the suggestion that a “real” sex is to be had. As I have pointed out throughout this working paper, gender is not neutral or natural. I have advocated for an understanding gender-as-relational to recognise that gendered power relations affect the type of data included in the dataset. Furthermore, I have suggested that maintaining gender-as-a-variable obscures the power relations at stake that shape what kind of data is included and what is considered to “count”. Given that gender and (more commonly) sex is usually taken to be the key variable in quantitative research, further consideration of its use as a variable is worthwhile. The issues relate to how empirically stable sex can be. Calling sex an empirical category is problematic because it presumes the naturalisation of the biological sex binary and obscures how the categorisation of sex and gender is both politically produced and regulated (Kinsella 2003: 296). Additionally, I would suggest that focussing on sex distinctions and utilising them as empirical categories serves to reinforce existing heteronormative gender structures and expectations.

In response to these gender worries, Mary Caprioli argues that ‘sex becomes an indicator of gender and can be empirically measured in keeping with the stated purpose of feminism, which involves furthering the cause of women as biological sex and examining gender as a social construct’ (2004: 261). This seems to be an agenda about feminism which is ‘a little small... and keeping feminism small has its effects’ (Zalewski 2013: 31-2). But nor do I want to quash debate about what feminism is and what the ambition of feminism or gender analysis should be. Perhaps Caprioli offers a comfortable medium when she proposes creating space for neofeminist approaches which would discard requirement to have a critical or interpretative epistemology (2004: 266). But does it therefore follow that all feminist or gender-orientated quantitative analysis lack critical or interpretative epistemologies?

Related to questions about feminist ambitions and gender-definitional troubles is another murky area when it comes to deliberations about peace settlements. Categorisation of “post-conflict” is notoriously slippery. We might easily say that Bosnia and Herzegovina or El Salvador are post-conflict contexts. But what of Serbia? Or South Africa? Both are countries which have experienced extreme political violence, significant political transitions, and have post-conflict reconstruction governance programmes. In the case of Serbia, the Serbian government theoretically did not go to war, but Serbia experienced many of the social, economic and political consequences of war and was bombed by NATO during 1999. Serbia also had a new constitution in 2006. These definitional problems might matter in the context of Aili Tripp’s (2013) comparison of how post-conflict constitutional change varies from constitutional change in peaceful contexts: the line between peace and conflict can be precarious. Furthermore, the data which is collected can obscure the various levels at which violence can be experienced. For instance, the UNDP is ‘wedded’ to national-level statistics, perhaps obscuring how a conflict is occurring in one part of that state (Mac Ginty 2013: 426-7).

The second anecdote that I used to open up my concluding reflections relates to the boundaries of expectations drawn around “gender”. As feminists, we might expect women (gender) to be victims in need of protection and also superheroines who push for gender-sensitive provisions. Rather than merely rehearsing instances where women have not met feminist expectations, I wish to unpack the hope invested in sex-based participation goals. The hope that the Data2x programme to achieve systematic measurement of gender-disaggregated data is linked to the anticipation that an increased presence of female bodies will translate into greater gender-sensitivity within peace agreements and their implementation. But this seems empty of political positioning (are we not really more concerned about having more feminists, regardless of the gendered bodies these feminists inhabit?); empty of questions about legitimacy (who is at the table, how did they get there and who has deemed them to be critical actors?); and empty of gender complexity (female bodies may be combatants, victims, superheroines, social transformers, reconcilers or desire to be silent).

These critiques are not intended to make straw men out of quantitative analysis (Caprioli 2004). Careful reading of the material reveals the methodological angst experienced by feminist quantitative researchers, particularly in terms of variable selection (Caprioli 2009), so I am reluctant to simply say “but it is more complicated than that”. Certainly, the reflective conclusions that I have offered here raise more questions (and no answers) about the gaps and framing of quantitative analysis. However, in terms of being able to engage in debates with non-feminist IR scholars and peace researchers, and in making an economic case for investment in this area, we should not dismiss the value of quantitative data in its ability to be persuasive.

The danger is in closing down opportunities to (continually) reconceive, reassess and rethink our ideas about what a peace process is, and looks like. Focussing on numerical participation, textual references to women, or working with narrow gender/sex distinctions potentially runs the risk of not achieving this. As Christine Bell and Catherine O’Rourke put it, to make a plea for a rethinking of the current strictures of the peace process seems ‘curiously abstract, luxurious and irrelevant when compared to day-to-day battles of inclusion and survival’ (2010: 980). But, ‘it is important that we use the task of influencing particular processes to reinforce, rather than obliterate, the question of whether and for whom these processes deliver and whether there might be a better way’ (2010: 980). If we are to achieve the end of gender normality and the strictures that accompany “normal”, and move towards a quirky politics ‘less orientated toward legal inclusion and more orientated to a queer project of reimagining life worlds’ (Halberstam 2012: 125), then we need to critique the sex-based participatory goals that constrain contemporary worries about women and peace agreements.

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Appendix A: List of Databases relating to Gender and Post-Conflict Settlements

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| 1 | <p>Peace Agreement Database: Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster.</p> <p>http://www.transitionaljustice.ulster.ac.uk/peace_agreements_database.html</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Details of over 640 peace agreements signed since 1990, addressing conflicts that affect over 85 jurisdictions. • Lists peace agreements by conflict, and gives details of the date signed, parties and third parties to each agreement. • Provides details of the substance of each agreement by providing a short synopsis of each agreement's provisions in the following categories: dealing with the past (amnesty, past mechanism, prisoner release, victims), undoing the legacy of the past (refugees, land), state institutional reform (criminal justice, policing, judicial reform, new rights institutions), enforcing the agreement (enforcement mechanism, international community, UN involvement), and agreement provisions addressing a range of other issues, such as women, civil society, and socio-economic/development. • Indicates where the full text of each peace agreement can be found. • Key researchers: Professor Christine Bell and Dr. Catherine O'Rourke. |
| 2 | <p>United Nations Peacemaker Peace Agreement Database Search.</p> <p>http://peacemaker.un.org/document-search</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intended as a reference tool for peacemaking professionals. • Draws on over 750 documents that can be understood broadly as peace agreements and related material. • Users can access the full texts of the agreements in different languages and can use different search criteria, including searching by a number of different thematic issues. • One thematic concern (out of 17) is “women and gender” which subsequently lists 122 agreements since 1962 that has gender or women somewhere in the text. |
| 3 | <p>Uppsala Conflict Data Program UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset v. 2.0, 1975-2011.</p> <p>http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/datasets/ucdp_peace_agreement_dataset/</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Covers peace agreements signed between at least two opposing primary warring parties in an armed conflict between 1975-2011. • Each agreement is also attributed with conflict, dyad and actor IDs from the other UCDP data to enhance the merging of different UCDP data collections. • The UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset includes information on e.g. name, date, signatories and third parties of the agreement. • Contains information on the provisions of the accords as well as different variables concerned with the termination of violence. • Key researchers: Stina Högbladh |
| 4 | <p>The Peace Agreements Database on Power-Sharing and Human Rights, Antwerp University.</p> <p>http://www.ua.ac.be/main.aspx?c=.POWERSHARING</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explores the human rights aspects of power-sharing peace agreements in Sub-Saharan Africa. • Includes 82 peace agreements between 1989-2011 from 20 African countries looking at the nature and pattern of the human rights provisions included in power-sharing deals signed. • Provides supporting evidence that references to justice and gender issues, broadly defined, in negotiated settlements are remarkably increasing. • A discussion of the results of this research and an analysis of |

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| | | <p>their implications is provided in the forthcoming article 'When interests meet norms: The Relevance of Human Rights for Peace and Power-Sharing' in a special issue of The International Journal of Human Rights on Law, Power-sharing and Human Rights.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key researchers: Dr Sahla Aroussi and Dr Stef Vandeginste |
| 5 | <p>Peace Accords Matrix (PAM), University of Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies.</p> <p>https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/about</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Source of qualitative and quantitative data on peace agreements that have been signed since 1989. • Designed to allow practitioners, researchers, and policymakers to understand peace accords by providing comparative information on accords and their implementation. • Key researchers include Prof. Patrick Regan; Dr. Madhav Joshi and Dr. Jason Quinn. • Joshi and Darby 2013. 'Introducing the Peace Accords Matrix (PAM): a database of comprehensive peace agreements and their implementation, 1989–2007' <i>Peacebuilding</i> 1 (1): |
| 6 | <p>Peace Agreements Digital Collection: The Margarita S. Studemeister Digital Collections in International Conflict Management</p> <p>http://www.usip.org/category/publications/peace-agreements</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contains the full text of agreements signed by the major contending parties ending inter- and intra-state conflicts worldwide since 1989. |
| 7 | <p>ConstitutionNet Virtual Library</p> <p>http://www.constitutionnet.org/vl/fsearch</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Search and download thousands of official documents from selected constitution building processes in the Americas, Asia and Africa. • This material covers all stages of the constitution building process: the preparatory phase, the drafting, adoption, and implementation of the new constitution. • The library also contains audio interviews with practitioners and experts, photographs and video material related to constitution building. |
| 8 | <p>Constitute</p> <p>https://www.constituteproject.org/#/</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offers access to the world's constitutions that users can systematically compare them across a broad set of topics — using a modern, clean interface. • Tagged passages of each constitution with a topic — e.g., “right to privacy” or “equality regardless of gender” • Part of the Comparative Constitutions project. • Includes the constitution that was in force in September of 2013 for nearly every independent state in the world. Certain countries whose constitutional order consists of multiple documents, or whose constitutions are in transition, are temporarily omitted. |
| 9 | <p>UN Women Constitutional Database</p> <p>http://constitutions.unwomen.org/</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides a global mapping tool that places a gender lens to constitutional texts. • Compiles all the different provisions related to gender contained in constitutions in countries around the world, available in the original language, along with English translations. |

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| 10 | <p>Constitution Writing and Conflict Resolution</p> <p>http://www.princeton.edu/~pcwcr/about/index.html</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Webpages removed while preparing this working paper. |
| 11 | <p>INCORE</p> <p>http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A joint project of the United Nations University and the University of Ulster. • Aims to address the causes and consequences of conflict in Northern Ireland and internationally and promotes conflict resolution management strategies. |