WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE DURABILITY OF PEACE

This summary is based on:

Krause, Jana, Werner Krause and Piia Braenfors (2018): Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace. *International Interactions,* 44:6, 985-1016.

Introduction

Academic research has demonstrated that women's security and the socio-economic and political status of women directly impacts the likelihood of (renewed) civil war (Caprioli 2005; Hudson et al 2009; Melander 2005; Gizelis 2009). These findings suggest that women's meaningful participation in peace negotiations should positively impact the durability of peace. Drawing on both quantitative and qualitative analysis of peace processes, we demonstrate that women's meaningful participation in peace negotiations improves the quality and the durability of peace. We measure whether women 'meaningfully' participated by counting female signatories to peace agreements and tracing networks between them and women civil society groups.

It would be unrealistic to assume that women who participate in peace negotiations as delegation members automatically change negotiation dynamics or shape the peace process. Oftentimes, female delegates may not participate with voice and influence and may be excluded from important backroom negotiations. However, women and women groups who have signed peace agreements can be assumed to have directly participated with voice and influence. We argue that *linkages* between female signatories and women civil society groups explain the positive impact of women's direct participation in peace negotiations on peace durability and quality. Such linkages broaden societal support for the peace process and increase the quality of the peace accord and accord provision implementation rates.

Research Design

We coded all civil war peace agreements included in the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) for female signatories, covering the years 1989 until 2011. Between 1989 and 2011, women signed only 13 partial and full peace agreements after civil war in six peace processes. Female signatories included female members of conflict parties and female delegates from civil society groups.

Peace Processes with Female Signatories

- El Salvador (1992)
- Guatemala (1996)
- The UK/Northern Ireland (1998)

- Papua New Guinea (2001)
- The DRC (2003)
- Liberia (2003).

For our statistical analysis, we excluded all peace process agreements and only focused on partial and full peace agreements. We further excluded all censored partial peace agreements, i.e. agreements followed by another partial or full peace agreement within the same peace process without the recurrence of fighting. If women signed partial peace agreements but not the full peace agreement, we still coded the full peace agreement as signed by a female delegate and excluded the censored partial agreement signed by a female delegate from the dataset. All in all, our database consists of 82 peace agreements in 42 armed conflicts between 1989 and 2011. We coded the durability of peace as days without armed conflict from the signing of the peace accord until the outbreak of renewed hostilities or (in case of durable peace) until the end of the observation period, which is the year 2011.

Women's Meaningful Participation Positively Impacts the *Durability* of Peace

We find a robust correlation between female signatories and the number of days without armed conflict after a peace agreement has been signed. This correlation holds when we control for factors associated with durable peace, such as democracy, GDP per capita, power sharing, UN peacekeeping, and civil society participation. Our findings equally hold when we control for other factors related to gender equality, such as gender quotas, numbers of female legislators, and numbers of female combatants. The wide range of control variables used in the models limits the risk of a spurious correlation. Furthermore, looking at the six peace processes with female signatories, we identify significant variation for the control variables. For example, some peace agreements with female signatories ended conflicts followed by a UN peacekeeping missions, but others did not. We found no common pattern of inclusion of female signatories and conclude that selection bias is unlikely to fully account for our statistical results.

Women's Meaningful Participation Positively Impacts the *Quality* of Peace

Except for the 2003 DRC peace agreement, all other agreements signed by female delegates were Comprehensive Peace Agreements (CPA), meaning that they have been coded as having the major parties to the conflict involved and substantives issues underlying the disputes included (Joshi et al. 2015). We assume that the negotiation structure of partial peace accords ratified in one final comprehensive agreement may offer female delegates multiple entry points into the negotiation process. Drawing on the Peace Accord Matrix (PAM), which includes data on annualized implementation rates for 51 provisions in 34 CPAs, we find that peace agreements with female signatories overall show better accord quality and a higher implementation rate of agreement provisions. Agreements *with* female signatories included a maximum of provisions with regard to a broader political, social, and economic reform agenda conducive to transforming power structures,

such as provisions related to economic and social development; human rights; or truth and reconciliation. Agreements with female signatories also show an overwhelmingly better score for the implementation of women's rights, providing further evidence that women's direct participation increases the durability of peace by reducing gender equality after civil war, which is a strong predictor of armed conflict.

Why Women's Meaningful Participation Improves Durability and Quality of Peace

We argue that linkages between women civil society groups and female signatories positively impact peace accord content and accord provision implementation rates. Strong linkages between women signatories deeply familiar with the negotiation process and its political constellation, and women civil society groups with local expertise and grassroots support, improve the quality and durability of peace after civil war. Previous research on peace durability has shown that peace processes with broad societal support (Belloni 2008; Nilsson 2012; Wanis-St John and Kew 2008; Prendergast and Plumb 2002); agreements with a high number of provisions that represent socio-political reform (Joshi and Quinn 2015); and high implementation rates for agreement provisions (Joshi and Quinn 2017) most likely result in durable peace. Our argument builds on these findings and proceeds from the diversity of women groups.

Linkages between female delegates with detailed knowledge of the negotiation process and women civil society groups with strong grassroots connections allow for knowledge and network building among female actors. Such linkages broaden societal support for the peace process and inform the negotiation process of specific issues and agendas that can lead to the inclusion of provisions for shaping socio-political reform. Collaboration between female delegates and women civil society groups is further important because civil society is gendered and the general participation of civil society groups does not automatically mean that women groups receive access to influence the negotiations. Female delegates can become brokers who connect local-level women civil society networks to track-one negotiations. They can inform and educate women civil society groups about the national political process so that women groups can mobilize and create momentum. Women civil society groups in turn can educate female delegates about gender issues and provide the context-sensitive knowledge necessary for the formulation of agreement provisions. Female signatories are in a much stronger position to table provisions that overall improve women's socio-economic position than women groups who are relegated to witness or observer status.

Beyond the inclusion of specific provisions in peace agreements, collaboration and knowledge building during peace negotiations also results in networks that can advocate for the implementation of provisions during the post-conflict period, which is vital for a successful peace accord. Peace negotiations are often embedded within a broader peace process that can span years with distinct negotiation stages. Strong and well-informed women networks are crucial for the inclusion of provisions that redress inequalities and for the advocacy necessary to hold all stakeholders to account.

Conclusions and Future Research

In sum, our study shows that women's participation in peace negotiations with voice and influence leads to better peace accord content, higher agreement implementation rates, and longer lasting peace. The women networks that emerge from collaboration between female delegates and women civil society groups, and the knowledge and expertise gained from participation in negotiations, are vital for effective advocacy so that agreement provisions and socio-political change are implemented. Our findings underline the importance of recognizing the diversity of women and women groups and their political agendas across conflict fault lines. Future research should focus on the emergence, consolidation, and transformation of women networks during and after peace processes and trace their effect on political change.

About the author

Dr Jana Krause is Assistant Professor in Security and Conflict in the Department of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam. From 2013 to 2016, she was Visiting Research Fellow with the Conflict, Security and Development Research Group in the Department of War Studies at King's College London, and Lead Researcher and Co-Investigator of a research collaboration on the gender dimensions of conflict and peacebuilding, with partners in Indonesia and Nigeria. She has previously published *"A Wealth of Expertise and Lived Experience: Conversations between International Women Peace Activists at the 'Women Lead to Peace Summit' preceding the Geneva II Peace Talks on Syria, January 2014",* with Cynthia Enloe, in the International Feminist Journal of Politics (17:2). She is the author of *"Resilient Communities: Non-Violence and Civilian Agency in Communal War"*, Cambridge University Press 2018. She can be reached at j.krause@uva.nl.

Works cited

Belloni, R. (2008) Civil Society in War-To-Democracy Transitions. *From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding*, edited by A. K. Jarstad and T. Sisk. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Caprioli, M. (2005) Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict. *International Studies Quarterly* 49(2):161–178.

Gizelis, T-I. (2009) Gender Empowerment and United Nations Peacebuilding. *Journal of Peace Research* 464:505–523.

Hudson, V., M. Caprioli, B. Ballif-Spanvill, R. McDermott, and C. F. Emmet. (2009) The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States. *International Security* 33(3):7–45.

Joshi, M., and J. Quinn. (2015) Is the Sum Greater than the Parts? the Terms of Intrastate Peace Agreements and the Commitment Problem Revisited. *Negotiation Journal* 31(1):7–30.

— . (2017) Implementing Peace: The Aggregate Implementation of Comprehensive Peace Agreements and Peace Duration after Intrastate Armed Conflict. *British Journal of Political Science* 47(4):869–892.

Joshi, M., J. Quinn, and P. Regan. (2015) Annualized Implementation Data on Intrastate Comprehensive Peace Accords, 1989-2012. *Journal of Peace Research* 52(4):551–562.

Melander, E. (2005) Gender Equality and Intrastate Armed Conflict. *International Studies Quarterly* 49(4):695–714.

Nilsson, D. (2012) Anchoring the Peace: Civil Society Actors in Peace Accords and Durable Peace. *International Interactions* 38(2):243–266.

Prendergast, J., and E. Plumb. (2002) Civil Society Organizations and Peace Agreement Implementation. In *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, editedby S. Stedman, D. Rothschild, E. Cousens, and Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Wanis-St, John, A, and D. Kew. (2008) Civil Society and Peace Negotiations: Confronting Exclusion. *International Negotiation* 13:11–36.