

Women Moving from Track II to Track I Peacemaking

Salma Yusuf

The Ottawa Dialogue Occasional Paper series is intended to respond to timely issues with commentary and ideas which arise from the work of our organization. The author(s) of each Paper are entirely responsible for its content. Your feedback and comments are welcome and may be sent to salmayusuf@gmail.com.

Abstract

While women have been stereotypically considered to be *natural peacemakers*,¹ peacemaking continues to be a male-dominated field. The aim of this paper is to facilitate a conversation on how women can smoothly move from the Track II level to the Track I level of peacemaking. By drawing on both literature and personal insights, the paper explores the inherent challenges and opportunities that come with such a movement from informal Track II roles of peacemaking to formal Track I roles of peacemaking.

The paper goes on to discuss the skills and acumen that are needed by Track II practitioners as they move to formal roles, which in turn will help them better prepare for such formal roles while harnessing their expertise and perspectives that they carry with them from the Track II level. The paper concludes with a set of recommendations. It is important to mention that while the author of the paper is a female lawyer and peace practitioner who has first-hand experience in this move from working in Track II processes and then serving in Track I roles, the analysis and recommendations are applicable to peacemakers in general, at both Track II and I levels.

Recommendations

1. Capture and document how formal peace processes have yielded stronger and better outcomes when women are involved and actively included. This needs to be followed with documentation including interviews and analysis of experiences of women who have moved from Track II to Track I roles in peacebuilding. This would further showcase the merit in women being involved in Track II for the sake of both the women themselves, and the broader goal of peace. This would showcase to key stakeholders the merits for Track I peace processes of including women in general and women who have served in Track II roles specifically.
2. Identify male allies and strategic partners who will champion the need for women to engage in formal peacemaking. These can help to disrupt the status quo for the better. When influential males and those in positions of power and leadership call for and advocate for the inclusion of women in peacemaking roles, a strong momentum can be created towards it.
3. Provide connectivity to women through regional and international platforms and networks, as this would enable solidarity and support in the sometimes-daunting journey for women and when they encounter burnout and challenges. Learning from comparative experiences and having safe spaces for reflection, learning and exchange can go a long way for women as they move to formal roles.
4. Greater gender-sensitive language should be incorporated into peace agreements. A UN Women study has shown that since 2015, only half of the peace agreements refer to gender or women (see Footnote 15). The study also points out that the chances of the inclusion of these words are more likely if more and more women are involved in formal peace processes.

Introduction

This paper hopes to analyze how Track II peace processes may be a vehicle for the movement of women from the informal to the formal (Track I), offering an optimistic view and arguing in favour of Track II being leveraged as a method for women's inclusion.

The Reality Check for Women Peacemakers

Despite strong evidence supporting the need for women's inclusion in peace processes, the current statistics reveal that women constituted merely 14 per cent of the negotiators over the five-year period between 2015-2019 and 13 per cent between 1992-2019, at an international level.² Not only is the one per cent increase from 1992 to 2019 striking, it is also a testament to how women have been deliberately deprived of leadership roles even in the modern day. These statistics are interesting, considering that there exists evidence that peace agreements where women have participated are not just more durable but also feature greater attention to political and social issues.³

The involvement of women in peacemaking since 2020 has similarly been low. For example, only 10 per cent of women negotiators were offered participation in the Afghan talks and records show that women participated in only fifteen out of the sixty-seven (22 per cent) rounds of informal and formal negotiations between parties in Afghan peace talks⁴ and merely 20 per cent in Libya's political discussions and zero per cent in Yemen's and Libya's military peace processes.⁵ From 2020 onwards, with the US-Taliban negotiations, women's participation in peace processes has dropped significantly from 22 per cent to merely 10 per cent.

While women's involvement in peace processes remains sparse overall, women's active participation in Track I processes is even more scarce. While the participation of women in formal negotiations is receiving more positive attention, few women are given leadership roles, such as that of negotiator or guarantor to lead negotiations.⁶ Women from Myanmar have been similarly struggling to be involved officially and the nation still remains at seventeen percent of female delegates in formal negotiations, thereby falling short of its targeted thirty percent, as committed to in 2016.⁷ The data is therefore revealing in that while the momentum is rising for greater inclusion of women in formal peace processes, there is a significant distance to go before it reaches satisfactory levels. Formal peace processes can provide an effective platform for building collaborative and relationship-

building processes and thus need to include women in order to ensure that the processes and outcomes are inclusive.

Strategic Approaches of Women Peacemakers

Despite often being overlooked for their efforts in peace processes, be it in Track I or II diplomacy, there is case study evidence of women employing key strategies in peacemaking processes which are worth examining.

One such key strategy is to take non-partisan, unified and consensus-based approaches for asserting their opinions during negotiations.⁸ In other words, women tend to adopt collaborative approaches that reflect the larger interests of the society and community and are seen to be less motivated by political and personal considerations. Furthermore, women have additionally actively led humanitarian efforts through a social welfare-oriented approach. More broadly, women have employed peacebuilding and mediation techniques by making use of their available resources and creativity. As an example of a unique approach to peacebuilding, Somalian women have used traditional poetry as a tool towards peace and reconciliation.⁹

The Changing Landscape for Women Peacemakers

One of the many reasons why women continue to be underrepresented in formal Track I processes is the lack of prior exposure within the wider political sphere, which is indeed one of the crucial steps to entering formal negotiations. Today, times are changing. Women are encouraged and form a large part of the peacemaking process, albeit informally.¹⁰ For example, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, women were encouraged to undertake political mobilization by liaising with civil society and experts on Congolese Peace talks held in South Africa in 2002. It is following this political mobilization that women were designated as delegates in formal peace talks.¹¹ This is one of the examples of how women with political backing and experience have been able to participate in Track I peacemaking. In Sri Lanka, despite being a country that has recently emerged from a three-decade-long conflict, we have seen greater involvement of women in peace building efforts over the years.

This progress can be attributed to a growing recognition of the need for involvement of women in peacebuilding,¹² an increase in awareness on the Women, Peace and Security Agenda and United Nations Security Council (UNSC)

Resolution 1325 and an active civil society.¹³ On a broader scale, however, despite wide acceptance of rhetoric and theory on the need for women's participation and inclusion in peace processes, documented in both official and unofficial¹⁴ studies,¹⁵ the reality of peace processes around the globe does not match the rhetoric.

In reality, women's involvement has largely been led by local women through collective lobbying, storytelling, reviving cultural institutions for traditional and integrated peace models, challenging political dynamics and through mobilizing politically, economically and socially diverse groups of women. This women-led advocacy is done with the aim of meaningful inclusion of women in processing, as opposed to a lack of representation or a quota system wherein women often become token figures to ensure an "on-paper" equitable process.¹⁶ Furthermore, it is important to normalize women in decision-making roles, and move beyond a homogenous lens to include women from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds in peace processes. Thus, we see through such examples how women's roles in peacemaking processes have been primarily at the Track II levels of peacemaking.

There is a plethora of academic and policy research that strongly suggests that women's participation in peacemaking is needed, and that meaningful inclusion of women in peace processes is known to have helped in achieving sustainable peace.¹⁷ Women's engagement in peace accords has shown higher implementation rates of such agreements, richer content of accords and long-lasting peace in terms of durability.¹⁸ This is primarily because women are known to incorporate more inclusive provisions in agreements and also to seek better implementation through various levels of political and economic development. The case for greater inclusion of women in Track I peace processes has been made clear. The path to get there is what is being discussed and this paper is one suggested approach to it.

1. Women's Inclusion in Track I Processes

Benefits and Impacts of including Women in Track I Processes

UNSC Resolution 1325¹⁹ is the landmark resolution that emphasizes the critical role of women in peacemaking and calls on the international community to channel their efforts in the same direction. Women's involvement in informal peace processes is known to instill a sense of awareness, mobilization and organization.²⁰ This capability of mass mobilization originates from shared experiences

and the will to achieve peace through social solidarity that can cut across borders.

As women are more likely to fulfil community-based caregiving roles, women's often closer proximity to their local communities allows them a particular insight that may not be as present in men. For this to happen, however, it is essential for all stakeholders in peace processes to have confidence in women's decision-making power and a commitment to implement provisions relating to women's involvement of women.

Even before UNSC Resolution 1325 in 2000, the November 2018 UN Women conference on 'Women's Meaningful Participation in Peace Processes: Modalities and Strategies Across Tracks' highlighted that Track I peace processes that have stalled can be reignited by pressure exerted by women through public efforts and open-ended, community-based coalition formations. This is primarily linked to women addressing concerns regarding human rights violations, injustices and threats to peace. It is because of this reason that Track II diplomacy is considered essential for flourishing dialogue, problem solving and issue-framing. Women groups take better note of relationships in reality and work with a sense of practicality embedded in vision of peace.²¹ The conference also mentions how Track II processes are relatively more productive, accessible and safe spaces for women to work. However, this should not insinuate that women should be tied down only to work in Track II peace processes. The aftermath of conferences like these provides opportunities for women to enter official peace processes through the support of international community and encourages them to set-up their own advocacy forums.²²

Challenges for Women Entering Track 1 Peace Processes

According to social norms, there tend to be opinions regarding roles deemed 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate' for women.²³ Culturally, women's active involvement in formal peacemaking roles is viewed as a 'Western' and 'formal' construct. These traditional perspectives continue to haunt women as they seek to undertake roles in the public and political sphere and thereby prevents them from taking on roles requiring decision-making and leadership.

A 2020 study conducted by the Georgetown Centre for Women, Peace and Security found that the challenges women face when entering formal Tracks of diplomacy arise primarily at the psycho-social level.²⁴ Women face excessive scrutiny regarding their qualifications, skills and experiences before entering formal roles. This scrutiny

further tends to delegitimize women's existing roles and capacities by deeming them unfit for the so-called 'corrupt' world of politics. Due to responsibilities, including but not limited to, homecare, women have found it extremely difficult to arrange visas and travel in tight time frames. These practical problems are some of the gaps that are not addressed in policymaking.

Among the many hindrances that women face, one is also the multiplication of gender commissions and women's advisory boards. The widespread discourse regarding the involvement of women in formal processes has led to the establishment of many women-oriented forums and commissions. Although these aid and enable women to directly participate in informal processes, they are not substitutes for women's participation in formal peace processes. The varied objectives, functioning and timeframes of these commissions, advisory boards and forums make it a murky ground, especially as they are often considered as substitutes for direct involvement of women despite generating a considerable amount of success relating to involvement of women in peace processes.²⁵

The above are some of the reasons given for why women's involvement is often limited to Track II diplomacy.²⁶ One of the most obvious and long-term effects of non-inclusion of women in official talks is that all voices and interests are not heard.²⁷ This may be due to prevalent patriarchal systems, norms and structures within which peace processes are implemented which tend to be averse to fresh ideas and are suspicious about adapting change. This impacts the long-term sustainability of the peace negotiations, especially in the areas where specific actions and commitments need to be introduced and implemented. Political considerations and implications such as these reproduce social and cultural barriers that limit women's involvement in peace processes. Similarly, the non-involvement of women in formal peace processes also risks non-inclusion of gender equality provisions in the peace agenda which furthers exacerbates human rights violations of women.

2. Issues Relating to Women's Inclusion in Track I Peace Processes: Personal Reflections and Insights

The following section draws on the personal insights of the author stemming from her professional experiences of serving in numerous capacities at both Track I and II levels of peacemaking and with multiple stakeholders in these spaces. This section does not intend to highlight or focus on one particular government, state or context.

Barriers and Challenges

The challenges encountered when moving from Track II to Track I peacemaking are several for peace practitioners in general, and women especially. There is a challenge often encountered on the non-availability of accurate translations of words such as 'reconciliation', 'transitional justice' or even 'peacebuilding' in local languages. This instantly alienates the concept from the people or groups that we want to work with as they subconsciously draw conclusions that if there is a lack of terminology in the local language it means that somehow the concept is not relevant to their setting or situation. The related challenge to the lack of terminology is the perception that these notions are neo-colonial or 'Western constructs' and tools used by foreign forces and powers to control local populations. These ideas are often fuelled and oxygenated by national and local politicians or groups who want to play on the emotions of citizenry for ulterior motives such as petty party politics or short-term political wins. Track II practitioners who have considerable experience in engaging these notions with multiple stakeholders can play a critical role in this regard. When women practitioners seek to introduce these seemingly alien notions into societies, particularly in conservative ones, the pushback is even stronger.

Bureaucracies the world over are known to have lengthy processes of regulation and approvals which are necessary for maintaining checks and balances within their large machinery. These processes, while serving an important purpose on their own, may not be facilitative for the nimble agility and responsiveness required for ever evolving and dynamic processes such as peacebuilding. Understanding this challenge and finding creative ways of circumventing the lengthy processes in close discussion with regulators can go some distance in formulating alternative pathways to speedy processes. Related to this is the additional requirement of flexibility required in peace processes at the Track I level. Women peacemakers are often times well versed in developing creative alternatives and this can be a valuable asset when collaborating with bureaucracies and regulators for streamlining national frameworks and plans for peacebuilding.

Another challenge that Track II practitioners face is the hierarchical structures that are often characteristic of Track I processes, hierarchical structures can sometimes defy the very goals that peace processes seek to attain, for instance, they can impede and contravene the very culture of egalitarianism and equality that peace processes seek to achieve. To address this disharmony in approaches creative approaches are required by Track II practitioners. This can be through forging alliances with liberal and

discerning professionals and technocrats of the Track I processes together with carefully navigating the hierarchical structures without completely 'breaking' or 'threatening' the systems. Thus, the adept skills to navigate a balance is an asset that Track II practitioners can bring into the Track I processes.

Track I processes are directly affected by political considerations. Political actors are often key players in such Track I peace processes. This can often be challenging when political considerations are based on such issues as electoral gains or monetary benefits as opposed to a focus on more altruistic goals. Track II practitioners when moving into Track I peace making roles can operate with a degree of independence that those in permanent cadre roles or official positions in government or bureaucracy cannot. However, it is important to mention at this juncture that Track II practitioners are not always necessarily altruistic and need to be cognizant of political realities and contingencies when working at Track I levels of peacemaking but are in a more comfortable position of not having to be driven by political considerations.

For women peacemakers particularly moving from Track II to Track I roles, the challenges are compounded. Women in general, whether at Track I or Track II levels, often encounter cultural and social barriers in their countries and communities. However, there seems to be more openness, sensitivity, and awareness of the need for inclusivity at Track II levels. This is due to numerous factors including events and capacity building for women and men on gender equality and greater inclusion of diversity in peace processes. Therefore, when women move into Track I peacemaking roles from Track II levels, they carry with them this heightened awareness and the range of skills required to be peacemakers and peacebuilders. This together with the networks of support they have already built across sectors and borders are seen to give them more confidence to have voice and agency when they arrive at the formal Track I processes.

Another challenge to Track I processes tends to be the lack of continuity. In practice, what this means is that peace processes and goals are carved out or promulgated as policy pronouncements by national governments and political leadership. With changes in governments, subsequent governments tend to disregard prior policies and programs, and initiate their own. This is often tied to political manifestos and the desire to claim credit for their own work or hostility to previous dispensations especially if the previous are political enemies. In this process, there tends to be a trend of 'reinventing of the wheel' where every new process begins with consultative processes from scratch leading to 'fatigue' of citizens and disillusionment

of national peace processes. There is wastage of effort, duplication of effort and lack of continuity of national discourses and narratives for peace as a result. Track II level practitioners who are often well versed in the importance of good process design can revisit former processes and see to what extent continuity can be ensured insofar as it does not upset the buy-in from incumbent leaders which is critical for taking forward current peace processes. Moreover, Track II itself is often of a much longer term than official processes.

The Opportunities and the Potential for Moving from Track II to Track I

While focusing on the challenges and alluding to the inherent potential that women in Track II processes can bring specifically into Track I processes above, there is a need to turn to focus on the opportunities that women can bring into the Track I peacemaking spaces. They are well-positioned to bring the "spirit" of civil society into the language and function of government. They are able to bring in fresh perspectives and approaches to formal Track I peace processes. Another useful approach is to identify customs, norms and principles within the respective culture that demonstrates that these values are already a part of the respective culture for generations and therefore not alien or foreign at all. Women are ideal at leading such efforts as they tend to be very closely connected with social and cultural awareness.

The other opportunity that comes with this is the important and crucial networks that Track II level practitioners and women included can bring into their work at the Track I level. The range of strategic allies and partnerships that have already been built through their work at the Track II level can be a valuable asset for the women when they come into Track I space of peacemaking.

Another opportunity that is minimally acknowledged is the enormous potential that Track II level peace practitioners can realise if they move to formal Track I roles. Given that Track I processes are of a larger scale and have a wider reach, dividends of peace and impacts can be much greater than when engaging in Track II level projects and programs that are of a much smaller nature. Additional benefits are the convening powers that national and international Track I processes command among all stakeholders and thus there is a greater opportunity for Track II practitioners to promote the visions and actions for peacemaking and peacebuilding. Thus, the number of stakeholders, communities, groups and citizens that can be engaged and impacted by Track II peace practitioners operating in Track I peacemaking roles are significantly higher.

3. Recognizing and Harnessing the Skills and Acumen of Women in Track II

One of the main skills that women peacebuilders need to develop and strengthen when moving to Track I roles is their understanding of international geopolitical influences on national processes, political sensitivities and considerations of local and national actors and systems. This acumen needs to extend to an understanding of political protocols and proper channels of communications, standard operating procedures, regulatory environments, the political cultures and actors involved. A note of caution is that this does not translate to mean that a slavish and/or complacent attitude needs to be adopted, but rather sensitivities to navigate these considerations is what is required, as the lack of it can lead to political processes failing.

Skills in mediation, facilitation, and designing dialogue processes are critical talents that successful Track II peace practitioners can bring as they move to Track I processes. The importance of good process design is linked to citizens and all actors having trust in the process and its outcomes. Implementing large scale consultation programs nationally is another related skill for good process design. While these skills are utilized at the Track II level, understanding how to implement them at a large scale is critical for peacemakers moving to Track I spaces.

For women peacebuilders, it will be very useful to identify male allies within the state system itself prior to launching their plans and programs. This will ensure that the relevance and sustainability of their efforts will be marshalled by those who have the power and clout to defend and promote these women, especially in cultures where women coming into public spaces and roles are met with resistance. This idea is akin to the concept identified of having “mentors” within the official system who work on the “inside” to assist and promote the work of Track Two efforts.²⁸

Another important skill to develop is efficient coordination across relevant line ministries and government departments. This is important as peacebuilding is a whole-of-government effort and needs buy-in from all relevant subject ministries and departments. This makes it critical to develop skills in designing coordination infrastructures and mechanisms to ensure there is the complementarity of processes and initiatives and no place for duplication and overlaps of national programs and plans.

It is pertinent to emphasize the following strengths²⁹ derived from women’s participation in Track II diplomacy that can be meaningfully utilized in harnessing the required

skills for furthering women’s participation in Track I peace negotiations.

- Facilitation and mediation: By negotiating directly with the local brokers and international stakeholders, women support reintegration in a peaceful and inclusive manner. Similarly, women should be provided the opportunity to liaise unofficially with governmental actors thereby facilitating the participation of women in formal negotiations.
- International and comparative exchanges: Women peacemakers who have functioned for years within patriarchy and the current day patriarchal system, have been compelled to, and consequently are skilled at, accessing ‘behind the scenes’ ‘hidden,’ and so-called ‘closed’ spaces and hence, critical information. These places often offer valuable insights.
- Building public support: Women play a critical role in raising public awareness of critical issues regarding war and peace, collectivizing and mobilizing people. Women’s involvement can lend a hand to creating awareness regarding the ‘ethics of care’ in peace processes which emphasizes that peace is a practical concept that can be achieved through harmonious relationship building, imbibing a tolerant attitude and moving in the direction of common goals.³⁰ This characteristic has enabled women to form strategic allies thereby creating a possibility of international impact breaking the shackles of national and local engagement.
- Conflict prevention capacities: Women’s involvement in peace processes depicts a society’s understanding of gender norms. It has been shown that greater understanding of gender-norms can pave the way for the detection of early signs of conflict.³¹ As the onset of conflict begins with an ideological shift towards nationalism, restrictions of women’s’ human rights and increased militarization, the absence of patriarchal values can indeed promote the ability to detect early warning signals regarding conflicts. This in turn can aid in formal peace negotiations through timely preventive diplomacy.
- Understanding of state and bureaucratic information: Information brought forth by women is often dismissed due to general mistrust of women in political spheres. Formal actors tend

to accept information presented by male counterparts which leads to crucial information which could aid and further a peace process being missed. For example: In Liberia, women have reported critical information to the concerned authorities, however, the same has been framed as 'illegitimate' on many accounts, leading to dismissal of accurate information.³²

Conclusion

The paper explored how women's involvement in informal peace processes is known to instill a sense of awareness, mobilization and organization. Culturally, women's active involvement in formal peacemaking roles is viewed as a 'Western' and 'formal' construct in light of gendered perceptions. These traditional personal roles continue to haunt women as they seek to undertake roles in the public and political sphere as well and thereby prevents them from taking on roles requiring decision-making and leadership.

One of the most obvious and long-term effect of non-inclusion of women in official talks is that all voices and interests are not heard. Similarly, the non-involvement of women in formal peace processes also risks non-inclusion of gender equality provisions in the peace agenda which furthers exacerbates human rights violations of women.

There is a challenge often encountered on the non-availability of accurate translations of words such as 'reconciliation', 'transitional justice' or even 'peacebuilding' in local languages. Another useful approach is to identify customs, norms and principles within the respective culture that demonstrates that these values are already a part of the respective culture for generations and therefore not alien or foreign at all. Women are ideal at leading such efforts as they tend to be very closely connected with social and cultural awareness.

Bureaucracies the world over are known to have lengthy processes of regulation and approvals which are necessary for maintaining checks and balances within their large machinery. Women peacemakers are often times well versed in developing creative alternatives and this can be a valuable asset when collaborating with bureaucracies and regulators for streamlining national frameworks and plans for peacebuilding. The other opportunity that comes with this movement between the tracks is the important and crucial networks that Track II level practitioners and women included can bring into their work at the Track I level. The range of strategic allies and partnerships that have already been built through their work at the Track II

level can be a valuable asset for the women when they come into Track I space of peacemaking.

One of the main skills that women peacebuilders need to strengthen in order to move to Track I roles is their understanding of international geopolitical influences on national processes and political sensitivities and considerations of local and national actors and systems. This acumen needs to extend to an understanding of political protocols and proper channels of communications, standard operating procedures, regulatory environments, the political cultures and actors involved.

For women peacebuilders, it will be very useful to identify male allies within the state system itself prior to launching their plans and programs. This will ensure that the relevance and sustainability of their efforts will be marshalled by those who have the power and clout to defend and promote these women, especially in cultures where women coming into public spaces and roles are met with resistance.

The inclusive style of negotiations that women bring to the table can prove to be extremely helpful at reinvigorating talks that remain stagnant at a level that lies in between the formal and the informal or the official and the local. The women-led style of negotiations, including but not limited to direct negotiation, gathering public support through the 'ethics of care' and raising awareness, can facilitate 'attitudinal changes'³³ in the parties to a conflict can prove to be extremely useful in instances of Track I and a Half diplomacy where negotiations involve political power-play and ideological shifts to honor peace.

One of the additional reasons why women's participation is lacking in formal processes is because the concept of participating in peace process is looked at in a rigid manner. It is rarely acknowledged that women work across both Track I and II diplomacy. Pursuing multiple entry points women who oscillate between multiple Tracks to ensure holistic and sustainable attainment of peace. Employing a feminist lens to peace processes has the potential to not merely boost women's effective participation across Tracks but can also prove to be a positive step towards creating long-lasting sustainable peace models.³⁴

Recommendations

The foregoing analysis and insights leads to the following recommendations with a view to promote the seamless and smooth movement of Women Peacemakers from Track II to Track I levels:

1. Capture and document how formal peace processes have yielded stronger and better outcomes when women are involved and actively included. This needs to be followed with documentation including interviews and analysis of experiences of women who have moved from Track II to Track I roles in peacebuilding. This would further showcase the merit in women being involved in Track II for the sake of both the women themselves, and the broader goal of peace.
2. Identify male allies and strategic partners who will champion the need for women to engage in formal peacemaking. These can help to disrupt the status quo for the better. When influential males and those in positions of power and leadership call for and advocate for the inclusion of women in peacemaking roles, a strong momentum can be created towards it.
3. Provide connectivity to women through regional and international platforms and networks as this would enable solidarity and support in the sometimes-daunting journey for women and when they encounter burnout and challenges. Learning from comparative experiences and having safe spaces for reflection, learning and exchange can go a long way for women as they move to formal roles.
4. Greater gender-sensitive language should be incorporated into peace agreements. A UN Women study has shown that since 2015, only half of the peace agreements refer to gender or women (see Footnote 15). The study also points out that the chances of the inclusion of these words are more likely if more and more women are involved in formal peace processes.

About the Author

Salma Yusuf is a human rights specialist, a lawyer and peace practitioner from Sri Lanka. She specializes in policy and process development, program and project implementation, research, strategic advocacy, and thought leadership. She has worked as a university lecturer and researcher, a journalist and newspaper columnist, a civil society activist both nationally and internationally and most recently, as a Public Official in the Government of Sri Lanka where she led the process of drafting and developing Sri Lanka's first National Policy on Reconciliation which is the first in Asia and among a few in the world.

Presently, she is a Steering Committee Member, Women Mediators across the Commonwealth Network; Advisory Board Member, World Beyond War; and the Human Rights Projects Director at the Foundation for Law and International Affairs.

Further, she is a practising lawyer and serves as a Consultant and Trainer on Human Rights, Transitional Justice, Peacebuilding and Democratization processes and programs internationally.

She has a Master of Laws in Public International Law from Queen Mary University of London and a Bachelor of Laws (Honours) from the University of London. She is an Attorney-at-Law of the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka. She has completed specialized fellowships at University of Toronto, University of Canberra and American University in Washington.

Hailing from a “triple minority” background – namely ethnic, religious and linguistic minority communities – Salma Yusuf has translated her heritage into professional acumen by developing a high degree of empathy to grievances, sophisticated and nuanced understanding of challenges, and cross-cultural sensitivity to the aspirations and needs of societies, communities and stakeholder she works with. She brings in a multi-stakeholder perspective to all her professional engagements having worked in diverse sectors.

About Ottawa Dialogue

Established in 2009, Ottawa Dialogue is a university-based organization that brings together research and action in the field of dialogue and mediation. Guided by the needs of the parties in conflict, Ottawa Dialogue develops and carries out quiet and long-term, dialogue-driven initiatives around the world.

References

- ¹ Lanie M. (2003) 'Are Women Natural Peacemakers?' *Canadian Women Studies Journal* <https://cws.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/cws/article/download/11843/10926>
- ² "Women's Participation in Peace Processes" (Database). (1992-2022). *Council on Foreign Relations*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/explore-the-data>
- ³ Krause J., Krause, W & P. Bränfors 'Women's participation in peace negotiations and the durability of peace,' *International Interactions*. 44(6): 985-1016, DOI: [10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386](https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386)
- ⁴ Afghanistan Case Study, Women's Participation in Peace Processes. (N.D). *Council on Foreign Relations*. Retrieved from <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/afghanistan>
- ⁵ "Women's Participation in Peace Processes" (Database). (1992-2022). *Council on Foreign Relations*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/explore-the-data>
- ⁶ Gupta Rao G. (2021). No peace without Women, *Times of India*. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/voices/no-peace-without-women/>
- ⁷ Myanmar Case Study: Women's Participation in Peace Processes. (N.D.). *Council on Foreign Relations*. Retrieved from <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/myanmar>
- ⁸ Accord Insight (2013). Women Building Peace, Accord: An International Review of Peace. *Conciliation Resources*. Retrieved from https://rc-services-assets.s3.eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/Women_building_peace_Accord_Insight_1.pdf
- ⁹ Porter, E. (2003). 'Women, Political Decision-Making, and Peace-Building,' *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 15 (3).
- ¹⁰ Dayal, A. & Christien, A. (2020). 'Reframing Women's Roles in Peace Processes: Beyond the Negotiating Table,' *Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security*. Retrieved from <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/resource/reframing-womens-roles-in-peace-processes/>
- ¹¹ United Nations Study Submitted to the Secretary General Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1325, (2002). 'Women, Peace and Security,' <https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/womenpeaceandsecurity.pdf>
- ¹² Ambassador Ravinatha P. Aryasinha, Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka to the United Nations and other International Organizations in Geneva (Speech given at the Geneva Press Club). 2 April 2015. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/2-april-2015---sri-lanka---speech.pdf>
- ¹³ Yusuf, S. (2018). 'Women in Peace or Pieces: Perspectives from Sri Lanka.' *Canadian Woman Studies*. 33 (1-2). Retrieved from <https://cws.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/cws/article/download/37774/34320>
- ¹⁴ Krause, J. & Olsson, K. (2021). "Women's Participation in Peace Processes." In *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*. Edited by MacGinty, R. and A. Wanis-St. John. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- ¹⁵ Coomaraswamy, R. et al. (2015) "Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325." *UN Women*. Retrieved from: [http://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/UNW-GLOBAL-STUDY-1325-2015%20\(1\).pdf](http://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/UNW-GLOBAL-STUDY-1325-2015%20(1).pdf)
- ¹⁶ The term "meaningful inclusion" is highlighted in Cuhadar, E. (2020). 'Understanding Resistance to Inclusive Peace Processes.' *United States Institute for Peace*. https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/2020-03/pw_159-understanding_resistance_to_inclusive_peace_processes-pw.pdf
- ¹⁷ Ibid at 7.
- ¹⁸ Krause, J, Krause, W & P. Bränfors. (2018).
- ¹⁹ United Council Security Council Resolution 1325. 31 October 2000. Women, Peace and Security. New York: United Nations.
- ²⁰ United Nations, Study Submitted to the Secretary General Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1325. (2002), *op cit*.
- ²¹ UN Women (2021). 'Women's Meaningful Participation in Peace Processes: Modalities and Strategies Across Tracks.'" Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2021/06/proceedings-womens-meaningful-participation-in-peace-processes>
- ²² BMZ, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2014). 'Promoting Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and Peace Processes.' Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/features/features-working-women/working-with-women/docs/2014-05-08_toolkit_promoting-womens-participation-peace-neg_en.pdf

²³ United Nations (2002) 'Women, Peace, and Security.'
Retrieved from
<https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/womenpeaceandsecurity.pdf>

²⁴ Dayal, A. & Christien, A. (2020).

²⁵ Women's Meaningful Participation in Peace Processes Modalities And Strategies Across Tracks 2018 UN Document,
<https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2021/06/proceedings-womens-meaningful-participation-in-peace-processes>

²⁶ See, for example: Krause, J., Krause, W. & P. Bränfors (2018), and Coomaraswamy, R. et al. (2015).

²⁷ United Nations. (2002). 'Women, Peace, and Security.'
Retrieved from
<https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/womenpeaceandsecurity.pdf>

²⁸ This idea is developed in Agha, H.S., S. Feldman, A. Khalidi and Z. Schiff. (2003). *Track II Diplomacy: Lessons from the Middle East*. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.

²⁹ Ibid at 24.

³⁰ Maria, C. (2019). 'Developing Peace Education in Colombia: A qualitative enquiry of school practice.' *University of Manchester*. Retrieved from
https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/files/173346930/FULL_TEXT.PDF

³¹ United Nations (2002). 'Women, Peace and Security.'
Retrieved from
<https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/womenpeaceandsecurity.pdf>

³² Ibid.

³³ Mapendere, J. (2006). 'Track I and a Half Diplomacy and the Complementarity of Tracks,' *UN Culture of Peace Online Journal*, 2(1), 66-81. Retrieved from
https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/TrackOneandaHalfDiplomacy_Mapendere.pdf

³⁴ UN Women. (2018). 'Women's Meaningful Participation in Peace Processes Modalities And Strategies Across Tracks.'
Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2021/06/proceedings-womens-meaningful-participation-in-peace-processes>