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Gender and Legitimacy in United Nations Mediation

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ABSTRACT

In 2000, the United Nations (UN) adopted Resolution 1325, the foundation of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda. It aims to make peace and security more gender-sensitive and inclusive. Scholars have examined the implementation of the WPS Agenda in peacebuilding and peacekeeping; however, mediation, particularly UN-brokered peace processes, remains under-researched. Nineteen years on, progress is inconsistent. Numbers of women have increased in negotiations, but they remain a minority. While the UN has guidelines on gender in mediation, peace processes do not consider gender issues systematically. This project considers the problem of how the UN has institutionalized the WPS Agenda in its mediation work. This issue matters because inclusive, gender-sensitive peace processes are more likely to reach just, sustainable agreements. Yet, scholarship to date has not systematically examined the institutionalization of the WPS Agenda in UN mediation.

I examine how the changing historical context of UN mediation has affected its institutionalization of the WPS Agenda. In the post-Cold War era, UN mediation has moved from being seen as a diplomatic art to a professionalized science. Narratives about mediation as an "art" or as a "science" inform how the UN has institutionalized the WPS Agenda in mediation. To examine this, I take an interdisciplinary, feminist, and qualitative approach to this research. I conceptualize institutions as assemblages of narratives (stories about what mediation is), practices (how one does mediation), and subjectivities (ideal types of actors in mediation). These encapsulate prevailing notions of what is legitimate in UN mediation. For the WPS Agenda to be successful, it has to fit with these existing ideas of legitimacy. The ideas of UN mediation as an art or a science both constrain the implementation of the WPS Agenda, although they do it in different ways. I show how these competing ideas about mediation affect the interpretation of the WPS Agenda, whether it is seen as relevant, and how it is implemented at field and headquarters levels.

The narrative of mediation as science constructs UN mediation as a technical endeavor. It employs a mechanistic ontology of peace in which issues can be treated separately, and relies upon a linear conception of progress. It depoliticizes gender relations, treating them largely as "women's issues." In practice, UN personnel use conflict analysis to produce specialized knowledge about a conflict. Gender is incorporated as one technical area among many. Moreover, UN staff often forget to consider gender in their analyses. Local women feature as sources of information that can legitimate a process, as well as make it more effective. At the same time, they are prevented from fully participating due to a presumed lack of capacity.

Meanwhile, the narrative of mediation as an art privileges experience rather than training, the consent of negotiating parties, and relationships. Gender and women appear risky because they potentially endanger consent. Mediators practice emotional labor to get and keep the consent of conflict parties, who are widely understood to be male politicians or military leaders. Emotional labor hinges on male trust and bonding, particularly in informal settings. Meanwhile, UN mediators exercise a significant degree of discretion over the implementation of the WPS Agenda in their work. Not only are there few professional incentives for them to implement it, doing so may risk others' perception of their political judgment. Finally, practicing UN mediation as an art legitimates the representation of the ideal UN mediator as a man with good people skills and a feel for the game that has developed through extensive experience in diplomacy or politics.

GENDER AND LEGITIMACY IN UNITED NATIONS MEDIATION

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Problem

In accounts of UN Security Council resolution 1325's creation in 2000, women's NGOs figure prominently alongside the members of the Security Council.[1] Representatives of these NGOs had an explicitly feminist intent in bringing gender to the Security Council: they sought not only the inclusion of women and gender in the Council's work, but to sever the linkages between patriarchal masculinity, militarism and war.[2] As Felicity Hill, one NGO activist argued, resolution 1325 could be "potentially revolutionary as it could transform ways of understanding how security is conceived, protected and enforced. It could make photos of only male leaders at peace negotiating tables starkly outdated."[3]

Resolution 1325 would form the foundation of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda, a set of resolutions organized around the core principles of preventing violence, ensuring women's participation, and protecting vulnerable people. As part of this, it calls for the

[1] Laura J. Shepherd, "Constructing Civil Society: Gender, Power and Legitimacy in United Nations Peacebuilding Discourse," *European Journal of International Relations* 21, no. 4 (2015): 887–910.
[2] Cynthia Cockburn, "Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12, no. 2 (2010): 139–57.
[3] As quoted on p. 137 of Carol Cohn, Helen Kinsella, and Sheri Gibbings, "Women, Peace and Security Resolution 1325," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6, no. 1 (2004): 130–40.

inclusion of women and gender issues in conflict mediation.[4] Yet, United Nations (UN)-brokered peace processes remain male-dominated and focused on masculinized security issues.[5] Despite some progress, mediation has been less responsive to the WPS Agenda than other areas of peace and security.[6]

The incorporation of the WPS Agenda in UN mediation started almost ten years after the adoption of Resolution 1325. Women were actively engaged as mediators in only eight percent of cases between 1991 and 2014.[7] A global study by UN Women found that, in fifteen of sixteen national dialogues they examined, women were excluded from decision-making. Even limited participation is hard won. The global study argues that mediation actors remain resistant to including women. They do not initiate efforts to include women or gender issues, and only do so after sustained lobbying by women's organizations and international actors.[8] There have been some successes: UN Security Council resolution 1325 has codified a norm of gender equality and increased the number of gender-sensitive clauses in peace agreements.[9] Yet, less than a third of all agreements since 2000 include language on gender.[10] Moreover, peace processes that are

[4] The appendices contain provisions on participation from the WPS resolutions of the UN Security Council.
[5] Radhika Coomaraswamy, "Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325" (New York: UN Women, 2015), http://wps.unwomen.org/~/media/files/un%20women/wps/highlights/unw-global-study-1325-2015.pdf; UN Women, "Women's Meaningful Participation in Negotiating Peace and the Implementation of Peace Agreements: Report of the Expert Group Meeting" (New York: UN Women, 2018), http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2018/10/egm-report-womens-meaningful-participation-in-negotiating-peace.
[6] Pablo Castillo Diaz, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence" (New York: UN Women, 2012).
[7] Karin Aggestam and Isak Svensson, "Where Are the Women in Peace Mediation?," in *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation*, ed. Karin Aggestam and Ann Towns (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 149–68.
[8] ibid. p. 47.
[9] Christine Bell and Catherine O'Rourke, "Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper? The Impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 on Peace Processes and Their Agreements," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (2010): 941–80; Torunn L. Tryggestad, "The UN Peacebuilding Commission and Gender: A Case of Norm Reinforcement," *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 2 (2010): 159–71; Kara Ellerby, "(En)Gendered Security? The Complexities of Women's Inclusion in Peace Processes," *International Interactions* 39, no. 4 (2013): 435–60.
[10] Castillo Diaz, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence."

examples of inclusion, such as Northern Ireland, are often where the UN has been least influential.

Existing literature examines the gendering of mediation across different settings,[11] modalities that affect women's participation,[12] the relationship between inclusion and the outcomes of talks,[13] or how gender stereotypes affect bargaining behavior.[14] Another stream of literature focuses on how international organizations like the European Union, the African Union and NATO incorporate the WPS Agenda.[15] To date, however, feminist research has not focused specifically on UN mediation. Many studies have described the implementation of the WPS Agenda in UN peacebuilding and peacekeeping, pointing to shortcomings in women's participation and the inclusion of gender issues, examining mission mandates, and local factors

[11] Sarai B. Aharoni, "Diplomacy as Crisis: An Institutional Analysis of Gender and the Failure to Negotiate Peace in Israel," in *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation*, ed. Karin Aggestam and Ann Towns (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 193–211; Sarai B. Aharoni, "The Gender–Culture Double Bind in Israeli–Palestinian Peace Negotiations: A Narrative Approach," *Security Dialogue* 45, no. 4 (2014): 373–90; Kara Ellerby, "A Seat at the Table Is Not Enough: Understanding Women's Substantive Representation in Peace Processes," *Peacebuilding* 4, no. 2 (2016): 136–50; Georgina Waylen, "A Seat at the Table--Is It Enough? Gender, Multiparty Negotiations, and Institutional Design in South Africa and Northern Ireland," *Politics & Gender* 10, no. 4 (2014): 495–523; Erika Svedberg, "East-West Negotiations," in *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation*, ed. Karin Aggestam and Ann Towns (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 259–75.

[12] Thania Paffenholz, "What Works in Participation," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security*, ed. Sara E. Davies and Jacqui True (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Ellerby, "A Seat at the Table Is Not Enough."

[13] Bell and O'Rourke, "Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper?"; Jana Krause, Werner Krause, and Piia Bränfors, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace," *International Interactions* 0, no. 0 (2018): 1–32; Sumie Nakaya, "Women and Gender Equality in Peace Processes: From Women at the Negotiating Table to Postwar Structural Reforms in Guatemala and Somalia," *Global Governance* 9, no. 4 (2003): 459–76.

[14] Mark A. Boyer et al., "Gender and Negotiation: Some Experimental Findings from an International Negotiation Simulation," *International Studies Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2009): 23–47; Daniel Naurin, Elin Naurin, and Amy Alexander, "Gender Stereotyping and Chivalry in International Negotiations: A Survey Experiment in the Council of the European Union," *International Organization* (2019): 1–20; Laura J. Kray and Leigh Thompson, "Gender Stereotypes and Negotiation Performance: An Examination of Theory and Research," *Research in Organizational Behavior* 26 (2005): 103–82.

[15] Katharine A. M. Wright, "NATO's Adoption of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security: Making the Agenda a Reality," *International Political Science Review* 37, no. 3 (2016): 350–61; Roberta Guerrina and Katharine A. M. Wright, "Gendering Normative Power Europe: Lessons of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda," *International Affairs* 92, no. 2 (2016): 293–312; Toni Haastrup, "Creating Cinderella? The Unintended Consequences of the Women Peace and Security Agenda for the EU's Mediation Architecture," *International Negotiation* 23, no. 2 (2018): 218–37; Toni Haastrup, "Women, Peace and Security – the African Experience," *Political Insight* 10, no. 1 (2019): 9–11.

affecting implementation.[16] Meanwhile, the mediation literature focuses on techniques and outcomes,[17] mandates,[18] the role of the mediator,[19] complexity and coordination among multiple actors,[20] or issues such as mediation entry and acceptance,[21] but it pays little attention to gender.[22] UN mediation deserves attention because the UN is in the unique role of being a principal promulgator of the WPS Agenda, as well as a significant mediator of international and civil conflicts. Moreover, while peacekeeping, peacebuilding, and mediation are related, mediation is a specific endeavor focused on facilitating peace agreements. In addition, the UN

[16] Laura J. Shepherd, *Gender, UN Peacebuilding, and the Politics of Space: Locating Legitimacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); 'Funmi Olonisakin, Karen Barnes, and Eka Ikpe, eds., *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice*, Contemporary Security Studies (New York: Routledge, 2011); Anne-Kathrin Kreft, "The Gender Mainstreaming Gap: Security Council Resolution 1325 and UN Peacekeeping Mandates," *International Peacekeeping* 24, no. 1 (2017): 132–58; Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004); Audrey Reeves, "Feminist Knowledge and Emerging Governmentality in UN Peacekeeping," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14, no. 3 (2012): 348–69; Theodora-Ismene Gizelis, "Gender Empowerment and United Nations Peacebuilding," *Journal of Peace Research* 46, no. 4 (2009): 505–23; Elisabeth J Porter, *Peacebuilding: Women in International Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Torunn L Tryggestad, "Trick or Treat? The UN and Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security," *Global Governance* 15, no. 4 (2009): 539–57; Annica Kronsell and Erika Svedberg, *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices* (Routledge, 2011); Susan Willett, "Introduction: Security Council Resolution 1325: Assessing the Impact on Women, Peace and Security," *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 2 (2010): 142–58; Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley, *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping: Women, Peace, and Security in Post-Conflict States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Pub, 2007).

[17] Daniel Druckman and James A. Wall, "A Treasure Trove of Insights: Sixty Years of JCR Research on Negotiation and Mediation," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 9 (2017): 1898–1924; James A. Wall and Timothy C. Dunne, "Mediation Research: A Current Review," *Negotiation Journal* 28, no. 2 (2012): 217–44.

[18] Laurie Nathan, "The Mandate Effect: A Typology and Conceptualization of Mediation Mandates," *Peace & Change* 43, no. 3 (2018): 318–43; Laurie Nathan, "Marching Orders: Exploring the Mediation Mandate," *African Security* 10, no. 3–4 (2017): 155–75.

[19] Cedric de Coning, "Mediation and Peacebuilding: SRSGs and DSRSGs in Integrated Missions," *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 16, no. 2 (2010): 281–99; Timothy D. Sisk, "Introduction: The SRSGs and the Management of Civil Wars," *Global Governance* 16, no. 2 (2010): 237–42; Marie-Joëlle Zahar, "SRSG Mediation in Civil Wars: Revisiting the 'Spoiler' Debate," *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 16, no. 2 (2010): 265–80.

[20] Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, eds., *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World* (Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace, 1999).

[21] Kyle Beardsley, *The Mediation Dilemma*, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2011); Mohammed Omar Maundi et al., eds., *Getting In: Mediators' Entry into the Settlement of African Conflicts* (Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2006).

[22] Julia Palmiano Federer and Rachel Gasser, "International Peace Mediation and Gender: Bridging the Divide," BPC Policy Brief (Rio de Janeiro: BRICS Policy Center, 2016), http://bricspolicycenter.org/homolog/uploads/trabalhos/7183/doc/1035814582.pdf.

seeks to influence mediation practice by producing guidance on best practice in conflict resolution to regional organizations, other international organizations, and member states.[23]

The central question I address here is how the UN has institutionalized the WPS Agenda in its mediation work. I use interpretive methods to analyze evidence drawn from thirty-seven interviews with UN mediation practitioners in New York and Nairobi, UN guidance documents and grey literature, and participant observation of internal UN trainings on gender and mediation. I find that contestation over UN mediation – whether it is a diplomatic art of managing relationships or a technical science of conflict management – affects the implementation of gender reforms in different ways. Narratives and practices associated with the view of mediation as an art exclude women by creating informal, male-only spaces. Meanwhile, technical approaches to mediation depoliticize the role of gender relations in conflict, reducing the perceived importance of including gender issues in negotiations.

Women deserve to participate in decisions that affect them. This is a right stipulated in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and participation is one of the pillars of the WPS Agenda. Additionally, gender inequalities are incompatible with feminist conceptions of peace, which reject white, capitalist, heteronormative patriarchal violence, but especially in its militarized form.[24] Even studies that employ a more restrictive concepts of peace as an absence of violence show a relationship between gender

[23] Elodie Convergne, "Learning to Mediate? The Mediation Support Unit and the Production of Expertise by the UN," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 10, no. 2 (2016): 181–99.

[24] Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–99; Cynthia Cockburn, "Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12, no. 2 (2010): 139–57; Cynthia Enloe, *Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007); bell hooks, "Feminism and Militarism: A Comment," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 23, no. 3/4 (1995): 58–64; Swati Parashar, "Discursive (In)Securities and Postcolonial Anxiety: Enabling Excessive Militarism in India," *Security Dialogue* 49, no. 1–2 (2018): 123–35; Jamie J. Hagen, "Queering Women, Peace and Security," *International Affairs* 92, no. 2 (2016): 313–32.

inequality and conflict.[25] Moreover, there is growing evidence of a negative correlation between the inclusiveness of a peace process and the likelihood of conflict relapse.[26] An inclusive approach to mediation can transform the status of women in a post-conflict society. In many cases, conflict forces women into new roles, and new threats spur women's political mobilization. These social and political changes present opportunities for lasting empowerment that need to be seized from the start of a mediation process.[27] An inclusive process means the final agreement will be more likely to include provisions on gender equality.[28]

In this introduction, I provide an overview of the WPS Agenda in UN mediation, a brief overview of my research design and theoretical approach, and a summary of the chapters.

UN Mediation and the WPS Agenda

UN mediation can encompass a range of activities ranging from shuttle diplomacy to formal talks. The UN defines mediation as "a process whereby a third party assists two or more parties, with their consent, to prevent, manage or resolve a conflict by helping them to develop mutually acceptable agreements."[29] When the UN leads a mediation effort, the Secretary-General will

[25] Valerie M. Hudson, *Sex and World Peace* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); Valerie M. Hudson et al., "The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States," *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2008): 7–45; M. Caprioli, "Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict," *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (2005): 161–78.

[26] Krause, Krause, and Bränfors, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace."

[27] Nora Dudwick and Kathleen Kuehnast, "Gender and Fragility: Ensuring a Golden Hour," United States Institute of Peace, 2016, https://www.usip.org/publications/2016/11/gender-and-fragility-ensuring-golden-hour; Miriam J. Anderson, *Windows of Opportunity: How Women Seize Peace Negotiations for Political Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Anne-Kathrin Kreft, "Responding to Sexual Violence: Women's Mobilization in War," *Journal of Peace Research* 56, no. 2 (2019): 220–3; Kaitlyn Webster, Chong Chen, and Kyle Beardsley, "Conflict, Peace, and the Evolution of Women's Empowerment," *International Organization* 73, no. 2 (2019): 255–89; Marie E. Berry, *War, Women, and Power: From Violence to Mobilization in Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Aili Mari Tripp, *Women and Power in Postconflict Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[28] Jacqui True and Yolanda Riveros-Morales, "Towards Inclusive Peace: Analysing Gender-Sensitive Peace Agreements 2000–2016," *International Political Science Review* 40, no. 1 (2019): 23–40.

[29] UNDPPA, "Guidance for Effective Mediation," 2012, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GuidanceEffectiveMediation_UNDPA2012%28english%29_0.pdf. . I include good offices in the study of mediation here as it is widely recognized that good offices often blends into mediation where the representative of the Secretary-General makes proposals, holds meetings with

appoint a representative along with a team. In some cases, the team will be based in-country. Otherwise, they will be based elsewhere and visit regularly. These teams are often formalized as Special Political Missions (referred to throughout as 'missions' or 'field missions') and usually include political officers and technical experts in a range of relevant issue areas, as well as logistics and support staff.[30] The UN Department for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (UNDPPA) oversees this work and is responsible for promoting women's participation in mediation.[31]

Prior to the 2000s, UN mediation did not consider gender in a systematic or nuanced fashion. Important reports that helped crystallize the UN's approach to peace operations, like the Secretary General's *Agenda for Peace*, the Brahimi Report on UN peace operations, and the 1992 *Handbook on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes between States,* either failed to mention gender, or treated it superficially as a synonym for 'women'. Women mainly figure in these reports as protected persons under international humanitarian law.[32] There were some exceptions to this general trend. The Guatemalan peace process, where the UN acted as observer, mediator and verification monitor, was notable for the extensive participation of women and the inclusion of gender equality provisions in the final agreements, although some contest whether the process cemented structural change.[33]

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parties, or facilitates talks (as noted on page 33 of the Handbook on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes between States). The UN Good Offices Mission in Cyprus is one such example: the Special Advisor to the Secretary-General carries out many tasks aimed at facilitating peace talks between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

[30] Mediation start-up guidelines p. 22.

[31] UNDPPA, "DPA Gender Factsheet 2018," 2018, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GenderFactsheet2018.pdf.

[32] Lakhdar Brahimi, "Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations," 2000, https://undocs.org/A/55/305; UN Secretary-General, "An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-Keeping" (United Nations, 1992), https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/blog/document/an-agenda-for-peace-preventive-diplomacy-peacemaking-and-peace-keeping-report-of-the-secretary-general/; UN Office of Legal Affairs, "Handbook on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes between States," 1992, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/HandbookonPeacefulSettlementofDisputes_UN1992.pdf.

[33] Ellerby, "(En)Gendered Security?"; Nakaya, "Women and Gender Equality in Peace Processes"; "Case Study on Guatemala: Observations and Reflections on the Negotiation and National Dialogue Process" (Bern/Ciudad

UN Security Council resolution 1325 and follow-up WPS resolutions prompted greater attention to women and gender inequalities. Resolutions 1325, 1889, 2122 and 2242 call for increasing women's participation in peace and security decision-making and considering the gendered aspects of peace and conflict (see Appendix for relevant language from the resolutions). These resolutions also detail mechanisms for implementation and accountability. The Secretary-General tried to foster greater implementation through his seven-point action plan on women's participation in peacebuilding. This included commitments to increase women's representation, include gender expertise, and establishing forums for women's civil society organizations to have input into peace processes. The overarching goal of the plan was to "ensure the systematic inclusion and involvement of women in any given mediation process."[34]

UNDPPA was slow to institutionalize the WPS Agenda in its work, taking roughly nine years since the adoption of resolution 1325 to begin this work in earnest. It seems that much of the impetus for it to do so came from UNDPPA staff who were personally committed to gender equality.[35] In 2009, the UNDPPA formed its Gender Technical Unit, which currently has three full-time staff that provide expertise on gender to missions.[36] Under the UN Strategic Results Framework for Women, Peace and Security 2011-2020, the UNDPPA reports on fifteen commitments. These include increasing women's participation in mediation, appointing more female envoys, providing more gender expertise, consulting with women's civil society organizations, and including gender-sensitive language in peace agreements.[37] It is also part of a joint strategy with UN Women to implement measures in three core areas: building gender and

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Guatemala: swisspeace/Centro de Estudios de Guatemala, 2017), https://www.swisspeace.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/Mediation/Guatemala_Case_Study_-_National_Dialogue_Handbook.pdf.

[34] UN Secretary-General, "Women's Participation in Peacebuilding," 2010, http://www.unwomen.org/en/docs/2010/9/women-in-peacebuilding-report-2010, p. 10.

[35] Interview 20165.

[36] ibid.

[37] UNDPPA, "Gender Factsheet 2017."

mediation capacity in the UN (including providing a roster of female mediators and gender experts, and deploying more gender advisors), delivering training workshops for UNDPPA staff and high-level mediators, and developing guidance documents on gender and mediation.[38]

Some interviewees expressed the view that the UN has "done all the paperwork" on the WPS Agenda and now needs "to get to work."[39] Indeed, it has achieved quite a lot in terms of reaching the goals it has set for itself. As of 2017, it had trained 280 political officers from HQ and field missions. 184 senior mediators had participated in the High-Level Seminars on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Processes. Feedback from the trainings indicates that respondents generally found them useful (although it is important to note that participants tend to self-select).[40] In 2012 it published the *Guidance on Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Ceasefire and Peace Agreements*, and in 2016 it published the *Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies*. Moreover, as of 2017, twenty-five gender advisors were deployed and they counted fifty gender focal points at HQ and in field missions.[41] The UNDPPA's 2019 annual report describes future work on the WPS Agenda, including the establishment of a Women's Advisory Group to foster representation in Iraq's ongoing dialogue processes. It will also increase its cooperation with women's mediation networks.[42] Interviewees frequently cited cases like Colombia, Syria and Libya as good practice examples of women's inclusion.

There are some notable gaps in the institutionalization of the WPS Agenda. The representation of women in head of mission and deputy head of mission roles rose from two

[38] UNDPPA, "Gender Factsheet 2017."
[39] Interview 20165.
[40] UNDPPA, "2019 Update to the Multi-Year Appeal," 2019, https://dppa.un.org/sites/default/files/2019_update_to_the_multi-year_appeal.pdf, p. 30.
[41] UNDPPA, "Gender Factsheet 2017." Gender focal points often hold this role in addition to their main position.
[42] UNDPPA, "2019 Update to the Multi-Year Appeal," p. 9.

percent to twenty-four percent from 2006 to 2016.[43] However, much of the initial increase came from women being appointed to deputy roles. It is important to disaggregate the jobs of head of mission and deputy head of mission. As noted above, the deputy is often responsible for operational aspects of the mission. Deputies tend to have different career trajectories (often career UN) than Special Envoys, who tend to be former diplomats or ministers. So, while women who hold deputy posts are extremely important, they do not necessarily hold the same level of responsibility for mediation efforts as the Special Envoy. Moreover, while women typically make up a third of the interviewees for senior posts, they are appointed at lower rates. Across the years 2013 to 2016, men made up eighty-three percent of appointees in contrast to only sixty-six percent of the interviewee pool.[44] Overall, the picture of senior mediators in the UN is still overwhelmingly male. Only five of the twenty-three (twenty-one percent) current Special Political Missions are headed by women (see Appendix).

Under-resourcing continues to be a significant hurdle. As a recent Expert Group report noted, senior gender advisor posts are usually the first to be cut when missions are faced with budgetary shortfalls.[45] Two missions I spoke to did not have a dedicated gender advisor. In the first case, a senior political advisor was acting as gender focal point. In another, resources had not been allocated to the mission to hire someone.[46] In some cases, gender advisors are seconded from UN Women (the UN's gender agency) to missions, as happened in the Syria talks. However, UN Women itself struggles with understaffing. It is important to note that under-resourcing is not an explanation of implementation outcomes: the allocation of budgetary resources is a reflection of the underlying priorities of the organization.

[43] UNDPPA, "Gender Factsheet 2017."
[44] Data from: UNDPPA, "Gender Factsheet 2017."
[45] UN Women, "Women's Meaningful Participation in Negotiating Peace and the Implementation of Peace Agreements," p. 5.
[46] Interview 20172.

Ellerby identifies three jointly necessary conditions for women's substantive representation in peace processes: a women's agenda that details how women should participate in peacebuilding, sufficient access to the formal process, and mediators and/or conflict parties who advocate for the inclusion of women and gender issues.[47] A global study by UN Women found that, in fifteen of sixteen national dialogues they examined, women were excluded from decision-making. Even limited participation is hard won. The global study argues that mediation actors remain resistant to including women, that they do not initiate efforts to include women or gender issues, and only do so after sustained lobbying by women's organizations and international actors.[48]

Women's participation tends to be limited to consultations during talks. Interviewees frequently cited cases like Colombia, Syria and Yemen as good practice examples of women's inclusion where the UN was mediator. Yemen is different because the Special Representative at the time, Jamal Benomar, insisted on a thirty percent quota for women's participation in the Yemeni National Dialogue. That process has since collapsed. Syria's UN-brokered peace process includes a Women's Advisory Board, made up of civil society women, and Colombia's process included a similar mechanism. While consultation measures are extremely important, they fall short of women's direct participation in talks. This limits the substantive impact that consultative mechanisms can have.[49] For instance, in my experience with the Cyprus peace process in 2012, the sophisticated proposals of the Gender Advisory Board did not make it into draft texts under consideration by the parties, each of whom had only one woman each (and sometimes none). In addition, consultations tend to be limited to the negotiation phase, rather than from the

[47] Ellerby, "A Seat at the Table Is Not Enough."
[48] Coomaraswamy, "Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325," p. 47.
[49] Coomaraswamy, p. 48.

preparatory stage through to implementation. The preparatory or 'talks-about-talks' phase is extremely important as it is during this time that the agenda and format of the talks are decided upon.[50] Proponents of the WPS Agenda within the UN have therefore begun to focus on "meaningful participation" as an outcome, rather than the simple presence of women in negotiations; i.e., this is the difference between descriptive and substantive representation.[51]

My Argument and Approach

I examine how the changing historical context of UN mediation has affected its institutionalization of the WPS Agenda. UN mediation has undergone significant changes in the post-Cold War era. It has moved from being seen as a diplomatic art to a professionalized science. Narratives about mediation as an "art" or as a "science" inform how the UN has institutionalized the WPS Agenda in mediation. To examine this, I take an interdisciplinary, feminist, and qualitative approach to this research. I conceptualize institutions as assemblages of narratives (stories about what mediation is), practices (how one does mediation), and subjectivities (ideal types of actors in mediation). These encapsulate prevailing notions of what is legitimate in UN mediation. For the WPS Agenda to be successful, it has to fit with these existing ideas of legitimacy. The ideas of UN mediation as an art or a science both constrain the implementation of the WPS Agenda, although they do it in different ways. I show how these competing ideas about mediation affect the interpretation of the WPS Agenda, whether it is seen as relevant, and how it is implemented at field and headquarters levels. Ultimately, this project can account for why some aspects of the WPS Agenda, like including gender as an area of

[50] Waylen, "A Seat at the Table--Is It Enough?"; Christine Bell, *On the Law of Peace: Peace Agreements and the Lex Pacificatoria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[51] UN Women, "Women's Meaningful Participation in Negotiating Peace and the Implementation of Peace Agreements."

technical expertise, have been incorporated in the UN's work, while others have been met with passive or even active resistance.

My analysis focuses on the UN offices responsible for overseeing and implementing mediation efforts. In particular, I focus on UNDPPA. UNDPPA oversees the UN's special political missions, many of which have mediation responsibilities. I focus on both headquarters and field missions, based on evidence that field-based interveners operate differently from those at headquarters. Rather than focusing on specific missions, I have sought interviews with field-based personnel from as many missions as possible to build a general sense of how mediation works. Although there are undoubtedly differences between the contexts of missions, field-based staff do not stay for long periods at any given mission and they tend to circulate through several in the course of their careers. As such, they carry with them assumptions about mediation that may transcend the context in which they work.

To trace the emergence of two distinct ideas of conducting mediation, I rely upon publicly available reports on mediation, expert interviews, and secondary literature. To observe narratives, practices, and subjectivities, I have collected semi-structured interviews with UN mediation practitioners, UN guidance documents on mediation, participant-observation of and materials from a UN training on gender and mediation, participant-observation of meetings at the Office of the Special Envoy to the Great Lakes, memoirs of former UN Special Envoys, UN mission reports to the Security Council, and internal briefing papers.

This research design focuses on the three lenses of narratives, practices, and subjectivities. The main concern is to identify "how things are done around here" - the rules in use that indicate prevailing ideas about legitimacy - by asking UN insiders about how they do

their work, and observing their behavior.[52] I employ a mixed qualitative methods research design. I use the ethnographic methods of semi-structured interviewing and observation, as well as narrative analysis and sociological techniques to collect and analyze information about narratives, practices, and subjectivities. I follow convention in constructivist international relations by treating practices and narratives not as causal but as dispositional: they influence outcomes by constraining the range of acceptable behavior.[53] The research design allows me to make specific, contextualized claims about gender and legitimacy in UN mediation.[54]

Ethics, Accountability, and Relevance

Despite the good intentions of individuals engaged in UN mediation, at the end of the day, they do not suffer the consequences of failed agreements, or agreements that further entrench violent structures. Special Envoys parlay their experience into the next high-level role, and international staff move to another posting. Autesserre notes that interveners are closed off from feedback about whether their projects have a meaningful impact on their supposed beneficiaries; their measures of success have more to do with institutional incentives than lived experience.[55] As Sabaratnam argues, interveners are largely indifferent to whether their interventions really work. What drives intervention is the coloniality of power.[56] Contemporary UN mediation deals exclusively with conflicts in postcolonial states and territories. Assumptions about cultural and

[52] Vivien Lowndes, "How Are Things Done Around Here? Uncovering Institutional Rules and Their Gendered Effects," *Politics & Gender* 10, no. 4 (2014): 685–91.
[53] Séverine Autesserre, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Alexander Wendt, "On Constitution and Causation in International Relations," *Review of International Studies* 24, no. 5 (1998): 101–118.
[54] Audie Klotz and Cecelia Lynch, *Strategies for Research in Constructivist International Relations*, International Relations in a Constructed World (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2007).
[55] Autesserre, *Peaceland*.
[56] Meera Sabaratnam, *Decolonising Intervention: International Statebuilding in Mozambique* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

racial inferiority inform claims about people lacking "capacity" or needing assistance.[57] Decolonizing intervention, including mediation, should be of central importance. Part of this strategy involves departing from the assumption that there is one way to promote human flourishing. Rutazibwa and Sabaratnam respectively recommend a strategy of "de-mythology", which problematizes dominant concepts and the positioning of the West as the fount of world history.[58]

Throughout this project I seek to "de-mythologize" UN mediation by uncovering its assumptions and practices, and examining their implications for addressing injustice. Richa Nagar and Susan Geiger ask: "how can the *production* of knowledges be tied explicitly to a material politics of social change favoring less privileged communities and places?"[59] Further, what power hierarchies am I reproducing by choosing to focus on the UN, rather than the people its practices and narratives may harm? Sabaratnam rightly notes that a Eurocentric focus on the interveners flattens the experiences and subjectivities of the people targeted in these interventions. Moreover, in empathizing with the interveners, it "leads to a closed circle in which there is no alternative to intervention, so we have to make it softer and friendlier."[60] Attempts at policy relevance may undermine useful critique. My ethical obligation, therefore, is to hold the UN accountable for its narratives and practices, and make visible how it may be failing the most vulnerable.

[57] Olivia Umurerwa Rutazibwa, "Studying Agaciro: Moving Beyond Wilsonian Interventionist Knowledge Production on Rwanda," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 8, no. 4 (2014): 291–302.
[58] Rutazibwa; Meera Sabaratnam, "IR in Dialogue … But Can We Change the Subjects? A Typology of Decolonising Strategies for the Study of World Politics," *Millennium* 39, no. 3 (2011): 781–803.
[59] Richa Nagar & Susan Geiger, "Reflexivity and Positionality in Feminist Fieldwork Revisited," ed. Adam Tickell, Eric Sheppard, Jamie Peck and Trevor Barnes, *Politics and Practice in Economic Geography* (London: Sage, 2007), pp. 267-278, p. 267. Emphasis in original.
[60] Meera Sabaratnam, *Decolonising Intervention: International Statebuilding in Mozambique* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), p. 24.

Dissatisfied with the limitations of academic research, I have turned to personal practice in my engagement with questions of accountability and justice in conflict resolution. One way I have done this is to train as a community Peacemaker with the Near Westside Peacemaking Center in Syracuse. This Center is one of only two in New York state. It uses Native American Peacemaking techniques - particularly those situated in Anishinaabe and Onondaga traditions[61] - to help community members deal with conflicts. Peacemaking as we practice it relies upon the circle, storytelling, and the talking piece. Peacemakers and community members sit in circle, creating a healing space for all. Only the person holding the talking piece may speak, meaning we have to listen carefully and empathetically. When we sit in circle, we use storytelling from our own cultures and experiences to offer possibilities and make connections. We do not offer solutions, but create a community that can support people as they decide what course of resolution will work for them. Our training as Peacemakers also pays attention to historical trauma, inclusion, and privilege. Peacemaking is an egalitarian, circular practice that is embedded in a specific Indigenous worldview. It is radically different from liberal peacebuilding, which seeks to build democratic states and liberal market economies from the top-down.[62] This experience informs my interpretation and critiques of UN mediation. It is also a decolonial practice in that it can offer ways of thinking creatively about alternative visions of peace and human flourishing - a theme I return to in the conclusion.[63]

[61] Anishinaabe Elders conduct some of the training, sharing what they feel is appropriate with non-Anishinaabe. We live and work on Onondaga land and several of our Peacemakers are Onondaga, meaning we modify some of our practices to suit, such as the direction in which we pass the talking piece around the circle.
[62] Laura J. Shepherd, *Gender, UN Peacebuilding, and the Politics of Space: Locating Legitimacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); Oliver P. Richmond, ed., *Palgrave Advances in Peacebuilding: Critical Developments and Approaches* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
[63] Rutazibwa, "Studying Agaciro."

As I am engaged in interpretation and representation, I must think carefully about to whom I am obliged, and about the nature of my ethical obligations.[64] How do I, as a researcher situated in the Global North, do a feminist reading of the UN's narratives and practices? I have sought throughout this project to consider how my own subjectivity is implicated in the act of analysis. As Nagar and Geiger stress, positionality is a process, rather than a fixed set of identity categories. Certain structures and experiences produce my encounters with the UN. Namely: my experience working on the UN's peace process in Cyprus, my whiteness, and my positioning in the US tradition of international relations theory that has helped to sustain white capitalist patriarchy in the US and across the globe.[65] I am in some ways an "outsider within": I can speak the language of the UN and positivist social science, and I know the institutional terrain of both. The many white women who work as gender advisors speak to me as if we share the same assumptions about gender, race, and the value of peacebuilding interventions. At the same time, I am, due to my female gender and feminist identity, face constant overt and tacit criticism of my presence and scholarly credentials.[66] This is a "powerful margin", as I have access to certain forms of power and authority, yet seek to fragment these through feminist research.[67] My positionality therefore requires to me do a double-reading: a critical, feminist reading of the contents of these texts, but also a reading of my own encounters with the texts.

[64] Linda Alcoff, "The Problem of Speaking for Others," *Cultural Critique*, no. 20 (1991): 5–32.
[65] Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015). American IR is particularly preoccupied with its status as a 'science', and disciplines its members into adherence to neo-positivism. As Linda Smith notes, these forms of knowledge production are tied to colonialism. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York: Zed Books, 2012).
[66] I draw here upon Hill Collins' notion of the 'outsider within', although she is using in the context of Black women's experiences in white institutions. Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2000), p.11.
[67] Azza Basarudin, *Humanizing the Sacred: Sisters in Islam and the Struggle for Gender Justice in Malaysia* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016).

Chapter Overview

This dissertation has six chapters. Chapter Two provides the theoretical and methodological framework for this project. I define the concepts of "institution" and "institutionalization", and discuss narratives, practices, and subjectivities. I discuss some of the expectations I have derived from the existing literature on the WPS Agenda, as well as themes or narrative elements I identified from inductive analysis. I then outline the qualitative research design and the data sources. The Appendices provide further information on my data. Chapter Three is the narrative analysis of UN mediation. I trace the development of the competing ideas of UN mediation as an art or as a science. I use narrative analysis to draw out the significant elements, as well as the underlying logics, of each narrative. In Chapters Four and Five, I examine the practices and subjectivities that the narratives of UN mediation as an art or a science legitimate. In Chapter Four, I analyze the art of UN mediation. I identify two key practices: emotional labor and discretion. I describe them in the context of UN mediation and discuss their implications for the institutionalization of the WPS Agenda. I also examine the subjectivity of the mediator, and how practicing mediation as an art legitimates a certain kind of person as a mediator. In Chapter Five, I turn to analyzing UN mediation as a science. I focus in particular on the practice of conflict analysis. I describe how UN mediation personnel conduct conflict analysis, and how knowledge about women and gender has been incorporated into it. I then examine the construction of "the women" as a key category of subjectivity in UN mediation. I argue that "the women" are constructed as an important source of information, but simultaneously are seen to lack the ability to fully participate in mediation. Finally, in Chapter Six, I sum up my argument and key findings. I consider the broader contributions of this project and directions for future research, and return to the question of transformational alternatives in conflict resolution.

2. THEORIZING GENDER IN UNITED NATIONS MEDIATION

Introduction

For all of its imperfections, the WPS Agenda is a serious attempt to change UN mediation as an institution: to move from being masculinized and elitist to being more inclusive and gender-sensitive.[1] The central problem I address, therefore, is how the UN has institutionalized the WPS Agenda in its mediation work. I use the term "institutionalize" to refer to processes of resistance, co-optation or acceptance of the WPS Agenda. Here, I treat institutions not as static or bounded but as conglomerations of rules, practices, narratives and subjectivities in processes of becoming.[2] I examine how the changing historical context of UN mediation has affected its institutionalization of the WPS Agenda. I argue that historical developments in UN mediation have led to the development of two main ideas about legitimate mediation narratives and practices. UN mediation has undergone significant changes in the post-Cold War era. It has moved from being seen as a diplomatic art to a professionalized science. Narratives about mediation as an "art" or as a "science" inform how the UN has incorporated the WPS Agenda in

[1] Carol Cohn, "Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A Path to Political Transformation?," in *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*, ed. Rai, Shirin M and Waylen, Georgina (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 185–206; Carol Cohn, Helen Kinsella, and Sheri Gibbings, "Women, Peace and Security Resolution 1325," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6, no. 1 (2004): 130–40.
[2] Carol Bacchi and Malin Rönnblom, "Feminist Discursive Institutionalism—A Poststructural Alternative," *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 22, no. 3 (2014): 170–86, p. 178.

mediation. Ultimately, this project can account for why some aspects of the WPS Agenda, like including gender as an area of technical expertise, have been incorporated in the UN's work, while others have been met with passive or even active resistance.

In this chapter, I introduce the concepts and methodology that allow me to pry open the "black box" of UN mediation.[3] I take an interdisciplinary, feminist, and qualitative approach to this research. I begin with an overview of the literature on gender and institutions and discuss how I use it here. I then introduce the three institutional concepts underpinning this project: narratives, practices, and subjectivities. Next, I consider the role of the local in this project. Finally, I discuss my qualitative research design, which draws upon a wide array of primary sources to trace the production of narratives, practices, and subjectivities in UN mediation.

Gender and Institutional Legacies

There is a growing literature that takes an institutionalist approach to the WPS Agenda, bringing insights from feminist political science to the study of gender in international organizations. Waylen examines how the institutional design of peace processes in South Africa and Northern Ireland were gendered, and how feminist actors sought to navigate these structures.[4] Similarly, Aharoni argues that peace processes should be treated as institutions. She argues that the logics of military security, crisis, and secrecy are constitutive elements of negotiations.[5] At an organizational level, institutional approaches have been applied to the European Union's and NATO's adoption of the WPS Agenda.[6] Thomson argues that we must pay greater attention to

[3] Georgina Waylen, "A Seat at the Table--Is It Enough? Gender, Multiparty Negotiations, and Institutional Design in South Africa and Northern Ireland," *Politics & Gender* 10, no. 4 (2014): 495–523.
[4] Waylen.
[5] Sarai B. Aharoni, "Diplomacy as Crisis: An Institutional Analysis of Gender and the Failure to Negotiate Peace in Israel," in *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation*, ed. Karin Aggestam and Ann Towns (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 193–211.
[6] Louise A. Chappell, *The Politics of Gender Justice at the International Criminal Court: Legacies and Legitimacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Katharine A. M. Wright, "NATO's Adoption of UNSCR 1325 on

how postconflict institutions potentially cement inequalities that militate against the implementation of the WPS Agenda. Moreover, she argues that analyses of the WPS Agenda's institutionalization must pay greater attention to the gap between stated policy and actual practice.[7]

Most of this work relies on feminist institutionalist scholarship.[8] The main contention of this research is that studying institutions without studying gender means we may overlook how gender relations affect institutional change and stability. Institutional maintenance reproduces gender regimes, which distribute material and symbolic resources and people according to hierarchical gender relations.[9] These typically place men and masculinities above women and femininities.[10] One example is the concentration of women in lower-paid service positions across many industries.[11] Gender operates in ways that are hidden or taken-for-granted, making unequal institutional outcomes seem "natural" or unavoidable.[12] But, just because institutions are gendered, this does not mean they are all gendered in the same way. There are many possible pathways for sustaining gender hierarchies. Moreover, the content of ideas like "masculinity"

Women, Peace and Security: Making the Agenda a Reality," *International Political Science Review* 37, no. 3 (2016): 350–61; Toni Haastrup, "Creating Cinderella? The Unintended Consequences of the Women Peace and Security Agenda for the EU's Mediation Architecture," *International Negotiation* 23, no. 2 (2018): 218–37.

[7] Jennifer Thomson, "The Women, Peace, and Security Agenda and Feminist Institutionalism: A Research Agenda," *International Studies Review* (online first) (2018).

[8] For an overview of the development of feminist institutionalism, see Mona Lena Krook and Fiona Mackay, eds., *Gender, Politics and Institutions: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism* (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2011).

[9] Following Harding, I define gender as three interrelated processes: gender identity, which is socially constructed and does not map perfectly to biological sex; gender symbolism, in which metaphors of masculinity and femininity are applied to perceived dichotomies; and gender structure, which is the organization of social life according to these gender dualisms. Gender is both an individual attribute and a social structure. The content of the ideas about gender may change across time or space, but its status as a structuring principle remains. See Sandra G. Harding, *The Science Question in Feminism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986).

[10] Krook and Mackay, *Gender, Politics and Institutions*; Meryl Kenny, "Gender, Institutions and Power: A Critical Review," *Politics* 27, no. 2 (2007): 91–100; Joan Acker, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations," *Gender and Society* 4, no. 2 (1990): 139–58; R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender & Society* 19, no. 6 (2005): 829–59; Annica Kronsell, "Gendered Practices in Institutions of Hegemonic Masculinity," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7, no. 2 (2005): 280–98.

[11] Acker, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies."

[12] Vivien Lowndes, "How Are Things Done Around Here? Uncovering Institutional Rules and Their Gendered Effects," *Politics & Gender* 10, no. 4 (2014): 685–9.

and "femininity" is both multifaceted and varying across time and space. Unequal outcomes may, for instance, be the result of male-dominated informal networks that distribute patronage in political institutions, critical masses of actors who resist (or support) gender reforms, or gendered discourses of political efficacy.[13] A core assumption here is that institutions are gendered, and that this gendering is open to inquiry.

Feminist institutionalist theorists are not only interested in continuity: they also examine how political institutions change in response to gender reforms. A key contention in the literature is that informal rules can undermine formal rules on gender equality, affecting the degree of change possible. This is especially the case where the formal rules are vague or ambiguous, leaving extra room for reinterpretation and reformulation.[14] Furthermore, informal rules, which often take the form of narratives and practices, constitute a logic of appropriateness that, in turn, affects the incorporation of gender reforms.[15] For example, Chappell, in her examination of the International Criminal Court's jurisprudence on gender, examines the institutional legacies of the Court, namely international criminal and humanitarian law. These legacies provide conceptions about legitimate subjects and principles in international law. Feminist jurisprudence is therefore made to "fit in" with the established way of doing things.[16] In doing so, however, there is a risk that "new rules, structures and roles may be diluted or unraveled and reincorporated into old

[13] Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook, "Analysing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors," *Government and Opposition* 44, no. 2 (2009): 125–45; Jennifer Thomson, "Resisting Gendered Change: Feminist Institutionalism and Critical Actors," *International Political Science Review* 39, no. 2 (2018): 178–91; Elin Bjarnegård and Meryl Kenny, "Comparing Candidate Selection: A Feminist Institutionalist Approach," *Government and Opposition* 51, no. 3 (2016): 370–392; Lenita Freidenvall and Mona Lena Krook, "Discursive Strategies for Institutional Reform: Gender Quotas in Sweden and France," in *Gender, Politics and Institutions: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism*, ed. Mona Lena Krook and Fiona Mackay (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2011), 42–57.

[14] James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen, "A Theory of Gradual Institutional Change," in *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*, ed. James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1–37.

[15] Fiona Mackay, "Conclusion: Toward a Feminist Institutionalism?," in *Gender, Politics and Institutions: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism*, ed. Mona Lena Krook and Fiona Mackay (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2011), 181–96.

[16] Iver B. Neumann, "Returning Practice to the Linguistic Turn: The Case of Diplomacy," *Millennium* 31, no. 3 (2002): 627–51, p. 636.

ways and old paths."[17] Thus the process of institutionalization may water down the original gender reforms, leading to incremental or partial change.

The WPS Agenda reflects the feminist desire to redefine "the very idea of peace and security, and of the actors competent to bring it about."[18] The WPS Agenda can therefore be understood as a set of gender reforms that are subject to the same institutional contestation I have described above. When it comes to the institutional legacies that affect its institutionalization, I argue that these are twofold. As I demonstrate further in Chapter Three, UN mediation has two core legacies: the approach to UN mediation that treats it as a diplomatic art, and the approach that treats it as a technical science. I argue that each of these conceptions of UN mediation provides a concomitant repertoire of narratives, practices, and subjectivities that legitimate a particular approach to mediation. These, in turn, have different implications for how the WPS Agenda is incorporated in the UN's work. "Art" and "science" are useful analytical lenses, although I do not assume there is a clear-cut separation between them. Texts may invoke one or both, or try to reconcile their differences. They can be used separately or together to justify the exclusion of gender and women, or to constrain inclusion in particular ways.

UN Mediation as an Institution: Narratives, Practices and Subjectivities

In this section, I define the key institutional elements - narratives, practices, and subjectivities. I discuss the particular elements of each that I have chosen to focus on. I selected them because I had some a priori expectations from the literatures on the WPS Agenda, mediation or diplomacy that they may be of importance, or I inductively identified them as important themes or elements

[17] Fiona Mackay, "Nested Newness, Institutional Innovation, and the Gendered Limits of Change," *Politics & Gender* 10, no. 4 (2014): 549–71, p. 555.
[18] Paul Kirby and Laura J. Shepherd, "The Futures Past of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda," *International Affairs* 92, no. 2 (2016): 373–92, p. 391.

as I analyzed the texts. Table 2.1 provides a summary of the narratives, practices, and subjectivities that I analyze. I discuss my analytical process at length in the next section.

Narratives

Narratives are "...a primary way by which we make sense of the world around us, produce meanings, articulate intentions, and legitimize actions...through narratives, we not only investigate but also invent an order for the world."[19] Where narratives render things as natural or inevitable, they may legitimize gendered political outcomes.[20] To investigate these processes in UN mediation, I unite feminist institutionalism's attention to historicity with feminist narrative approaches. Feminist institutionalism lacks analytical power in its treatment of narratives. Feminist discursive institutionalism, an adaptation of Schmidt's discursive institutionalism,[21] reads discourse/narratives in an instrumentalist fashion, downplaying the poststructuralist insight that narratives constitute social realities.[22] I therefore employ Wibben's feminist narrative approach to international security, as well as the work of the original theorist she builds upon, Mieke Bal.[23] This allows me to examine the multiple and contradictory ways UN mediation is told into being.

The main narratives I examine are the narratives of UN mediation as an art versus a science. Here, I draw upon Elodie Convergne's work, in which she identifies these two different

[19] Annick T. R. Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 2.
[20] Vivien Lowndes, "How Are Things Done Around Here? Uncovering Institutional Rules and Their Gendered Effects," *Politics & Gender* 10, no. 4 (2014): 685–91.
[21] Vivien A. Schmidt, "Discursive Institutionalism: The Explanatory Power of Ideas and Discourse," *Annual Review of Political Science* 11, no. 1 (2008): 303–26.
[22] Bacchi and Rönnblom, "Feminist Discursive Institutionalism—A Poststructural Alternative."
[23] Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies*; Mieke Bal and Christine van Boheemen, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, vol. 3rd ed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

schools of thought at the UN.[24] She argues that mediation developed from diplomatic methods of managing and resolving interstate conflicts.[25] Traditionally, mediators thought of their work as an "art, not a science."[26] Rather than relying on the intangible skills of seasoned diplomats, however, there is a strong trend toward developing UN mediation as an area of technical expertise. In particular, the scientific approach to mediation stresses the importance of process design, which is the design and sequencing of a mediation process.[27] This paradigm is not universally accepted within the UN; the view of mediation as an art remains popular.

Many critiques of the WPS Agenda and its implementation take issue with technical measures and methods. Whitworth argues that the need to make gender equality palatable to policy makers has systematically undermined the transformational intent of the WPS Agenda. Rather than focusing on how peace and security rely upon and reproduce unequal gender relations, technocratic approaches to gender tend to focus instead on counting women.[28] By conflating "gender" with "women", the implementation of the WPS Agenda in peacebuilding has relied on representations of women that diminish their agency and situate them as service providers who can help to legitimate peacebuilding interventions.[29] Moreover, technocratic approaches to global governance hinge on Eurocentric concepts about development, modernity,

[24] Elodie Convergne, "Learning to Mediate? The Mediation Support Unit and the Production of Expertise by the UN," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 10, no. 2 (2016): 181–99.
[25] Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2007); R.P. Barston, *Modern Diplomacy*, 3rd ed. (Harlow: Pearson, 2006).
[26] Elodie Convergne, "Learning to Mediate?", p. 185.
[27] Initiative Mediation Support Deutschland, "Basics of Mediation: Concepts and Definitions," 2017, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/Basics%20of%20Mediation.pdf.
[28] Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004).
[29] Heidi Hudson, "A Double-Edged Sword of Peace? Reflections on the Tension between Representation and Protection in Gendering Liberal Peacebuilding," *International Peacekeeping* 19, no. 4 (2012): 443–60; Audrey Reeves, "Feminist Knowledge and Emerging Governmentality in UN Peacekeeping," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14, no. 3 (2012): 348–69; Laura J. Shepherd, "Victims of Violence or Agents of Change? Representations of Women in UN Peacebuilding Discourse," *Peacebuilding* 4, no. 2 (2016): 121–35.

and progress that reinforce global racial inequalities and promote intervention as a policy tool.[30] Broadly, then, the UN's understanding of gender equality as the upward mobility of certain kinds of women results in measures that only empower some women, and leave deeper structures of inequality intact.[31] I expect that the narrative of UN mediation as a science will have similar implications for the WPS Agenda.

In addition, I examine the gendered implications of the narrative that UN mediation is an art. A drawback of the literature on the WPS Agenda is that it has focused on critiquing technical approaches and has looked less at the consequences of seeing mediation as a practice in managing relationships. However, I argue that, while important, technical approaches are not as pervasive as critics suggest.[32] Waylen's work on informal networks of male negotiators, and Svedberg's description of the homosocial environment of peace negotiators, indicate that relationships among male negotiators and mediators constitute barriers to women's participation.[33] The growing literature on gender and diplomacy further illustrates this point: for instance, new female diplomats in the Norwegian foreign ministry were locked out of male-only informal networks that were an important source of information and patronage.[34] I therefore

[30] Meera Sabaratnam, *Decolonising Intervention: International Statebuilding in Mozambique* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).
[31] Zehra F. Kabasakal Arat, "Feminisms, Women's Rights, and the UN: Would Achieving Gender Equality Empower Women?," *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 4 (2015): 674–689.
[32] Research on governmental techniques in global governance tends to overstate their power and distribution; for a critique, see Jonathan Joseph, "The Limits of Governmentality: Social Theory and the International," *European Journal of International Relations* 16, no. 2 (2010): 223–46. See also Sabaratnam, *Decolonising Intervention*, for a postcolonial critique of the overwhelming focus on governmentality in the intervention and peacebuilding literatures.
[33] Waylen, "A Seat at the Table--Is It Enough?"; Erika Svedberg, "East-West Negotiations," in *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation*, ed. Karin Aggestam and Ann Towns (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 259–75.
[34] Iver B. Neumann, *At Home with the Diplomats: Inside a European Foreign Ministry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012). See also: Jennifer Cassidy, ed., *Gender and Diplomacy* (New York: Routledge, 2017); Karin Aggestam and Ann Towns, eds., *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation* (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018); Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James, eds., *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics Since 1500* (London: Routledge, 2016).

examine the elements of the narrative that mediation is an art, which focuses on relationships, listening and trust.

In Chapter Three, I trace the development of these narratives and then use narrative techniques to identify their key elements, as well as the implications for the WPS Agenda. The degree to which either or both of these narratives shape UN mediation at headquarters and in the field will affect how successful the WPS Agenda has been in redefining the notions of peace and security that underpin UN mediation, the kinds of topics typically negotiated, and the types of knowledge (and knowledge-bearers) accorded legitimacy.

Table 2.1: Narratives, practices, and subjectivities in UN mediation

	Science	*Art*
Narratives	Efficiency and process design	Managing relationships
Practices	Conflict analysis	Emotional labor
	Information gathering	Discretion
Subjectivities	"The women"	Mediators

Practices

There has been a well-documented practice turn in International Relations. According to Adler and Pouliot, "practices are socially meaningful patterns of action, which, in being performed more or less competently, simultaneously embody, act out, and possibly reify background knowledge and discourse in and on the material world."[35] Practices are intersubjective, meaning they do not exist outside of social interaction, and are subject to appraisals of their competence.

[35] Emanuel Adler and Vincent Pouliot, eds., *International Practices* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 6.

Practitioners can be amateurs or "virtuosos."[36] Because of their intrinsically social nature, practices actively reproduce and, sometimes, disrupt existing power structures, including gender relations.[37] The concept of practice is therefore especially helpful in the study of institutions and gender. Although feminist institutionalists use the concept of practice, it appears to be akin to the instrumental action of agents or standard operating procedures, rather than the usage I have noted above that comes from sociology.[38] However, practice theory has generated a rich set of insights about the everyday practices of international interveners and diplomats.

Practices and narratives are mutually constitutive. Neumann notes that stories, or narratives, expand the authorized range of action and allow new practices to emerge. New practices, in turn, may allow different narratives to arise. Once established, "the practice speaks: 'this is how we have always done things around here.'"[39] The first concept I introduced, narratives, allows me to pay attention to the authorizing stories about UN mediation, while a practice-oriented lens draws our attention to the kinds of everyday actions that such narratives authorize. Here, again, I use Convergne's framing of art and science to investigate practices. From the narrative analysis in Chapter 3, which inductively identifies important elements in the narratives, as well as expectations from the existing literature, I argue that each of these approaches to mediation legitimate particular practices that have distinct implications for the institutionalization of the WPS Agenda.

In Chapter Four, I focus on two key diplomatic practices: emotional labor and discretion. I identified these practices inductively from the texts. Emotional labor refers to the work

[36] Jérémie Cornut, "Diplomacy, Agency, and the Logic of Improvisation and Virtuosity in Practice," *European Journal of International Relations* 24, no. 3 (2017): 712–36.
[37] Barbara Poggio, "Editorial: Outline of a Theory of Gender Practices," *Gender, Work & Organization* 13, no. 3 (2006): 225–33; Didier Bigo, "Pierre Bourdieu and International Relations: Power of Practices, Practices of Power," *International Political Sociology* 5, no. 3 (2011): 225–58.
[38] For an overview of literature looking at practices in feminist institutionalism, see Introduction, Krook and Mackay, *Gender, Politics and Institutions*.
[39] Neumann, "Returning Practice to the Linguistic Turn," p. 637.

mediators do to cultivate and maintain relationships with the negotiating parties. The turn toward emotions in IR has examined how states and state representatives engage in emotional work. Emotions are socially meaningful, but may also be turned toward strategic ends. Hall's work on "emotional diplomacy" examines how states project emotions like sympathy, anger and guilt toward other states.[40] He and others draw upon Arlie Hochschild's concept of emotional labor, which "requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others."[41] While Hochschild understands emotional labor as a form of commercial exchange, it serves political ends in this case. I examine how emotional labor is linked with the exercise of good political judgment, and how it may reinforce barriers to women's participation.

The second practice is discretion, which refers here to the practice of allowing UN mediators significant latitude in how they interpret their mandates, particularly in light of international law and norms. Mediators draw upon their experience and judgment to decide, based on the political context, the extent to which they can "push" one normative agenda or another. This flexible, strategic decision-making is a hallmark of diplomacy. Policy papers on the implementation of the WPS Agenda often point to the reticence of mediators in implementing gender equality measures in talks and advocate for stricter mandates and accountability for mediators.[42] Discretion has a potentially significant influence on whether the WPS Agenda is implemented.

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[40] Todd H. Hall, *Emotional Diplomacy: Official Emotion on the International Stage* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).
[41] Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: The Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 7.
[42] Carla Koppell, "Want Women at Peace Talks? Mandate It," United States Institute of Peace, 2017, https://www.usip.org/publications/2017/10/want-women-peace-talks-mandate-it; Radhika Coomaraswamy, "Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325" (New York: UN Women, 2015), http://wps.unwomen.org/~/media/files/un%20women/wps/highlights/unw-global-study-1325-2015.pdf; UN Women,

Chapter Five examines practices associated with the narrative of UN mediation as a science. I focus in particular on conflict analysis and information gathering, which help to produce the specialized knowledge about conflict that is central to process design. These practices imply a set of tools that can be learnt and systematically applied across contexts. Moreover, they construct the problem that mediation supposedly remedies; for instance, conflict analysis involves issue- and stakeholder-mapping. They also construct the means of solving it: sequencing talks, deciding on which issues will be under negotiation, and the situation of different parties vis-à-vis the process (e.g., at the table, or in peripheral consultative forums) all affect how the WPS Agenda may be incorporated in any given process.

Subjectivities

Narratives and practices exist in a mutually constitutive relationship with subjectivities. The purpose of examining subjectivities is to discern how much the WPS Agenda has challenged traditional categories of masculine agency and female passivity. Existing literature on the WPS Agenda roundly criticizes the overrepresentation of men in mediation roles, although it has not interrogated the masculinities associated with mediation practices in any sustained fashion. There is, however, an extensive literature on the constructions of gender and agency that infantilize women, focus on their victimhood, or construct them as peaceful "superheroines."[43] I have chosen the word "subjectivities" over "agents" carefully. The purpose is not to remove the

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"Women's Meaningful Participation in Negotiating Peace and the Implementation of Peace Agreements: Report of the Expert Group Meeting" (UN Women, 2018), http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2018/10/egm-report-womens-meaningful-participation-in-negotiating-peace.

[43] Laura J. Shepherd, *Gender, Violence and Security: Discourse as Practice* (New York: Zed Books, 2008); Shepherd, "Victims of Violence or Agents of Change?"; Nadine Puechguirbal, "Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents," *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 2 (2010): 172–87; Hilary Charlesworth, Christine Chinkin, and Shelley Wright, "Feminist Approaches to International Law," *The American Journal of International Law* 85, no. 4 (1991): 613–45; R. Charli Carpenter, "'Women and Children First': Gender, Norms, and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991-95," *International Organization* 57, no. 4 (2003): 661–94.

analysis to a higher plane of abstraction, forgetting that real people do UN mediation and feel its effects. Rather, the point is to broaden the focus from women, which is where most of the literature on the WPS Agenda focuses. Moreover, feminist institutionalists tend to consider agency in terms of "critical mass" or "critical actors": the women (and some men) inside and outside of formal institutions who push for gender reforms.[44] While women certainly come into this story, I wish to focus more on the femininities and masculinities produced through UN mediation.

Moreover, "subjectivity" draws attention to the ways in which gender shapes the possibility of political agency. The usage I employ here is akin to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Habitus is one's accumulation of "schemes of perception, thought, and action" that are deposited over time through exposure to fields of social, political, and economic life.[45] The habitus is the "fit" (or lack thereof) between an individual and an institution; it allows individuals to act according to dominant notions of common sense. In so doing, habitus is the embodiment of power relations in a field: gender, race, class and more influence one's "fit."[46] In regard to UN mediation, then, we can examine which kinds of women and men (do not) fit the dominant narratives and practices I describe, and how expectations of fit constrain agency.

I have chosen to focus upon two main categories of subjectivity where these issues of fit are most obvious: the mediator and conflict-affected women. From a narrative perspective, they are characters who have been endowed with descriptions of their traits and who are subjects of action.[47] I argue that each of these subjectivities intersects with gender and narratives of mediation as an art or a science. In Chapter 4, I examine how narratives and practices of

[44] Childs and Krook, "Analysing Women's Substantive Representation."
[45] Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, p. 56.
[46] Leslie McCall, "Does Gender Fit? Bourdieu, Feminism, and Conceptions of Social Order," *Theory and Society* 21, no. 6 (1992): 837–67.
[47] Bal and van Boheemen, *Narratology*, pp. 12-13.

mediation as an art construct an idealized version of the mediator. This relies upon and also disturbs common views about masculinity and femininity in politics. In Chapter 5, I examine the construction of "the women", a character that appears extensively in narratives about mediation effectiveness and practices of information gathering.

Headquarters and the Field

An important dimension of comparison in this project is between headquarters and the field. Autesserre argues that field-based personnel have a distinct set of practices and habits aimed at managing the immediacy of conflict.[48] It is reasonable to expect a similar division here given that mediators, and field-based staff in general, enjoy a considerable autonomy from headquarters. The *Mediation Start-Up Guidelines* recognize that field missions have a large degree of delegated authority, particularly as they mature.[49] Moreover, senior mediators have extensive experience, often as foreign or defense ministers, meaning that they may be less amenable to taking direction if it is offered.[50] When HQ does try to offer more concrete guidance, field-based staff may be unwilling to accept it.[51] Typically, then, field-based staff have a significant degree of latitude in carrying out their work, although they are in daily contact with HQ through reports, code cables, video-teleconferencing, or WhatsApp.[52] In some cases, they may bring in the weight of HQ to help move a process forward. But in the day-to-day work, HQ has little involvement.[53] In understanding the implementation of the WPS Agenda, we need to consider that the physical

[48] Séverine Autesserre, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
[49] UNDPPA, "Mediation Start-Up Guidelines," 2011, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MediationStartupGuidalines_UNDPA2011.pdf, pp. 31-32.
[50] Interview 20176.
[51] Interview 201818.
[52] Interview 201819.
[53] ibid.

and institutional distance between headquarters and missions leaves room for mediators and staff to exercise discretion.

This project does not consider local context as a key driver of the UN's institutionalization of the WPS Agenda in mediation. Other authors have looked at how the strength of local women's movements has influenced implementation, as well as local gender norms.[54] Without discounting the importance of context, I bracket it here for two reasons. First, local conflict dynamics do not have a large impact on UN headquarters' narratives of peace and conflict. I argue that these are embedded in more abstract conceptions tied to the historical changes in how the UN claims legitimacy through establishing itself as an expert mediator.[55] Second, institutional practices - particularly those associated with the practice of mediation as an art - pre-date many of the conflicts that the UN deals with. Therefore, I argue that the UN's own institutional logics shape how the UN deals with local conflicts, not the other way around. This is in line with findings by Autesserre, who shows that international interveners' habits and practices actually close them off from information about the local context.[56] Moreover, the literature critiquing liberal peacebuilding argues that international interveners impose homogeneous conflict management approaches on different local contexts.[57] Where local context comes into the story, therefore, is through the perceptions and actions of UN personnel in the field. These are most evident in constructions of "the women", which employ gendered and racialised

[54] Aharoni, "The Gender–Culture Double Bind in Israeli–Palestinian Peace Negotiations"; Elizabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, "Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building" (New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2002), http://www.genderandaids.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=184:women-war-and-peace-the-independent-experts-assessment&catid=52:gender-hivaids-and-conflict&Itemid=96.
[55] Convergne, "Learning to Mediate?"
[56] Autesserre, *Peaceland*.
[57] For an overview of these critiques, see Oliver P. Richmond, ed., *Palgrave Advances in Peacebuilding: Critical Developments and Approaches*, Palgrave Advances (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Oliver P. Richmond, *A Post-Liberal Peace* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

assumptions about the capacity of local women to participate in peace processes. I discuss this in Chapter Five.

Observing Gender in UN Mediation: A Research Design

This research design focuses on the three concepts of narratives, practices, and subjectivities. The main concern is to identify "how things are done around here" - the gendered logics of appropriateness - by asking UN insiders about how they do their work, and observing their behavior.[58] I employ a mixed qualitative methods research design. I use the ethnographic methods of semi-structured interviewing and observation, as well as narrative analysis to collect and analyze information about narratives, practices, and subjectivities. I follow convention in constructivist international relations by treating practices and narratives not as causal but as dispositional: they influence outcomes by constraining the range of acceptable behavior and thought.[59] Moreover, while narratives are powerful, they are not necessarily ontologically prior to practices or subjectivities: instead, I treat them as mutually constitutive. Changes in any one of these may undermine or reinforce the others.

The research design I describe below allows me to make specific, contextualized claims about gender and legitimacy in UN mediation.[60] In regard to the validity of my conclusions, I sought out texts that would provide breadth and depth in representations, although a major shortcoming is a lack of access, particularly to senior mediators who either did not respond to my interview requests, or refused to talk to me.[61] However, validity is not just about whether my

[58] Lowndes, "How Are Things Done Around Here?"
[59] Séverine Autesserre, *Peaceland*; Alexander Wendt, "On Constitution and Causation in International Relations," *Review of International Studies* 24, no. 05 (1998): 101–118.
[60] Audie Klotz and Cecelia Lynch, *Strategies for Research in Constructivist International Relations* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2007).
[61] Kevin C. Dunn and Iver B. Neumann, *Undertaking Discourse Analysis for Social Research* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016). I attempted to interview the Special Envoy for the Great Lakes, as well as the Special Representative in Somalia. I believe that currently employed Envoys will be very unlikely to speak to a

findings reflect the real world. The validity of my analysis can also depend on whether I have made good on my ethical commitments, and on whether a partial analysis that focuses mainly on gender contributes to broader goals of transforming conflict resolution. For instance, I do not add much new material on how gender intersects with race and coloniality at this stage of the project, although an intersectional approach is necessary for understanding peacebuilding.

Data

My analysis focuses on the UN offices responsible for overseeing and implementing mediation efforts. In particular, I focus on the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (UNDPPA). UNDPPA is responsible for overseeing the UN's Special Political Missions, many of which have mediation responsibilities. I have conducted two research trips to UN headquarters in New York. I employed a semi-structured interview protocol in which I allowed interviewees to speak at length. I chose this interview format to elicit as much information as possible about how things are done in their line of work. I asked open-ended questions and provided prompts if the conversation got off track, but otherwise elected to let interviewees talk as much as possible to ensure I would not miss any key contextual or background information.[62] A sample of the interview protocol I used is provided in the appendices. Most of the interviews lasted around forty-five minutes. Wherever possible, I recorded the interviews and transcribed them so I had complete transcripts to analyze.[63] To recruit interviewees, I used a snowball sampling strategy. I

researcher due to concerns about secrecy and reputation. Next year I am going to attempt to speak to former Envoys, as they may be more willing to speak (and hopefully speak relatively frankly) to a researcher. I will have a better network of contacts at the Kroc Institute to facilitate these interviews.

[62]The techniques I employed are very close to those described in Beth L. Leech, "Asking Questions: Techniques for Semistructured Interviews," *Political Science & Politics* 35, no. 4 (2002): 665–68.

[63] In some cases, interviewees were uncomfortable being recorded so I took detailed notes by hand and analyzed those. In all cases, I have elected to completely anonymize the respondents. I chose to do this because UN personnel may run professional risks by being critical of the organization. I wanted them to feel comfortable expressing their views. I use very generic descriptors for interviewees, as it may be possible to infer who a person is from their department/mission, gender, and job title.

began with interviewees at the UNDPPA in New York and branched out from there to contact people at field missions. I also recruited interviewees from the training session I observed (described below).

Identifying practices through interviews poses unique challenges. One way to find out about this is to ask practitioners to reflect on their practice. As discussed above, that poses challenges because people may do things without much conscious reflection, or they provide post hoc rationalizations for their actions.[64] A significant limitation is that practitioners may respond to interview questions by listing what they think they should be doing, rather than what they do. This is a particular challenge in this project because interviewees are aware that I am interested in the WPS Agenda and it is socially desirable to be seen as supportive of the Agenda.[65] One way I have tried to get around this is to ask what interviewees think happens in general, or what they think "other people" do, in addition to asking about their work.

Rather than focusing on specific missions, I have sought interviews with field-based personnel from as many missions as possible to build a general sense of how mediation works on the ground. Although there are undoubtedly differences between the contexts of missions, field-based staff do not stay for long periods at any given mission and they tend to circulate through several in the course of their careers. As such, they carry with them assumptions about mediation that may transcend the context in which they work.[66] I conducted research trip to the UN Office in Nairobi, where I was able to interview staff at the UN Office of the Special Envoy to the Great Lakes and the UN Mission in Somalia. In the interests of observing everyday practice, I

[64] Vincent Pouliot, "Methodology," in *Bourdieu in International Relations: Rethinking Key Concepts in IR*, ed. Rebecca Adler-Nissen (New York: Routledge, 2013), 45–58.
[65] There is little rhetorical contestation of the WPS Agenda; see Jacqui True and Antje Wiener, "Everyone Wants (A) Peace: The Dynamics of Rhetoric and Practice on 'Women, Peace and Security,'" *International Affairs* 95, no. 3 (2019): 553–74.
[66] Autesserre, *Peaceland*; Catherine Goetze, *The Distinction of Peace: A Social Analysis of Peacebuilding* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017).

constrained my fieldwork to ongoing missions.[67] I also had to take into account the roles and locations of missions. Some missions are not engaged directly in mediation; they instead teach regional organizations about mediation (e.g., UN Office for West Africa and the Sahel). Other missions are in locations that are too dangerous (e.g., Libya), or deal with situations that are so sensitive that staff are highly unlikely to allow a researcher access (e.g., Syria or Yemen). After this process of elimination, I decided to conduct fieldwork in Nairobi and supplement it as much as possible with remote interviews. These interviews cover personnel currently working in or with prior experience in Kosovo, Colombia, DR Congo, Guinea Bissau, Iraq, Mali, and Syria.

The second major source of data is UN guidance documentation and reports on mediation. I focus on the *Guidance for Effective Mediation* (hereafter "*Mediation Guidance*") and the *Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies* (hereafter "*Gender Guidance*").[68] The *Mediation Guidance*, which the UNDPPA developed through extensive consultation, is the most detailed description of the UN's scientific approach to mediation. The *Gender Guidance* consciously builds upon the *Mediation Guidance* and it is recognized in the UN as the authoritative guide on gender and mediation. To a lesser extent, I draw upon UN grey literature. These include internal briefing papers and reports that are not readily available to the general public. Appendix A provides a complete list of primary sources used throughout the project.

The third kind of data is training materials. These include slides and briefing materials from UNDPPA's internal training on gender and mediation. This was a two-day workshop

[67] This includes: Afghanistan, African Union, Cameroon-Nigeria, Central Africa, Central Asia, Colombia, Guinea-Bissau, Great Lakes, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Middle East, Somalia, Sudan-South Sudan, West Africa and the Sahel, Western Sahara, Syria, Yemen, Burundi, Cyprus, Greece-FYR Macedonia, Guyana-Venezuela, International Discussions (pertaining to the conflict in Georgia).

[68] UNDPPA, "Guidance for Effective Mediation," 2012, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GuidanceEffectiveMediation_UNDPA2012%28english%29_0.pdf; UNDPPA, "Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies," 2016, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/1.%20English%20-GIMS.pdf.

consisting of several modules and a group exercise, which political affairs officers from headquarters and field missions attended. I also have the slides from a gender and mediation training for senior mediation personnel that was held in Oslo in 2016. Training materials are valuable because they illustrate how UN insiders narrate what mediation is. Interviews confirm that the syllabus and slides are largely the same across training sessions, allowing me to make some general claims about the kinds of narratives expressed in these settings.[69]

The fourth kind of data is my notes from participant-observation. A key challenge was having sufficient access to observe practices. I engaged in some limited observation but, like other areas of peace and security, mediation is politically sensitive and practitioners are understandably reluctant to allow a researcher access to meetings and discussions. I therefore had to compromise by observing lower-stakes events and trainings. I observed the above training session on gender and mediation in December 2017. I sat in on the whole workshop as an observer. I also observed some limited activities at the UN office in Nairobi, such as video-teleconferences between staff based in Nairobi and Bujumbura. I took daily field notes during these activities which I coded according to the methods I describe in the next section.

Methodology

I use narrative analysis to investigate narratives and practices, as well as the construction of subjectivities, in UN mediation. I follow Wibben's poststructuralist feminist adaptation of Mieke Bal's narratology.[70] Bal applies three levels of analysis to a narrative text: text, story, and fabula (content). The lenses of text, story and fabula are analytical conveniences; in practice, the

[69] Interview 20176.
[70] Bal and van Boheemen, *Narratology*.

audience consumes a narrative text as a whole.[71] However, they are helpful in pinpointing the different elements of the narratives of art and science in which I am interested.

The text is the medium that conveys the story: a book, building, film, etc. For example, an important consideration is that this analysis is possible largely because of the professionalization of mediation. Many of the texts I analyze are recent efforts to provide generic guidance on mediation. Several interviewees hold jobs that did not exist before the year 2000,[72] while training sessions on gender and mediation are only seven years old. The texts that make up this analysis are therefore a product of the historical processes I am trying to understand.

The story presents the elements of a narrative, such as characters, events, locations, and relationships. This provides a meso-level analysis of a narrative, allowing me to examine the most important elements in the UN's narratives about mediation, and how these elements are ordered, which reveals assumptions about how conflicts can be resolved. Another important element of the story lens that I employ in Chapter Three is ellipsis, or silence. The failure to mention or expand upon certain elements, like gender, is an important finding.

The story level also employs a concept called "focalization", which is the process of telling a story from a particular perspective.[73] Focalization is separate from narration; a narrator may focalize a character by telling events from the latter's point of view. Focalization silences or emphasizes aspects of the story, and it constructs a subjectivity that is "able to speak."[74] Through examining focalization in the texts, I traced the construction of the subjectivities of mediators, and conflict-affected women. I also used more typical discourse analysis tools like subject-

[71] Bal and van Boheemen, *Narratology*.
[72] Interview 20181.
[73] Bal and van Boheemen, *Narratology*.
[74] Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies*, p. 50.

predicate analysis to examine how the texts describe these subjectivities.[75] To complement this, I use a method called prosopography, which is commonly used in history and sociology. It allows the researcher to trace the commonalities in the backgrounds of a particular class or group of people. Goetze uses it to examine the differences between Special Envoys, UN professional staff, and local staff in peacebuilding missions.[76] I build on her analysis of Special Envoys here by analyzing their professional backgrounds using memoirs and biographies provided on the UN website for each Special Envoy. I provide the full data for this analysis in the appendices.

Finally, the fabula is the content of the narrative: the events, actors, time and location.[77] I read this in two ways: for information about practices and to analyze their relationship with narratives of UN mediation as an art or a science, as well as gender. Descriptions of events and narrative elements provide information on UN mediation practices. I drew upon UN guidance documents for descriptions of practices, with the caveat that these often present idealized version of practice. Where possible, I triangulated these representations with my observations and interviews, or with the secondary literature on peacebuilding practices, which largely consists of ethnographic studies of peacebuilding and peacekeeping operations.

To code the texts, I developed a coding scheme based on a priori expectations from the literature (which I discussed in the section on concepts), to which I added codes as I read the texts. I also used codes for the narrative lenses and concepts discussed above. I conducted the bulk of the coding using Atlas.ti software, which I used mainly as a method for storing and coding documents. I did not use the analytical features of the software apart from the "code co-occurrence" feature, which provides a list of which codes appear together. This helps to show narrative linkages. After coding the documents and adding codes inductively, I went through and

[75] For example: Shepherd, *Gender, Violence and Security*.
[76] Goetze, *The Distinction of Peace*.
[77] Bal and van Boheemen, *Narratology*, p. 8.

collapsed some codes together as they appeared to be referring to the same thing. I have included the coding scheme in the appendices.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have made the case for studying the implementation of the WPS Agenda in UN mediation through an institutional lens. Three key concepts underpin the notion of "institution" I employ here: narratives, practices, and subjectivities. I have also illustrated that UN mediation has two main institutional legacies - namely, UN mediation as an art or a science - that provide a coexisting, sometimes competing, repertoire of narratives, practices, and subjectivities. This dual legacy potentially affects the institutionalization of the WPS Agenda by exerting competing or overlapping pressures on how gender is incorporated into the work of the UN. I analyze these processes using methodologies drawn from narrative and practice theories, working with a wide range of primary data. The next chapter delves into the empirical analysis, examining narratives in UN mediation.

3. NARRATING UNITED NATIONS MEDIATION

Introduction

Here, I analyze the narratives of UN mediation as an "art" or a "science", drawing out how they (re)formulate concepts central to the WPS Agenda. As I explained in the last chapter, I use Wibben's feminist narrative approach to international security, which is an adaptation of Mieke Bal's narratology.[1] Bal applies three levels of analysis to a narrative text: text, story and fabula (content). The text is the medium that conveys the story (e.g., a book). The historical overview explains the production of the texts that constitute this analysis. The story presents the elements of a narrative, such as characters, events and locations. Stories order elements so that they make sense to the intended audience. They also tell stories from a particular perspective, a process called "focalization." Focalization silences or emphasizes aspects of the story and constructs a subjectivity that is "able to speak".[2] Finally, the fabula is the content of the narrative: the events, actors, time and location. In this chapter, I describe the key historical developments in UN mediation, and use these techniques to analyze how they are reflected in competing narratives

[1] Mieke Bal and Christine van Boheemen, *Narratology : Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, vol. 3rd ed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Annick T. R. Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach* (New York: Routledge, 2011).
[2] Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies,* p. 50.

about what mediation is, how it is done, and by whom. These authorizing stories pave the way for the practices and subjectivities that I examine in Chapters Four and Five.

UN Mediation: from Art to Science

The UN has engaged in mediation since its inception, but the use of mediation has expanded dramatically over time.[3] Post-Cold War, the dampening of superpower rivalry gave the UN more space to step in as a mediator.[4] Moreover, an increase in new democracies, as well as the incidence of conflict, contributed to a growing demand for mediation.[5] This section sets out the historical developments in UN mediation, in particular the shift toward greater professionalization. I build on the invaluable work of Elodie Convergne, who provides a detailed analysis of how the UNDPPA has sought to shift mediation from a diplomatic art to a science. She argues that this development was not only a matter of more demand for mediation, but also greater competition in the mediation sector. The UN could establish its competitive advantage as a mediator by producing mediation knowledge and best practice.[6]

Prior to the 1990s, UN mediation tended to be ad hoc and reactive: "It was at the worst moments when things had totally failed that the [Secretary-General] would send someone and it was usually a former diplomat, a former minister or something. Zero training, no support staff, no institutional knowledge."[7] Special Envoys regularly deployed to the field with only a short briefing on the situation. This is in keeping with the fact that mediation developed from

[3] UNDPPA, "Prevention and Mediation," 2019, https://dppa.un.org/en/prevention-and-mediation.
[4] Tetsuro Iji, "The UN as an International Mediator: From the Post–Cold War Era to the Twenty-First Century," *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 23, no. 1 (2017): 83–100.
[5] J. Michael Greig and Paul F. Diehl, *International Mediation*, War and Conflict in the Modern World (Cambridge: Polity, 2012).
[6] Elodie Convergne, "Learning to Mediate? The Mediation Support Unit and the Production of Expertise by the UN," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 10, no. 2 (2016): 181–99. Interviewee 20181 makes a similar claim.
[7] Interview 20181.

diplomatic methods of managing and resolving interstate conflicts.[8] Traditionally, mediators thought of their work as a diplomatic "art, not a science": something that could be learned through experience rather than structured training.[9] The only guidance of note was the 1992 *Handbook on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes between States*. Notably, this document focuses on interstate conflict, rather than the civil wars that became the UN's purview shortly after its publication. Mediation is only one short section in the document, which covers all available legal and political methods for inter-state dispute resolution. The *Handbook* is different from the later *Guidance on Effective Mediation* because it is largely descriptive, rather than prescriptive. It sets out the legal frameworks under which international mediation can take place, and describes some past cases that may provide procedural models for future mediation. However, it is agnostic about what mediation processes or peace agreements should include. In particular, it makes no reference to norms aside from including respect for human rights as a corollary principle to the primary principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes set out under the UN Charter.[10] As Convergne notes, this is in line with the distinctive nature of diplomacy, which subordinates substantive issues to maintaining relationships - a feature of mediation I explore further in Chapter Four.[11]

This approach to mediation increasingly came under criticism. As one critic argues "the idea that a diplomat simply knows how to do [mediation] is wrong."[12] UN insiders saw the practice of mediation as a diplomatic art as inadequate to the challenges of contemporary

[8] Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Pub, 2007); R.P. Barston, *Modern Diplomacy*, 3rd ed. (Harlow: Pearson, 2006).
[9] Convergne, p. 185.
[10] UN Office of Legal Affairs, "Handbook on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes between States," 1992, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/HandbookonPeacefulSettlementofDisputes_UN1992.pdf.
[11] Convergne, p. 184. See also Paul Sharp, *A Diplomatic Theory of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 10.
[12] Interview 20181.

conflicts, which were increasingly framed as complex endeavors.[13] The UN created the Department of Political Affairs (now the UNDPPA) in 1992 to assist in mediation.[14] The 2005 World Summit outcome document recognized the importance of UN mediation and supported greater capacity for a "coherent and integrated" approach.[15] The Secretary-General's 2012 report on strengthening mediation (which introduced the *Guidance on Effective Mediation*) noted several trends in contemporary conflicts, including increased complexity, more demands for inclusion in peace processes from women and civil society, and an increasingly crowded mediation sector. Mediation therefore had to find some way to respond to this changed environment. The proposed solution to this problem was "greater and more varied expertise."[16]

The development of mediation expertise was institutionalized in the Mediation Support Unit (MSU) of the UNDPPA, established in 2006. The MSU considered the question: "What would it mean to professionalize mediation?"[17] The answer to this question came in three main forms: mediation guidance (i.e., expertise), training, and increasing the number of thematic experts working on mediation. The MSU focused on developing generic advice on mediation, including operational requirements, negotiating ceasefires and more.[18] This includes the *Guidance on Effective Mediation*, published in 2012, which sets out mediation "fundamentals" and prescribes certain mediation approaches and principles. The MSU has also developed

[13] Laurie Nathan, "What Is the Essence of International Mediation in Civil Wars? The Challenge of Managing Complexity" (BRICS Policy Center, 2014), https://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/Legacy/Site%2085/CMA/Publications/nathan-complexity-gsum-paper.zp36740.pdf.
[14] UNDPPA, "Prevention and Mediation." The UN Department of Political Affairs and the Peacebuilding Support Office merged into the Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs in January 2019 as part of efforts to rationalize the UN Secretariat.
[15] UN General Assembly, "2005 World Summit Outcome," 2005, https://www.un.org/womenwatch/ods/A-RES-60-1-E.pdf, p. 21.
[16] UN Secretary-General, "Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution," 2012, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport_StrenghteningtheRoleofMediation_A66811_0.pdf, p. 13.
[17] Interview 20173.
[18] MSU's library of guidance documents is available at https://peacemaker.un.org/resources/mediation-guidance

briefing materials for Special Envoys that include mediation guidance, as well as situation-specific information and guidelines on the operational aspects of missions.[19] The accumulation of this knowledge falls under the conceptual umbrella of "process design" which refers to the design and sequencing of a mediation process.[20] Process design aims to help mediators "do it faster, safer, cheaper next time around."[21]

The second main effort has been training. In his 2012 report, the Secretary-General emphasized that "mediation is a specialized activity which requires adequate training".[22] The UNDPPA has developed training workshops on mediation as well as the WPS Agenda in mediation aimed at UN professional staff. It has developed a separate High-Level Seminar for senior envoys from the UN and other organizations. The third element has been to develop greater thematic expertise capacity. Many positions in UNDPPA related to thematic expertise (including gender expertise) are very new, reflecting the process of specialization and an increasingly fine division of labor in the UN.[23] Additionally, UNDPPA now has a Mediation Standby Team of experts who can deploy anywhere in the world within seventy-two hours, as well as a roster of thematic experts. These are all part of the UNDPPA's conscious efforts to develop its knowledge base and learn from its past experience.[24] As Convergne notes, this allows the UN to claim legitimacy as an expert in mediation, even as it loses ground in an increasingly competitive mediation sector.[25]

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[19] UN Secretary-General, "Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution," p. 10.
[20] Initiative Mediation Support Deutschland, "Basics of Mediation: Concepts and Definitions," 2017, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/Basics%20of%20Mediation.pdf.
[21] Interview 20173.
[22] UN Secretary-General, "Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution," p. 23.
[23] Interview 20181.
[24] UNDPPA, "2019 Update to the Multi-Year Appeal," 2019, https://dppa.un.org/sites/default/files/2019_update_to_the_multi-year_appeal.pdf, p. 29.
[25] Convergne, "Learning to Mediate?"

The efforts to turn UN mediation into a science have produced a series of texts - guidance documents, my interviews with experts, and training sessions - that I analyze throughout this project. Thus, at the level of text - Bal's first level of analysis - we see that their authorship is a product of a larger trend in professionalizing UN mediation. Undertaking this analysis would have been extremely difficult fifteen or twenty years ago, as the texts did not yet exist, or only in nascent form. Of course, the turn toward professionalization and specialized expertise is not unique to UN mediation: global governance structures increasingly claim legitimacy in depoliticized, technical approaches to framing and solving policy problems.[26] However, as I show here, these developments are uneven. If we take UNDPPA web pages, reports, guidance materials, and training sessions at face value, they create an image of a highly technical approach to UN mediation. Yet, if we dig further into how UN staff actually do mediation, how UN mediators view their work and the characteristics they need to succeed, this picture gets more complicated. As Convergne observes: "the view...persists that mediation is sometimes more alchemy than chemistry, and only works when the right people get together at the right moment".[27] That is, despite the effort to turn UN mediation into a science, the view of it an art remains central to how many think of their work. In the next sections, I analyze these competing narratives and parse how they affect the institutionalization of the WPS Agenda.

[26] Friedrich Kratochwil, *The Status of Law in World Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Jacqueline Best, "The Rise of Measurement-Driven Governance: The Case of International Development," *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 23, no. 2 (2017): 163–81; Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World : International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).
[27] Convergne, p. 184.

UN Mediation as a Science

In this section, I examine how these changes are articulated through narratives about the purpose and methods of UN mediation. UN insiders use narrative devices like narration, description and ordering to establish mediation as a scientific endeavor, and the implications for the WPS Agenda. In particular, focusing on linearity and process imposes silences and side-steps the important question of what a gender-just peace might look like.

UN guidance documents use external narration, which presents the narrative in an objective fashion. The narrator is "that agent which utters the...signs which constitute the text".[28] An external narrator employs non-narrative elements such as declarations, arguments and descriptions to convey the story to the reader. Consider this passage from the *Gender Guidance*:

> Inclusive process design creates multiple entry points and diverse mechanisms for participation. It involves systematic outreach to integrate the perspective of conflict parties and of other stakeholders, particularly women, and to create new constituencies for peace. The urgency of reaching an initial ceasefire agreement, however, may in some instances result in a more limited participation in the early stages of a process. Balancing the humanitarian imperative to stop the killing with the demands of conflict parties and normative commitments is a complex task for mediators.[29]

Objective expertise is a source of authority that classifies actors and events and fixes meanings.[30] We see this at work in the above passage, which packages an emotive message into seemingly authoritative and objective statements about the necessities of mediation. Graphic descriptions like "stop the killing" and the kinetic metaphor of "balancing" invite us to empathize with the mediator's dilemma in dealing with such "complexity". These declarative sentences position inclusion and the cessation of violence as contradictory goals. Elsewhere, feminist scholars have noted that the juxtaposition of justice and peace is a common move that delegitimizes women's

[28] Bal and Boheemen, p. 8.
[29] UNDPPA, "Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies," 2016, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/1.%20English%20-GIMS.pdf, p. 20.
[30] Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World.*

right to political participation.[31] Together, these narrative devices naturalize the exclusion of women not affiliated with armed parties; if needed, mediators can appeal to common sense and moral utilitarianism to defend this choice.

Next, we can consider how the narrative of mediation as a science orders its constituent parts. Ordering is culturally and institutionally contingent: it is not necessarily linear, but it often is in the texts I analyze. I argue that this linearity reflects the logic of process design. The *Mediation Guidance* establishes the UN's approach to process design. It argues that effective mediation results from preparedness, consent, impartiality, inclusivity, national ownership, international law and normative frameworks, coordination among mediation actors, and quality peace agreements.[32] Process design identifies three phases of a process: preparatory, mediation, and post-agreement. Each of these corresponds to a series of events. The preparatory phase is when the mediation team should initiate "talks-about-talks" with parties, mobilize resources, conduct conflict analysis and establish an agenda and procedures. The mediation phase is for identifying delegations, finalizing procedures, providing expertise and negotiating a draft text. During the post-agreement phase, the aims are to implement the agreement and establish monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.[33] Key actors in this narrative are the experts supporting a mediator, the mediator, the conflict parties and third-party states (e.g., regional powers).

The story presents each of these fundamentals in turn, concluding each section with corresponding guidelines for mediation actors. The text uses anticipation (e.g., adverbs like "later") to underscore the necessity of following these steps in sequence. In training presentations

[31] Elisabeth J Porter, *Peacebuilding: Women in International Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2007).
[32] UNDPPA, "Guidance for Effective Mediation," 2012, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GuidanceEffectiveMediation_UNDPA2012%28english%29_0.pdf, p. 3.
[33] " Mediation Process Design and Entry Points for Women", UNDPPA WPS Training, New York, December 2017.

I observed, these steps appeared in flowcharts progressing from initial talks-about-talks to the implementation of an agreement. According to this narrative, effective mediation moves through these phases in an efficient and linear manner. One interviewee described the process-orientation of UN mediation:

> ...the daily work is...almost overwhelmed by process. What people actually do is perpetual meetings, getting meetings, organizing a meeting, what's the characterization of the meeting, who can attend, what are its parameters. So this is part of process design. Process design would include, at the micro level, individual meetings and there's all sorts of different ways to talk about that. Everything from initial entry points to shuttle diplomacy and proximity talks...But the daily work of a lot of people [is] things like aide-mémoires and notes verbales and visa forms and recordings and whatever public statements, communiqués. Again, it's all about the process and very, very little in it about the real issues in dispute, which are very sensitive and complex.[34]

The preservation of a peace process' forward trajectory - described by a mediator as "keeping the bicycle running"[35] - becomes a priority. The *Gender Guidance* explicitly builds on the linear logic employed in the *Mediation Guidance*. It begins by discussing gender and international laws and norms. It then applies gender to the stages of process design. The next section focuses on mainstreaming gender into substantive issues, like political power-sharing.

Drawing upon this analysis, we can see that process design relies upon two main assumptions. The first is that we can reduce conflict to its constituent parts, such as parties and issues. The second is that UN mediation can "process" these parts into "peace" by applying the fundamentals of process design.[36] This ontology of peace is mechanistic and linear. An alternative ontology of peace might see issues and actors as fundamentally interconnected, which would legitimate different approaches. For example, the Peacemaking practices we use at the Near Westside Peacemaking Center rely upon circularity and recursiveness, and focus on the

[34] Interview 20181
[35] UNDPPA, "'Keeping the Bicycle Running' or Creating the Space for Tangible Results in a Protracted Conflict," DPA Politically Speaking, December 8, 2017, https://dpa-ps.atavist.com/keeping-the-bicycle-running.
[36] Audra Mitchell, "Peace beyond Process?," *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 38, no. 3 (2010): 641–64.

interconnectedness of all participants. Participants may drop out or join as needed, and there is no definite point at which Peacemaking can be said to end. A mechanistic ontology can be useful, but is problematic in respect to the WPS Agenda because people often invoke concepts related to linearity, such as progress or urgency, to undermine it.[37] For example, male negotiators in Cyprus insist that a peace agreement is more urgent than gender equality.[38] Once a process has begun, moreover, mediators and parties may be unwilling to revisit earlier stages lest it derail the progress made to date. Adding women or gender issues to negotiations can therefore be framed as disruptive, rather than constructive, moves. This narrative represents inclusion as risky because it adds complexity and non-linearity.

The linear logic of the narrative of mediation as a science also imposes certain silences (ellipses). Ellipsis reveals the boundaries of imagination, common sense, or appropriateness in a narrative. Silences appear when it is too difficult, troubling or traumatic to say certain things.[39] In this case, peace is largely absent from UN mediation narratives. Most of the discussion of peace is couched in the language of peacebuilding, particularly the idea of "sustainable peace". The farthest the *Mediation Guidance* goes is in mentioning a “common vision for the future of the country", but little narrative time is spent describing what this might entail. Peacebuilding - the conceptual and operational rubric for different kinds of peace operations at the UN - prescribes a mix of democratization, capitalism, human rights, the rule of law and (re)invigorating civil

[37] Laura J. Shepherd, *Gender, UN Peacebuilding, and the Politics of Space: Locating Legitimacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).
[38] Maria Hadjipavlou, *Women and Change in Cyprus: Feminisms and Gender in Conflict* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2010).
[39] Bal and van Boheemen, *Narratology*.

society.[40] Peacebuilding is problematic from a postcolonial feminist perspective because it reproduces disciplinary international subjectivities and racialized, gendered hierarchies.[41]

Notably, I detected this silence even in the *Gender Guidance.* I expected the *Gender Guidance* to discuss peace, given the feminist advocacy behind the WPS Agenda.[42] However, this text does not consider what a gender-just peace would look like. Instead, gender appears as one element of the scientific narrative about mediation effectiveness. For example, interviewees and mediation guidance documents assert that considering gender and including women improves information about a conflict, expands the constituency for peace and brings greater legitimacy to a peace process.[43] Narratively, this subordinates gender equality and women to maintaining the forward trajectory of a peace process. Scholars of the WPS Agenda have extensively critiqued the reduction of gender equality to governmental techniques. Reeves argues that the UN has enmeshed gender equality into technologies of government.[44] Treating gender as expertise depoliticizes it by delinking patriarchy from security and peacebuilding practices.[45] This results in some empowerment – such as putting gender on the table – and also co-optation. Arat contends that the adoption of gender equality measures at the UN has empowered privileged women who can navigate masculinized institutions.[46] These women – who often end up as

[40] Oliver P. Richmond and Jason Franks, *Liberal Peace Transitions: Between Statebuilding and Peacebuilding* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).
[41] Laura Zanotti, "Taming Chaos: A Foucauldian View of UN Peacekeeping, Democracy and Normalization," *International Peacekeeping* 13, no. 2 (2006): 150–67; Shepherd, *Gender, UN Peacebuilding, and the Politics of Space*.
[42] Carol Cohn, Helen Kinsella, and Sheri Gibbings, "Women, Peace and Security Resolution 1325," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6, no. 1 (2004): 130–40.
[43] "Women, War, and Peace," UNDPPA WPS Training, New York, December 2017; " Module 4: Women and Mediation: Engaging Track II Actors," High-Level Seminar, Oslo, May 2016.
[44] Audrey Reeves, "Feminist Knowledge and Emerging Governmentality in UN Peacekeeping," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14, no. 3 (2012): 348–69.
[45] Heidi Hudson, "A Double-Edged Sword of Peace? Reflections on the Tension between Representation and Protection in Gendering Liberal Peacebuilding," *International Peacekeeping* 19, no. 4 (2012): 443–60.
[46] Zehra F. Kabasakal Arat, "Feminisms, Women's Rights, and the UN: Would Achieving Gender Equality Empower Women?," *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 4 (2015): 674–689.

gender advisors – may tactically deploy technical language and expertise to promote gender equality in the short term, which embeds gender as a governmental technique in the long run.[47]

Finally, the narrative of UN mediation as a science emphasizes that it is a specialized endeavor that relies on expert knowledge. The UN has claimed legitimacy as a mediator by producing mediation knowledge and best practice.[48] Being able to define problems and their solution is a source of power and legitimacy for the UN.[49] Framing contemporary conflicts as an exercise in 'managing complexity' naturalizes a highly specialized approach to conflict resolution.[50] As such, mediation, like peacekeeping and peacebuilding, forms part of a larger neoliberal global governance project focused on the technical control of populations from a distance.[51] This form of governance prioritizes measurable policy outputs and locates accountability in performance against indicators, obscuring the political nature of measurement and evaluation.[52] Authority has shifted from "enthusiasts" to "experts", further contributing to the perception that technical governance is politically neutral.[53]

Autesserre describes the politics of knowledge in peacebuilding interventions, delineating between country or local knowledge, and thematic expertise. She notes that international organizations need thematic expertise because they do not know where they will intervene next. Having globally mobile experts with generic knowledge allows peacebuilding organizations to expand their reach. Thematic expertise is therefore predicated on a hierarchy of knowledge that

[47] Reeves, "Feminist Knowledge and Emerging Governmentality in UN Peacekeeping."
[48] Convergne, "Learning to Mediate?" Interviewee 20181 makes a similar claim.
[49] Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World*.
[50] Nathan, "What Is the Essence of International Mediation in Civil Wars? The Challenge of Managing Complexity."
[51] Reeves, "Feminist Knowledge and Emerging Governmentality in UN Peacekeeping"; Laura Zanotti, "Taming Chaos: A Foucauldian View of UN Peacekeeping, Democracy and Normalization," *International Peacekeeping* 13, no. 2 (2006): 150–67.
[52] Best, "The Rise of Measurement-Driven Governance."
[53] Kratochwil, *The Status of Law in World Society*.

subordinates the local to the global. As Autesserre puts it: "The idea of sending foreigners to a country they have never visited or studied so they can help people they know nothing about makes sense only to individuals and institutions who place the highest value on thematic competency and who deem local expertise unnecessary."[54] Furthermore, technical expertise constructs 'the field' as a space that is variously failed, pathological, or lacking capacity; in other words, ripe for intervention.[55] Technical expertise is therefore far from politically neutral.

Another implication of describing UN mediation in the mechanistic terms of process design is that gender is treated as a separate area of expertise, rather than a cross-cutting or "mainstreamed" perspective. This even exerted an effect on my research: many mediation practitioners without gender expertise would question why I needed to speak to them. I kept being referred back to the same small set of gender advisors. I had to articulate why it was important that I speak to a range of people with broad experience in mediation. In some cases, it can make it difficult, if not impossible, for advocates of the WPS Agenda to talk about gender justice. For example, one interviewee related how they needed to "fully speak the language" of thematic experts in order to be heard: "If you're talking to someone from [peacekeeping] who's specialized in justice, for example, and you start talking to him about security, he's going to switch off because he's going to think...'that's not my job'."[56] Construing gender as a type of expertise undermines its transformative potential, leaving intact the gendered dualisms that posit security and justice as in opposition to one another.[57]

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[54] Séverine Autesserre, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 74.
[55] Meera Sabaratnam, *Decolonising Intervention: International Statebuilding in Mozambique* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017); Kai Koddenbrock, *The Practice of Humanitarian Intervention: Aid Workers, Agencies and Institutions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (London: Routledge, 2016).
[56] Interview 20168.
[57] Porter, *Peacebuilding: Women in International Perspective*.

The narrative of mediation as a science constructs a linear process with little room for complexity or emotion. In doing so, it depoliticizes gender relations and imposes silences around what a gender-just peace might look like. These findings are in line with critiques of neoliberal gender mainstreaming. However, it is not the full picture: the narrative of mediation as an art makes room for relationships and feelings, but in a way that delegitimizes the participation of women.

UN Mediation as an Art

The professionalization of UN mediation has accommodated but not displaced the narrative of mediation as an art. Many interviewees characterize their job as depending on intangible, human factors on which professionalized approaches have little purchase:

> I think there's lots of rules of the game, you can go to mediation trainings, you can learn all sorts of techniques. But this is like anything else - it's chemistry. When you're dealing with other human beings it's a chemical reaction, it has to be there between all the parties. I mean, I think that you can, maybe you have all the skills in the world and you come with this reputation as an excellent mediator, but if you're not viewed by the parties as somebody that is credible or trustworthy for whatever reason, that's just not going to work. I don't think that will necessarily succeed. I think that component of it, that sort of chemistry, that has to be there in my opinion, I think that's what makes it a bit more of an art form.[58]

Here, "chemistry" and "chemical reaction" are repeated throughout, underscoring that mediation cannot be easily planned or controlled according to process design techniques because it depends on how human beings relate to one another. Throughout, UN texts use narrative devices of authorship, description and storytelling to represent mediation as relying upon interpersonal skills that one gains through experience, not training. They also center consent as the central problem of mediation, which implies that relationship building is the main solution.

[58] Interview 201819.

Authors of guidance documents have had to overcome the resistance of mediators, who typically subscribe to view of mediation as an art. Mediators are commonly former diplomats who may not believe they need instruction in mediation because of their experience.[59] An interviewee involved in the drafting of the *Mediation Start-Up Guidelines*[60] - a precursor to the *Mediation Guidance* - noted that some involved in the process disagreed with the notion that mediation is a technical activity that could be summed up in a guidance document.[61] Therefore, authors of guidance texts and trainings have attempted to legitimize their production by including mediators in the authorship process. This means the perceptions and needs of mediators have strongly influenced these texts. For instance, the texts are less comprehensive than the authors intended because of mediators' desire for simple, accessible information and the authors' desire to avoid appearing like they are reducing mediators' autonomy.[62]

Some UN personnel view personal experience as more valuable than scientific approaches to mediation. A key narrative device is storytelling, particularly the use of stylized anecdotes and personal reflections. The purpose is to explain the primary story; i.e., what constitutes mediation.[63] For example, interviewees draw upon their experiences "in the field" to critique training and expertise:

> So you know the structure, it's good for training, yeah? You have to. You cannot, as a trainer, you can't tell people, "do what you think." But yes it's good for us to have that kind of tool when we think...But for me it works differently usually, almost always. There are days where I need that [structure] but I don't get much...I can get more by going a little bit more informal, kind of, without the structure. You know, you use your emotional intelligence.[64]

[59] Interview 20176; Convergne, "Learning to Mediate".
[60] UNDPPA, "Mediation Start-Up Guidelines," 2011, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MediationStartupGuidalines_UNDPA2011.pdf.
[61] Interview 20173.
[62] ibid.
[63] Bal and Boheemen, *Narratology*, p. 58.
[64] Interview 201815.

> So I have been able to step back a few times and remember what I have been trained in doing. But, again, there is no formula. I can't have a checklist of fifteen things that I need to take because it will depend on the circumstances, it will depend on how things are going.[65]

These quotes imply that scientific approaches do not gel with the reality of being "on the ground", which requires "emotional intelligence" and flexibility. They invoke their experience to signal their credibility. But, as feminists have noted, experience can be problematic when an individual's experience is considered evidence of certain truths, independent of the social construction that allowed that experience to occur.[66] That is, racialized and gendered dynamics construct "the field" as a space for international intervention.[67] Gender experts deployed to the field tend to be elite, Western-educated women who have little in common with the people they are supposed to serve.[68] However, the texts are silent on these dynamics. In UN mediation, those focalized are the interveners, not the intended beneficiaries.

Many of the texts describe consent as fundamental to mediation: "Mediation is a voluntary process that requires the consent of the conflict parties to be effective. Without consent it is unlikely that parties will negotiate in good faith or be committed to the mediation process."[69] It recommends that mediators "...identify the level of inclusivity needed for the mediation to start and required for a durable peace that addresses the needs of all affected by the conflict".[70] This formulation of consent emphasizes the importance of conflict parties, which implies that peace can be built from the top-down. One interviewee stated that peacemaking is more like a pyramid

[65] Interview 20182.
[66] Joan Wallach Scott, "Experience," in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, ed. Judith Butler and Joan Wallach Scott (New York: Routledge, 1992), 22–40.
[67] Vivienne Jabri, "Peacebuilding, the Local and the International: A Colonial or a Postcolonial Rationality?," *Peacebuilding* 1, no. 1 (2013): 3–16.
[68] Reeves, "Feminist Knowledge and Emerging Governmentality in UN Peacekeeping."
[69] UNDPPA, "Guidance for Effective Mediation," p. 8.
[70] UNDPPA, p. 13.

than a circle: it requires the efforts of armed parties to flow down to society.[71] Another interviewee noted that this view, while contradicting official UN rhetoric regarding sustainable peace and inclusion, is popular.[72] Thus, the *Mediation Guidance* mentions "conflict parties" in conjunction with "consent" throughout.

Several texts refer to the "dilemma of inclusion", whereby greater inclusivity loads a process with complexity.[73] If conflict parties' consent is at a premium, then inclusion - commonly understood as the inclusion of women and civil society - may threaten it. As one interviewee noted:

> If you have a certain number of seats around a peace table and you're saying to them, "you have four seats and we'd like to see half of them going to women," then you are eliminating two men who would naturally otherwise be sitting in those seats. They're not going to let that influence and that power go lightly. It's a jostling for influence and having a seat at the table - that is where a lot of challenges come in.[74]

This frames participation in zero-sum terms: women are going to take seats that otherwise "belong" to men. This is likely to be contentious with conflict parties, jeopardizing consent. Consent, as well as urgency, function as justifications for not including women. That is, mediators cannot justify "holding up talks on the point of women's inclusion"[75] if it would mean violence continues:

> [The mediator is] holding whatever they're doing so *carefully* because it's so *fragile*...I imagine from their point of view, every single step forward is so *fragile* and the implications of going backwards are so *dire*, the consequences are so *horrible*...That dynamic is really *complicated*.(My italics.)[76]

Fragility and urgency - emphasized here through the use of words like "fragile", "dire" and "horrible" - naturalize a politics of consent that focuses on armed parties.[77] In this representation,

[71] Interview 20169.
[72] Interview 20164.
[73] "Mediation Process Design and Entry Points for Women," UNDPPA WPS Training, New York, December 2017.
[74] Interview 20165.
[75] ibid.
[76] Interview 20168.
[77] Interviews 20167, 20164 and 20177.

mediators need to use their political leverage on an agreement to end violence, not on gender issues, which are seen as likely to complicate or threaten a process.[78] This complicates Puechguirbal's argument that gender is a "safe idea": that may be the case for managers who can pay lip service to gender mainstreaming, but it appears to be more risky in contexts where one's political judgment is at stake.[79] Note that this concern with complexity is different to the narrative of mediation as a science, which treats complexity as inimical to linear progress. Here, complexity threatens to disturb relationships among mediators and negotiators. This illustrates how two quite different narrative about the purpose and methods of UN mediation can work in tandem to undermine the institutionalization of the WPS Agenda.

Mediators use their interpersonal arts to gain and keep the consent of conflict parties. The narrative of mediation as an art emphasizes empathy and listening in order to build relationships. The *Manual for UN Mediators*, a guidance manual that shares advice from UN mediators, quotes a former Special Representative:

> To do this, you have to spend a great deal of time with them. It's partly for psychological reasons: the more they see you, the more you are present, the more the peace settlement becomes part of their daily calculations. The other reason is that, if you are one hundred percent empathetic and constantly on the look-out for opportunities to achieve a peace settlement, it's likely that the chemistry will work in favor of your understanding what the essential issues are for them. I spent days and nights talking and talking and talking with the two parties. [80]

Interviewees reiterated this point, arguing that the "ability to create the relationship is clearly key"[81] and that "people just automatically feel better the minute they feel you are listening."[82] Interestingly, these elements are not narratively linked with femininity, despite invoking some

[78] Interview 20167.
[79] Nadine Puechguirbal, "Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents," *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 2 (2010): 172–87.
[80] Connie Peck, "A Manual for UN Mediators: Advice from UN Representatives and Envoys" (United Nations Institute for Training and Research, 2010), https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/ManualUNMediators_UN2010.pdf. As quoted on p. 18.
[81] Interview 201818.
[82] Interview 201815.

traditionally feminine-stereotyped behaviors, like compassion and empathy. I take up this point further in the next chapter.

Finally, trust between mediators and negotiators is an important element in the narrative of mediation as an art.[83] Trust can also be profoundly gendered: among men, it may be a healthy expression of masculinity, but it can exclude women and gender minorities. As one interviewee pointed out:

> ...there's all kinds of things that men trust to each other. There's, like, a homosociability to any negotiation, dirty deals in dark rooms over drinks, talks late at night, travel constantly. Out of the question that you should have a family, my God. But there is a thing about men-on-men trust and camaraderie and bravado. It's very hard for women to break into that, as we know very well.

In her discussion of clientelist political networks, Bjarnegård argues that in conditions of uncertainty people resort to social commonalities like gender as a basis for trust.[84] And, as feminist international relations theorists have pointed out, women are strangers in politics.[85] Strangers do not fit existing categories for ordering social and political life.[86] Women therefore have to resort to other strategies, like appearing relatable, if they are to succeed in navigating masculinized trust.[87] However, apart from the above quote, there was no reflection in the texts on how trust could present obstacles for women in UN mediation.

The narrative of mediation as an art challenges many of the assumptions of mediation as a science. It privileges experience, consent and relationships, listening and trust. Including gender and women appears risky because it potentially endangers consent. Meanwhile, experience and trust both have gendered implications: experience depends upon having certain

[83] Interviews 20182, 20165. UNDPPA, "Guidance for Effective Mediation," p. 12.
[84] E. Bjarnegård, *Gender, Informal Institutions and Political Recruitment: Explaining Male Dominance in Parliamentary Representation* (Springer, 2013).
[85] J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).
[86] Jef Huysmans, "Security! What Do You Mean?: From Concept to Thick Signifier," *European Journal of International Relations* 4, no. 2 (1998): 226–55.
[87] Sam Cook, "Encountering Metis in the Security Council," Working Paper Series (London: LSE Centre for Women, Peace and Security, 2018).

privileges that allows one to enter "the field", while trust can be an exclusive, rather than inclusive, practice.

Conclusion

In the post-Cold War era, the UN has established itself as a mediator by developing a scientific approach to mediation. However, vestiges of the old approach to mediation as an art remain. These narratives of mediation as an art and as a science co-exist and have implications for how the UN has institutionalized the WPS Agenda in mediation. The narrative of mediation as science relies upon the concept of process design. Mediation is specialized and technical work in which the preservation of forward momentum is key. It employs a mechanistic ontology of peace in which issues can be treated separately, and a process can proceed in a linear fashion. In doing so, it depoliticizes gender relations and remains silent on the issue of what peace would look like. Meanwhile, the narrative of mediation as an art privileges experience rather than training, the consent of negotiating parties, and relationships. Gender and women appear risky because they potentially endanger consent. Interestingly, this narrative draws upon the feminized skills of emotional intelligence, without discursively linking these skills to women. In the next chapters, I examine these practices and their implications in detail.

4. The Art of United Nations Mediation

Introduction

Practices associated with the approach to mediation as an art remain prevalent, which affects the WPS Agenda in UN mediation. This chapter examines the practices of emotional labor and mediator discretion. Emotional labor refers to the work mediators do to maintain relationships, while discretion refers to allowing UN mediators significant latitude in how they interpret their mandates, particularly in light of norms like the WPS Agenda. Each of these practices emerge from the concern with gaining and keeping the consent of negotiating parties. These practices are under-researched in the WPS literature, yet they are prevalent and exert considerable influence over the institutionalization of the WPS Agenda in mediation. In the final section, I examine how valuing practices like emotional labor and discretion in mediation privileges some kinds of people over others as mediators. These practices intersect with representations of masculinity and femininity in politics in interesting ways.

I do not claim that the practices I describe below are dominant in all UN mediation contexts. The development of UN mediation as a science has given rise to practices associated with neoliberal governmentality, such as the production and deployment of expertise, which I examine in the next chapter. These practices converge with what we know about

governmentality in gender mainstreaming, which has been well documented elsewhere. However, these developments are uneven, leaving in place practices that depend on human feeling and judgment, with all of their messy consequences for the WPS Agenda.

Practicing UN Mediation as an Art

Chapter Three demonstrated that mediation has strong roots in diplomacy. This analysis therefore utilises the growing work on diplomatic practices in International Relations. In particular, I develop the practices implicit in the idea that UN mediation is an art. Here, I draw upon Neumann, who argues for the importance of "metis" in diplomacy.[1] Metis refers to the use of everyday tactics, including "know-how" or "trickiness", to gain the maximum impact with minimum effort.[2] Metis is deployed in situations that:

> …are similar but never precisely identical, [that] require quick and practiced adaptation that becomes almost "second nature" to the practitioner, [where] skill typically is acquired through practice (often apprenticeship) and a developed "feel" or "knack" for strategy;...[metis] resist[s] simplification to deductive principles which can successfully be conveyed through book-learning, and ...the environments in which [it is] practiced are so complex and non-repeatable that formal procedures of rational decision-making are impossible to apply.[3]

Metis is a temporal practice, in that it requires the practitioner to have a good sense of timing.[4] de Certeau argues that metis is largely invisible; that is, it remains at the level of instinct or common-sense. Similarly, Pierre Bourdieu underscores that habitus gives actors a "symbolic

[1] Iver B. Neumann, "Returning Practice to the Linguistic Turn: The Case of Diplomacy," *Millennium* 31, no. 3 (July 1, 2002): 627–51.
[22] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Stephen Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).
[3] James C. Scott, "State Simplifications: Nature, Space, and People," *Nomos* 38 (1996): 42–85.
[4] de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.

mastery" over "infinitely diversified tasks", allowing them to solve "similarly shaped problems" in response to objective events.[5]

Diplomacy is a "metis-laden" field.[6] Diplomacy is often represented as an art that resists simplification to procedure. An early guide to diplomacy emphasises this point:

> 'The attempt to reduce to rules the art of negotiating is as vain and futile as the attempt to teach the art of social intercourse. In addition to knowledge of affairs in general and comprehension of the interests of his own country in particular, the distinguishing characteristic of a successful negotiator, such as knowledge of men, which enables one to interpret looks and glances, an elasticity of demeanour which overcomes the weak man by earnestness and the strong man by gentleness, readiness to understand the opponent's point of view and skill in refuting his objections—all these are qualities which can be acquired only by natural disposition, social intercourse and practical acquaintance with affairs; but they can never be gained from booklearning'.[7]

The improvisational, social nature of diplomacy strongly resembles the definition of metis given above. Diplomatic virtuosity emerges when a diplomat not only knows rules intuitively, but understands how to improvise and which tactics to deploy at what time.[8] Similarly, the view of UN mediation as an art militates against the standardization of mediation through training and expertise. It emphasizes the fluid, contingent nature of diplomacy, and prioritizes creating and maintaining relationships with negotiating parties. I argue that for many personnel, particularly senior mediators, this view of mediation is more intuitive than the professionalized approach laid out in guidance manuals and trainings.

I examine emotional labor and discretion as key practices in UN mediation - they are manifestations of metis in this context. They emerge from the concern with gaining and keeping

[5] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
[6] Scott, "State Simplifications."
[7] Schmalz, quoted in Ernest Mason Satow. *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice*. (Longmans, Green, 1922), p. 202.
[8] Jérémie Cornut, "Diplomacy, Agency, and the Logic of Improvisation and Virtuosity in Practice," *European Journal of International Relations* 24, no. 3 (2017): 712–36.

the consent of negotiating parties. The role of the mediator is to lay the groundwork for parties to resolve their conflict. As one former envoy describes:

> Going into any negotiation, a mediator is faced with positions, sometimes publicly stated by the parties to a conflict. A position is usually an artificial articulation of desires, set precisely for the purpose of negotiation. So, a mediator should make it his/her business – as quickly as possible – to try to find out what interests, concerns, fears, aspirations, dreams, and nightmares, led to setting those positions. If you can identify interests rather than positions, you're already a long way in the direction of finding the key to the solution of the conflict, especially if you do that with both sides."[9]

Discovering these "interests, concerns, fears, aspirations, dreams, and nightmares" requires the mediator to be attuned to emotions. They have to build a relationship with the parties so that they will "come and sit at the table together."[10] It also entails flexibility, rather than adherence to more scientific notions of mediation process design, which some practitioners find too constraining.[11] Moreover, they must be sensitive to the context: what works in one case may not work in another.[12] Therefore, mediators use their discretion (i.e., their political judgment on where to pressure and placate parties) to move talks toward a resolution. Along the way, these practices may open or close off opportunities for including women and gender issues.

Emotional Labor

The turn toward emotions in IR has examined how states and state representatives engage in emotional work. Emotions are socially meaningful, but may also be turned toward strategic ends. Hall's work on "emotional diplomacy" examines how states project emotions like sympathy,

[9] Mediator quoted on p. 8 of Connie Peck, "A Manual for UN Mediators: Advice from UN Representatives and Envoys" (United Nations Institute for Training and Research, 2010), https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/ManualUNMediators_UN2010.pdf. All mediators quoted in the document are anonymous. This document draws upon the experiences of former mediators to provide advice on how UN Special Envoys should face different challenges in their work.
[10] Interview 20164.
[11] Interview 201815.
[12] Interview 20168.

anger and guilt toward other states.[13] He and others draw upon Hochschild's concept of emotional labor, which "requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others."[14] While Hochschild understands emotional labor as a form of commercial exchange, it serves political ends in this case. Women in particular perform emotional labor in the private and public spheres; however, throughout the texts I examine, emotional labor is not discursively linked with women or femininity. Indeed, as I discuss below, it may serve to reinforce barriers to women's participation.

The end that emotional labor serves in UN mediation is getting and keeping the consent of negotiating parties. The political will of negotiating parties, who are typically understood as key military and political leaders, is "the determining factor for success."[15] UN mediation narratives, which I consider extensively elsewhere, repeatedly position typically male actors as central to mediation, while sidelining women (usually conflated with "civil society). For instance, one interviewee conceptualized peace talks as a pyramid, rather than a circle. In this telling, elite agreements flow down to the rest of society.[16] Thus, according to mediation guidance, "one of the first undertakings for mediators is to develop a working relationship with the leadership of the major parties to the conflict."[17]

[13] Todd H. Hall, *Emotional Diplomacy: Official Emotion on the International Stage* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).
[14] Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: The Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 7.
[15] UNDPPA, "Guidance for Effective Mediation," 2012, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GuidanceEffectiveMediation_UNDPA2012%28english%29_0.pdf.
[16] Interview 20169.
[17] Peck, "A Manual for UN Mediators", p. 16. Interview 20181.

To form these relationships, UN mediators (the majority of whom are male)[18] practice emotional labor that we typically associate with women. As one envoy for the Bougainville talks described his role, he had to "keep smoothing ruffled feathers on both sides, to keep nursing and cajoling and pressuring them individually, as well as by group – the National Government on one side, the Bougainvilleans on the other – including the hardliners. Every little bit helped."[19] "Nursing[20] and cajoling" evoke typically feminine, mothering behaviors. We cajole small children into behaving the way we want, and nurse them on our laps when they are sad or hurt. These feminine images are paired with "pressuring", which evokes a more masculinized communication style. For instance, another mediator emphasized the importance of being "cordial and friendly" while maintaining a "principled" stand.[21]

Another way in which UN mediators perform emotional labor is by displaying empathy for negotiators. Empathy refers to the ability to take another person's perspective, and correctly infer their state of mind.[22] This is discursively linked with effectiveness: empathy and listening allow mediators to understand the motivations of negotiators. For instance:

> You must have empathy. You must be able to relate completely, totally and without reservation to each party's agenda. You must understand what they want, why they want it and why they want it so much – and, to some extent, you have to want it so much too. It's not easy. The parties may hold positions that you disagree with. They may do things that you disagree with. The history of the parties may be full of things that you disagree with. But you still have the duty to understand what lies behind this behavior and to understand where all their mistrust and suspicion comes from."[23]

Another mediator uses the evocative language of woundedness to frame the importance of empathetic listening:

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[18] See appendices.
[19] Mediator quoted in Peck, "A Manual for UN Mediators", p. 44.
[20] In the sense of 'to care for'.
[21] Mediator quoted in Peck, "A Manual for UN Mediators", p. 22.
[22] Neta C. Crawford, "Institutionalizing Passion in World Politics: Fear and Empathy," *International Theory* 6, no. 3 (2014): 535–57.
[23] Mediator quoted in Peck, "A Manual for UN Mediators", p. 18.

> You've got to be sensitive and listen in order to understand what the conflict is about. Once I got to know a guerrilla commander, sub-commander or assistant, I would always ask him, 'Why did you join?' In almost every case, the guy's family had been massacred or everybody in his village had been massacred; the members of his trade union had been massacred; his schoolmates had been massacred; his land had been stolen; the women in his family had been raped. There was always a bleeding wound there. They were angry and felt that there would be no justice unless they became hard line and killed until it ended – even though, of course, the killing really just perpetuated it. But you need to get to that wounded part, if you're going to move on.[24]

Listening without judgment is therefore central to empathy in UN mediation. Mediators must "get into [negotiators'] shoes."[25] One mediator describes it as a conscious practice, a discipline of "being simultaneously empathetic with contradictory views."[26] This practice humanizes the negotiators and allows the mediator to build relationships and identify potential openings for progress.

Mediation texts describe empathy as central to building a trusting relationship between the mediator and negotiating parties. Negotiating parties feel more trusting once they feel they are being listened to.[27] Mediators develop trusting relationships with negotiating parties by interacting with them in informal settings.[28] Several interviewees criticized the scientific approach to mediation as not allowing enough flexibility to develop empathy. Too much attention to process could jeopardize the relationships, which are central to mediation success.[29] To illustrate how practitioners develop relationships, one interviewee recounts bringing parties to an African conflict together at a private lodge to create a favorable environment where parties could feel more comfortable talking. Mediation professionals may employ quite creative measures in doing so:

> In Africa, you have the stargazer. You have someone who comes in and talks about astronomy. [It] has absolutely nothing to do with what you're there to address but in terms of bringing people

[24] Mediator quoted in Peck, "A Manual for UN Mediators", p. 23.
[25] Mediator quoted in Peck, "A Manual for UN Mediators", p. 19.
[26] ibid.
[27] Interview 201815.
[28] Peck, "A Manual for UN Mediators", p. 25.
[29] Interviews 201815, 201818.

> out of the very, quite can be at times, quite heated discussions and taking them out of that and removing that tension...I can remember somebody talking for two hours and holding the audience in a way that you just wouldn't have expected from people who had no interest in astronomy. But the individual was able to create a dynamic and an enthusiasm...what you create is a sort of collective understanding and that can help the process...[30]

The purpose was to reduce tensions and build relationships, and also to signal to the parties that the international community took them seriously by providing them with "a quality of accommodation."[31] A mediator in the Bougainville talks recounts meeting with parties over lunch and cigars.[32] These informal meetings are common practices in mediation and diplomacy, which has historically relied upon male socializing.[33] Informal dinners and cocktail parties (often organized by female spouses) have long greased the wheels of diplomacy, creating relaxed settings in which male diplomats can hash out issues away from the glare of publicity.[34]

What are the consequences of emotional labor for the WPS Agenda? To understand this, we have to look at the limits of empathy. Crawford argues that empathy is a foundation for justice: understanding motivates pro-social behavior.[35] In the material examined above, it seems like empathetic behavior allows mediators to create a sense of collectivity with negotiators. This helps them move toward a common goal of a political settlement. Empathy, however, can also be an exclusive practice when it draws tighter boundaries around a group. Neurological research examining people's ability to infer others' mental states through facial expressions indicates that men empathize less with women than with other men.[36] Whether this is a result of biological or

[30] Interview 201818.
[31] ibid.
[32] Mediator quoted in Peck, "A Manual for UN Mediators", p. 44.
[33] Karin Aggestam and Ann Towns, eds., *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation* (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018); Jennifer Cassidy, ed., *Gender and Diplomacy* (New York: Routledge, 2017); Iver B. Neumann, "The Body of the Diplomat," *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 4 (2008): 671–95.
[34] Helen McCarthy, "Women, Marriage and Work in the British Diplomatic Service," *Women's History Review* 23, no. 6 (2014): 853–73; Molly M. Wood, "Diplomatic Wives: The Politics of Domesticity and the 'Social Game' in the U.S. Foreign Service, 1905-1941," *Journal of Women's History* 17, no. 2 (2005): 142–65.
[35] Crawford, "Institutionalizing Passion in World Politics."
[36] Boris Schiffer et al., "Why Don't Men Understand Women? Altered Neural Networks for Reading the Language of Male and Female Eyes," *PLOS ONE* 8, no. 4 (2013): e60278.

social processes is open for dispute, but it is an intriguing finding. It resonates with one interviewee who described the challenges of being a female mediator:

> Gender is an issue because there's all kinds of things that men trust to each other. There's like a homosociability (sic) to any negotiation, dirty deals in dark rooms over drinks, talks late at night, travel constantly - out of the question that you should have a family, my God. But there is a thing about men on men trust and camaraderie and bravado. It's very hard for women to break into that as we know very well.[37]

Empathy among male mediators and negotiators may indeed be a foundation for pro-social behavior while also excluding women. From a feminist perspective, the power of empathy to "other" and ostracize women matters.

There are concrete examples of this from other peace processes. Waylen examines the how informal networks among male negotiators in South Africa and Northern Ireland posed difficulties for female participants.[38] In particular, the informal, secret "talks-about-talks" that laid the groundwork for the later, public, formal talks entrenched gendered exclusion as few women participated from the beginning. Informal meetings on the sidelines of the formal talks, informal working groups, and personal relationships among key negotiators also entrenched the dominance of men in the decision-making process. Holding talks in coffee houses in Cyprus late at night made it hard for women to participate because coffee houses are traditionally male spaces. Moreover, women tend to have caregiving responsibilities in the evenings. Male socializing around drinking alcohol - detailed by Svedberg in the case of the East-West negotiations - may be seen as downright dangerous for women.[39] The *Gender Guidance* therefore calls on mediators to "consider the constraints for women's participation, such as

[37] Interview 20167.
[38] Georgina Waylen, "A Seat at the Table--Is It Enough? Gender, Multiparty Negotiations, and Institutional Design in South Africa and Northern Ireland," *Politics & Gender* 10, no. 4 (2014): 495–523.
[39] Erika Svedberg, "East-West Negotiations," in *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation*, ed. Karin Aggestam and Ann Towns (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 259–75.

security needs, family obligations [or] meeting hours."[40] This advice recognizes the pervasiveness of these barriers to women's participation and underscores how much mediation relies upon informal contacts between male negotiators and mediators.

Discretion

The second practice I focus on is discretion, which refers here to allowing UN mediators significant latitude in how they interpret their mandates,[41] particularly in light of international law and norms. Like emotional labor, discretion and flexibility are positioned as central to gaining and keeping the consent of the negotiating parties. As Laurie Nathan, a mediation scholar-practitioner writes, mediator discretion fulfils three purposes. It allows them to respond to the dynamic context of the conflict, to consider the specific local, regional or international context of the conflict, and - most importantly - to corral negotiating parties who may be locked in "mortal combat" into more conciliatory attitudes.[42] Limiting the scope of negotiations to a predefined set of issues, or imposing normative agendas, are construed as obstacles to mediators' ability to exercise their discretion. Mediators, who are often experienced diplomats, use their judgment to decide based on the political context the extent to which they can "push" one normative agenda or another. This flexible, strategic decision-making is a hallmark of mediation as an art. Discretion has a potentially significant influence on whether the WPS Agenda is implemented at the mission level.

It is important to note that there is contestation over the degree of discretion mediators have. Some interviewees insisted that mediators had the power to push for the inclusion of women, whereas others stressed the lack of leverage mediators have over negotiating parties. It

[40] UNDPPA, "Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies," 2016, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/1.%20English%20-GIMS.pdf.
[41] Referred to in the UN as 'terms of reference.'
[42] Laurie Nathan, "The Mandate Effect: A Typology and Conceptualization of Mediation Mandates," *Peace & Change* 43, no. 3 (2018): 318–43.

seems that the perception of the amount of leverage a mediator has is a function of how much the individual wants the mediator to advocate for the implementation of the WPS Agenda. In these cases, interviewees stressed the normative dimensions of mediators' mandates.[43] Meanwhile, other interviewees positioned the mediator as being subject to the whims of the conflict parties. From background research, it appears that the main leverage a mediator has is in marshalling the political and financial support of third party states to provide sticks or carrots. The point of discussing discretion is not to argue that all mediators have the same degree of discretion in every case. Instead, I focus on where it is practiced and the implications for the WPS Agenda.

The process of appointing mediators and defining their roles is somewhat informal, despite ongoing efforts at standardization. The selection and appointment of mediators depends on political concerns, such as the optics of mediator nationalities.[44] The Secretary-General consults closely with Security Council members, who have the final say over appointments.[45] While mandates do exist, and tend to be more specific in some cases than in others, it is generally the case that UN Special Envoys and Special Representatives do not have strict mandates governing their day-to-day work. For instance, as of recently there were no generic Terms of Reference for Special Envoys/Representatives.[46] In some cases, the Security Council provides direction through its resolutions, but it does not directly manage peace talks.[47] As the *Gender Guidance* notes, mediators are supposed to work based on the consent of negotiating parties as well as the framework of the UN Charter, specific resolutions, and applicable

[43] Interviews 20165, 20176.
[44] Interview 20175.
[45] Interview 20171.
[46] Interview 20171. The interviewee noted that there may have been specific Terms of Reference, but they are secret or hard to get, even for UN insiders.
[47] Interview 20166. For instance, Security Council resolution 649 (1990) on the Cyprus conflict mandates that the UN's Good Offices Mission should be in service of a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation in which states have political equality. This has the unfortunate consequence of pre-ordaining the central outcome of the talks.

international law.[48] This is partly a function of the UN Charter, which does not spell out the Secretary-General's role in providing good offices and mediation.[49] Special Envoys report to the Secretary-General based on strategic and managerial objectives set out at the start of the appointment.[50] In formal terms, this leaves mediators with some discretion over how they conduct their jobs, particularly in suggesting the scope for talks.

Regardless of the *degree* of discretion that mediators have, discretion itself boils down to the exercise of good political judgement. That is, discretion should serve the mediator's aim of getting and keeping consent, as well as facilitating an agreement. The pressure on the mediator is political and professional: they must carry out their political mandate. Doing so effectively can also set them up for a prestigious future appointment. The WPS Agenda's "fit" in this respect is problematic. One interviewee argues that insisting on implementing the WPS Agenda is risky:

> ...to constantly consult with women, to show them respect, to share information with women's groups, to cultivate and support women leaders, to insist on their participation at various opportunities to influence decision-making, that involves sticking your neck out, that involves political risk, that involves, honestly, being seen as partisan towards women.[51]

So, while the *Gender Guidance* suggests that mediators should "promote understanding among conflict parties" of the importance of including women, it simultaneously poses a risk to the mediators judgment and the politics of consent in which they are engaged. The *Gender Guidance* therefore hedges by using language like "encouraging", "considering" or "consulting" when referring to measures mediators could take to implement the WPS Agenda. As noted in the previous chapter, this complicates the view that gender, as a sanitized and depoliticized technical

[48] UNDPPA, "Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies", p. 10.
[49] Laurie Nathan, "The Mandate Effect: A Typology and Conceptualization of Mediation Mandates".
[50] "Sample Generic Terms of Reference for a Special Envoy of the Secretary-General." Obtained through interviewees.
[51] Interview 20167.

matter, is generally a "safe" topic because it requires little action.[52] The above quote illustrates that moving from lip service to genuine implementation can in fact imperil the perception of the mediator's judgment and impartiality - a key tenet of mediation repeated throughout UN documentation.[53]

Moreover, mediators' professional incentives are not geared toward promoting international norms like those articulated in the WPS Agenda. Their job, insofar as we know what their mandates are, is to get an agreement that does not contravene more solidified areas of international law.[54] Nathan summarizes this difference between norms that must be followed strictly and those that are open to interpretation. Some norms allow no derogation, such as the prohibition on amnesties for war crimes.[55] In the latter category are norms surrounding inclusivity and ownership, like the WPS Agenda's calls for gender sensitivity and the inclusion of women.[56] Hellmuller et al. study how mediators deal with the increasing incorporation of norms in mediation. They find that mediators tend to prioritize norms that allow them to stop violence quickly by reinforcing the integrity of the process (e.g., mediator impartiality), parties' consent, and the right to life. Substantive norms like gender equality will only be brought into the process where they are seen as compatible with these goals. Thus, mediators can promote norms but only insofar as they do not threaten consent or the process writ large.[57]

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[52] Nadine Puechguirbal, "Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents," International Peacekeeping 17, no. 2 (2010): 172–87.
[53] UNDPPA, "Guidance for Effective Mediation"; UNDPPA, "Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies."
[54] Background discussions during my fieldwork indicate that senior mediators tend also to be concerned with leveraging their current appointment into future positions.
[55] UNDPPA, "Guidance for Effective Mediation."
[56] Nathan, "The Mandate Effect."
[57] Sara Hellmueller, Julia Palmiano Federer, and Mathias Zeller, "The Role of Norms in International Peace Mediation" (Bern, Switzerland: swisspeace/NOREF, 2015), http://www.swisspeace.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/Media/Publications/The_Role_of_Norms_in_International_Peace_Mediation.pdf.

Policy papers on the implementation of the WPS Agenda often point to the reticence of mediators in implementing gender equality measures in talks.[58] Some interviewees mentioned informality in how mediators conduct their jobs as a significant barrier to progress.[59] Therefore, many of the efforts surrounding the WPS Agenda have focused on formal accountability measures, such as reporting on the gender composition of missions, consultations with women's groups, and the number of paragraphs on women or gender in mission reports to the Security Council. Advocates of the WPS Agenda have in particular pushed for more indicators and greater monitoring and reporting. For example, some have advocated for more specific language in mediator mandates on gender. The Senior Leadership Appointments Section at the UN has put forward sample generic Terms of Reference that include language on the WPS Agenda. For instance, they state that mediators should "demonstrate gender sensitivity" and "should work toward the implementation of WPS resolutions" by promoting gender parity in missions, as well as the "direct and meaningful participation of women in talks at all levels".[60] DPPA headquarters also provides guidance to missions on including gender advisors and meetings with women's groups.[61] However, these measures do not account for the centrality of the practices I describe here. Imposing more accountability is in significant tension with how practitioners see and do mediation. Moreover, mediators' skill in practicing emotional labor or discretion are central to how they are evaluated because these elements are seen as the ingredients of a political solution.

[58] Radhika Coomaraswamy, "Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325" (New York, NY: UN Women, 2015), http://wps.unwomen.org/~/media/files/un%20women/wps/highlights/unw-global-study-1325-2015.pdf.
[59] Interview 20166.
[60] "Sample Generic Terms of Reference for a Special Envoy of the Secretary-General."
[61] Interview 20184.

Gendered Subjectivities

In this section, I examine how valuing metis-laden practices like emotional labor and discretion in mediation privileges some kinds of people over others as mediators. Recall that practices are intersubjective: their competence depends not only on the objective quality of the performance, but also on how the audience views it. The question is, if the practices I have discussed so far signal virtuosity as a mediator, who gets to be a virtuoso? And how does gender shape this? Here, I examine descriptions of the ideal mediator and the socialization of most mediators in diplomacy and politics. Then, I discuss how these representations of the mediator are gendered.

An important element of habitus is that it results in a "feel for the game". This is most evident among those whose habitus has developed in close proximity to a field and who are privileged within it, allowing them to practise competently and be seen as competent. Diplomatic competence comes partly through being properly socialized into the field of diplomacy. Diplomatic practices therefore reinforce certain habitus or subjectivities, drawing boundaries around who is considered a legitimate practitioner. For instance, McConnell shows how diplomatic decorum, which depends on managing one's emotions in an appropriate manner, constrains the participation of Indigenous diplomats at the UN. Using nationalistic language or showing emotion undermines the credibility of their diplomatic performance in the eyes of Western diplomats, thereby delegitimizing their claims and presence in the space.[62] This underscores that the development of habitus and the assessment of a practitioner's competence are related to one another and both shaped by power relations like race, coloniality, or gender.

Diplomatic skill develops through apprenticeship, rather than formal training (although this does exist). Amateurs are more likely to follow rules rigidly and are less able to further their

[62] Fiona McConnell, "Performing Diplomatic Decorum: Repertoires of 'Appropriate' Behavior in the Margins of International Diplomacy," *International Political Sociology* 12, no. 4 (2018): 362–81.

political ends.[63] The linkage between competence, feel, and experience is evident here. When describing an ideal mediator, many interviewees and guidance documents stress that experience and a feel for the game are more important attributes in a mediator than expertise.[64] For example, one UN staff member argues that some people are "natural mediators" because of their temperament or experience in diplomacy or politics.[65] As one former UN mediator stated:

> I think there's something about weighing up whether someone is likely to have the feel for a particular kind of situation. I'm not sure it's about knowledge. If you have the feel, you can rapidly get the knowledge. But what you have to do is to assess someone's ability to relate to a particular kind of situation. You have to ask yourself, 'Has this person operated in this kind of situation? Do they have a feel for Asia?'[66]

This intangible feel, born of experience, is contrasted against the rigid adherence to rules and procedures. For example, another former mediator emphasizes the importance of political skill by arguing that: "A bureaucrat would make a mess because he doesn't understand the political issues and he has a tendency to build up some kind of a strong protection with a mountain of paper, asking instructions for everything he does."[67] That is, following rules and procedures is not sufficient for managing a highly political process. Instead a mediator should have good political instincts that allow them to recognize and seize opportunities to move parties closer to a solution.[68] This entails close and careful listening to the parties in order to identify their motivations.

Guidance documents stress the possession of ideal personal attributes in addition to experience. Mediators should have good people skills, be understanding, and be able to

[63] Cornut, "Diplomacy, Agency, and the Logic of Improvisation and Virtuosity in Practice."
[64] Interview 20175.
[65] Interview 20189.
[66] Cited in grey literature.
[67] Former UN mediator cited in grey literature.
[68] UNDPPA, "Guidance for Effective Mediation", p. 15.

communicate effectively.[69] For example, the *Guidance on Effective Mediation* describes the mediator as someone who is "objective, impartial and authoritative [and] a person of integrity." Moreover, they should have "seniority and gravitas."[70] The *Manual for UN Mediators* argues that "mediation skill, experience and knowledge, as well as extensive political skill and judgment are essential." A mediator should, moreover, be "trustworthy, impartial...and authoritative."[71] They should, moreover, be able to withstand stress, be effective communicators, and be patient, persistent, and creative.[72]

These attributes are linked to a particular kind of political and diplomatic experience. One interviewee cites statesmen, diplomats, and priests as examples of people who are likely to have good interpersonal skills.[73] Another notes that "gravitas...comes with having had positions as ambassadors or foreign ministers."[74] During the selection process potential senior mediators are evaluated for their strategic vision and decision-making abilities. For example, an interview may include questions like: "this is the context, this is the challenges [sic], how would you go about addressing them?"[75] Although the move toward integrated and multidimensional peace operations has increased the demand for leaders with management skills, these operational duties are not central to the assessment and selection of UN mediators. Moreover, many senior mediators do not see themselves as managers, and do not have the time to undertake both political and operational responsibilities. Instead, there is a focus on building a team, where the

[69] Peck, "A Manual for UN Mediators", p. 13.
[70] UNDPPA, "Guidance for Effective Mediation," 2012, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GuidanceEffectiveMediation_UNDPA2012%28english%29_0.pdf, p. 7.
[71] Peck, "A Manual for UN Mediators", p. 28.
[72] ibid.
[73] Interview 20189.
[74] Interview 20165.
[75] Interview 20171.

deputy head of mission takes responsibility for operational aspects, leaving the head of mission to focus on mediation, good offices, and facilitation.[76]

Given the construction of the ideal mediator as someone with political and diplomatic experience, it is not surprising that roughly three-quarters of the current and former UN mediators at ongoing missions have a background in diplomacy or national politics (see Table 7.1 and Appendices for the complete data). The traditional profile for a potential UN mediator is someone who has held positions in diplomacy and/or has acted as a permanent representative to the UN.[77] Promotion of UN insiders remains rare. Moreover, senior UN envoys tend to be from middle- to upper-class backgrounds with elite educations. As a group, despite differences in nationality, they are remarkably similar. Even those hailing from the Global South come from positions of relative privilege that have slingshot them into a global cosmopolitan class.[78] Thus, it appears they bring their diplomatic and political socialization with them to the practice of mediation.[79]

As these are male-dominated fields, it follows that women should be underrepresented. Women's representation in legislatures worldwide averages around twenty-four percent,[80] while women are ambassadors for only fifteen percent of the fifty largest countries.[81] Between 1991 and 2014, women made up just eight percent of senior mediators across all mediation efforts, not

[76] Interview 20171.
[77] Interview 20171.
[78] Catherine Goetze, *The Distinction of Peace: A Social Analysis of Peacebuilding* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017).
[79] Goetze.
[80] "Women in Parliaments: World and Regional Averages," Inter-Parliamentary Union, February 2019, http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm.
[81] Ann Towns and Birgitta Niklasson, "Where Are the Female Ambassadors? Gender and Status Hierarchies in Ambassador Postings," in *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation*, ed. Karin Aggestam and Ann Towns (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 23–35.

just the UN.[82] The *Gender Guidance* calls for the appointment of more female mediators.[83] The UN's Senior Leadership Appointments Section has attempted to increase the appointment of women to senior roles, including as mediators, to achieve gender parity. It has done so by enlarging the pool of female candidates and standardizing the selection process.[84] The Section made a "global call" for member states to put forward names of women who could be included in its pool of profiles. In 2017, the pool had approximately 1500 men's profiles and 600 women's profiles.[85] Increasing the representation of women in this pool depends partly on redefining who is considered politically skilled so that women with non-traditional backgrounds (e.g. as ministers of social affairs) are considered equally as "political" as a minister for defense.

Table 4.1 Gender and Professional Backgrounds of Senior UN Mediators*	
Male	29 (80.6%)
Female	7 (19.4%)
Professional Background	
Diplomacy	17 (47.2%)
National politics	13 (36.1%)
International organizations	12 (33.3%)
Other	5 (13.9%)
N = 36	

*Full data with references available in Appendices

The representation of women in head of mission and deputy head of mission roles rose from two percent to twenty-four percent from 2006 to 2016.[86] However, much of the initial increase came from women being appointed to deputy roles. Moreover, while women typically

[82] Karin Aggestam and Isak Svensson, "Where Are the Women in Peace Mediation?," in *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation*, ed. Karin Aggestam and Ann Towns (Cham,: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 149–68.
[83] UNDPPA, "Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies."
[84] Gabriella Seymour, "Senior Leadership Appointments in the Field," (February 28, 2017), http://www.challengesforum.org/Global/Ms%20Gabriella%20Seymour.pdf?epslanguage=en.
[85] Interview 20171.
[86] UNDPPA Gender Factsheet 2017.

make up a third of the interviewees for senior posts, they are appointed at lower rates. Across the years 2013 to 2016, men made up eighty-three percent of appointees in contrast to only sixty-six percent of the interviewee pool.[87] This suggests that other factors beyond a supply of qualified candidates may shape who is seen as mediator material.

The construction of gender in mediation and diplomacy bears further examination. In studies of American voters' gender stereotyping of candidates, women are more likely to be associated with stereotypically feminine traits like warmth, compassion, sensitivity, and emotionality. Meanwhile, men are likely to be associated with masculine traits like self-confidence, instrumentality, assertiveness aggression or toughness. Women tend to be seen as more liberal and competent on social issues, while men are seen as more competent in handling military and foreign policy. Moreover, voters tend to rate masculine traits as more effective in politics.[88] In the negotiation literature, these gender stereotypes also appear to affect perceptions of negotiator effectiveness in different kinds of negotiations. Masculine traits are linked to success in competitive bargaining, while feminine traits are an asset in cooperative approaches to conflict resolution.[89] In particular, women may be more focused on preserving relationships during a negotiation, rather than solely on the outcome.[90]

The descriptions of the ideal attributes of mediators are gendered, but in somewhat unexpected ways. The construction of a UN mediator relies less upon aggressive or assertive stereotypes of male behavior than on feminine traits. While attributes such as the ability to

[87] Data from UNDPPA Gender Factsheet 2017.
[88] Jennifer L. Lawless, "Women, War, and Winning Elections: Gender Stereotyping in the Post-September 11th Era," *Political Research Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2004): 479–90; Leonie Huddy and Nayda Terkildsen, "Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male and Female Candidates," *American Journal of Political Science* 37, no. 1 (1993): 119–47; Kathleen Dolan, "The Impact of Gender Stereotyped Evaluations on Support for Women Candidates," *Political Behavior* 32, no. 1 (2010): 69–88.
[89] Laura J. Kray and Leigh Thompson, "Gender Stereotypes and Negotiation Performance: An Examination of Theory and Research," *Research in Organizational Behavior* 26 (2005): 103–82.
[90] Linda Babcock and Sara Laschever, *Women Don't Ask: Negotiation and the Gender Divide* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

withstand pressure, or gravitas, conform closely with gender stereotypes about masculinity in politics, other skills like listening are more likely to be associated with femininity. This suggests the presence of multiple masculinities in mediation and diplomacy.[91] Iver Neumann documents multiple masculinities at work in the Norwegian foreign service, arguing that intersections of class and gender produce hegemonic and subordinate masculinities (and femininities) that can be observed in dress and comportment (habitus).[92] He describes how the most successful male Norwegian diplomats hailed from the upper and upper-middle classes, and modelled their comportment on aristocratic European ideals: "The bodily comportment should be relaxedly authoritative, hair should be short and slightly pomaded, the shirt should be white and rich in cotton, to be worn with a tie or a bow-tie, the shoes should be black and shining, the suit should be dark, with optional pin-stripes."[93] In contrast, male diplomats from the lower-middle class often failed to show such ease and authority. Other studies of diplomatic practices emphasize the development of a habitus that is described as urbane or sophisticated.[94] These constructions of masculinity are more feminized than the traits associated with masculinity in the literature cited above.

Engaging in feminized practices is not in itself delegitimizing or empowering: the assessment of the performance is always intersubjective and contextual. Therefore, the competence of a performance may depend on the performer's gender, class or other factors. In the case of UN mediation, men who perform typically feminized behaviors are seen as ideal. An interesting finding is that while emotionality and sensitivity are traits associated with women, the

[91] Tim Carrigan, R. Connell, and John Lee, "Toward A New Sociology of Masculinity," *Theory and Society* 14, no. 5 (1985): 551–604.
[92] Iver B. Neumann, *At Home with the Diplomats: Inside a European Foreign Ministry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).
[93] Neumann, "The Body of the Diplomat," p. 682.
[94] Merje Kuus, "Symbolic Power in Diplomatic Practice: Matters of Style in Brussels," *Cooperation and Conflict* 50, no. 3 (2015): 368–84.

texts do not link them with femininity. Interviewees - especially female interviewees - and guidance documents did not invoke femininity as being an asset in practicing emotional labor. Instead, they are linked to experience in male-dominated professions like politics and diplomacy. This may partly be due to the fact that, in the position of a UN mediation, it is inappropriate to engage in more assertive bargaining behavior. Thus, softer practices become necessary.

It appears that men benefit from this more than women: Skeggs argues that typically feminine practices may be endowed with symbolic power when they are legitimated through more dominant structures.[95] Here we see how the association of public politics with the masculine can transmogrify typically feminine attributes, conferring status on those who wield them. Men are able to use feminized traits or practices to their advantage because society assumes they do not have them naturally. However, for women, whom society sees as inherently good at emotional labor, it is not recognized as skilled work and goes unrewarded. In fact, gendered expectations can place an added burden on female mediators, as in the case of Joan Anstee, the UN's first female Special Representative. She recalls:

> Contrary to conventional thinking, many of the people with whom I had to deal on both sides of the conflict seemed spontaneously to welcome the fact that I was a woman. They told me they hoped that a woman would bring more sensitive insights to bear. They referred to qualities of compassion and understanding, as well as of empathy for the anguish of wives and mothers who had for so long suffered the consequences of a war in which they had little or no direct say... Even Jonas Savimbi frequently referred to me as "mother" and appealed to me to apply the attributes associated with that function to the peace process. The downside was that excessive expectations on the part of those who thought a woman could somehow work miracles by the mere fact of her gender bred, in turn, excessive disappointment and commensurate reactions when they were not fulfilled. It is interesting to note that these reactions were sexually charged..In my case a new element was added- Savimbi's "mother" became "a prostitute"...an extraordinarily varied and active sex life was attributed to me in gossip around Luanda, linking my name intimately with UNITA leaders.[96]

[95] Beverley Skeggs, "Context and Background: Pierre Bourdieu's Analysis of Class, Gender and Sexuality," *The Sociological Review* 52, no. 2 (2004): 19–33.
[96] Margaret Joan Anstee, *Orphan of the Cold War: The Inside Story of the Collapse of the Angolan Peace Process, 1992-93* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1996), p. 530-1.

Although all mediators may be subject to attacks on their characters, these accusations became gendered when Anstee failed to live up to the gendered expectations of how she would perform her job.

The analysis here suggests that the ideal UN mediator is a man with good people skills and a feel for the game that has developed through extensive experience in diplomacy or politics. Similarly qualified women are not being appointed at commensurate rates, and it is quite likely that female mediators who practice emotional labor and discretion will not have their performances assessed in the same way as a man.

Conclusion

Despite greater professionalization in the last twenty years, UN mediation still relies on the practices of emotional labor and discretion. Mediators practice emotional labor to get and keep the consent of conflict parties, who are widely understood to be male politicians or military leaders. Emotional labor therefore hinges on male trust and bonding, particularly in informal settings. Meanwhile, UN mediators exercise a significant degree of discretion over the implementation of the WPS Agenda in their work. Not only are there few professional incentives for them to implement it, doing so may risk others' perception of their political judgment. Finally, practicing UN mediation as an art legitimates the representation of a mediator as a man with political and diplomatic experience. In the next chapter, I examine the implications of practicing UN mediation as a science.

5. The Science of United Nations Mediation

Introduction

Chapter Three illustrated that narratives of UN mediation as a science rely upon a linear, mechanistic understanding of the causes and effects of conflict. UN guidance documents formulate mediation as a "flexible but structured undertaking" and a "specialized activity", noting that there are "good practices that should inform the approaches of all mediators."[1] The accumulation of this knowledge about mediation falls under the conceptual umbrella of "process design" which refers to the design and sequencing of a mediation process.[2] Process design aims to help mediators "do it faster, safer, cheaper next time around".[3] Process design relies upon two main assumptions. The first is that we can reduce a conflict to its constituent parts. These include security sector reform, transitional justice, the economy, human rights, or elections.[4] The second

[1] UNDPPA, "Guidance for Effective Mediation," 2012, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GuidanceEffectiveMediation_UNDPA2012%28english%29_0.pdf.
[2] Initiative Mediation Support Deutschland, "Basics of Mediation: Concepts and Definitions," 2017, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/Basics%20of%20Mediation.pdf.
[3] Interview 20173.
[4] Interview 20164.

is that UN mediation can "process" these parts into "peace" by applying the fundamentals of process design.[5]

This chapter examines the practices that produce specialized knowledge about conflict, and how gender figures as a form of specialized knowledge. I focus on how the production of expertise, particularly through conflict analysis, highlights certain issues and actors in a conflict and obscures others. I argue that the incorporation of gender into conflict analysis has not yet stuck and illustrate how UN personnel "forget" gender when conducting analysis. I then turn to an examination of gendered subjectivities, focusing on how the UN's representation of conflict-affected women legitimates extractive knowledge-production practices focused on consultation, rather than participation.

Thematic Expertise and Conflict Analysis

The development of mediation as a complex endeavour has led to the proliferation of specializations. Thematic areas include many of the "fundamentals" of effective mediation, such as human rights, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of fighters, security sector reform, and, increasingly, gender. These thematic areas are incorporated into the roles that staff hold. They generally conduct conflict analysis where it pertains to the particular issue area they cover, like human rights, or country, in the case of regional desks or regionally-focused missions, like the Great Lakes Office.

Under the process design paradigm, expertise is central to mediation preparedness. The early period of analysis helps set the agenda for talks. This is the pre-negotiation or "talks about talks" phase, during which time the mediator and their team identifies key issues and stakeholders. According to the UN's *Mediation Start-Up Guidelines*, this phase should also

[5] Audra Mitchell, "Peace beyond Process?," *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 38, no. 3 (2010): 641–64.

include the formulation of a mediation strategy based on an analysis of the issues and actors that identifies objectives and measures to achieve them.[6] A checklist of questions for formulating a mediation strategy includes items like, "Who are the parties and stakeholders in the conflict? What are parties' positions and real interests? How should the negotiations be sequenced? What techniques and strategies are required for the consultation and negotiation phase of the mediation? In what order should substantive issues be approached?"[7] The answers to these questions can have a significant impact on who is included and which issues are negotiated. One UN staffer described the beginning of a mediation process, which illustrates the application of some of these principles in developing a mediation strategy:

> When it first started and we were trying to figure out what we would go with - it was, the initial trip was to figure out everybody's positions and to see where things were at, and to assess where there was commonalities. So basically, we went, we figured out, we did the meetings, we figured out where everybody was at, we tried to figure out what was really happening underneath all that because, you know, whatever they tell you is obviously very different from what is actually happening. So trying to match up the stories, figuring out what the interests were, what triggered the initial conflict. Then we regrouped both internally in the UN, but we also then brought together the international partners for an informal discussion about how we should be proceeding and on what basis. From that point we agreed on this common set of principles.[8]

A member of the Mediation Stand-By Team, a group of experts who deploy at short notice to provide technical support to UN missions, describes how her work as an expert helped the mission formulate a mediation strategy:

> The mission didn't really have much experience in mediation so my role and that of the other standby team member who also worked on the...process ranged from everything from training...staffers on mediation processes, process design, writing concept notes, brainstorming over a number of issues that came up...Writing options paper, being...with the team as an expert

[6] UNDPPA, "Mediation Start-Up Guidelines," 2011, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MediationStartupGuidalines_UNDPA2011.pdf, p. 5-6.
[7] UNDPPA, pp. 25-6.
[8] Interview 201819.

> and eventually, although I did less of that than my colleague, also basically assisting in mediation in talking to various parties...[9]

In addition to these examples, guidance documents underscore that expertise is essential in helping UN mediators to facilitate a quality peace agreement. Mediators should have a sound understanding of the "causes and dynamics" of the conflict. "Root causes" is a phrase that guidance documents invoke repeatedly: without an understanding of these causes, mediation will not result in sustainable peace. To prepare for a mediation effort, therefore, the mediator should have a team of specialists such as those quoted above who have expertise in process design and the thematic areas that are seen as relevant to the conflict.[10]

Conflict analysis puts technical expertise into practice.[11] According to the UNDPPA's internal guidance, conflict analysis "is a systematic study of the structures, stakeholder and dynamics of conflict to provide a better understanding of causes, triggers and force promoting violence conflict or sustaining peace." Conflict analysis evaluates the context, including "actors, power dynamics, issues, causes and capabilities." It also analyzes the "escalatory and stabilizing dynamics," and allows personnel to "formulate strategic choices and actionable recommendations about remedies and responses."[12] In-depth, internal practice notes discuss the different tools analysts can use to understand the stakeholders and causes (proximate and structural) of conflict.[13]

It is important to note that guidance documents present an idealized version of practice. Conflict analysis as it is articulated in the UN's *Conflict Analysis Handbook*, for instance, is extremely detailed, involving extensive consultations over a long period of time using a variety

[9] Interview 20177.
[10] UNDPPA, "Guidance on Effective Mediation", p. 7.
[11] Séverine Autesserre, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 71.
[12] UNDPPA, "Gender-Sensitive Political/Conflict Analysis Framework."
[13] UN Conflict Analysis Practice Note, 16 May 2016.

of analytical tools. This is often beyond the scope of field-based staff, who lack the time, access, and resources to conduct extensive analysis.[14] For example, staff at the UN Mission in Somalia are based in a fortified compound in Mogadishu International Airport. Travelling beyond the compound is considered extremely risky and incurs extra costs for security. This limits the access UN staff have, even to Somali elites based in the same city, let alone ordinary Somalis.

Field-based staff therefore tend to use abbreviated versions of conflict analysis that allow them to evaluate situational developments, such as the emergence of new actors, changes in actors' positions, and other political events.[15] This is part of the job of professional UN staff, particularly political affairs officers who staff the regional desks at headquarters and work in field missions. In practice, they describe their jobs as "identifying root causes", like unemployment or a weak state, and formulating ways to respond.[16] Staff did not report using specific tools to make these assessments; rather, they relied upon "common sense."[17] Typically, staff write these findings into briefing papers and strategic options papers that are sent to their supervisors. For example, one briefing paper I saw tracked developments in the officer's thematic area of human rights, documenting recent violations and areas of concern.[18] The paper included recommendations on political messaging and future areas of work. These papers usually are sent to officers' supervisors who check them and formulate talking points and political advice for meetings for the Special Envoy.[19] Information also gets sent to headquarters via code cables (the UN's version of encrypted diplomatic cables) and video teleconferences as part of regular reporting.

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[14] Fabio Oliva and Lorraine Charbonnier, "Conflict Analysis Handbook: A Field and Headquarter Guide to Conflict Assessments" (UN System Staff College, 2016), p. 31-2.
[15] UNDPPA, "Mediation Start-Up Guidelines", p. 62.
[16] Fiona Mackay, "Nested Newness, Institutional Innovation, and the Gendered Limits of Change," *Politics & Gender* 10, no. 4 (2014): 549–71.
[17] Interview 20186.
[18] Grey literature.
[19] Interviews 20189, 201820.

To formulate their analyses, staff draw upon information from the media, civil society, political leaders, the diplomatic community or other stakeholders they perceive as relevant. One interviewee lamented that they did not often have time to do the kind of research they think they need to in order to produce the best analysis.[20] I was even asked by contacts at field missions for their help in finding data on women's political representation. Research capacity may also be limited as, while professional staff may be proficient in several of the UN's official languages,[21] they do not always have local language skills. It is typical for professional staff to rotate between missions every few years. This limits the amount of local knowledge and local language proficiency they can acquire. There are also strong professional pressures against "going native" by becoming too close with host populations, meaning interveners tend to restrict themselves to small circles of other international staff. This further limits their capacity to evaluate the context.[22]

The production of knowledge that guides UN mediation is therefore constrained by a combination of practical and sociological factors. Thematic expertise fills this gap by providing a set of heuristics that guide analysis. That is, the highly specialized nature of expertise in UN mediation, which is reflected in the division of labor in a mission or department, means that individuals conduct analyses within their issue area. For example, a disarmament, demobilization and reintegration officer analyzes developments through that lens, a human rights officer focuses on human rights issues, etc. This compartmentalization of knowledge, which I described as a mechanistic ontology of peace in Chapter Three, prevents analysts from seeing issue linkages, or

[20] Interview 20184.
[21] These are: English, French, Arabic, Spanish, Russian and Mandarin. Working languages across missions will usually include a combination of English and a second official language. In the Great Lakes mission, for instance, they use English and French roughly equally in the office and French more often when visiting Francophone countries.
[22] Autesserre, *Peaceland*.

even from considering regional or country-wide dimensions.[23] Moreover, the involvement of thematic experts in setting an agenda, creating a mediation strategy, and revisiting priorities over the course of a process may mean that the substance of negotiations reflect the categories and tools of interveners - which often reflect a set of liberal assumptions about statebuilding - rather than on-the-ground priorities.[24]

Incorporating Gender in Conflict Analysis

The implications for the WPS Agenda of how the UN produces expertise is profound. Specifically, there is an ongoing tension between thematic and cross-cutting expertise. Gender is supposed to be a cross-cutting issue, which means that it should be an element of all other thematic areas.[25] In practice, gender operates like another thematic area by being assigned particular staff, budget lines, and organizational units. The development of gender expertise has been part of the professionalization measures undertaken by UNDPPA. Along with delivering trainings and building internal capacity, it is one part of UNDPPA's gender and mediation strategy.[26] It released the *Guidance on Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Ceasefire and Peace Agreements* in 2012 and followed this with the *Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies* in 2016. For example, UNDPPA has a Gender Technical Unit in the Policy and Mediation Division at headquarters. Although this is a great stride forward for a department that hardly considered gender as recently as ten years ago, it points to the concentration of gender issues in a small team.

[23] Autesserre, p. 93.
[24] Laura J. Shepherd, *Gender, UN Peacebuilding, and the Politics of Space: Locating Legitimacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).
[25] "Gender Definitions and Concepts," UNDPPA WPS Training, New York, December 2017.
[26] UNDPPA, "2010 Baseline + 2015 Targets for 15 DPA Commitments on SCR 1325 (2000)."

This even exerted an effect on my research: I used the snowball sampling technique to gather interviews, which meant that I asked interviewees whether they could suggest other people to whom I should speak. Because interviewees were aware of my interest in the WPS Agenda, they constantly referred me back to members of the Gender Technical Unit in New York. I made efforts to reach non-gender specialists because the focus of this research is on mapping UN mediation, and I often clarified this with interviewees. Nevertheless, interviewees without specific gender expertise were surprised that I wanted to talk to them, expressed hesitancy because they were not experts on gender, and offered their opinions on the WPS Agenda unprompted.

Some staff report difficulty in communicating with colleagues across areas of expertise. As discussed in Chapter Three, one interviewee working on gender related how they needed to "fully speak the language" of thematic experts in order to be heard: "If you're talking to someone from [peacekeeping] who's specialized in justice, for example, and you start talking to him about security, he's going to switch off because he's going to think...'that's not my job'."[27] Moreover, the fact that gender has emerged as thematic, not cross-cutting expertise means that it is easy for people who do not specialize in gender to "forget" it.

Some findings from my fieldwork illustrate how gender gets forgotten, even in unlikely settings. I observed a conflict analysis exercise conducted as part of a two-day UNDPPA training on gender and mediation for field and headquarters staff. The purpose of the exercise was to train participants on how to conduct a gender-sensitive conflict analysis. Participants were given the exercise after sitting through several modules on the WPS Agenda, including one on gender and conflict analysis. According to the training materials, a gender-sensitive conflict analysis should assess the "differentiated impact of armed conflict on men and women, analyze the different

[27] Interview 20168.

roles of women in conflict...and explore the types of knowledge, information and networks they may offer, and identify challenges and opportunities for advancing inclusion."[28]

Participants were given a briefing paper on a fictional ethnic conflict in a postcolonial, developing country. The paper provided information on historical background, ethnic tensions, the political and economic situation (including access to natural resources). The paper diagnosed clan traditions, ethnic prejudice, and revenge killings as central conflict dynamics. Participants were also given a map depicting each group's location, as well as a stakeholder map setting out each stakeholder and their relationships. Information on gender roles, women's political representation, civil society, conflict-related sexual violence, and other human rights violations was annexed to the main briefing paper.

Participants split into teams and began formulating options based on this information. For instance, one group I observed discussed the necessity of clan-based representation, building a more inclusive army, investigating ethnic clashes, and beginning a dialogue process that the UN would facilitate. Participants then discussed adding a consultative mechanism with civil society organizations and women. They discussed having a women-only mechanism to begin with in order to build capacity, rather than adding women to the formal dialogue. One group member (a woman) suggested working with a key woman who had been active in civil society (according to the briefing). Another group member (male) laughed and changed the subject. When constructing a timeline, participants forgot to add key dates in the development of the country's women's movement.

It is notable that the groups largely failed to consider the gendered elements of the scenario, despite having already sat through several modules on gender in conflict. The

[28] "Gender-Sensitive Conflict Analysis", "DPA Gender-Sensitive Political/Conflict Analysis Framework," UNDPPA WPS Training, New York, December 2017.

participants seemed to revert to their usual practices, and considered gender only after significant prompting from the workshop facilitators. This is an excellent example of "remembering the old and forgetting the new", which Mackay argues helps to explain why institutions do not change readily in response to gender reforms.[29] In this case, participants reverted to their primary areas of expertise through which they analyzed the information given in the briefing. From a narratological perspective, the fact that information on gender was presented as "additional" is important to note. Ordering information on ethnic violence, security sector reform and other traditional security issues first places them at the forefront of the reader's mind, ahead of gender.[30]

As well as forgetting that gender mainstreaming is supposed to be everyone's responsibility, the perennial simplification of gender into women's issues remains. In training materials, interviews and briefing papers on gender and conflict, many UNDPPA staff present a sophisticated understanding of gender as a social construct. For instance, one workshop module delineated the difference between sex and gender. It also noted the pervasive conflation of "sex" and "gender", and the perception that gender issues are perceived to be about women's issues. These nuanced understandings collapse when moving from concepts to concrete examples. To illustrate the gendered impact of conflict, the workshop facilitators use examples including the importance of mothers' networks, or the need to understand why young men join militant groups.[31] These reinforce the gendered binary that defines women as reproducers and men as warriors. This is even more striking in discussions of conflict-related sexual violence, where

[29] Fiona Mackay, "Nested Newness, Institutional Innovation, and the Gendered Limits of Change," *Politics & Gender* 10, no. 4 (2014): 549–71.
[30] Bal and Boheemen.
[31] "Gender Terminology: Concepts and Definitions," UNDPPA WPS Training, New York, December 2017.

descriptions of harm are linked solely to women and never to men as victims.[32] Moreover, the UNDPPA measures its progress on implementing the WPS Agenda largely through quantitative indicators that include the presence of women in negotiations and missions, consultations with women's organizations, and the number of paragraphs on gender included in reports to the Security Council.[33]

"The Women" and UN Mediation

As UN staff analyze a conflict, mapping its issues and actors, they draw upon implicit hierarchies of knowledge and the people who can provide it. In this section, I examine how "the women" - a catchall term used by interviewees to refer to women in a conflict-affected area - figure as producers of knowledge about conflict. "The women" are a key character in narratives of UN mediation, especially in regard to the WPS Agenda. "The women" are simultaneously plural and singular: this representation, as I discuss below, has a homogenizing effect. To underscore this, I refer to "the women" throughout this chapter in quote marks.

Laura Shepherd's work on UN peacebuilding documents representations of women, gender, and civil society.[34] She notes that women are either absent from texts, victims of violence in need of protection, or agents of change. The latter construction has emerged in recent years, intersecting with discourses of women's economic empowerment in the development field. The analysis here supports many of Shepherd's findings about the representation of women and civil society in UN peacebuilding discourse. Throughout, I refer back to her work to show the similarities and differences in representations of women's abilities and agency in UN mediation.

[32] "Gender Definitions and Concepts," UNDPPA WPS Training, New York, December 2017.
[33] "Women, Peace and Security in DPA's Peacemaking Work: 15 Commitments (session 3)," UNDPPA WPS Training, New York, December 2017; UNDPPA, "DPA Gender/WPS Strategy to Implement the Recommendations of the UN Reviews (2016-2020)."
[34] Shepherd, *Gender, UN Peacebuilding, and the Politics of Space*.

First it is important to note the absences and silences in the texts. Focalization - the narrative device that allows us to "see" through a character's eyes - introduces absences into a narrative.[35] In this case, "the women" are never focalized. We do not hear from the people that the *Gender Guidance* or gender experts are supposed to be concerned with. This is partly a function of the texts themselves: guidance documents do not typically include quotes and employ "objective" narrative techniques, while interviewees are ostensibly speaking for themselves. However, there are other document formats and devices (such as "boxes" with case studies) where the voices of people could come through; yet, they do not. Instead, the character of "the women" appears throughout UN mediation narratives, particularly in interviews.[36] Texts describe them as having a set of characteristics reminiscent of Mohanty's "typical Third World Woman": they are peaceful, embedded in their communities and defined by their reproductive roles (i.e., motherhood).[37] "The women", as I show below, are simultaneously tasked with providing information and legitimacy to UN mediation, while being prevented from fully participating due to "local culture" and a "lack of capacity."

Another notable silence in the texts is that men are not seen as holders of gendered knowledge about conflict. This reinforces the discursive link between "gender" and "women." However, men embody varied, intersecting masculinities that can shape their experiences of conflict.[38] Moreover, it is well documented that male survivors of sexual violence in conflict do not receive the same resources or care as female survivors.[39] Men appear in UN mediation narratives largely as combatants who are able to provide knowledge about their side's interests or

[35] Annick T. R. Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 61.
[36] Interviews 20168, 20169, 201610.
[37] Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
[38] David Duriesmith and Noor Huda Ismail, "Militarized Masculinities Beyond Methodological Nationalism: Charting the Multiple Masculinities of an Indonesian Jihadi," *International Theory* 11, no. 2 (2019): 139–59.
[39] Rosemary Grey and Laura J. Shepherd, "'Stop Rape Now?' Masculinity, Responsibility, and Conflict-Related Sexual Violence," *Men and Masculinities* 16, no. 1 (2013): 115–35.

grievances. For example, in a stakeholder map of conflict actors presented at the training, "women" appear as a group under "unarmed non-state actors." "Men" do not appear on the chart at all. Instead, they are presumed to be represented under all the other categories.[40] Although men are not expected to speak "as men", they are often asked to represent “tribal” or “ethnic” affiliations that may be politically salient but not reflective of their everyday experience.

The *Guidance on Effective Mediation* justifies including women because they can help to identify root causes of conflict and the needs of beneficiaries. “The women's” embeddedness in society allows them to provide early warnings about violence, as well as more complete information about the causes and consequences of a conflict.[41] Their lived experience is seen as a source of information that can help produce better, more efficient process design. For example, a training session detailed these. Facilitators outlined the various roles women can have, including as combatants, conflict survivors, peace activists, human rights monitors, community leader, private sector actors, educators, health care providers, farmers, and media representatives. The materials then provided some expectations about the information each category of women could be expected to provide. These include information about societal militarization; recruitment; disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration needs and priorities; human rights violations; rehabilitation needs; traditional conflict resolution mechanisms; constituencies and spoilers; ethnic and social cleavages; income disparities; education and health care priorities; access to land and natural resources; and the role of the media in the conflict.[42] "The women" are therefore valuable sources of information about a conflict. This information can be used at the start of a process to conduct conflict analysis and formulate mediation strategies.

[40] "Gender-Sensitive Conflict Analysis," UNDPPA WPS Training, New York, December 2017.
[41] Interview 20164.
[42] "Gender-Sensitive Conflict Analysis."

Shepherd argues that women and civil society are simultaneously seen as bearers of important knowledge and also as lacking important expertise because of their situation in the local. We can see similar logics functioning here. Critically, "the women" are sources of information, but not architects of peace agreements. Materials from the gender and mediation training session assert that "women's participation generates stronger national ownership and societal support for a negotiated settlement" due to the linkage between information extraction and effectiveness.[43] There is a paradox, however. Although the UN is not "using the full capacity of women and girls"[44] to resolve conflict, "the women" are simultaneously presumed to lack this "capacity." This refers to the ability to engage effectively in high-level political negotiations.

"The women" are expected to adapt to mediation by respecting the existing agenda and avoiding emotions like anger.[45] However, they are also described as being unable to do so. For instance, "the women" do not "speak security" in the texts. Indeed, when they attempt to do so, UN personnel fail to recognize it as security talk.[46] A striking example is this anecdote from a UN employee:

> *...you make a lot of effort to bring women to the table and then they often speak and it's not directly targeting what is on the table.* So the messages pass each other. Then we lose credibility: the door gets opened and we're unable to walk through it. I think [another] factor is the ability...of women's organizations to get around a consolidated platform and something *specific and relevant*... and then, maybe, I'm just saying hypothetically, *the negotiators are talking about a ceasefire and the women come in and talk about justice.* So there's this *disconnect between what's*

[43] "Mediation Process Design and Entry Points for Women" and "Women and Mediation: Engaging Track II Actors," UNDPPA WPS Training, New York, December 2017; "Module 4: Women and Mediation: Engaging Track II Actors," UN High-Level Seminar on Gender and Inclusive Mediation, Oslo, May 2016.
[44] Interview 20168.
[45] Sheri Lynn Gibbings, "No Angry Women at the United Nations: Political Dreams and the Cultural Politics of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13, no. 4 (2011): 522–38; Maria Jansson and Maud Eduards, "The Politics of Gender in the UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 18, no. 4 (2016): 590–604; Fiona McConnell, "Performing Diplomatic Decorum: Repertoires of 'Appropriate' Behavior in the Margins of International Diplomacy," *International Political Sociology* 12, no. 4 (2018): 362–81.
[46] Wibben describes security talk as "…closed narrative structure consisting of four main elements: threats locating danger, referents to be secured, agents to provide security and means to contain danger...Security narratives that do not conform to this structure...are not recognized as security talk" (2011, p. 66).

> *actually on the table and what the women are bringing* in terms of analysis and advocacy. (My italics.)[47]

The speaker repeats the inability of "the women" to address "what's on the table" (in italics) several times, emphasizing the importance of this narrative event.[48] Moreover, this hypothetical situation reinforces the distinction between justice and security that feminists argue is a fundamental problem with militarized approaches to conflict resolution. The moments of incomprehension that the speaker describes jeopardize "the women's" legitimacy as mediators, instead of providing opportunities to redefine the mediation agenda. Having to conform to these expectations means that women's participation is unlikely to transform the logics of peacebuilding.[49]

"The women's" lack of capacity is often explained in terms of local culture: the same embeddedness that means they can provide valuable information is constructed as a barrier to their political agency. For example, many interlocutors argued that "women are sometimes very effective...[but] it depends on the culture how influential women will be."[50] Or, they are involved but their roles are dictated by their place in "traditional societies."[51] Another interviewee emphasized the role of local culture in limiting the availability of women who can participate:

> We tend to work with a lot of societies that don't necessarily have women in positions - formal power positions. I mean that is definitely changing, thank goodness, and it's changing quickly. But it's a rare time, it's a rare opportunity when you're working on a formal peace process where you have a woman who's viewed as a credible interlocutor by her own community or her own population that is then put into or thrust into the role of - either as a peace negotiator or as a part of the conflict that will lead that side of the mediation process from her population's side. We are working in communities where women tend not to have these very high-profile positions yet.[52]

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[47] Interview 20168.
[48] Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies*.
[49] Heidi Hudson, "A Double-Edged Sword of Peace? Reflections on the Tension between Representation and Protection in Gendering Liberal Peacebuilding," *International Peacekeeping* 19, no. 4 (2012): 443–60.
[50] Interview 201815.
[51] Interview 20173.
[52] Interview 201819.

These justifications are used for women in all kinds of cultural contexts, even in European Union member states like Cyprus.

Constructing "the women" as sources of valuable information about a conflict places specific burdens on them. It expects that women will speak with one voice on "women's issues", rather than as people with plural identities or loyalties.[53] Contestation within women's groups is seen as a sign of distraction, or unprofessionalism, rather than the difficulty of asking diverse people to cohere around one set of demands. This is a function of "the women" being the dominant representation of female subjectivities in UN mediation discourse. Moreover, women's civil society is represented as disorganized, which is where the UN can help with capacity building trainings on how to formulate a women's agenda and political strategy, for example.[54]

Capacity building is not in itself necessarily a bad thing. There are models of peer-to-peer training sessions involving women who have engaged in mediation across different contexts.[55] Capacity building is pernicious when an assumed lack of capacity legitimates women's exclusion from political decision-making.[56] The expectations placed on "the women" form a high bar indeed. As one interviewee noted, the Syrian Women's Advisory Board may not have been established if not for the fact that "the women" were "impressive" when they met with Special Envoy Staffan de Mistura.[57] Another interviewee with experience in Syria said that they were sceptical of women's involvement until they saw the work of the Women's Advisory Board.[58] Thus, Syrian women had to prove themselves in a way that is mostly not required of male

[53] Hudson, "A Double-Edged Sword of Peace?"
[54] Interview 20172.
[55] For example, WILPF's 'Bosnia and Syria Women Organising for Change' initiative, which focuses on women from different conflict areas sharing their knowledge and experiences in organising for peace. See http://womenorganizingforchange.org/en
[56] Radhika Coomaraswamy, "Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325" (New York, NY: UN Women, 2015), http://wps.unwomen.org/~/media/files/un%20women/wps/highlights/unw-global-study-1325-2015.pdf, p. 65.
[57] Interview 20177.
[58] Interview 20169.

participants. It puts conditions on political participation that are harder to meet than the conditions for armed actors. All armed groups have to do is commit an atrocity to be seen as a stakeholder.[59] This exerts a capacity tax on women's civil society groups.

The difficulty of including women in a peace process - either because it jeopardizes consent (as discussed in Chapter 4) or because they lack capacity - butts up against the UN's rhetorical support for the WPS Agenda. The *Gender Guidance* puts forward some proposals for increasing participation, such as creating extra seats to be filled by women.[60] This was used with some success by Jamal Benomar in Yemen. The Yemeni National Dialogue required that 30 percent of the seats be filled by women. Parties who refused to do so were therefore disadvantaged in the dialogue because they had one fewer team member to attend meetings.[61] However, consultation routinely emerges as the main avenue for implementing the WPS Agenda in UN mediation. Recalling the group conflict analysis exercise at the training I observed, the participants immediately assumed that "the women" would need to build capacity through a consultative mechanism, rather than directly adding them to the formal dialogue process.

The problem with consultation is that it is not the same as political participation. In the *Mediation Start-Up Guidelines,* consultative forums are positioned as tangential to the political decision making process:

> If a mediation process includes only political actors, for example, a "consultative forum" of civil society organizations including women's organizations could be established to keep other local stakeholders informed of the process, seek their inputs and secure their buy-in for an eventual outcome.

Note the contrast between "political actors" (i.e. conflict parties) and a "consultative forum,"

[59] For example, Autesserre documents how smaller armed groups in DR Congo committed sexual violence so the international community would take them seriously as interlocutors. See Autesserre, *Peaceland,* pp. 141-2.
[60] UNDPPA, "Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies," 2016, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/1.%20English%20-GIMS.pdf.
[61] "Women's Participation in Peacemaking: Case Studies on Process Design (Syria and Yemen)," UNDPPA WPS Training, New York, December 2017.

implying that civil society is somehow apolitical. Moreover, the role of the forum posited here is again focused on providing information, and marshalling support for the process. Consultation, then, does more for the UN than for "the women."

I can illustrate some problems with consultation using the case of the Gender Advisory Team in Cyprus in the talks between 2008 and 2012.[62] This was a promising scenario in many ways: the UN office had a dedicated Gender Advisor, and it supported the establishment of the Team, which is made up of Cypriot women experienced in peacebuilding and gender analysis. However, the Team was not an integral part of the process' structure. The Team had no rights to sit at the peace table, and they were not privy to confidential information. Moreover, I observed how each negotiating team delegated liaison responsibilities to junior, female members of the team. These women had little influence within their own teams and were, for the most part, the sole women on each side. This suggests that senior members did not prioritise gender or the Team's recommendations. This became evident in one meeting between the Team and the Greek Cypriot chief negotiator. I witnessed how he sidestepped their questions and comments, and used the entirety of the meeting time to talk rather than listen. Finally, there was a lack of transparency and follow-up regarding the status of the Team's recommendations.[63]

Consultation emerges as an extractive practice whereby the UN can gain legitimacy for its mediation efforts through an association with civil society. [64] Here, "the women" are also accorded a legitimating function. UN mediation has lately become concerned with national

[62] This information comes from my experience working as a research intern for the UN Good Offices Mission in Cyprus in 2011 and 2012.
[63] The material on consultation draws upon my work elsewhere: Catriona Standfield, "UN Mediation and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Moving from Rhetoric to Reality" (Syracuse, NY: Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism, 2017), http://insct.syr.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/INSCT-White-Paper-Standfield-mwedit082217.pdf.
[64] Laura J. Shepherd, "Victims of Violence or Agents of Change? Representations of Women in UN Peacebuilding Discourse," *Peacebuilding* 4, no. 2 (2016): 121–35; Laura J. Shepherd, "Constructing Civil Society: Gender, Power and Legitimacy in United Nations Peacebuilding Discourse," *European Journal of International Relations* 21, no. 4 (2015): 887–910.

ownership due to criticism over the legitimacy of imposed settlements. The solution presented in the *Guidance on Effective Mediation* is inclusivity and national ownership, arguing that civil society can increase the legitimacy of a peace process.[65] "The women's" role in this is explicit:

> Outreach towards women and the society at large can increase support for the mediation effort and include more representative voices with different constituencies. This in turn can assist conflict parties and mediators in generating buy-in and a sense of ownership of the process, as well as stronger and more sustainable agreements. Formulating a two-way communication strategy – i.e. informing the wider society of the mediation progress and soliciting suggestions for consideration at the table – is an important means of building trust.[66]

> Women leaders and women's groups are often effective in peacemaking at community levels and should therefore be more strongly linked to the high-level mediation process.[67]

> A lot of women are actually involved in local ceasefires, brokering local peace agreements. Often women use their role as mothers also to get some leverage. There are examples of mothers of soldiers from different sides bridging the gap and talking.[68]

Here, women "assist" or are "linked" with a peace process. They inform wider society and sometimes provide suggestions "for consideration." "The women's" roles are to provide information based on their experience and drum up support among the population in which they are embedded through reproductive relations as mothers or wives.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how UN personnel use conflict analysis to produce specialized expertise about a conflict. It has highlighted the tensions between thematic and cross-cutting knowledge, and the problems that this creates for incorporating a gender perspective into mediation. UN staff still forget to consider gender, even under highly promising circumstances, like a training on gender and mediation. Meanwhile, gender is conflated with women's issues. I

[65] UNDPPA, "Guidance for Effective Mediation."
[66] UNDPPA, "Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies," 2016, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/1.%20English%20-GIMS.pdf, p. 23.
[67] UNDPPA, "Guidance for Effective Mediation."
[68] Interview 20164.

concluded this chapter by examining how local women figure into the production of knowledge about a conflict. They appear as sources of information that can legitimate a process, as well as make it more effective. I examined how this ascribes limits to local women's political agency, in contrast with how UN texts construct the subjectivity of the mediator as an authoritative character. I analyzed how these renderings invoke understandings of masculinities, femininities, and link them to the capacity of men and women to exercise political judgment.

6. Conclusion

The Argument and Key Findings

Taking stock of the WPS Agenda in UN mediation nearly twenty years after the adoption of Resolution 1325, the picture is mixed. On the one hand, gender has been accepted as a form of expertise in mediation process design. Accordingly, the UN has developed guidance documents on gender and inclusive mediation, or sexual and gender-based violence in ceasefire agreements, as well as deployed gender experts to field missions and created training workshops on gender and mediation. At the same time, conflict-affected women remain marginalized from decision-making, with the UN's preferred form of engagement being consultation. Even if a peace agreement includes gender-sensitive language, without the sustained and meaningful participation of women throughout the process, it is difficult to see how it can be made a reality in the implementation phase.

These critiques will be familiar to those who have studied peacebuilding or peacekeeping through a gender lens. The difference here, however, is that it is not just the result of neoliberal approaches to gender mainstreaming. As I have argued throughout, UN mediation has undergone an important shift in recent years from being seen as a diplomatic art, to a technical science. This shift has been uneven, meaning that narratives, practices, and subjectivities related to each view

of UN mediation coexist. I have teased out the differences between them and their implications for the institutionalization of the WPS Agenda. This project can account for why some aspects of the WPS Agenda, like including gender as an area of technical expertise, have been incorporated in the UN's work, while including women has been met with passive or even active resistance.

The narrative of mediation as science relies upon the concept of process design. Mediation is specialized and technical work in which the preservation of forward momentum is key. It employs a mechanistic ontology of peace in which issues can be treated separately, and a process can proceed in a linear fashion. In doing so, it depoliticizes gender relations, treating them largely as "women's issues." In practice, process design relies upon the production of expertise. UN personnel use conflict analysis to produce specialized knowledge about a conflict. This further imposes a difference between thematic and cross-cutting knowledge, which makes it difficult to incorporate a gender perspective into mediation. Moreover, UN staff still forget to consider gender when conducting conflict analysis, even under highly promising circumstances, like a training on gender and mediation. When, I examined how local women figure into the production of knowledge about a conflict, I found that they appear as sources of information that can legitimate a process, as well as make it more effective. However, while "the women" are tasked with providing information and legitimacy to UN mediation, they are prevented from fully participating due to local culture and a presumed lack of capacity. This legitimates the practice of consultation as knowledge extraction, rather than substantive participation in decision-making.

Meanwhile, the narrative of mediation as an art privileges experience rather than training, the consent of negotiating parties, and relationships. Gender and women appear risky because they potentially endanger consent. Interestingly, this narrative draws upon the feminized skills of

emotional intelligence, without discursively linking these skills to women. Mediators practice emotional labor to get and keep the consent of conflict parties, who are widely understood to be male politicians or military leaders. Emotional labor therefore hinges on male trust and bonding, particularly in informal settings. Meanwhile, UN mediators exercise a significant degree of discretion over the implementation of the WPS Agenda in their work. Not only are there few professional incentives for them to implement it, doing so may risk others' perception of their political judgment. Finally, practicing UN mediation as an art legitimates the representation of the ideal UN mediator as a man with good people skills and a feel for the game that has developed through extensive experience in diplomacy or politics. Similarly qualified women are not being appointed at commensurate rates, and it is seems likely that female mediators who practice emotional labor and discretion will not have their performances assessed in the same way as a man.

Contributions and Further Research

This project contributes to our knowledge of gender and peacebuilding in two ways. First, it provides an in-depth study of the UN's mediation practices and narratives, and how these are gendered. This has been overlooked to date. Despite the declining role of the UN as a mediator, it still attempts to shape practice through producing expertise and training on how to make mediation more inclusive.

Second, this analysis contributes to our understanding of institutional legacies and the WPS Agenda. It shows that thinking of UN mediation as an art or a science presents different challenges for institutionalizing the WPS Agenda. These institutional legacies incorporate or undermine the WPS Agenda's tenets of equal participation and gender-sensitivity in different ways, although they may reinforce one another. For example, presuming that local women lack

capacity, and that including them will jeopardize the conflict parties' perception of the mediator's judgement, both result in the same outcome: fewer women represented in talks. They may also work against each other: the narrative of UN mediation as a science emphasizes the importance of including knowledge about gender, albeit in limited and depoliticized ways. However, this is progressive in contrast to the narrative of UN mediation as an art, which represents the same knowledge as potentially risky or distracting. This underscores that, in order to understand how institutions have responded to the WPS Agenda and other reforms, we have to look carefully at the institutional context. There may be multiple gendered logics driving similar outcomes.

By describing the gendered institutional legacies of UN mediation, this project also contributes to the growing literature on the "everyday" of peacebuilding that adopts practice theory. Throughout, I have endeavored to provide a granular account of what UN mediation practitioners actually do in their line of work. There are several limitations, the most notable being that I was unable to speak to Special Envoys. As noted in Chapter Two, I hope to remedy that in future. In particular, it contributes to critical studies of peacebuilding that emphasize, rather than overlook, the gendered and racialized dimensions of the everyday in peacebuilding.

Some of my findings indicate interesting avenues for further engagement with ideas of gender, relationality,[1] and care. The finding that emotional labor is central to UN mediation deserves greater attention because of the complex ways it invokes gendered traits and stereotypes. It shows that institutions can valorize feminized traits in ways that work to the disadvantage of women. Moreover, it suggests that we need more research into masculinities in peacebuilding contexts. A growing literature examines militarized masculinities, and victimized masculinities, but we lack studies on caring, relational masculinities in negotiation and mediation. As I have indicated, trust and empathy among men may form a barrier to women's

[1] As opposed to "individualism."

participation. At the same time, a mode of political engagement focused on relationality and emotion presents opportunities for alternatives. It allows us to engage with questions of inclusion in ways that center relationships, contra the technical approach to inclusion that the UN currently favors. A key question is: can we expand these circles of trust to include women or marginalized men?

Narrating Alternatives

Based on my findings, it would be simple to say that framing the WPS Agenda as necessary to practicing UN mediation scientifically is the most promising avenue for institutionalization. Indeed, most efforts have tended in this direction, with the production of expertise and training. UN staff who are responsible for this work seem to think that establishing more monitoring, counting, and accountability into UN mediation and mediators' mandates is likely to result in greater progress. Yet, as I and other critical feminist scholars have pointed out, technical approaches to gender equality often undermine the point of this work, which is to undo patriarchy. That is a political, not a technical, exercise.

When I began this project, I thought that I would conclude with some recommendations for policy makers on how to implement the WPS Agenda. I attempted this, and was not satisfied with the results. The problem with policy relevance is that you have to accept the categories and priorities of interveners in order to make claims that will be intelligible and also seem reasonable.[2] You are constrained to a politics of the possible. In my own discussions with practitioners, they are concerned with what is "practical" and "realistic." In previous research on this subject, I have even been called "naive" (which bites particularly hard when you are a

[2] Cox also grapples with the differences between problem-solving and critical theorizing in IR in Robert W. Cox, "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory," *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 10, no. 2 (1981): 126–55.

young-ish woman) for suggesting that we should question mediation as a project. Meera Sabaratnam's critique of Severine Autesserre's *Peaceland* demonstrates this problem: Autesserre, as a former intervener herself, is fundamentally invested in the project of intervention. Sabaratnam points out that, despite her nuanced attention to "the local," she shies away from examining how race, coloniality, and gender are central to intervention. Her work criticizes the effectiveness of intervention but is aimed at making it better because she can see no alternatives.[3]

However, scholars are already exploring alternative practices. These are not without their problems, nor are they less implicated in unequal gender relations. But they situate critical agency in the local, rather than rendering it a pathological or illiberal space in need of international intervention. Much excellent feminist work has centered the agency of women in conflict and peacebuilding. These works point to women's tactical and strategic uses of gender relations and stereotypes to make their demands in cases ranging from Sierra Leone to Bosnia.[4] They also demonstrate the multi-vocal and holistic nature of women's organizing, which presents a challenge to the expectation of "the women" speaking with one voice that I have documented. Disagreement and conflict between women should not be seen as unprofessional or disqualifying: it is the beginning of a potentially fruitful dialogue on what peace and justice mean.

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[3] Meera Sabaratnam, *Decolonising Intervention: International Statebuilding in Mozambique* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), esp. pp 30-34.

[4] Carol Cohn, ed., *Women and Wars: Contested Histories, Uncertain Futures* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012); Sandra Cheldelin and Maneshka Eliatamby, eds., *Women Waging War and Peace: International Perspectives of Women's Roles in Conflict and Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (New York: Continuum, 2011); Donna Pankhurst, ed., *Gendered Peace: Women's Struggles for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation*, (New York: Routledge, 2008); Cynthia Cockburn, *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis* (London: Zed Books, 2007); Marie E. Berry, *War, Women, and Power: From Violence to Mobilization in Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Pub, 2007); Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, 2nd Edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014); Fionnuala Ni Aolain, Dina Francesca Haynes, and Naomi Cahn, *On the Frontlines: Gender, War, and the Post-Conflict Process* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

To critique the top-down nature of contemporary liberal peacebuilding, some scholars have turned toward Indigenous peacemaking approaches. Roger Mac Ginty argues that Indigenous peacebuilding practices provide productive alternatives, but that liberal peacemaking leaves little room for them. The risk is in fetishizing Indigenous practices, or co-opting them in a way that removes their groundedness in particular places and cultures, and de-fangs critiques of settler colonial modes of relationality.[5] An example of this is a land acknowledgement at the Toronto Pride parade in June 2019 that failed to mention on whose land the parade was taking place, dispossession, or colonialism.[6] Instead, it produced a "comfort text" that invited settlers to "build a relationship with Mother Earth."[7] Thus, any international engagement with Indigenous peacemaking has to proceed very carefully, lest it result in extractive relations that serve the international community, rather than those who are supposed to benefit.

To sum up, I do not believe that critical approaches to UN mediation have to leave us feeling cynical about the possibility of change. As stated at the outset, my ethical obligation in this project has been towards the people that UN mediation is supposed to serve. Throughout, I have "de-mythologized" UN mediation by uncovering its assumptions and practices, and examining their implications for addressing injustice.[8] In doing so, I want to open avenues for alternatives. One of the biggest silences noted in this project, and the area where I think scholars can be most useful, is in narrating visions of just, inclusive peace. A narrative approach not only

[5] Roger MacGinty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," *Cooperation and Conflict* 43, no. 2 (2008): 139–63.
[6] binary smasher, "This Is What Pride Toronto Considers a Land Acknowledgement," Tweet, *@kiwinerd* (blog), June 24, 2019, https://twitter.com/kiwinerd/status/1142846460108709889.
[7] On comfort texts, see Marysia Zalewski, "Distracted Reflections on the Production, Narration, and Refusal of Feminist Knowledge in International Relations," in *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*, ed. Brooke Ackerly, Maria Stern, and Jacqui True (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 42–61.
[8] Meera Sabaratnam, "IR in Dialogue…But Can We Change the Subjects? A Typology of Decolonising Strategies for the Study of World Politics," *Millennium* 39, no. 3 (2011): 781–803; Olivia Umurerwa Rutazibwa, "Studying Agaciro: Moving Beyond Wilsonian Interventionist Knowledge Production on Rwanda," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 8, no. 4 (2014): 291–302.

reveals dominant understandings of peace and security, but offers ways of constructing alternatives. Wibben argues that feminist narratives of security should center marginalized perspectives as a source of knowledge about what security is, and that marginalized people should be the primary referents of security narratives.[9] This project must necessarily result in plural visions, based on plural voices. It must also pay careful attention to problems of privilege and representation. From a narrative perspective, articulating different visions of peace that are not simply based on a ceasefire between men, requires different forms of political engagement. This takes us beyond the politics of the possible, to a politics of the transformational.

[9] Annick T. R. Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 100-106.

APPENDIX A: PRIMARY SOURCES

A.1: UN Guidance Documents

Document	*Year*
Guidance for Effective Mediation	2010
A Manual for UN Mediators: Advice from UN Representatives	2010
Mediation Start-Up Guidelines	2011
Guidance for Mediators: Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Ceasefire and Peace Agreements	2012
Special Political Missions Start-Up Guide	2012
Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies	2017

NB: All documents are available publicly at www.peacemaker.un.org

A.2: Other materials

Document Title	*Information*	*Author/s*
UN Conflict Analysis Practice Note	Guidelines (2016)	UN; appears to be targeted at multiple agencies.
Generic Terms of Reference for Special Envoys		UN
Briefing paper on human rights	Briefing paper, n.d.	UN employee
The Essential Guidebook for UN Secretariat Staff	Guidelines (2016)	UN Office of Human Resources
Secretary-General's Report on Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution	2012	UN Secretary-General
Secretary-General's Report on Enhancing Mediation and Its Support Activities	2009	UN Secretary-General
Secretary-General's Report on Women's Participation in Peacebuilding	2010	UN Secretary-General

A.3: Interviews

Number	*ID*	*Participant affiliation*
1	20161	Think tank
2	20162	NGO
3	20163	NGO
4	20164	UN HQ
5	20165	UN HQ
6	20166	UN HQ
7	20167	UN HQ/Academic
8	20168	UN HQ
9	20169	UN HQ (notes only)
10	201610	UN HQ
11	20171	UN HQ
12	20172	UN HQ
13	20173	UN HQ
14	20174	UN HQ
15	20175	UN HQ (notes only)
16	20176	UN HQ
17	20177	UN Field/Academic
18	20181	UN Field/Academic
19	20182	UN Field
20	20183	UN Field
21	20184	UN Field (notes only)
22	20185	UN Field (notes only)
23	20186	UN Field
24	20187	UN Field
25	20188	UN Field
26	20189	UN Field (notes only)
27	201810	UN Field
28	201811	UN Field
29	201812	UN Field (notes only)
30	201813	UN Field (notes only)
31	201814	UN Field
32	201815	UN Field
33	201816	UN Field
34	201817	UN Field
35	201818	UN Field
36	201819	UN Field
37	201820	UN Field

NB: "HQ" indicates "headquarters". "Notes only" indicates that the interviewee did not consent to audio recording. I therefore took detailed notes by hand and coded those instead of transcripts.

A.4: Training Materials		
UNDPA Gender, Peace and Security Training, New York, 6-7 December 2017		
Document Title	*Information*	*Author/s*
Women and Peace Processes, Negotiations, and Agreements: Operational Opportunities and Challenges	Policy brief (2013)	Christine Bell for the Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre
Getting to the Point of Inclusion: Seven Myths Standing in the Way of Women Waging Peace	Background paper for 2013 Oslo Forum	Alice Nderitu and Jacqueline O'Neill of Inclusive Security
Analytical and Conceptual Framing of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence	Policy note	Stop Rape Now: UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict
Inclusion Mechanisms in the Intra-Syrian Peace Talks (Executive summary)	Background paper (2017)	UNDPPA Gender, Peace and Security Unit
Women's Participation in Peace Processes: the Case of Yemen	Background paper (2014)	Unsure; probably UNDPPA
DPA Gender 2017 Factsheet	Factsheet (2017)	UNDPPA
DPA Gender/WPS Strategy to Implement the Recommendations of the UN Reviews (2016-2020)	Policy paper	UNDPPA
Gender Resources Available through the UNDPA	Factsheet	UNDPPA
DPA Politically Speaking: No Durable Peace without Inclusion	Newsletter article (2017)	UNDPPA
2010 Baseline + 2015 Targets for 15 DPA Commitments on SCR 1325 (2000)	Background paper	UNDPPA
Tip Sheet for Gender Mainstreaming of Annual Work Plans of DPA Regional Divisions	Policy paper	UNDPPA

The SDGs and Prevention for Sustaining Peace	Policy brief (2016)	International Peace Institute
DPA Gender-Sensitive Political/Conflict Analysis Framework	Policy paper	UNDPPA
ICAN Gender Sensitive Indicators for Situation Analysis	Policy brief	International Civil Society Action Network
Women, Peace and Security: The Indispensable Role of Women in Ending Conflict and Building Peace	Speech given at USAID presentation to UN (2013)	Donald Steinberg, US Ambassador
Practical Strategies for Bringing Women into Peace Negotiations	Think piece	UNDPPA, Gender, Peace and Security Unit
UNDPA-UN Women Joint Strategy on Gender and Mediation	Strategy paper	UNDPPA and UN Women
MSU Reference Note on Security Council Resolutions and Signed Peace Agreements: Drafting Gender-Relevant Provisions in Peace Agreements	Reference note (2015)	UNDPPA
Women's Participation in Peace and Security: Normative Ends, Political Means	Briefing paper (2014)	Overseas Development Institute
Introduction: Objectives of the Training	Powerpoint slides (2017)	UNDPPA
Women, War, and Peace	Powerpoint slides (2017)	UNDPPA
Gender Terminology: Concepts and Definitions	Powerpoint slides (2017)	UNDPPA
Women, Peace and Security in DPA's Peacemaking Work: 15 Commitments (session 3)	Powerpoint slides (2017)	UNDPPA
Gender-Sensitive Conflict Analysis	Powerpoint slides (2017)	UNDPPA

DPA Periodic Reports and Briefings to the Security Council	Powerpoint slides (2017)	UNDPPA
Women and Mediation: Engaging Track II Actors	Powerpoint slides (2017)	UNDPPA
Mediation Process Design and Entry Points for Women	Powerpoint slides (2017)	UNDPPA
Women's Participation in Peacemaking: Case Studies on Process Design (Syria and Yemen)	Powerpoint slides (2017)	UNDPPA
Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence	Powerpoint slides (2017)	UNDPPA
Gender-Relevant Language of Peace Agreements	Powerpoint slides (2017)	UNDPPA
Promoting Women's Electoral and Political Participation through UN Electoral Assistance	Powerpoint slides (2017)	UNDPPA

UN High-Level Seminar on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Processes, Oslo, 11-13 October 2016

Document Title	*Information*	*Author/s*
Module 1: International Normative and Policy Frameworks on Gender and Peacemaking	Powerpoint slides (2016)	Torunn Tryggestad, PRIO; UNDPPA
Module 2: Mediator's Assessment	Powerpoint slides (2016)	UNDPPA
Module 3A: Mediation Process Design and Entry Points for Women	Powerpoint slides (2016)	UNDPPA
Module 3B: Women's participation in the first phase of the political transition in Yemen	Powerpoint slides (2016)	UNDPPA
Module 4: Women and Mediation: Engaging Track II Actors	Powerpoint slides (2016)	UNDPPA
Module 5: Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in	Powerpoint slides (2016)	UNDPPA

Ceasefire and Peace Agreements		
Module 6: Gender, Constitutions and Constitution-Making	Powerpoint slides (2016)	UNDPPA
Module 7: Powersharing and Women's Political Representation	Powerpoint slides (2016)	UNDPPA
Module 8A: Gender-Relevant Language of Peace Agreements	Powerpoint slides (2016)	UNDPPA
Module 8B: Gender-Relevant Language of Peace Agreements: Technical Options and Potential Models	Powerpoint slides (2016)	UNDPPA/PRIO/CMI
Module 9: Implementation Arrangements	Powerpoint slides (2016)	UNDPPA

APPENDIX B: SAMPLE INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

NB: In many cases, I only asked a handful of questions regarding the interviewee's role, duties, and to prompt them to expand on their responses.

1. Opening remarks

Thank you very much for meeting with me today. I anticipate that our conversation will last approximately one hour, but please let me know if you need to leave early.

As I have mentioned, I am doing research for my PhD dissertation project. I am interested in learning about how the UN implements resolution 1325 in the peace processes that it mediates.

As per the consent form, you are free to refuse to answer any of these questions, and to retract your statements at any time during or after our interview. Your responses will remain confidential. If I use direct quotes from these interviews in my research, identifying information will be removed. Please stop me at any time if you have any questions about this process.

I am going to begin recording our conversation now.

2. Open-ended questions

A. INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS

Could you tell me about your role with the organization, your duties, and how long you have been working here?

Which peace processes have you been involved with in particular? In what capacity?

B. MEDIATION QUESTIONS

When does the UN get involved as a broker in peace processes?

Does the UN's role as a broker differ significantly across missions? If so, how and why?

What is the typical process for deciding what shape talks will take (e.g. parties, format, chapters for negotiation, timeline)?

Who decides about the shape that talks take?

Are there any specific peace or security outcomes stated at the outset of a peace process, or are these decided upon throughout the course of talks?

How are the special envoys/special advisors to the Secretary-General chosen?

Who are the other key stakeholders in these planning and implementation decisions?

Is the format for a peace process ever changed mid-course? Under what circumstances would this happen?

What are typically seen as the successful outcomes from a peace process?

What makes mediation/a mediator effective?

Can you provide examples of times that the UN has been particularly successful in promoting peace and security through one of its political missions?

C. 1325/GENDER QUESTIONS

How do people generally understand 'gender mainstreaming' in your line of work?

How do people generally view the participation of women in peace processes?

What do you think the successful implementation of 1325 in a peace process would look like?

Can you think of any current or past peace processes that are examples of successful gender mainstreaming?

Does anyone have responsibility for implementing 1325 in your office, such as a gender focal point?

What kinds of action have you or others recently taken to implement 1325's provisions regarding women's participation and mainstreaming a gender perspective in peace talks?

What are the typical barriers or obstacles to 1325's implementation in peace processes?

Do you think these barriers are able to be overcome? Why?

4. Concluding questions and snowball sampling

Do you have anything that you would like to add before we finish?

Can you recommend anyone else that I should talk to about these issues? [If applicable: Could I mention your name when I contact them?]

5. Thanks and follow-up

APPENDIX C: CODING SCHEME

Legitimacy

- Legit::Diplomatic
- Legit::Bureaucratic
- Legit::WPS

Gender

- Gender::women
- Gender::Women's roles
- Gender::men
- Gender::mainstreaming
- Gender::resources
- Gender::Accountability
- Gender::Advisors
- Gender::Conceptualisation
- Gender::Balance
- Gender::Technical
- Gender::Local capacity
- Gender::Women as instruments
- Gender::Women peacebuilders
- Gender::Training
- Gender::Sensitivity
- Gender::Local norms
- Gender::Crosscutting
- Gender::Logistics
- Gender::Pressure
- Gender::Participation modes
- Gender::Sexual violence

Peace

- Peace::Definition
- Peace::Sustainability
- Peace::Root causes
- Peacebuilding

Mediation

- Mediation::Definition
- Mediation::Technical

- Mediation::Effectiveness
- Mediation::Professionalisation
- Mediation::Goals
- Mediation::Agenda
- Mediation::Negotiating parties
- Mediation::Political will
- Mediation::Urgency
- Mediation::Context
- Mediation::Inclusivity
- Mediation::Power balance
- Mediation::Capacity
- Mediation::Resources
- Mediation::Consent
- Mediation::Impartiality
- Mediation::Law and norms
- Mediation::Confidentiality
- Mediation::Guidance (docs)
- Mediation::Complexity

Mediator

- Mediator::Role
- Mediator::Qualification
- Mediator::Discretion
- Mediator::Impartiality
- Mediator::Appointment
- Mediator::Female
- Mediator::Mandate

Process design

- Process design::Gender
- Process design::Fundamentals
- Process design::Quotas
- Process design::Consultation
- Process design::Linearity

Pre-negotiation phase

Mediation phase

Implementation phase

Peace agreements

UNDPPA

- UNDPA::Role
- UNDPA::Constituents
- UNDPA::Progress
- HQ Field Divide

Cases

- Case::Syria
- Case::Yemen
- Case::Guatemala
- Case::Aceh
- Case::South Sudan
- Case::Darfur
- Case::DRC
- Case::Mali
- Case::Colombia

People

- Benomar
- de Mistura
- Brahimi
- Robinson
- Arnault
- Bachelet
- Annan
- Ahtisaari

Organisations

- MSU
- PBSO
- UN Women
- NGOs
- PRIO

Resolutions

- 1325
- 1889

- 2122
- 2242

Document

- Document::audience
- Document::author
- Document::Background

Practices

- Informality
- Discretion
- Homosociality
- Sequencing
- Tracks
- Competence
- Relationships

Narratives

- Focalisation
- Ordering
- Description
- Narration:: external
- Narration::internal

APPENDIX D: SUMMARY OF MEDIATION PROVISIONS IN WPS RESOLUTIONS OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL

D.1: Summary of WPS Provisions on Mediation

Resolution	*Provisions*
1325 (2000)	• Urges increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict.
1820 (2009)	• Urges the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys to invite women to participate in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and post-conflict peacebuilding.
1889 (2009)	• Urges Member States, international and regional organisations to take further measures to improve women's participation during all stages of peace processes, particularly in conflict resolution, post-conflict planning and peacebuilding. • Calls for the Secretary-General to develop a strategy and training to increase the number of female Special Representatives, and to increase women's participation in UN missions. • Expresses the intent to include gender provisions in mission mandates. • Requests the appointment of gender advisors and women's protection advisors.
2122 (2013)	• Requests DPKO, DPA and relevant senior officials to update the Security Council on issues relevant to women, peace and security, including implementation. • Requests the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys and Special Representatives to update the Council on progress in inviting women to participate in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security and post-conflict peacebuilding. • Requests the Secretary-General's Special Envoys and Special Representatives to United Nations missions, from early on in their deployment, to regularly consult with women's organizations and women leaders, including socially and/or economically excluded groups of women. • Requests the Secretary-General to strengthen the knowledge of negotiating delegations to peace talks, and members of mediation support teams, on the gender dimensions of peacebuilding, by making

gender expertise and gender experts available to all United Nations mediation teams.

- Further requests the Secretary-General to support the appointments of women at senior levels as United Nations mediators and within the composition of United Nations mediation teams.
- Calls on all parties to such peace talks to facilitate the equal and full participation of women at decision-making levels.
- Invites the Secretary-General, in preparation for the High-level Review to commission a global study on the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000), highlighting good practice examples, implementation gaps and challenges, as well as emerging trends and priorities for action.

2242 (2015)

- Urges Member States, in light of the High-level Review, to assess strategies and resourcing in the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda, reiterates its call for Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, and resolution of conflict.
- Encourages those supporting peace processes to facilitate women's meaningful inclusion in negotiating parties' delegations to peace talks.
- Urges the Secretary-General and relevant United Nations entities to redouble their efforts to integrate women's needs and gender perspectives into their work, including in all policy and planning processes and assessment missions, and in relation to requests made in resolution 2122 (2013), and to address deficits in accountability including through the addition by the Secretary-General of gender targets as an indicator of individual performance in all compacts with senior managers at United Nations Headquarters and in the field, including Special Envoys and Special Representatives of the Secretary-General.
- Urges DPKO and DPA to ensure the necessary gender analysis and technical gender expertise is included throughout all stages of mission planning, mandate development, implementation, review and mission drawdown, ensuring the needs and participation of women are integrated in all sequenced stages of mission mandates.
- Calls for senior gender advisors and other gender officer posts to be budgeted for and speedily recruited where appointed in special political missions and multidimensional peacekeeping operations, and encourages greater cooperation between DPKO, DPA and UN-Women to enable more gender responsive United Nations peacekeeping operations and special political missions.

2467 (2019)	• "Encourages concerned Member States to ensure the opportunity for the full and meaningful participation of survivors of sexual and gender-based violence at all stages of transitional justice processes, including in decision-making roles, recognizes that women's leadership and participation will increase the likelihood that transitional justice outcomes will constitute effective redress as defined by victims and will respond to important contextual factors." • "Encourages concerned Member States and relevant United Nations entities to support capacity building for women-led and survivor-led organizations and build the capacity of civil society groups to enhance informal community-level protection mechanisms against sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations, to increase their support of women's active and meaningful engagement in peace processes to strengthen gender equality, women's empowerment and protection as a means of conflict prevention." • "Calls upon parties to conflict to ensure that ceasefire and peace agreements contain provisions that stipulate sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations as a prohibited act, particularly in provisions relating to disengagement, ensure further that women are present and meaningfully participate in political pre-negotiation and negotiation processes; and stresses the need for the exclusion of sexual violence crimes from amnesty and immunity provisions in the context of conflict resolution processes."

APPENDIX E: PROSOPOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF CURRENT AND FORMER SRSGS FOR ALL UNDPPA MISSIONS

Data and methods: I collected data on current and former Special Representatives/Special Envoys/Personal Envoys for all political missions as at April 2019. The UN does not provide a public list of people in these roles. I therefore chose to code current and former representatives as the data for these positions are the most reliable. The sources I used are listed in the footnotes. For the most part, they are the biographical details provided in the UN's press releases each time the Secretary-General appoints a new representative.

E.1: Careers and Genders of UN Mediators

Mission	*Special Envoy*	*Gender*	*Career Background*	*Nationality*
UNAMA (Afghanistan)	Tadamichi Yamamoto[1]	Male	Diplomacy	Japan
	Nicholas Haysom*	Male	International law; International organizations (UN)	South Africa
UN Office to the African Union	Hanna Serwaa Tetteh[2]	Female	National Politics	Ghana
	Sahle-Work Zewde[3]	Female	Diplomacy	Ethiopia
Burundi	Michel Kafando[4]	Male	Diplomacy; National Politics	Burkina Faso
	Parfait Onanga-Anyanga[5]	Male	International organizations	Gabon
UNOCA (Central Africa)	François Louncény Fall[6]	Male	Diplomacy; National Politics	Guinea
	Abdoulaye Bathily[7]	Male	National Politics	Senegal

[1] "Leadership," UNAMA, March 13, 2015, https://unama.unmissions.org/leadership.
[2] "Ms. Hanna Serwaa Tetteh of Ghana," United Nations Secretary-General, December 10, 2018, https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/personnel-appointments/2018-12-10/ms-hanna-serwaa-tetteh-of-ghana-special-representative-the-african-union-and-head-of-the-united-nations-office-the-african-union-%28unoau%29.
[3] "Sahle-Work Zewde," Wikipedia, April 1, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sahle-Work_Zewde.
[4] "Mr. Michel Kafando of Burkina Faso," United Nations Secretary-General, May 5, 2017, https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/personnel-appointments/2017-05-05/mr-michel-kafando-burkina-faso-special-envoy.
[5] "Mr. Parfait Onanga-Anyanga of Gabon," United Nations Secretary-General, March 13, 2019, https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/personnel-appointments/2019-03-13/mr-parfait-onanga-anyanga-of-gabon-special-envoy-for-the-horn-of-africa.
[6] "Mr. François Louncény Fall of Guinea," United Nations Secretary-General, February 21, 2017, https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/personnel-appointments/2017-02-21/mr-fran%C3%A7ois-lounc%C3%A9ny-fall-guinea-special-representative.

UNRCCA (Central Asia)	Natalia Gherman[8] Petko Draganov[9]	Female Male	Diplomacy; National Politics Diplomacy	Moldova Bulgaria
UN Verification Mission in Colombia	Carlos Ruiz Massieu[10]	Male	Diplomacy	Mexico
Cyprus	Espen Barth Eide[11]	Male	National politics; Academia	Norway
Greece-FYROM talks	Matthew Nimetz[12]	Male	Diplomacy; Law	United States
Geneva International Discussions	Ayşe Cihan Sultanoğlu[13] Antti Turunen[14]	Female Male	International Organizations Diplomacy	Turkey Finland
Great Lakes Region	Huang Xia[15] Said Djinnit[16]	Male Male	Diplomacy Diplomacy	China Algeria

[7] "Secretary-General Appoints Abdoulaye Bathily of Senegal Special Representative, Head of United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa," United Nations Meeting Coverage and Press Releases, April 30, 2014, https://www.un.org/press/en/2014/sga1461.doc.htm.
[8] "Ms. Natalia Gherman of the Republic of Moldova," United Nations Secretary-General, September 15, 2017, https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/personnel-appointments/2017-09-15/ms-natalia-gherman-republic-moldova-special.
[9] "Secretary-General Appoints Petko Draganov of Bulgaria Special Representative, Head of United Nations Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy for Central Asia," United Nations Meeting Coverage and Press Releases, March 17, 2015, https://www.un.org/press/en/2015/sga1556.doc.htm.
[10] "Mr. Carlos Ruiz Massieu of Mexico - Special Representative for Colombia and Head of the United Nations Verification Mission in Colombia [Scroll down for Spanish Version]," United Nations Secretary-General, December 10, 2018, https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/personnel-appointments/2018-12-10/mr-carlos-ruiz-massieu-of-mexico-special-representative-for-colombia-and-head-of-the-united-nations-verification-mission-colombia-scroll-down-for-spanish.
[11] "SASG – Espen Barth Eide," UN Cyprus Talks, 2015, http://www.uncyprustalks.org/biography/.
[12] "Matthew Nimetz: Executive Profile & Biography," Bloomberg, 2019, https://www.bloomberg.com/research/stocks/private/person.asp?personId=97757&privcapId=20619.
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UNIOGBIS (Guinea Bissau)	José Viegas Filho[17]	Male	Diplomacy; National Politics	Brazil
	Modibo Touré[18]	Male	International organizations; National politics	Mali
UNMHA (Redeployment Coordination Committee, Yemen)	Michael Anker Lollesgaard[19]	Male	Military (National and Peacekeeping)	Denmark
UNAMI (Iraq)	Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert[20]	Female	National Politics	Netherlands
	Ján Kubiš*			
UNSCOL (Lebanon)	Ján Kubiš[21]	Male	International Organizations (EU, UN, OSCE); National Politics	Slovakia
	Sigrid Kaag[22]	Female	International organizations (UN)	Netherlands
UNSMIL (Libya)	Ghassan Salamé[23]	Male	Academia	Lebanon
	Martin Kobler[24]	Male	Diplomacy	Germany

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Middle East Peace Process	Nickolay Mladenov[25]	Male	National Politics	Bulgaria
	Robert Serry[26]	Male	Diplomacy	Netherlands
Myanmar	Christine Schraner Burgener[27]	Female	Diplomacy	Switzerland
UNSOM (Somalia)	Nicholas Haysom[28]	Male	International law; International organizations (UN)	South Africa
	Michael Keating[29]	Male	International organizations (UN)	United Kingdom
Syria	Geir O. Pedersen[30]	Male	Diplomacy	Italy/Sweden
	Staffan de Mistura[31]	Male	International organizations (UN)	Italy/Sweden
UNOWAS (West Africa)	Mohammed Ibn Chambas[32]	Male	National politics; International organizations (ECOWAS)	Ghana
Western Sahara	Horst Köhler[33]	Male	National Politics; International	Germany

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			organizations (IMF, EBRD)	
	Christopher Ross[34]	Male	Diplomacy	United States
Yemen	Martin Griffiths[35]	Male	International organizations; International NGOs	United Kingdom
	Ismail Ould Cheikh Ahmed[36]	Male	International organizations (UN)	Mauritania

*Person appears twice in table but not double-counted in summary statistics.

E.2 Summary statistics	
Gender	
Male	29 (80.6%)
Female	7 (19.4%)
Career	
Diplomacy	17 (47.2%)
National politics	13 (36.1%)
International organizations	12 (33.3%)
Other	5 (13.9%)
N	36

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Zanotti, Laura. “Taming Chaos: A Foucauldian View of UN Peacekeeping, Democracy and Normalization.” *International Peacekeeping* 13, no. 2 (2006): 150–67

VITA

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EDUCATION

PhD in Political Science, Syracuse University. 2019 (defending July 9, 2019)

Dissertation: "Gender and Legitimacy in United Nations Mediation."

Committee: Audie Klotz (advisor), Francine D'Amico, Margaret (Peg) Hermann, Seth Jolly, and Annick Wibben (University of San Francisco/Swedish Defence University).

MA in Political Science (IR/Comparative Politics), Syracuse University. 2016

B. Arts/B. Development Studies (first class honours), University of Adelaide, Australia. 2012

Diploma of Languages (Indonesian), University of Adelaide, Australia. 2012

PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS

2019-2020 Visiting Research Fellow, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame.

PUBLICATIONS

Manuscripts under review

'Caught between Art and Science: the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in United Nations Mediation Narratives'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (revise and resubmit)

'Gendering the Practice Turn in Diplomacy'. *European Journal of International Relations* (under review)

Paper selected for *EJIR*'s 25th anniversary special issue workshop, March 2019.

Book reviews

2019 Feminist Perspectives on Diplomacy - A Review'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics (21)*1: 152-154.

GRANTS, HONORS AND FELLOWSHIPS

2019	Dissertation Award, Academic Council on the UN System. $1500.
2019	Syracuse University Summer Dissertation Fellowship. $4000.
2019, 2018	Graduate Student Organization Travel Grant, Syracuse University. $300.
2018	International Studies Association Travel Grant. $190.
2018	Meiklejohn Award, Department of Political Science, Syracuse University. $5200.
2018	Samuel Goekjian Summer Research Grant, Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs, Syracuse University. $2000.
2018, 2017	Department Travel Grant, Department of Political Science, Syracuse University. $500.
2017, 2016	Andrew Berlin Family National Security Foundation Research Grant, Institute for National Security and Counter-Terrorism, Syracuse University. $1581; $2208.
2016	Roscoe Martin Research Grant, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University. $730.

CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION

Panels Organized

2015	‘Feminist Mediations in International Relations,’ International Studies Association Northeast, Providence, RI, November 6-8.

Papers Presented

2019	'Practicing Peace? How United Nations Mediation Practices Affect the Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda,' International Studies Association, Toronto, Canada, March 27-30.
2018	'Gendering the Practice Turn: Scenes from the Hidden History of Diplomacy,' International Studies Association Northeast, Baltimore, MD, November 2-3.
2018	'Constructing "Effective" Peace Processes: Gender and UN Mediation Discourse,' International Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, April 4-7.
2016	‘High-Level Peace Processes as Gendered Institutions,’ Feminist Futures and Conflict Resolution, George Mason University, April 11-12.
2015	‘Pitfalls and Promise in Policy: Feminist IR Approaches to Inclusive Peace Processes,’ International Studies Association Northeast, Providence, RI, November 6-8.

Conference Workshops

2018 Participant, Interpretive Methods Workshop, International Studies Association Northeast, Baltimore, MD, November 3.

CAMPUS TALKS

2019 'Gender and Mediation Practices at the UN,' Moynihan Institute for Global Affairs, Syracuse University, March 20.

2017 'Recrafting the Peace Table? Gender and UN Mediation Discourse,' Institute for National Security and Counter-Terrorism, Syracuse University, March 17.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Syracuse University

Introduction to International Relations (Fall 2018), Instructor
Introduction to International Relations (Fall 2014, Spring 2015), TA

University of South Australia

Peace, War and International Politics (Spring 2014), TA

CURRICULAR AND SUPERVISING EXPERIENCE

2017-2019 Undergraduate research assistant supervisor, Mapping Global Security project, Syracuse University.

2017-2018 Research assistant for Margaret Hermann, Curriculum Development, Syracuse University.

2017 Research assistant for Audie Klotz, Curriculum Development, Syracuse University.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2015-2019 Gerald and Daphne Cramer Graduate Fellow, Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs, Syracuse University. Project: Bridging the gap between academia and policy.

2017-2019 Research assistant, Syracuse Research Corporation/Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs, Syracuse University. Project: Mapping Global Insecurity.

2017 Research assistant to Seth Jolly, Syracuse University. Project: Determinants of public opinion on immigration.

2015 Research assistant to Seth Jolly, Syracuse University. Project: Xenophobia, national identity, and public opinion in the UK.

2011-2012 Research intern, Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General on Cyprus. Project: Mainstreaming gender in the Cyprus peace process.

2011 Research intern, Indonesia Public Health Internship Program, University of Adelaide. Project: Funding structures of health clinics in East Kalimantan, Indonesia.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2015-2016 Carnegie Policy Scholar. Initiative to bridge the gap between academia and policy.

SERVICE

Peer Review
Journal of Women, Politics and Policy

To Department

2018 Graduate student representative, Department of Political Science job search committee, Syracuse University.

2017-2018 President, Political Science Graduate Student Association, Syracuse University.

2016-2017 Post-comprehensives student representative, Political Science Graduate Student Association, Syracuse University.

2015-2016 Pre-comprehensives student representative, Political Science Graduate Student Association, Syracuse University.

To Community

2017- Volunteer and facilitator, Near Westside Peacemaking Center, Syracuse.

2010-2014 Board member, International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (Australia).

2010-2011 UN Women Australia delegate to the UN Commission on the Status of Women.

LANGUAGES

French (advanced)
Indonesian (intermediate)
Arabic (beginner)
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TECHNICAL SKILLS
Stata, Microsoft Access and SQL, Atlas.ti, Profiler Plus

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