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Women, Peace and Security in Mali and Rwanda

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Normative Encounters between the 'Global' and the 'Local':

Women, Peace and Security in Mali and Rwanda

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Normative Encounters between the ‘Global’ and the ‘Local’:

Women, Peace and Security in Mali and Rwanda

Jenny Lorentzen



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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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Abstract <p>This thesis examines the multiple and often overlapping encounters between 'global' and 'local' norms, actors, practices, and discourses which take place when norms travel between different socio-political contexts. This is done through a study of how global gender equality norms embedded in the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda are promoted in two war to peace transitions: Mali and Rwanda. Since the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000, the WPS agenda has emerged as a powerful international normative framework and has become a key component of international peacebuilding efforts. Through four papers, the thesis demonstrates how global and local actors engage with WPS norms in multiple, overlapping and sometimes unexpected ways, producing a range of outcomes that shape both the meanings and trajectories of norms. The thesis advances the empirical study of norms by combining a number of analytical approaches and data sources, including unique and comprehensive data on the peace process in Mali generated through extensive fieldwork. It outlines a conceptual framework for studying normative encounters and related processes of contestation, friction, localization and appropriation. These processes are explored in the papers, where I develop existing theories and concepts from the literatures on the 'agency of the governed' and critical peacebuilding. Together, the papers provide important insights concerning the ability of agents to shape the meanings and trajectories of norms through meaning-making practices. These include practices of resistance and refinement at the Malian peace negotiations (Paper 1), frictional interactions in the Malian peace process (Paper 2), discursive practices of re-presentation by local elites in Mali (Paper 3) and policy production by the Government of Rwanda (Paper 4). Further, when agents are involved in these processes, they construct and produce new meanings and realities through their engagement with norms. The thesis shows how actors contribute to increased norm precision through the development of operating principles (Paper 1), how they construct positions and locations from which to claim authority and legitimacy (Papers 2, 3 and 4), as well as new identities (Papers 2 and 3) and subjects to be governed (Papers 3 and 4).</p>		
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Normative Encounters between the 'Global' and the 'Local'

Women, Peace and Security in Mali and Rwanda

Jenny Lorentzen



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Cover: Participants at the opening ceremony of a women's peace consultation in Bamako on 25-28 November 2017, organized by the Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and Families with support from international partners. Photo by Jenny Lorentzen.

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When we negotiate, it's those who make the war who negotiate, so it's normal that there are no women. When we sign, it's those who have agreed to stop the war who sign. And when we implement, it's those who have agreed to make peace who implement. It's men's business and it's normal that there are no women in the process. (*Interview, Bamako, 7.12. 2017*)

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List of Papers

- Paper 1 Women's Inclusion 'in Practice' at the Malian Peace Negotiations
Jenny Lorentzen. Accepted for publication in Swiss Political Science Review
- Paper 2 Frictional Interactions on Women, Peace and Security in Mali
Jenny Lorentzen. Under review
- Paper 3 Re-presentations of Women as 'New Security Actors' in
Discourses on Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism in
Mali
Jenny Lorentzen. Under review
- Paper 4 Norm appropriation through policy production: Rwanda's gender
policies
Jenny Lorentzen. 2017. Third World Thematics 2 (5): 658-674

Abbreviations

ACHPR	African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights
BPfA	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
CAFO	Coordination des Associations et ONG Féminines du Mali
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CMA	Coordination des mouvements de l'Azawad
CSA	Agreement Monitoring Committee
CVJR	Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
GoM	Government of Mali
GoR	Government of Rwanda
MINUSMA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MPFEF	Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and Families
NAP	National Action Plan
(I)NGO	(International) Non-Governmental Organization
P/CVE	Preventing and countering violent extremism
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UNSCR 1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

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1 Introduction

On 18 August 2020, a military coup d'état took place in Mali's capital Bamako. This was the fourth coup d'état since Mali's independence from France in 1960, and the second in eight years. The previous coup d'état took place in 2012, following a Tuareg rebellion that marked the beginning of the most recent and ongoing conflict and peace process. Rebellions by Tuareg populations in northern Mali are also recurring events in the country's post-independence history (Lecocq 2010). Today, what started as a rebellion in the northern regions has evolved into a multidimensional security and governance crisis that has spread to the center of the country, with a socio-political crisis currently unfolding at the level of the capital. After seven years of heightened international military presence, it remains uncertain what the future holds for Mali's diverse population and what role women will play in shaping that future.

The idea that women's inclusion in peacebuilding and conflict resolution will lead to more lasting peace agreements, lower the risk of a relapse into conflict, and result in more peaceful societies is both widely promoted and contested. Despite research increasingly suggesting that women's inclusion in peace processes may contribute to more durable peace and a higher probability that peace agreements are reached and implemented (O'Reilly et al. 2015, 12; Nilsson 2012; Paffenholz et al. 2016; Krause, Krause and Bränfors 2018), women continue to be marginalized in peace processes such as the one in Mali.

Further, war to peace transitions¹ are often considered to represent 'windows of opportunity' for the promotion of gender equality norms (Ní Aoláin, Haynes and Cahn 2011; Anderson 2016; Tripp 2015). However, other studies have noted that although conflict may open a space for empowering women, examples from Bosnia and Colombia show that gains made on women's rights during peace processes have been subject to 'conservative backlash' after the signing of peace agreements (Björkdahl 2012, 307; Gomez-Suarez 2017). With the repetitive

¹ For a similar use of this term in the literature, see for example Joshi and Melander 2017.

character of conflict in Mali, it is unclear whether this ‘window of opportunity’ remains open or closed. Will the country follow a similar path to Rwanda, which has seen extensive legal reform and the world’s highest number of women in parliament in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide? Or will attempts at reform be overtaken by current events and the gradually deteriorating security situation?

Over the past two decades, we have seen an increased recognition and formalization of global gender equality norms as these become embedded in political frameworks that establish their relevance for situations of conflict, conflict resolution, peacebuilding, and post-conflict reconstruction (True and Wiener 2019). The adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325) in 2000 was celebrated as a breakthrough for the recognition of women’s roles in the prevention and resolution of armed conflict, and the ways in which conflict affects women and men differently. UNSCR 1325 calls for women’s increased representation in decision-making in conflict resolution and peacebuilding, their protection from conflict-related sexual violence, and the adoption of gender perspectives. Since 2000, nine follow-up resolutions have been adopted by the UN Security Council, and together these ten resolutions constitute the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda.

Twenty years on, Women, Peace and Security has become a key component of international peacebuilding efforts and the international community is engaged in promoting women’s rights and gender equality in societies transitioning from war to peace. Driving these efforts is the assumption that the global spread and implementation of the norms embedded in the WPS agenda will lead to more inclusive and peaceful societies. This is based on research that shows that societies with low levels of gender equality are more often involved in interstate conflict, which is more intense (e.g. Caprioli 2000; Caprioli and Boyer 2001; Regan and Paskeviciute 2003), more often experience intrastate conflict (Caprioli 2005; Melander 2005a), and experience more human rights abuses (Melander 2005b). Countries with higher levels of gender equality, on the other hand, tend to have more durable peace (Hudson et al. 2008/09) and more successful peace-building processes (Gizelis 2009; 2011).

While existing research has provided the rationale for promoting gender equality norms in war to peace transitions, the research in this thesis focuses on the encounters between ‘global’ and ‘local’ norms, actors, practices and discourses that take place when the international community and women’s rights activists

work to promote the WPS agenda. Specifically, the thesis explores these issues through studies of the war to peace transitions in Mali and Rwanda. The two countries are chosen because they possess important differences and similarities in their conflict experience, their dealings with the international community, and the extent to which they are seen to be successfully promoting gender equality norms in the eyes of the international community and in the literature.

1.1 Aim and approach

What happens when norms travel from one socio-political context to another? Scholars have addressed this question by pointing to diffusion patterns and the life cycles of norms (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 1999). More recently, scholars in the field of norm diffusion and critical peacebuilding have taken a special interest in the role of local actors in shaping the meanings and trajectories of norms. Focusing on the ‘agency of the governed’, researchers have explored the adaptational dynamics between the ‘global’ and the ‘local’ by studying norm localization (Acharya 2004), translation (Zimmermann 2017; Berger 2017), appropriation (Großklaus 2015) and contestation (Wiener 2014). Critical peacebuilding scholars have studied local agency and interaction as well as the analytical and normative study of peacebuilding outcomes through the lens of hybridity and friction (Mac Ginty 2010; Björkdahl et al. 2016).

In this thesis, normative encounters refer to the multiple and often overlapping encounters between ‘global’ and ‘local’ norms, actors, practices, and discourses in war to peace transitions. I use a broad conceptualization of normative encounters, which builds on and develops the insights from the literatures on the ‘agency of the governed’ and critical peacebuilding. The purpose and utility of this broad approach are to highlight the diverse and multiple character of normative encounters in war to peace transitions, and to bring together the different ways of analyzing normative encounters developed in the papers.

I adopt the constructivist conceptualization of norms as ‘structuring and constructed’ (Wiener 2004, 201). This implies that in addition to guiding the behavior of states, individuals or other actors in the international system (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 891; Klotz 1995; Finnemore 1993), norms are understood as dynamic and contested processes characterized by their ongoing

constitution (Wiener 2004; 2014; Krook and True 2012). The WPS agenda formulates the relevance of norms agreed upon in the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA) in the peace and security domain. It represents a 'norm bundle' consisting of a number of adjacent norms, such as the prohibition of the use of sexual violence in conflict and women's right to inclusion in peace processes (see True and Wiener 2019, 553).

The methodological approach guiding this research draws on interpretive, feminist and ethnographic methodologies, which focus on how agents in specific contexts actively and collaboratively construct (and change) their social, political and cultural worlds through meaning-making practices (see Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 1, 46; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 3; Ackerly, Stern and True 2006, 4). By viewing meanings as constitutive of specific social phenomena, this approach enables the empirical study of how meaning is constituted and its role in the construction of social reality, and of norms as constantly confirmed, negotiated, redefined, rejected or potentially transformed through meaning-making practices such as language, acts, and artefacts (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 42). Further, studying norms requires comprehensive understanding and knowledge of the setting in which norms are studied, and ethnographic methods are particularly well suited for exploring bottom-up processes and local experiences (Mac Ginty 2008; Millar 2014; Millar 2018).

The results presented here derive from two datasets which were generated through a combination of methods, including participant observation, informal conversations, formal interviews and the collection of documents (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 3; Millar 2018). Dataset I on Mali consists of participant observation, informal conversations, collected documents, and 65 semi-structured interviews conducted during fieldwork in Mali. This dataset is the most comprehensive and informs the research in three out of four articles in the thesis. Dataset II was used in the fourth article on Rwanda and consists of a collection of policy documents supplemented by participant observation and conversations during fieldwork conducted in Rwanda.

The aim of this thesis is to reach a better understanding of the processes that take place when the WPS agenda is promoted in war to peace transitions. Two objectives have further been important while pursuing this aim. The first is to take seriously the processual and interactive aspects of the ways different actors engage with norms. The second objective has been to avoid approaching gender equality

norms and the WPS agenda as either good or bad, but rather as possessing certain normative aspirations whose impact on different stakeholders can be both positive and negative. The work with this thesis has been guided by the following overarching research question:

How do normative encounters shape the meanings and trajectories of gender equality norms in war to peace transitions, and how can these encounters be studied?

This broad question has been further operationalized in the four papers that comprise the thesis. See Table 1 for a list of the papers by title and research question(s). These research questions, the theoretical framework and the analysis of empirical material have continually informed and shaped one another throughout the entire research process.

Table 1: List of papers by title and research question(s)

Paper	Title	Research question(s)
1	Women's Inclusion 'in Practice' at the Malian Peace Negotiations	How are global norms about women's inclusion in peace processes implemented 'in practice' in the context of peace negotiations, and how does practice contribute to the norm life cycle?
2	Frictional Interactions on Women, Peace and Security in Mali	What characterizes frictional interactions between different (local and international) actors when norms travel? How do frictional interactions affect norm trajectories?
3	Re-presentations of Women as 'New Security Actors' in Discourses on Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism in Mali	How are global norms about women's participation in peacebuilding and conflict resolution articulated in discourses about preventing and countering violent extremism in Mali? What are the consequences of different stakeholders' engagement with norms?
4	Norm appropriation through policy production: Rwanda's gender policies	How do actors on the receiving end of norm diffusion processes actively shape norm content through policy production, and with what effects?

The four papers explore how different actors in war to peace transitions engage with and shape the norms embedded in the WPS agenda. Individually, the papers develop distinct analytical approaches and identify and analyze specific meaning-making practices that actors engage in. Together, these demonstrate the multifaceted nature of actors' engagement with norms in war to peace transitions and different ways of studying normative encounters. The individual papers further study normative encounters at different moments of war to peace transitions. Although war to peace transitions do not necessarily unfold according to a given sequence, these are presented chronologically in the thesis (peace negotiations (Paper 1), peace process (Papers 2 and 3), and post-conflict reconstruction (Paper 4)).

Paper 1 studies the 'gap' between women's right to inclusion in peace processes as a widely accepted norm in the international system and its implementation 'in practice' at the Malian peace negotiations. The paper develops a framework for studying how norms are contested and constituted through practice by analyzing practices of resistance, which object to women's fundamental right to inclusion, and practices of refinement, which engage with the circumstances under which women's inclusion should be applied. The paper focuses on the inclusion of women who represent either a conflict party or civil society and draws on extensive fieldwork in Mali, including interviews with three women who attended the ceasefire negotiations in Ouagadougou in 2013 and six women who attended the Algiers negotiations in 2014–2015.

The analysis confirms that a gap persists between the international commitment to women's inclusion and its implementation in practice. On the other hand, the fact that practices of resistance were usually followed by concessions indicates increasing acceptance also in the context of the Malian peace negotiations. The paper also demonstrates how different actors engage in practices of refinement through disagreements over how, when and which women should be included. For example, when Malian women pushed for direct participation at the peace table in Algiers, the international mediation team responded by setting up civil society hearings as an alternative mechanism for indirect participation. An important insight from this paper is that practices of refinement may serve to weaken norms through the development of more precise operating procedures. Through the potential reformulation of women's inclusion as indirect participation in consultative forums (rather than direct participation at the peace table), the norm risks losing its wide acceptance among key stakeholders.

Paper 2 provides a detailed account of the social dynamics that play out in normative encounters and analyzes the interactions between different international and local actors involved in promoting the WPS agenda in Mali. It contributes to constructivist norms literature by analyzing interaction over norms through the lens of vertical (between international and local actors) and horizontal (between local actors) friction, the way different actors respond to friction, and the outcomes that this produces. At the center of the inquiry is the Malian women's movement, a diverse group of actors playing a key role as translators between global and local norms. However, the analysis shows that international actors who operate in the local context also play an important role as translators.

The paper argues that complex frictional interactions affect norm trajectories. For example, vertical friction is characterized by a pull towards increased homogenization of women as a group and their roles as peace agents. The ways women inside and outside the women's movement respond to this further trigger new responses and outcomes. A contribution of this paper is new insights into how vertical and horizontal friction are linked in the local context, though not necessarily causally. When horizontal friction was observed between women representing civil society and those representing the armed groups, this was caused by vertical friction. On the other hand, existing lines of division within the women's movement were exacerbated rather than caused by vertical friction. While vertical friction sometimes produces spaces for empowerment, responses to horizontal friction seek to define who belongs in those spaces and impacts on whether those spaces will be empowering or disempowering (and for whom).

Paper 3 studies discourses on WPS and preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE) in Mali, where jihadist groups have increased their activities since the signing of a peace agreement in 2015. The paper critically engages with the concept of localization, which has been of major importance in advancing the study of how global norms are received in the Global South, involving the adaptation of external norms to local practice and vice versa (Acharya 2004). As my understanding of normative encounters developed throughout the work with this thesis, I found postcolonial perspectives useful for reflecting on the locations and assumptions upon which theories, concepts and worldviews are based. Paper 3 can therefore be read as an implicit critique of the other papers in the thesis which mirrors my own intellectual development over time.

Informed by postcolonial theories, the paper argues that discursive practices of re-presentation (of subjects or images) are an important part of localization

processes. Through a discourse analysis of interviews with local actors who are seen as intermediaries in norm localization (civil society, government officials, NGO workers), the paper finds that interviewees localize norms about women's participation by linking these to 'new' threats, tasks, time and space. This produces a dominant re-presentation of women as 'New Security Actors' – presenting a competent and appropriate woman who will contribute to preventing violent extremism by influencing, counselling or informing on her family or community members. This re-presentation leverages traditional gender roles to potentially push Malian women to engage in new security practices. As a result, localization reproduces universalizing tendencies in the WPS agenda, while the transformative potential of certain WPS norms gets lost. The paper also demonstrates how analyzing discursive practices of re-presentation highlights the undemocratic nature of norm localization. While the agency of local intermediaries is emphasized, access to re-presentation is not equal among different local stakeholders and the re-presentations that emerge tend to suppress diversity and (re)produce global and local hierarchies. Contrary to common assumptions in the literature, the analysis shows that localization frameworks do not account for the voices or experiences of those actors who are the targets of WPS norms, nor is localization necessarily a desirable outcome of normative encounters.

Paper 4 examines the role of the Government of Rwanda (GoR) in actively shaping norm content through policy production in the post-conflict period following the 1994 genocide. Similar to Paper 3, the paper advocates a discursive approach to the study of norms and is based on a discourse analysis of Rwanda's gender policies, which have been made available online by the GoR. The paper argues that the GoR, through the formulation of policy, has appropriated gender equality norms to serve as a central feature in the construction of a 'new' Rwandan identity. Appropriation is defined as a discursive mechanism through which meaning is negotiated and constituted, and the concept is used to describe a situation where the norm is not openly contested but serves an additional political purpose in the context in question. The political purpose of gender equality norms in the Rwandan context is linked to the GoR's political project of nation-building, economic growth and transformation of its citizens into development partners. The paper contributes to the literature on norms by highlighting the power dynamics involved when norms serve political ends and how this is salient when norm change is linked to conflict. Demonstrating how policy production is a

central meaning-making practice in norm diffusion, the paper contributes to debates about the role of actors on the receiving end in norm diffusion processes by showing how the GoR appropriates global gender equality norms and in turn assumes the role as norm provider to its citizens.

1.2 Why study Women, Peace and Security in Mali and Rwanda?

How does a resolution that was adopted twenty years ago by fifteen members of the UN Security Council have consequences for the lives of people in Mali and Rwanda today? The consequences of globalization and the increased interconnectedness of the world is key to the study of International Relations (IR) and to motivating the research presented in this thesis.

Women, Peace and Security has become a core component of international peacebuilding efforts and the international community is engaged in promoting women's rights and gender equality in countries transitioning from war to peace. It has been noted that 'ideas and knowledge often travel because people travel' (Sikkink 2011, 123), and the reality is that the international community brings 'normative baggage' (Wiener 2010), conditionalities and expectations through its presence, engagement and funding in peace processes and peacebuilding.

Further, the WPS agenda continues to be championed by a combination of stakeholders including powerful transnational activist networks (True and Wiener 2019), motivated by a belief that global policy gains may eventually lead to progress around the world, not only for women, but also for communities and societies recovering from violent conflict. Without questioning the normative aspirations contained in the WPS agenda or the intentions of these activists and other actors who seek to promote the agenda, this warrants detailed analysis of the consequences of efforts to spread the WPS agenda.

Mali only really entered the global stage after a coup d'état and civil war broke out in its northern regions in 2012. This triggered a large-scale involvement by the international community and Mali went from mainly being in the French sphere of interest in Africa to hosting the UN's most dangerous peacekeeping mission over the course of a couple of years. International involvement has also followed a diplomatic track, involving ceasefire negotiations and peace

negotiations, resulting in a framework agreement in 2015. Today, many of the activities of the international community in Mali revolve around the implementation of the 2015 peace agreement. In the years following the establishment of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) in 2013, the international community increased its presence in Mali (especially in the capital Bamako), and many NGOs opened new offices there or staffed up existing ones, and several countries established a diplomatic presence in the capital. This has created new dynamics and forms of interaction between international and Malian actors, and offered an opportunity to observe first-hand what normative encounters look like. Despite the high level of international involvement in the peace process, the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda has not yielded significant results in terms of the application of gender perspectives or addressing the low levels of women's participation.

Rwanda, on the other hand, has become famous for its high levels of women representatives in its national legislature, and the country's post-genocide trajectory in the area of women's rights has fascinated and intrigued observers and researchers in recent years. While many have celebrated Rwanda's post-conflict trajectory as a success story, the literature has grown increasingly critical towards the motives and implications of the politics of the government, including in the area of women's rights and gender equality. While Rwanda's efforts at political and legislative reform of women's rights and gender equality in the post-genocide period is well documented in the existing literature, there are few publications covering topics related to peacebuilding and gender in the Malian context, including the Women, Peace and Security agenda.

1.3 Contributions of the thesis

Theoretically, the thesis contributes to the study of norms in International Relations by offering new insights on the normative encounters that take place when norms travel. This includes advancing our understanding of how norms are constituted in normative encounters, and the roles of different actors in this endeavor. By showing how norms are constructed through meaning-making practices, I demonstrate how agents play an active role in the constitution of

norms. Through this work, the thesis challenges dominant actor categories in the existing literature.

The thesis further contributes to the theoretical literature by offering a conceptual framework for studying normative encounters and related processes of contestation, friction, localization and appropriation. These processes are explored in the different papers, where I use and develop existing theories and concepts from the literatures on the 'agency of the governed' and critical peacebuilding. By using a broad conceptualization of normative encounters and applying a variety of theoretical approaches to study these, the research also demonstrates the multiple and overlapping character of normative encounters and the intertwined nature of the 'global' and the 'local'.

Methodologically, the thesis contributes to advancing the study of norms by developing distinct analytical approaches in the different papers, and by combining a diversity of analytical approaches and data sources. Specifically, the thesis contributes to advancing existing approaches that study how norms are constituted through discourse and practice. The different analytical approaches are rooted in a common approach to the empirical study of norms which builds on interpretive, feminist and ethnographic methodologies. Important tenets in this approach are an abductive research logic, an emphasis on multiple perspectives and contextuality, and a focus on the role of situated actors in constructing social realities. An important contribution of the thesis is therefore that by analyzing meaning-making practices of situated actors, we can shed light on how normative encounters shape the meanings and trajectories of gender equality norms in war to peace transitions.

Empirically, the thesis contributes to furthering our understanding of the application and implementation of the WPS agenda in various contexts across the world. It breaks new ground by offering unique and comprehensive data on the peace process in Mali generated through extensive fieldwork. While women's roles and the normative and political changes and developments in women's rights following the Rwandan genocide are well documented in the existing literature, no such literature exists on Mali. The thesis therefore makes an important contribution by offering a comprehensive study of women's involvement in the Malian peace process, a topic which until now has remained unexplored from a norms perspective.

Finally, the thesis has relevance for practice, since the WPS agenda has become an integrated part of the liberal peacebuilding agenda and therefore potentially

impacts (although to varying degrees) on people's lives. What different actors such as the international community, the Rwandan government, or local civil society representatives 'do' with the WPS agenda impacts on people's lives and power relations globally, nationally and locally. Understanding how this happens provides a more nuanced understanding of the promises and pitfalls for gender equality and sustainable peace that WPS norms aspire to.

2 Towards a Conceptual Framework

In order to construct a conceptual framework for studying how normative encounters shape the meanings and trajectories of norms, this thesis draws on constructivist IR norms research, a field that has contributed rich insights into the constitution and life cycles of norms in international politics. Further, I build on and contribute to the literatures on the ‘agency of the governed’ in norm diffusion and transfer studies and the ‘local turn’ in critical peacebuilding research, which have taken an interest in the role of local actors in shaping the meanings and trajectories of norms. In this section, I begin by clarifying my conceptualization of norms and what this means for my understanding of the role of different actors in the constitution of norms and for how norms can be studied. I then briefly review the literatures on the ‘agency of the governed’ in norms research and the ‘local turn’ in peacebuilding research. I then explain how I build on and expand these literatures through my conceptualization of normative encounters and the related processes and actors. Finally, I summarize my conceptual framework for studying normative encounters in war to peace transitions.

2.1 On norms and their constitution

Constructivist research in the 1990s was pathbreaking in establishing norms research as a field in IR and demonstrating how norms play a role in international politics. This included looking at the role of International Organizations and norm entrepreneurs, such as civil society and transnational advocacy networks, in shaping the interests of states (Finnemore 1993; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998). Scholars focused on processes of norm emergence and norm internalization, and developed influential models to describe international norm dynamics, including the ‘norm life cycle’ model (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998), ‘boomerang’ effects (Keck and Sikkink 1998) and the ‘norm-diffusion spiral’ (Risse, Ropp and

Sikkink 1999). These scholars were driven by an ambition to demonstrate how ‘norms matter’ in international politics. In these early studies, norms were understood as having fixed meanings which influenced the behavior of different actors in the international system. However, a second wave of constructivist scholars have taken a processual view on the constitution of norms and emphasized the dual quality of norms as both structuring and constructed (Wiener 2004, 201). The research presented in this thesis adopts this conceptualization of norms as both structuring social practice and as constructed by social practice. I build on constructivist approaches that view norms as processes characterized by their ongoing constitution, and norms and their meanings are understood as dynamic, contested, and affected by the context in which they are used (Wiener 2004, 200–201; Krook and True 2012, 106). This conceptualization of norms has specific implications for how norms can be studied, and my understanding of the role of different actors in the constitution of norms.

When norms are understood as works in progress whose meaning is constantly challenged, contested, confirmed or renegotiated (Wiener 2004; 2014; Krook and True 2012; Acharya 2004), this opens up an active role for agents in constructing the meaning of norms. My conception of the relationship between structure and agency is rooted in a constructivist ontology in which agency is involved in the ongoing construction of social reality (see Wendt 1987; Hopf 1998; Guzzini 2000; 2005). This does not mean that structure is disregarded; rather, both agency and structure must be considered in the ongoing constitution of social reality (Giddens 1984; Adler 1997; Hopf 1998). Constructivists, however, do not share one specific understanding of agency, and the way agency is understood and used in this thesis is as ‘the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act’ (Ahearn 2001, 112). Scholars have criticized agency for being a Eurocentric concept that focuses too much on bargaining and suggested that we need to think about agency beyond the notion of resistance (Hastrup 2007, 26; Mahmood 2005). I therefore adopt a broad definition of agency which encompasses notions of bargaining and resistance, but also of compliance, adaptation and accommodation.

The dual quality of norms further entails an understanding of norms as constituted through social practice. Wiener (2004, 190) proposed to study ‘discursive interventions as social practices that entail and re/construct the meaning of norms’, and constructivist scholars have argued that norms themselves are dynamic processes anchored in language and in need of constant renegotiation

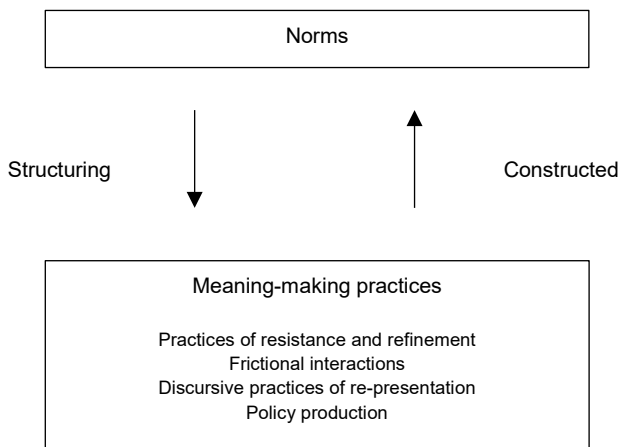
and rearticulation (Krook and True 2012; van Kersbergen and Verbeek 2007). Scholars advocating a discursive approach view norms as revealed through repeated speech acts and apply a variety of discourse analytical methodologies in their study of norms (Wiener 2009; Krook and True 2012; de Almagro 2018b). Paper 3 contributes to advancing the discursive approach to the study of norms by drawing on postcolonial insights into re-presentations of the 'Other' in colonial discourses (Hall 1992; Said 1979; Mohanty 1984; Spivak 1993) to study how local elites engage in discursive practices of re-presentation in Malian discourses on the fight against violent extremism. Paper 4 also employs a discursive approach. Starting from the premise that policy problems are constructed rather than pre-existing, Paper 4 analyzes 'problem representations' (Bacchi 2009) in Rwandan policy documents and identifies policy production as a central meaning-making practice in norm diffusion.

Norms researchers have only recently taken to analyzing norm change by studying practice (Bode and Huelss 2018; Bode and Karlsrud 2019; Holmes 2019; Stimmer and Wisken 2019). The thesis contributes to advancing the study of how norms are constituted through practice in Paper 1 by constructing a theoretical framework for studying how norms are implemented in a specific context. Drawing on the longstanding work on norm contestation as discursive interventions (Wiener 2004; Wiener 2014) and more recent work that has identified behavioral contestations such as inaction and sabotage (Stimmer and Wisken 2019), the paper studies how norm contestations manifest in practices of resistance, which object to the validity of the normative claim, and practices of refinement, which engage with the circumstances under which the norm should be applied. Rooted in the understanding of norms as structuring and constructed, the paper then discusses the role of these practices in shaping the life cycles of norms. Finally, paper 2 analyzes vertical (between global and local actors) and horizontal (between local and local actors) friction (Björkdahl and Höglund 2013) in the Malian peace process and demonstrates how actors' involvement in frictional interactions contributes to shaping norms and their trajectories through cycles of responses to friction and feedback loops.

An important contribution of the thesis thus concerns the ability of agents to shape the meanings and trajectories of norms through meaning-making practices. These include practices of resistance and refinement at the Malian peace negotiations (Paper 1), frictional interactions in the Malian peace process (Paper

2), discursive practices of re-presentation by local elites in Mali (Paper 3) and policy production by the Government of Rwanda (Paper 4).

Figure 1: The constitution of norms



2.2 Two perspectives on the role of local actors in shaping norms in war to peace transitions

In this section, I will briefly review the literature on the ‘agency of the governed’ in norms research and on the ‘local turn’ in research on peacebuilding. The concepts and theories applied in this thesis mainly build on research in these two fields.

2.2.1 The ‘agency of the governed’ in transfer and diffusion studies

In IR norms research, a nascent research field has emerged on the agency of the governed in global norm diffusion and institutional transfer (see Draude 2017). The interest in the role of local agency in such global processes builds on a realization that the theoretical assumptions that underpinned earlier research on

norm diffusion and institutional transfer did not match the reality of local actors' engagement with these processes. Contrary to assumptions about 'active' senders in the Global North as creators and disseminators of social and political standards to 'passive' receivers in the Global South, local actors on the receiving end of development cooperation, statebuilding, or peace- and security interventions significantly coproduce and change global standards, their meanings and their functions.

Scholars in this field have pointed to norm diffusion results between full acceptance or rejection (Acharya 2004, 241; Zimmermann 2014) and explored the adaptational dynamics between the global and the local by studying norm localization (Acharya 2004; Anderl 2016), vernacularization (Levitt and Merry 2009), translation (Zwingel 2012; Zimmermann 2014; Zimmermann 2017; Berger 2017), appropriation (Großklaus 2015) and contestation (Wiener 2018). This literature has highlighted the role of local actors (typically NGOs, regional organizations, local elites and activists), including vernacularizers, brokers and translators (Levitt and Merry 2009; Lewis and Mosse 2006; Berger 2017). These are understood as local intermediaries who have knowledge of and master both global and local norms, and who translate global norms into local institutions and practices that resonate with local norms and that are seen as legitimate in the local context (Levitt and Merry 2009; Berger 2017).

Although these contributions recognize norm diffusion as a multi-directional process (Zwingel 2012; Zimmermann 2017; Berger 2017), this literature still largely relies on a spatial imagination where the international remains the provider, and the local the receiver, of global norms. There is often an implicit assumption that norms that spread from the global to the local are inherently 'good', and that adaptational dynamics mainly serve to make the norm more acceptable in the local context (Acharya 2004, 248–251). This is reflected in a tendency to see norms as translated or brokered mainly by local actors (a notable exception is Berger 2017), while international actors are seen as external norm promoters (see for example Zimmermann 2017). Analysis also tends to focus on the macro level, identifying patterns and interaction between international norm senders and local translators. Despite an emphasis on interaction and having developed a vocabulary for discussing the role of local actors that go well beyond receivers, few studies empirically address the relations between different actors in so-called receiving contexts.

2.2.2 The ‘local turn’ in critical peacebuilding research

In research on peacebuilding, there has been a wave of recent scholarship that has taken a special interest in local agency and interaction as well as the analytical and normative study of peacebuilding outcomes. Scholars in this field take a critical position to the practice and outcomes of liberal peace interventions. With reference to the use of liberal rhetoric to justify international intervention by often illiberal means and outcomes, the ‘liberal peace’ is taken to mean the dominant form of internationally supported peacemaking and peacebuilding that is promoted by leading states, leading international organizations and international financial institutions’ (Mac Ginty 2010, 393; Mac Ginty and Richmond 2013, 767). Instead, it is argued that the promotion of liberal norms rarely leads to the expected outcomes, and that war to peace transitions are shaped by hybridity. According to Mac Ginty (2010, 398), hybridized versions of peace are produced through the compliance- and incentive-powers of the liberal peace, the ability of local actors to resist, ignore or subvert the liberal peace, and the ability of local actors to formulate and maintain alternatives to the liberal peace.

The local turn envisages an everyday and emancipatory peace based on a range of local agencies (Mac Ginty and Richmond 2013, 769–70) and an important aim has been to engage with and better understand ‘the local’. However, the local turn in critical peacebuilding studies has been criticized for understanding the local and international as binary opposites, an over-emphasis on Western as opposed to other international actors, a romanticized interpretation of hybrid peace governance structures, a blindness to the dominant role and power of local elites, and for overstating local resistance as well as seeing it only in relation to the international (or liberal) (Paffenholz 2015, 862–866). It has also been argued that concepts such as hybridity and ownership have been co-opted by international actors, and have ‘become new elements of intervention to be planned and administered’ (Björkdahl et al. 2016, 2).

These concerns revitalized debates on the conceptualization of different forms of local agency beyond resistance to the international. Central to this shift is the concept of ‘friction’, which has entered critical peacebuilding research in an effort to unpack the interplay between global norms, practices and actors and their local counterparts in peacebuilding sites (Björkdahl et al. 2016). Drawing on the work of anthropologist Anna L. Tsing, critical peace scholars have used the concept to analyze ‘the conflictual elements of global-local encounters, the transformation of agency and their consequences for the process of building sustainable peace’

(Björkdahl and Höglund 2013, 291). By drawing attention to these processes, it is argued, the concept of friction can capture a broader spectrum of local agency, as well as 'the complex interaction among various global and local actors and discourses during peacebuilding interventions' (Björkdahl et al. 2016, 9).

With the local turn, research on the role of local actors in peacebuilding has focused on the micro- and meso levels. This bottom-up approach is more marked than in the literature on the agency of the governed, which in turn has paid more attention to macro-level patterns of interaction or diffusion.

2.3 Conceptualizing normative encounters

In this thesis, normative encounters refer to the multiple and often overlapping encounters between 'global' and 'local' norms, actors, practices, and discourses in war to peace transitions. My understanding of normative encounters is based on the conceptualization of frictional encounters found in the peacebuilding literature (Björkdahl and Höglund 2013; Millar et al. 2013; Björkdahl et al. 2016). I use the term normative rather than frictional because the encounters studied in this thesis are centered on norms and the notion of how something ought to be. To be normative is to be prescriptive, and this 'oughtness' is a distinct quality of norms (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 891). I further use a broad conceptualization of normative encounters which builds on and develops the insights from the literatures on the agency of the governed and critical peacebuilding research. The purpose and utility of a broad approach are to highlight the diverse and multiple character of normative encounters in war to peace transitions, and to bring together the different ways of analyzing normative encounters found in the papers.

In much IR literature, 'global' tends to imply universality, hegemony and a transcending of borders and place, while 'local' usually refers to particularity, authenticity and immobility. The global and local have conventionally been studied as categories, places, sites and – as is often the case in the social sciences – as levels of analysis. A common criticism is that such conceptualizations reflect a binary and static understanding of global and local. Suzanne Buckley-Zistel (2016, 19) has highlighted the social construction of spaces and their contingency and the importance of this insight for explaining the politics behind different conceptualizations. The literature on the 'local turn' has greatly debated the study

of 'the local' in war to peace transitions and produced valuable insights on the importance of recognizing the agency of local actors, the risk of focusing on different levels or scales, and the imperative of understanding 'the local' (Schierenbeck 2015, 1026). The way feminist and postcolonial scholarship acknowledges the situatedness of knowledge and the partiality of perspective (Haraway 1988; Mohanty 1984; Spivak 1993; Epstein 2012, 295; Tickner 2003, 304) is therefore central to my conceptualization of normative encounters.

In contrast to diffusion, 'encounters' do not assume a specific direction or hierarchy among the North and the South or the 'global' and the 'local'. Rather, the concept foregrounds the experience of difference (Epstein 2012, 308), and normative encounters can thus be understood as sites for the social production of difference. The transformation that ensues is a result of the productive power (Barnett and Duvall 2005) of these encounters. Normative encounters therefore privilege the co-constitutive relationship between the 'global' and the 'local' and differently situated experiences in the production of social reality. By employing a variety of analytical approaches to the study of normative encounters, an important contribution of the research presented in this thesis is to show the entangled nature of 'global' and 'local' norms, actors, discourses and practices.

2.3.1 The processes that characterize normative encounters

Existing research has already provided many concepts and analytical tools for the study of normative encounters. IR scholars often treat many of these concepts (including localization, contestation, translation, and appropriation) as synonymous or overlapping, which creates a potential for conceptual confusion (Draude 2017, 583). For example, some refer to localization as a catch-all concept (Zimmermann 2014). Others use appropriation as an umbrella term with localization as a specific way of appropriating a norm (Anderl 2016). Others again define appropriation as a form of resistance (Großklaus 2015; van Hüllen 2017). In this thesis, I have chosen to work with different concepts in each of the four papers, reflecting the theoretical richness of the field as well as the diversity of ways in which actors engage with, and interact over, norms. The decision to work with several concepts is also a result of the abductive research logic that has guided the work with this thesis. I have chosen concepts based on which concept I found best described the patterns I observed in the data. Sometimes I started working with one concept before shifting to another based on the findings. In this section,

I explain how I use each of the concepts in the different papers, and how I modify, develop or expand existing theories.

In Paper 1, I use a conceptual framework that builds on theories of norm contestation. While originally developed to study contestations of the meanings of norms in global governance (Wiener 2004; 2014), the concept is increasingly used to analyze global norm dynamics. Starting from the assumption that norms are always contested, scholars try to show that global norms derive legitimacy from the contestation and critical engagement of stakeholders (Wiener 2018; Deitelhoff and Zimmermann 2019; 2020). While contestation scholars have mostly analyzed discursive contestations or interventions, I also draw on recent work that identifies behavioral practices of contestation such as inaction and sabotage and construct a theoretical framework for studying how contestations manifest in practices of resistance and refinement. Further, I show not only how these practices play out at the Malian peace negotiations, but also how they contribute to shaping the meaning of the global norm of women's right to inclusion in peace processes. This perspective complements the studies in the other papers by bringing the global back in.

Paper 2 uses the concept of friction to deepen our understanding of interactions between different global and local actors in war to peace transitions. While the literature on norms has been mainly concerned with global-local relations, the paper discusses both vertical (between global and local actors) and horizontal (between local and local actors) friction (Björkdahl and Höglund 2013). The analysis of frictional interactions provides a rich and detailed account of the way actors interact over norms, how they respond to friction, and the outcomes that this produces. It finds that the way different actors respond to friction shapes relationships and impacts norm trajectories by triggering feedback loops, which in turn trigger new responses and outcomes. Further, few studies have explored the relations between horizontal and vertical friction, and the paper contributes to the literature on peacebuilding by generating new insights into how vertical and horizontal friction are linked in the local context.

Paper 3 engages with one of the central concepts in the literature on local agency in norm diffusion. Much of the later work on the 'agency of the governed' builds on and expands the insights initially developed in Acharya's localization framework. Acharya describes a localization process in which foreign norms, which may not cohere with local beliefs and practices, are incorporated into local norms through acts of framing, grafting and cultural selection (Acharya 2004:

240–245). Informed by a postcolonial perspective, I expand Acharya's framework and argue that in addition to framing, grafting and cultural selection, discursive practices of re-presentation (of subjects or images) are a key part of localization processes. The article further builds on the literature on the 'agency of the governed' to show how local elites and the subaltern have differentiated and unequal access to discursive practices of re-presentation. This results in unintended consequences such as pushing Malian women to engage in new security practices that may or may not be appropriate, and which potentially put women at risk.

In Paper 4, I use the concept of appropriation to analyze the role of the GoR in shaping global gender equality norms. The appropriation perspective differs from concepts such as localization in being characterized mainly by a conflicting view of global-local relations. Much recent work on norm appropriation considers appropriation as a reaction to external pressure mainly in the form of resistance (Großklaus 2015; van Hüllen 2017). Rather than resistance or rejection of global norms, I understand appropriation as a subtle and subversive re-purposing of norms (see also Bierschenk 2006). Appropriation can be defined as the 'intentional reinterpretation of ideas across cultural, spatial and temporal contexts aimed at definitional power' (Großklaus 2015, 1254). Norm appropriation thus entails a change in political intent, as well as a change in meaning. The appropriation perspective seeks to move away from a view of local actors as passive recipients of norms and shed light on local agency when this might otherwise be obscured from view. In Paper 4, I combine the analysis of my specific conceptualization of norm appropriation with a 'what's the problem represented to be?' approach to policy analysis (Bacchi 2009). By doing so, I show how the GoR engages in policy production as a meaning-making practice in normative encounters, through which it shapes the meaning and political purpose of gender equality norms in the Rwandan context.

2.3.2 The actors that characterize normative encounters

Empirically, the thesis discusses the roles of a number of global and local actors who engage in meaning-making practices in response to normative encounters in war to peace transitions. This includes Malian women who were present at the Malian peace negotiations, representing either the government or civil society in Paper 1. Paper 2 provides a comprehensive description of the Malian women's

movement and its relations to other actors in the local context. This includes other local actors such as government representatives and women leaders affiliated with the armed groups, and international actors working in Mali. In Paper 3, I interrogate the roles of local civil society actors, government officials and NGO workers in Mali who are engaged in promoting the WPS agenda and/or work on preventing and countering violent extremism. Finally, Paper 4 focuses on the role of the Government of Rwanda (GoR).

Conceptually, the thesis engages with and refines the categories of external norm promoters and local translators or intermediaries that dominate the existing literature. Although the role of governments and national bureaucracies has been well covered in existing literature, Paper 4 makes a case for studying the role of the GoR in normative encounters, given how the government's political will is often cited as the primary cause for women's political success in post-genocide Rwanda. Paper 4 further demonstrates that through policy production and appropriation of global norms, the GoR takes on a role as norm provider to its citizens, thus blurring the lines between conventionally (global) providers and (local) receivers. The dichotomy of global norms and external norm promoters on the one hand, and local actors and context on the other is also challenged by the analysis in Paper 2, which shows that international actors are not only external senders of norms, they also play a part as translators in the local context. Finally, Paper 1 focuses on actors who usually occupy a marginal position in IR politics and scholarship, and demonstrates not only how the experiences and perceptions of these actors on the margins of IR constitute relevant data for studying norms, but also that their practices matter for the development and life cycles of norms.

The papers also discuss relations between actors in the local context. While the norms literature has had a tendency to focus on global-local interactions, Paper 2 draws on the literature on critical peacebuilding (Kappler 2013; Björkdahl and Höglund 2013) to discuss frictional interactions that may be vertical, between local and international actors, and horizontal, between local and local actors. Paper 3 explores the relations between local elites who function as intermediaries between global and local norms and practices, and the subaltern, showing how these are positioned in relation to each other in a hierarchy that is (re)produced as a result of localization. These papers also indicate that local actors have complex identities which are not always accounted for in existing analytical frameworks, rejecting assumptions about local elites as unitary actors who can be taken to represent 'the local'. For example, while members of the Malian women's

movement play a key role as translators between global and local norms, the diversity among these members and the ways they engage with global norms becomes visible through the analysis of frictional interactions in Paper 2. This highlights not only the intertwined character of the 'global' and the 'local' in normative encounters, but also how the perspectives of any group of local actors (such as civil society representatives or women leaders) are always partial and never represent the entirety of 'the local'.

2.4 A conceptual framework for normative encounters

Drawing on the above discussions, the conceptual framework that guides the analyses in the papers in this thesis starts from the premise that when norms travel from one socio-political context to another, they are shaped by the encounters that take place between norms, actors, discourses and practices. This builds on a conceptualization of norms as structuring and constructed, and acknowledges the active role of agents in shaping the meanings and trajectories of norms in war to peace transitions. Normative encounters are multiple and overlapping, and their study therefore requires a range of analytical approaches. To gain a better understanding of the processes and actors that characterize normative encounters, it has thus been necessary to bring together insights from the different literatures on the 'agency of the governed' and critical peacebuilding. This includes how insights from the literature on peacebuilding, as well as postcolonial theory (Paper 3), led me to interrogate and expand the conventional actor categories found in the literature on norms. Further, as normative encounters take place, different processes unfold. The processes that characterize normative encounters are studied in this thesis through the conceptual lenses of contestation, friction, localization and appropriation. In these processes, actors engage with and give meaning to norms through meaning-making practices. It is by making these meaning-making practices the object of analysis that I am able to study how normative encounters shape the meanings and trajectories of gender equality norms in war to peace transitions, and the role of different actors in this endeavor. The conceptual framework is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: A conceptual framework for analyzing normative encounters

Normative Encounters				
Processes	Contestation	Friction	Localization	Appropriation
Actors	Actors on the margins of IR	International and local translators	Local intermediaries (elites) and 'the subaltern'	National bureaucracies
Meaning-making practices	Practices of resistance and refinement	Frictional interactions	Discursive practices of re-presentation	Policy production

3 Global Gender Equality Norms

All norms are subject to tensions between their abstract definition and their application in any context, global or local. This is true of international norms such as the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, as well as norms that guide our everyday behavior, for example respecting your elders. When it comes to gender equality norms, this tension is particularly strong (Krook and True 2012, 112; Verloo and Lombardo 2007, 22). Whereas ‘gender’ can refer to sexual difference or the social construction of gender, ‘gender’ has also been equated with ‘women’ or contested by activists arguing that it diminishes attention to women’s particular needs (Zalewski 2010, 10; Krook and True 2012, 116). The concept of ‘equality’ is equally contested and can have several meanings. An understanding of equality as sameness implies that women should get the same opportunities and rights as men, while equality as affirming difference seeks recognition of values, capacities and identities considered feminine and is often linked with the notion of positive discrimination. Another understanding of equality is as the transformation of the (gendered) world itself, a view that is often associated with gender mainstreaming (Verloo and Lombardo 2007, 23–24).

Global gender equality norms have been formalized in a range of multilateral agreements and documents through the global promotion of gender equality and women’s human rights. The UN has played a leading role in this endeavor, supported by the activism and lobbying of feminists over time and across borders. Adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979 and later ratified by 189 countries, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is regarded as the most authoritative treaty on women’s human rights (Zwingel 2012). At the World Conference on Women, which took place in Beijing in 1995, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA) was agreed to by 189 member states. The BPfA contains 12 critical areas of concern which address basic human rights, such as the right to protection from violence, political rights, in particular the right to participation, and social, economic and cultural rights, including the right to health, education, and

economic equality. The BPfA formulated strategic objectives and actions to achieve gender equality within these 12 critical areas, highlighting in particular women's participation (gender-balanced decision-making) and gender mainstreaming (applying a gender perspective in all phases of decision-making) as strategies for achieving gender equality (Krook and True 2012, 112).

These global gender equality norms are echoed in UNSCR 1325, which urges member states to increase the representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional, and international institutions and in mechanisms for conflict prevention, conflict management, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding. Further, the resolution calls for the adoption of a gender perspective throughout the planning and implementation of peace operations and peace negotiations. Finally, it emphasizes the need for protection and respect of women's rights, including protection against gender-based violence. Since 2000, nine follow-up resolutions have been adopted by the UN Security Council, and together these ten resolutions constitute the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda thus formulate the relevance for peace and security of global gender equality norms agreed upon in CEDAW and the BPfA. I build on the work of scholars who have put forward an understanding of the WPS agenda as a 'norm bundle' consisting of a number of adjacent norms, including the prohibition of the use of sexual violence in conflict, women's right to inclusion in peace processes, gender mainstreaming, accountability for perpetrators, as well as standards and procedures for monitoring and reporting (True and Wiener 2019, 553, 558–559).

I refer to these as norms in light of their dual qualities as structuring and constructed. Valuable insights on how norms structure social practice can be found in the early constructivist norms literature, which established that norms provide standards of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity with intersubjective and prescriptive dimensions (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Klotz 1995; Finnemore 1993). These structuring qualities are among the main reasons why advocates seek to promote the WPS agenda, and the WPS agenda has been instrumental in informing development and formulation of a range of policies and programs for intervention, including mandates for UN peacekeeping operations. In addition to efforts at structuring social practice and towards outlining shared standards for behavior for actors in international peace and security, WPS norms are also constructed by social practice. This is visible in the way UN Security Council resolutions are being adopted at (ir)regular intervals,

and how implementation is characterized by a disconnect between the high expectations of WPS advocates and the limited progress made by powerful institutions and member states (Davies and True 2018). This complex, dynamic and highly contested nature of the WPS agenda reflects how WPS norms are characterized by their ongoing constitution, and scholars are increasingly referring to the WPS agenda as a work in progress (Davies and True 2018; True and Wiener 2019).

3.1 The WPS agenda and its critics

The adoption of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in 2000 was celebrated as a breakthrough for the recognition of women's roles in the prevention and resolution of armed conflict, and the ways in which conflict affects women and men differently. The focus of the WPS agenda has evolved over time, but is concentrated around three main pillars: participation, prevention and protection. In the years following the adoption of UNSCR 1325, the main focus was on increasing the number of women serving in UN peacekeeping, and the UN was criticized for being unable to 'walk the walk' with regards to mainstreaming the resolution within the organization (Raven-Roberts 2005, 43). With the adoption of UNSCR 1820 on sexual violence as a weapon of war in 2008, the focus shifted to protecting women from sexual violence during conflict. Seven of the ten WPS resolutions address sexual violence in conflict specifically (UNSCR 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015), and 2467 (2019)). In recent years, a renewed emphasis has been afforded to promoting women's participation in peace processes and this was a key theme in UNSCR 2242 (2015) and 2493 (2019). Another recent development is the inclusion of new themes in the WPS agenda, among which an important and much debated theme has been counter terrorism and countering violent extremism, introduced in UNSCR 2242 (2015).

The participation pillar has generally been considered the most transformative but has also been the most difficult to advance. Certain normative tensions in the rationales for including women in peace processes and peacebuilding can be illustrated by how there exist three main arguments in favor of women's inclusion in peace processes in the literature. The first focuses on how women's contributions are conducive to reaching an agreement or to achieving sustainable

peace (see Hunt & Posa 2001). Whether this is presented as due to biological predisposition or socialization, such an argument tends to essentialize women's contributions. This is therefore sometimes referred to as an essentialist argument and is contested. Further, women's inclusion in peace processes is justified based on arguments related to representation. It follows that because conflict is gendered, it has a differential impact on the lives of women and men, and for post-conflict outcomes to reflect these differential needs, women need to be represented (Chinkin 2003). The final argument for women's inclusion relates to how women must have an equal right to participate regardless of whether their contributions are positive or negative. Based on the provisions laid out in human rights documents such as CEDAW, women have the right to full and equal representation (Anderlini 2007).

These justifications for the inclusion of women in peace processes can also be viewed as rooted in both normative arguments and effectiveness arguments. Arguments related to representation and human rights are of a normative nature. But women's inclusion in various peacebuilding, peacemaking and peacekeeping activities have increasingly been justified in terms of effectiveness. The idea that women's inclusion in politics, peacebuilding and conflict resolution will lead to more lasting peace agreements, a lesser chance of a relapse into conflict, and more peaceful communities is an argument often put forward in policy literature and communities (see for example UN Women 2012; O'Reilly et al. 2015, 12; UN Women 2015; Paffenholz et al. 2016). A developing research agenda addresses the robustness of the relationship between inclusion of civil society and the durability of peace (Nilsson 2012; Wanis-St. John and Kew 2008). This research suggests that the participation of women's groups in peace processes can increase the likelihood of achieving durable peace (Krause, Krause and Bränfors 2018).

Finally, many scholars and studies have criticized the workings of the WPS agenda and the efforts to implement it in conflict and post-conflict settings. An important critique concerns how the agenda reproduces gender stereotypes of women as 'fragile, passive and in need of protection' (Shepherd 2011, 506). These critics have argued that the WPS agenda prioritizes a certain type of woman, overlooking aspects such as race, class, sexuality and how they intersect with gender in the WPS framework (Jauhola 2016; Pratt 2013; de Almagro 2018a). Further, the privileging of gender above other power relations has resulted in a focus on 'adding women' (Gibbins 2011; Puechguirbal 2010; de Almagro 2018a), and has contributed to the (re)production of dominant (and problematic)

subject positions of women as victims (of conflict-related sexual violence) or women as agents of change (peacebuilders) in WPS policy discourse (Shepherd 2016a). Further, the WPS agenda has been criticized for failing to reach its transformative potential. Rather than aiming at structural transformation (such as preventing violence and conflict altogether), critics argue that WPS policies seek to manage the situation of women in conflict zones (for example, by protecting them from conflict-related sexual violence) (Basu and Nunes 2012; Hudson 2012; Shepherd 2016b).

The WPS agenda has also been criticized for relying on ‘constructions of security that locate the responsibility for providing that protection firmly in the hands of elite political actors in the international system’ (Shepherd 2011, 506). This is problematic as it leads to marginalization of local women’s groups, and a failure to tap into existing resources on the ground. Empirical studies from several African countries question the assumed global nature of the liberal norms behind the WPS agenda. For example, women’s organizations in Liberia and Sierra Leone were in fact involved in work related to the WPS agenda long before the arrival of an international peacekeeping force (Barnes 2011; Wamai 2011), and debates about gender roles have historically been taking place irrespective of the WPS agenda in Somalia (Horst 2017).

4 War to Peace Transitions: Mali and Rwanda

Scholars have argued that the international promotion of gender equality and women's rights in combination with transitions to democracy and transitions out of war has contributed to changes in gender equality norms and women's rights in many African countries (Tripp 2015; Hughes and Tripp 2015; Mageza-Barthel 2015; Freedman 2015). Having studied the changes in women's rights and participation in post-conflict Africa for more than two decades, Tripp finds that African countries that had experienced conflict with high death rates or of long duration also experienced greater gains in women's political representation in the post-conflict period. Civil wars and conflicts that ended in negotiated settlements also had better chances for restructuring the political order and negotiating women's inclusion and rights (Tripp 2015; Hughes and Tripp 2015). These theories are on the other hand challenged by scholars pointing to an implementation gap between the legislative gains that have been made and their implementation in practice (Berry 2015), as well as regressions on women's rights occurring in the wake of the signing of peace agreements (Björkdahl 2012; Gomez-Suarez 2017). In this section, I elaborate on the war to peace transitions in Mali and Rwanda, and briefly discuss these in light of the theories outlined above.

4.1 Mali

In 2012, Mali experienced an armed rebellion in the north, followed by a coup d'état in March 2013. Since then, the country has endured an unprecedented multidimensional crisis, consisting of political, security, economic, and humanitarian elements. In response to the crisis, France intervened militarily to

quell the rebellion and the UN peacekeeping mission MINUSMA was established. This was followed by negotiations in Ouagadougou, resulting in a ceasefire agreement and the return to constitutional order with presidential elections in November 2013. Among increasing tensions, the parties returned to the negotiation table in 2014 and the Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation in Mali (hereafter the Algiers Agreement) was signed in Bamako in June 2015 by the Government of Mali (GoM) and two coalitions of armed groups. Several mechanisms have been adopted for its implementation, including the Agreement Monitoring Committee (CSA), the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Commission, the National Council on Security Sector Reform (SSR), the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (CVJR), and the establishment of interim authorities and joint patrol mechanisms (MOCs) in the northern regions. For the duration of my research, the Malian peace process, and the international community's engagement with the peace process, has primarily been focused on implementing the provisions outlined in the Algiers Agreement.

The population in Mali is socially and ethnically diverse, and Malian society is highly stratified and hierarchical with regard to age, gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic background. These social factors mean that power is concentrated among older men, in spite of the fact that half the Malian population is female and 48% is under 15 years old. Deep structural inequalities between men and women limit women's presence in the public arena, and women lag behind significantly in terms of literacy compared to men, at 22% compared to 45%. Women's roles, however, are not static in Mali. The internal diversity of the society means that women have varying freedoms and limitations depending on their social group. Women in Tuareg communities in the north, for instance, are known for occupying strong positions, but this example tends to be the exception (Lackenbauer et al. 2015, 30; CIA 2019; Chebli 2019).

Mali has ratified CEDAW and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the Maputo Protocol) without reservations. Beyond these documents, the Malian constitution of 1992 guarantees equal rights to all citizens regardless of sex and the country adopted a national gender policy in 2010 – although the provisions of this policy have not been fully implemented. National legislation on women's rights has, however, been a subject of controversy for many years. While the Malian state is secular, more than 90% of the population is Muslim and the tenets of Islam strongly

influence the personal and social spheres. Over the past two decades, more conservative versions of Islam have gained a stronger position in Malian society and religious leaders exert increasing influence over social and political life. Some of these religious actors openly oppose efforts to promote gender equality and women's rights and managed to block legal reform of Mali's Family Code in 2002 and 2009 (Soares 2009). However, and importantly, Malian women's rights activists continue to struggle for non-discrimination and equality before the law and have brought the case to the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR). In May 2018, the ACHPR found the government to be in violation of the Maputo Protocol and demanded it modify its legislation. The ruling specifically noted that Malian Family Code violates women's rights as recognized under international law by allowing child marriage for girls (at 15–16 years), by not always requiring consent for a marriage to be valid, and for discriminating against women in matters of inheritance (ACHPR 2018).

In December 2015, the president signed a decree calling for a 30% quota for female appointments to national institutions and legislative bodies. This action was seen as a victory and a result of many years' struggle by many of the women activists that I have spoken with in Mali. The timing of this decree is worth noting. In 2015, the peace process had offered very little in terms of including women and the government had been receiving increased attention from international partners and donors who were eager to see progress in the area of women's rights. To date, the gender quota has been applied but without regularity. Local elections in November 2016 successfully met the 30% standard, but the peace process and its related bodies and mechanisms fall short. Many activists and observers therefore remain skeptical to the degree of its application and doubt that the law's stipulations are well-known among the population (author's interviews 2017).

Mali launched its first National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325) in 2012. This work, however, was little known and implemented, due in part to its launch coinciding with the 2012 crisis. The second NAP was launched in 2015 for the period 2015–2017, and its overarching goal was to promote women's participation in the implementation of the Algiers Agreement. The second NAP suffered from a lack of funding to support its implementation, and when UN Women assessed this work in 2018, they found that only 50% of the planned activities had been carried out. It was further beset by challenges concerning how to decentralize its commitments from the national

to the local levels (République du Mali 2019). In 2019, a third NAP was developed for the period 2019–2023 by the Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family, supported by UN Women.

Since the signing of the Algiers Agreement, activists have argued that women need to play a stronger role in monitoring its implementation (Lorentzen 2017). In this regard, it is worth noting the creation of a women-led and independent consultative forum in July 2018 to monitor the implementation of the peace agreement (United Nations 2018). The forum does have the potential to promote women's meaningful participation and a gender perspective in the peace process, but it needs both financial and political support to realize this potential. The forum will need to ensure that its members are representative and that the concerns and expertise of women at the local level inform the discussions. The forum will also need to establish regular communication with other mechanisms in the peace process (such as the Agreement Monitoring Committee and the committees that work on SSR and DDR).

There are some signs that the peace process in Mali has the potential to serve as a window of opportunity for promoting women's rights and gender equality norms, but also indications that Mali may not follow the same trajectory as other countries in Africa upon which such theories are based. An increasing focus on women's inclusion in the peace process and the new quota law represent positive developments. However, recent years have brought a worsening of the security situation and a diffusion of violent conflict to the central regions of the country, where jihadist armed groups have grown in presence and organization. The implementation of the Algiers Agreement has further been slow and suffers from a lack of will from all parties. The lack of progress on implementing the peace agreement, in the fight against violent extremism, and in ending the endemic levels of corruption all resulted in the eruption of large-scale social protests in Bamako in June 2020, demanding the president's resignation. As regional mediation attempts failed, Mali saw its second military coup d'état in eight years on 18 August 2020.

Further, the gap between rhetoric and action remains a major challenge to women's rights and gender equality in Mali, illustrated by the irregular application of the gender quota. Of perhaps graver concern is the fact that Malian national legislation to date violates international conventions on women's rights. Years of campaigning have failed to correct this, in part due to forceful opposition from religious leaders in the country. Notably, the same Imam who mobilized massive

street protests against changes to Mali's family law in 2009 has emerged as a key opposition figure in the ongoing socio-political crisis. Presumably, the increasing role and influence of religious leaders in the social and political sphere will continue to pose a challenge for efforts to promote legal reform in the area of women's rights. Finally, the continued deterioration of the security situation in several regions and the 'new' socio-political crisis means that women's human rights continue to be threatened as a result of conflict in Mali. This includes increased risk of becoming victims of conflict-related sexual violence and limited access to justice for survivors.

4.2 Rwanda

Between April and June 1994, between 500,000 and 1 million people were killed in the Rwandan genocide against Tutsi and moderate Hutu. The genocide ended with military victory by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which thereafter transformed into a political party that remains in power today under the leadership of President Paul Kagame.² In order to understand the importance of applying a gender perspective to studying Rwanda's recovery, it is important to understand how the Rwandan genocide was gendered in a number of ways. Tutsi women were the targets of several propaganda campaigns both in the years leading up to and during the genocide. According to Kaitei (2014, 74), targeting Tutsi women specifically was a strategy for targeting the entire Tutsi population. This implies that gender was actively used by the perpetrators and illustrates how it represented a powerful category in the genocide. In the early stages of the genocide, men and boys (including male infants) were specifically targeted as representing the future enemy, and future soldiers of the RPF (Baines 2003, 487; Jones 2002, 73). Initially, women and girls were spared, as they were considered to pose less of a threat. However, towards the final stages of the genocide, women and girls also became the targets of the *génocidaires*³ (Baines 2003, 487; Jones 2002, 65). Further, the level and scope of rape and other forms of sexual violence stand out even in comparison with other cases known for such abuses, such as the

² For more detailed accounts of Rwanda's history and the genocide, see Lemarchand 1970; Prunier 1995; Des Forges 1999; Mamdani 2002.

³ *Génocidaires* is the term used in Rwanda for the perpetrators of the genocide.

former Yugoslavia (Jones 2002, 81). Finally, the level of women involved as perpetrators of the genocide has been highlighted as a dimension that is unique to the Rwandan case (Jones 2002; Brown 2014).

Women's organizations in post-genocide Rwanda 'have taken a leading role in rebuilding society and helping women rebuild their lives' (Burnet 2008, 371). After the genocide, Rwandan women and their organizations found themselves in a precarious situation. Many women survivors had lost their husbands to the genocide, or their husbands had fled or were imprisoned. In addition, many women suffered themselves from physical injury and psychological trauma. Communities had been destroyed, as well as the social fabric, and women faced challenges of desperate poverty having lost their homes and sources of income. Many Rwandan women now found themselves in new roles as heads of households struggling to cover the basic needs of their families as well as relatives and orphans they often had taken in. Further, the Rwandan state lacked the means to meet the needs of its people in the period following the genocide, and so women started coming together to support each other and to confront their common problems. This was not something entirely new or unique in the Rwandan context. Ever since the postcolonial period, women had organized through social centers, local groups and cooperatives, and throughout the 1980s (also a period of economic crisis and lack of state social services) there was a rapid growth in the number of women's organizations. That being said, the crisis following the genocide was a much deeper one, which, combined with extensive donor support and funding as well as supportive policies of the post-genocide government, spurred an extraordinary growth in the number of women's organizations and their activities during the late 1990s (Newbury and Baldwin 2001; Longman 2006).

Experience from civil society gave many women the skills they needed to enter politics, and in the transitional period from 1994 to 2003 the Rwandan women's movement succeeded in working with the government in order to achieve policy and legislative changes. These achievements include the classification of rape and sexual torture among the most serious crimes in the 1996 Genocide Law (Mageza-Barthel 2012, 174) and the adoption of the 1999 'Inheritance Law', which gave women the right to inherit property, but also gave them full legal rights to enter into contracts and seek paid employment, as well as own property and open bank accounts in their own name and without the permission of their husbands or fathers. Finally, the process of drafting the new constitution from 2001 to 2003

established the 30% quota for women in all decision-making bodies, as well as several other clauses protecting women's rights (Burnet 2008, 376–378).

After the 2003 elections, which gave women 48.8 % of the seats in the country's national legislature, many observers 'heralded the representation of women in the Rwandan Parliament as the dawn of a new, more "peaceful", and "equitable" age in Rwandan politics' (Burnet 2008, 362). The country has received praise for its commitment to gender equality and numerous reports describe the contribution of Rwandan women in peacebuilding and reconciliation. Yet, despite the case of Rwanda being considered by many to exemplify theories about conflict serving as a catalyst for changes to gender equality norms, this narrative is being increasingly questioned. While Tripp's argument convincingly shows how important legislative gains have been made in the aftermath of many African conflicts, other scholars have asked how these gains translate into practice. Several writers have questioned the significance of the high levels of women in parliament and the transformative potential of Rwanda's new gender equality policies, pointing to the strategic co-optation of gender equality norms by the GoR, or the unintended consequences of its policies and reforms (Longman 2006; Burnet 2008; Berry 2015; Debusscher and Ansoms 2013; Mann and Berry 2016). Others argue that the Rwandan government is only promoting these policies in order to secure international support and divert attention from its increasing authoritarianism and human rights abuses (Reyntjens 2011). Further, female parliamentarians have been criticized for simply toeing the party line rather than promoting gender-sensitive policies, making gains in the area of gender vulnerable to co-optation if up against issues deemed more important by the government (Debusscher and Ansoms 2013). The research presented in Paper 4 supports such a critical position.

5 Studying Normative Encounters

This thesis studies how normative encounters shape the meanings and trajectories of norms through a qualitative study of the war to peace transitions in Mali and Rwanda. The immaterial nature of norms makes them challenging to study. An important contribution of the thesis is therefore the development of several specific analytical frameworks, which are underpinned by a methodological approach that enables the empirical study of norms. In this section, I explain the methodological approach and data generation strategy that has guided the research for this thesis. I also reflect upon aspects of my research relating to ethics and positionality, before describing the process by which I analyzed the data. Finally, I discuss issues related to the trustworthiness of research claims and generalization.

5.1 Methodological approach

A view of norms as both structuring and constructed suggests that it is through the meanings assigned to norms by different actors that norms can influence behavior and vice versa. Further, the meanings of norms are inextricably linked to their trajectories. The study of norms and their meanings and trajectories thus requires a methodological approach that enables the empirical study of how meaning is constituted and its role in the construction of social reality. In this thesis, I have approached this challenge by drawing on interpretive, feminist and ethnographic methodologies that share certain methodological underpinnings about knowledge as subjective and situated, and which presuppose the existence of multiple intersubjectively constructed understandings about social and political events (Haraway 1988; Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 4). This includes notions of politics that account for personal and previously invisible spheres, seeing subjects as relational (rather than autonomous), and an understanding of the

world as constantly changing (Ackerly, Stern and True 2006, 7). The research for this thesis has further been informed by an abductive research logic, where empirical material and theory inform one another throughout the entire research process (from design and analysis to developing the argument) in an iterative back and forth manner (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 27; Timmermans and Tavory 2012, 170).

Importantly, these approaches have in common a particular focus ‘on specific situated meanings and meaning-making practices of actors in a given context’ (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 1; see also Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 3, Ackerly, Stern and True 2006, 4). This rests on an understanding of meanings as constituting the specific social phenomena being studied (Fujii 2018: 2) and as guiding people’s behavior (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 8), as well as an understanding of people as agents that actively and collaboratively construct (and change) their social, political and cultural worlds, including concepts (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 46). This means that I acknowledge that concepts have situated and contextualized meanings that are co-generated (often also by the researcher), and I adopt a processual view of norms as constantly confirmed, negotiated, redefined, rejected or potentially transformed through meaning-making practices such as language, acts, and artefacts (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 42). Rather than establishing causal relationships between variables, the methodological approach used here ‘seeks to explain events in terms of actors’ understandings of their own contexts’ (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 52).

Given the focus on situated meanings and contextuality, my study of normative encounters requires comprehensive understanding and knowledge of the settings in which the encounters are studied. The research presented in this thesis joins an ongoing discussion in peace research that aims to unite different scholarly traditions in order to better understand experiences of conflict and peace, ‘and the transitions between the two’ (Millar 2018, 1). Ethnographic Peace Research is a broad approach to peace research that can be deployed in various ways in specific research settings, and which promotes methodological and disciplinary diversity (Millar 2018, 260). Key strengths of the approach are a diversity of methods, thick description, reflexivity, explaining how and why in addition to simply what one is observing, and collaborative or emancipatory research (Mac Ginty 2008; Millar 2014; Millar 2018). In order to be able to study how norms are constituted through meaning-making practices, I have relied on a combination of methods, including participant observation, informal conversations, formal interviews and

the collection of documents (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 3; Millar 2018). These methods are described in detail in Section 5.2.

In this thesis, Mali and Rwanda are understood as research settings where cases of normative encounters in war to peace transitions are studied (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 57; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 31). Researchers are increasingly ‘following’ ideas or policy issues (or norms) in ‘multi-sited’ studies, which investigate a phenomenon at various sites across or within settings (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 66). Carried out using an abductive research logic, the studies of normative encounters in Mali and Rwanda speak to each other and have informed further analysis and theoretical and conceptual development as the work with the thesis advanced.

When selecting research settings for this study, I sought to identify war to peace transitions with high international presence and involvement, where different (international and local) actors work to promote the WPS agenda. The selection of settings was also driven by research puzzles regarding whether war to peace transitions represent ‘windows of opportunity’ to promote gender equality norms, and what happens to WPS norms when they encounter war to peace transitions. With the developments that had taken place in Mali between 2012 and 2015, Mali was now *de facto* a war to peace transition and had become a very interesting setting in which to study the phenomena that I was interested in. The significant increase in the level of international engagement after 2012 made Mali a particularly interesting war to peace transition for the study of normative encounters. Based on the little anecdotal evidence I had gathered from different reports, media, and conversations, the WPS agenda did not seem to have been a priority in the ongoing peace process, potentially putting theories about ‘windows of opportunity’ into question. That being said, literature on the WPS agenda or women’s participation in the peace process was scarce to non-existent, making it difficult to get a full picture. This lack of scholarly literature describing and investigating the gender dimensions of Mali’s peace process was further seen as an argument for selecting Mali.

Rwanda is a setting that has seen high levels of international engagement both during and post-conflict, despite the often problematic nature of this relationship. While the Malian peace process is still ongoing and there are few publications dedicated to the role of women or gender equality in relation to the peace process and the conflict, changes in gender equality norms and women’s rights in the post-genocide period are well documented in the existing literature on Rwanda. The

Rwandan research setting supplements the research on Mali in two key ways. First, while Mali seemed to be falling short of expectations to promote the WPS agenda in the peace process, Rwanda's post-conflict trajectory is often understood to confirm theories about 'windows of opportunity' for the promotion of gender equality norms post-conflict (see for example Mageza-Barthel 2015). Second, Rwanda offered the added possibility of studying the meaning of norms at different moments of war to peace transitions. Rwanda has been considered a post-conflict setting since 1994. Therefore, the study of Rwanda provided an opportunity to analyze normative encounters in a post-conflict setting, in addition to observing the dynamics of a peace process in Mali that was still ongoing.

5.2 Data generation and methods

This thesis is based on two datasets generated from two different research settings: Mali and Rwanda. Data generation focused on how people understand, talk about, practice and/or work with the norms embedded in the WPS agenda in these two settings. Dataset I consists of 65 semi-structured interviews and participant observation in Bamako, Mali. Dataset II consists of 8 policy documents by the Government of Rwanda. Three out of four articles in the thesis are based on dataset I, and this dataset is therefore given most attention in the following presentation.

5.2.1 Dataset I: Mali

Between February 2017 and June 2019, I conducted fieldwork in Bamako over the course of five trips, lasting four and a half months in total. Mali is demarcated as a 'red zone' on the maps offering travel advice published by the foreign offices of several Western countries (Hagberg 2019), and my biggest reservation against choosing Mali as a setting for my research was that I didn't know whether the security situation would permit meaningful fieldwork and data generation. I approached this uncertainty by carrying out a shorter fieldwork trip in February 2017, where I stayed with a friend who worked for a UN agency in Bamako. It turned out that traveling outside the capital was not an option, but in Bamako I

could move around freely without any issues. Based on this experience, I decided to return in September 2017 for approximately three months.

During fieldwork in Bamako, I familiarized myself with Malian society and the ongoing peace process, and it was useful to be able to carry out multiple research stays. The first stay in February 2017 was also helpful in refining the focus of my research. For example, the issue of women's roles in the fight against violent extremism was a topic which interviewees brought up in several of the conversations I had during this initial stay, prompting further investigation. After the first fieldwork in February 2017, I also made several discoveries. I realized that while I could converse in French and had good knowledge of the WPS agenda, I did not have the vocabulary to discuss the WPS agenda in French at the level I wanted. I further lacked training in conducting qualitative interviews in French. I therefore hired a French private tutor when I returned home and asked for lessons on how to formulate questions and follow-up questions during interviews. I also identified texts about the WPS agenda and women's rights and gender equality in French to read and discuss in preparation, and I read books and articles in French to improve my language skills. When I returned to Bamako in September that same year, I was more confident and better prepared for carrying out high quality data generation.

Semi-structured interviews

Interviews are a method that can generate data about events, perspectives and discursive strategies that might otherwise be difficult to produce (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 102). As part of my fieldwork, I conducted 65 semi-structured interviews with 20 men and 53 women, in French, English or Norwegian (a list of interviews is provided in the Appendix). All interviews, bar one, were conducted in Bamako. Underpinned by interpretivist methodological assumptions, the purpose of interviews are to learn how interviewees make sense of the world by engaging them in dialogue, and to obtain descriptions of their life-worlds that will help the researcher to interpret the meaning of the described phenomenon (i.e. women's participation in the peace process) (Fujii 2018, 8; Kvale 2007, 53). Interviews in many cases also provided important background and contextual information. The interviews were used as the primary data for the analysis in Papers 1, 2 and 3.

Selection and recruitment of interviewees

My fieldwork and data generation strategy were driven by an interest in learning about women's participation in the peace process from multiple perspectives. Gaining exposure to multiple perspectives on the research topic contributes to the 'thickness' of research (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 51; 85). I targeted local and international actors who were involved with the peace process, and/or with women's participation in the peace process. Despite being heavily affected by insecurity and conflict, broader segments of the Malian population have only been marginally included in the peace process and implementation of the different mechanisms stipulated in the Algiers Agreement (Lorentzen et al. 2019, 7). This meant that when I wanted to talk to actors who had been involved with the peace process, these were mostly elites. The advantage of this, however, was that it overcame some of my limitations in language and mobility. Due to the security situation, I could not travel outside the capital Bamako, and while I speak French, I do not speak any of the other national languages. Malian elites, however, speak French and even when they are not based in Bamako, most visit the capital regularly. Several interviews were conducted during such short visits by Malian elites to Bamako, also facilitated by the length of my fieldwork, which made it more likely that my stay in Bamako would overlap with their visits.

Interviewees mainly belonged to three (broad) categories: Representatives from the international community working in Bamako (diplomats, UN staff, NGO staff), individuals working for the government (ministries and other government bodies, peace process mechanisms), and Malian civil society representatives (women's organizations, other civil society organizations, researchers, activists, and others involved in or working with the peace process). I used different entry points to gain access to potential interviewees, including contacts at the University of Bamako, the Norwegian embassy, and Norwegian NGOs who work in Mali. I would also contact individuals and organizations directly, who I identified based on media and other reports, or on information I received during interviews. I then used these as a starting point for continued snowballing. Sometimes, these different entry points ended up with the same potential interviewee, which I took as an indication that this was a person I should interview.

Civil society representatives – especially women's activists and members of the women's movement – were a group of particular interest, since these are also identified in the existing literature as important actors who translate global norms. This is one reason why the number of interviews with local actors is higher than

with international actors. Another is that many of my interactions with international actors were in the form of informal meetings and conversations. Due to the nature of social relations in Mali, members of the women's movement are often from a particular social background, and relatively senior. While these represent an important source of knowledge regarding how the women's movement has been included in the work to promote WPS, I also tried to expand my selection of interviewees to include young people, and people from different segments of civil society. Further, the majority of interviewees were women, which was expected given the topic of my research. However, when seeking to elicit descriptions and experiences of how different actors have worked with women's participation in the peace process, the experiences of men are also relevant. This is reflected in the fact that men constituted 27.4 % of the interviewees.

When approaching potential interviewees, I presented them with an information letter about my research (see Appendix). This letter contained information about the project, how the data would be used, and information about informed consent and confidentiality, as well as my contact information. I carried hard copies of this letter in French and English with me at all times during fieldwork, so that when I met someone who might be a potential interviewee, I could give them a copy of the letter. I would usually email or phone potential interviewees to request an interview, often on the basis of a previous meeting or an introduction offered by someone else. I always attached a copy of the letter in my emails and offered a hard copy at the beginning of each interview.

Conducting the interviews

Having ensured that the letter of information explaining the study and all procedures was received by the interviewee prior to the interview, I also repeated this information orally at the beginning of each interview. The interviewee then had the opportunity to ask any questions about the study before giving their informed consent. I also asked if I could record our conversations, explaining what would happen to the recording. Most people agreed to this, but some said no and in those cases I relied on note-taking and made sure to type up my notes immediately following the interview. I then explained how the interview would proceed, indicating that I had about seven main topics that I would like to discuss. At this point, I also emphasized that it was important for me to find out what they thought about the different questions, and that it was my goal to try to understand how they see the promotion of women's participation in the peace process, and/or

how they experience (working in) this area. I always tried to be mindful of people's time. I did this by clarifying how long I thought the interview would last (one hour). Sometimes people said they could only give me a half hour; others were very generous with their time. When the time they had agreed to spend on the interview approached, I asked if they wanted to wrap up or if they would like to continue with a couple more questions.

The interviews conducted for this research are semi-structured, meaning that while an interview guide was developed and used for all the interviews (see Appendix), I also adapted my questions to each interview situation and interviewee (Kvale 2007, 53). I also tried to learn from each interview and to remain open as to what might constitute relevant data, since it can be difficult to know until one begins analyzing the data more purposefully (Fujii 2018, 54–54). One thing I quickly learned was that asking people questions about things they didn't really know could create awkward situations. I therefore started the interviews by trying to get to know the interviewee, through asking questions about their work or background that was relevant to my research (such as activism). I would then adapt the following questions based on the answers to these initial questions. Sometimes I only posed a few very open questions which sparked elaborate replies and stories.

After the initial questions, I had a number of topics or questions that interested me and for this the interview guide was very useful. These questions concerned people's perceptions and experiences with UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda, collaboration with international and local actors, and women's participation in the peace process and in public life more generally. I also asked about examples of events or processes where women had participated, as well as examples of instances where this may have been difficult, or of experiences of resistance to women's participation. Finally, I had one question concerning women's roles in the fight against violent extremism. Many of the questions were relatively open ended, trying to elicit descriptions of the interviewees' own experiences.

During interviews, I usually took a minimum of notes such as key words or phrases, even when the interviews were recorded. I found that this helped me remember, stay focused, and signaled to interviewees that their statements were important. I also observed and noted the setting, interviewees' gestures and body language, as well as the general ambiance and interviewees' attitudes towards me and my research (Fujii 2018, 59–60). Very often, interviews would take place either in someone's office or their home, offering observations that sometimes

helped me contextualize and interpret what was said during interviews. After each interview I completed a 'reflection note' containing this information and reflections about how the interview went, whether interviewees said something I didn't understand, and whether there was anything specific that I needed to follow up on or keep in mind for future interviews.

Participant observation

While interviews are well suited for learning how research participants make sense of the world and how they attach meaning to different social phenomena, they are less suited for providing observational data outside of an interview setting, and for observing the way different actors interact (Fujii 2018, 9–10). For my research, I also wanted to understand how different actors, international and local, worked and interacted on issues related to women's participation in the peace process. I therefore attended seminars, workshops and events organized by civil society, international donors and the government. On these occasions, as well as other professional and social occasions, I engaged in informal conversations with various people about all kinds of issues relevant to my research. Participant observation in this context thus meant being present and not only observing but sometimes also actively participating in workshops, seminars, meetings, conversations and interactions. I used fieldnotes to record my observations.

During my second fieldwork trip from September to December 2017, I was affiliated with the University of Bamako as a guest researcher, which was very useful as it facilitated engagement and exchange with Malian intellectuals and experts. I realized that the long duration of my stay had some clear advantages, especially in terms of forging relationships and building trust which in turn could transform into access to interviewees or events. During three shorter visits in 2018 and 2019, I relied more on informal participant observation and conversations, and these repeated visits allowed me to observe developments in the work on women's participation in the peace process and the WPS agenda over time. I experienced that I was increasingly being invited to workshops or meetings about the WPS agenda, and I got the opportunity to present preliminary findings of my research to a group of international actors and engage them in a discussion based on my presentation. The insights generated through fieldwork and participant observation informed my work throughout all stages of the research and with all the papers for which Dataset I was used.

Other methods

Documents form an important part of the research setting under investigation and can provide information about the setting itself or wider contexts (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 122). Throughout the research process, I have collected a large set of documents on Mali. Among these are copies of government policies such as gender policies and national action plans, the UN Secretary-General's quarterly reports on Mali, the reports from the UNSC Informal Working Group on WPS, reports on the peace process (etc.). The Malian national action plans on preventing and countering violent extremism, and on the implementation of UNSCR 1325, were used as secondary data for the analysis in Paper 3. I also received a large number of documents from informants including organizational policies, reports, concept notes and unpublished papers and reports. I collected and read these different types of documents during the entire research process to try to understand how people worked with promoting WPS in Mali.

Together with my observations, interviews and notes, these different forms of data constitute a comprehensive 'data corpus', referred to as Dataset I in this thesis. The generation and broad examination of different forms of evidence promotes the 'thickness' of interpretation so important in interpretive research, and enables me as a researcher to develop and check my inferences during data generation and analysis as different forms of evidence can be used to illuminate others (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 86; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 102). For example, the interviews helped me understand what I observed, and offered interviewees' interpretations of different situations or observations. Participant observation in turn helped me interpret the interview material and facilitated thick description. The various documents I received from informants or collected online were useful in corroborating (and sometimes challenging) the information received through interviews and participant observation.

5.2.2 Dataset II: Rwanda

During the research for this thesis, I have treated documents as a source of information about the settings or topic of study, and as a site for the articulation of norms. The latter is the case with dataset II (as well as the national action plans in Paper 3), where the primary data consists of policy documents produced by the

Government of Rwanda and made publicly available on their official websites. Eight such national policy documents constitute the main empirical data for the analysis in Paper 4. The advantages of using publicly available policy documents as data are many. Their accessibility is an advantage in itself, which also increases transparency. It is less sensitive than participatory methods, as you avoid issues related to informed consent and confidentiality. That being said, policy documents are social products, produced in context, and must be critically examined (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 128–130). Policy documents in particular sometimes provide limited background information of the context in which they are produced and can be formulated in an overly technical and bureaucratic manner. I therefore complemented the analysis of policy documents with other methods.

In addition to the online collection of policy documents, I visited Rwanda in February 2016 and April 2017, each visit lasting about two weeks. During these visits, I had meetings and conversations with civil society representatives and researchers in Kigali. I observed the annual commemoration of the 1994 genocide (Kwibuka) in April 2017 and visited genocide memorials in and around Kigali. These interactions and observations, my fieldnotes, and a review of scholarly literature and reports were useful for developing a better understanding of the Rwandan setting. The choice of using publicly available documents as the primary data for the analysis in Paper 4, rather than for example interviews, was a consequence of challenges related to getting access to carry out interviews and more extensive fieldwork in Rwanda.⁴

5.3 Ethical reflections and positionality

In the work with this thesis, I have strived to conform to the relevant ethical norms and guidelines throughout the entire research process.⁵ This includes taking the

⁴ Researchers planning to carry out fieldwork in Rwanda are required to get a research permit from the Government of Rwanda. Despite repeated efforts, I was not able to obtain such a research permit.

⁵ The majority of funding for this project was awarded as part of a grant to the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) from the Research Council of Norway for the project 'Equal Peace? Women's Empowerment and Multicultural Challenges in War-to-Peace Transitions'. The

necessary measures to secure research participants' informed consent and confidentiality during data generation and in the articles and presentations which constitute the output. Reflections on ethical considerations have been incorporated in the preceding discussions on data generation, but some key aspects are elaborated on here. Considering the potential dangers and security concerns for all involved, it bears mentioning that the security situation in Mali is fragile. However, the conflict has played out in the northern, and currently central, part of the country, while the capital Bamako is considered relatively safe. As a precaution, I limited my research to the capital and implemented travel security procedures in collaboration with my employer for preparation, reporting (sign of life), and debriefing, including hostile environment training and first aid courses. During all my visits to Bamako I have stayed with friends rather than in hotels, and I have been in close contact with the Norwegian Embassy who were aware of my presence and activities in Bamako. I also recruited a reliable taxi driver, making it safer and easier to get to people's offices or homes for an interview. Through these measures, I sought to minimize the risks for myself and the research participants in this study.

To protect the confidentiality of the research participants, each interviewee has been assigned a number that will identify the interview transcript to keep the identities of participants confidential. The recorded interviews were transcribed in their original language by me or a research assistant. Research assistants had to sign a contract stating that they would not share any of the files or the information therein, and that these would be deleted when the work was finished. No names of research participants appear either in my notes or in the transcribed interviews, and the audio files will be deleted upon the completion of the project. There are, however, certain conditions under which complete confidentiality may not be possible. Persons who are already publicly visible, such as senior civil servants, prominent government officials, or civil society actors, may be identifiable because of their public stature. This would particularly apply to people who have spoken publicly about these issues, and thus have established a track record that the statements made in the interview could be compared to. To protect these people, I had a discussion with them about the potential risks and the limits to the anonymity that I could offer.

research has therefore been registered with the Norwegian Social Science Data Services to ensure that it is in accordance with § 7-27 of the Norwegian Personal Data Act.

As mentioned, I took great care to explain to interviewees their rights and my plans for ensuring their confidentiality. All interviewees were comfortable being referred to in terms of their organizational affiliation (such as MINUSMA staff, member of women's movement etc.). Mali is not known for restricting free speech, and this was reflected in how interviewees behaved in interviews. I therefore did not get an impression that my research was politically sensitive. When it comes to carrying out fieldwork in Rwanda, one could argue that these concerns are reversed: It is considered safe to travel around the country and infrastructure is good; however, the setting is highly politicized and characterized by the government's strong control over the population. As an outsider, it can be difficult to build trust, and establishing personal relationships in the field can be challenging (Thomson 2010). In this setting, safeguarding anonymity and confidentiality and following local rules and regulations for research conduct are crucial to ensuring the security of interviewees. When I was unable to obtain a research permit from the Government of Rwanda for my research, I therefore did not consider it ethically responsible to continue.

In addition to reflecting on ethical considerations, researchers should also reflect upon how power, privilege and other aspects of positionality affect access and working relationships during research (England 1994; Fujii 2018, 82–83). I therefore tried to prepare and adapt by considering the way different aspects of my identity intersected and were understood by people I interacted with. This included how my gender, class, age, nationality, education, professional background and language skills, but also decisions about dress and places to meet, affected the way people perceived my identity. I therefore prepared for fieldwork by strengthening my language skills and asking people who knew the Malian context well how I should proceed when approaching people for interviews, and about ideas for places to meet. Overall, I experienced that people were very accommodating and willing to talk to me, reflecting the hospitality that Malians are known to extend towards foreigners. My foreignness thus most likely helped secure access to interviewees. International actors were also generally very willing to talk to me and expressed curiosity about my research.

I realized that my positionality also differed depending on who I was talking to or interacting with, which underlines how researcher identity is also co-constructed (Shehata 2006). Malians usually considered me an outsider, except when women's activists saw me as an ally in their work (see Paper 2 for a discussion on this). However, among international actors in Bamako I had more of an insider

role. I lived with a friend who worked for a UN agency and who had friends in the expat community. International actors often saw me as a fellow expat, but judged me as professionally relevant varyingly, depending on their line of work and their level of engagement with the WPS agenda. It was challenging when people who worked on issues relevant for my research, but not directly on gender or WPS, did not find it pertinent to talk to me. However, the way people perceived my identity also changed throughout the time I was doing fieldwork as I became more experienced, my language skills improved, and I published some of the findings from my research, gradually establishing myself as an expert in the field.

5.4 Analyzing the data

The task of analyzing the significant amount of data generated for this research at first seemed quite overwhelming. While some initial themes already stood out as interesting during data generation, I needed to get a better overview of the data in a systematic way that would also be able to accommodate my abductive research logic. Thematic analysis, which is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting themes within a dataset (Braun and Clarke 2006, 79), stood out as an appropriate method for this task. It is used in many kinds of qualitative analysis and takes the form of an ‘iterative and reflective process that develops over time’ (Nowell et al. 2017, 4). Further, thematic analysis is a flexible yet structured approach to handling data, useful for summarizing key features of large datasets (Nowell et al. 2017, 2). Since I was working with a rather comprehensive dataset, I chose to use NVivo software to code the interviews.

Following Braun and Clarke’s (2006, 87) recommendations on the phases of thematic analysis, I started by reading through all the transcripts and taking notes of themes in each interview that stood out as important, interesting, relevant and/or surprising. This helped me familiarize myself with the data, and to generate initial codes. Based on this exercise, which was also informed by my conceptual framework, interview guide and impressions formed during data generation, I coded the data into broad themes using NVivo. Some of these themes had sub-themes, some of which were coded at this stage and others at a later stage when working on the individual papers. Reflecting an abductive logic of analysis, I was continually searching for, reviewing and refining/defining themes, also continuing

the analysis as I was working on and writing the different papers. This initial bottom-up and data-driven approach to analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006, 83) helped me get an overview of my data and to divide it into more manageable subsets for each paper.

The themes for the papers thus emerged from this process and reflections during fieldwork. Having coded the interviews using NVivo, I was able to extract instances from my data on specific themes. Paper 1 focused mainly on the codes Women's participation in Algiers and Women's participation in Ouagadougou and before, but I also reviewed other codes. For Paper 2, the codes Women's participation after Algiers, Understandings, Practices, Relationships, WPS and gender (equality) were the most important. The subset for Paper 3 was identified based on a particular analytic interest in the topic of violent extremism. A copy of the final codebook is included in the Appendix. As the themes coded in NVivo were still relatively broad, when working on the analysis for the individual papers I would export the coded data from NVivo to word documents and continue the process of coding and analysis manually. This involved going back to the individual interview transcripts to check statements, and to remind myself of the context of interviews and statements. I also continued to work with the transcripts in their original language as much as possible, only translating the quotes that I was going to use in the papers.

While the initial analysis and coding was data-driven, for Papers 1 and 2 I used analysis-driven thematic analysis informed by the theoretical frameworks I employed in the papers (Braun and Clarke 2006, 84). This further served to condense the rich descriptions from the interviews into 'meaning units' that then became the subject of more extensive interpretation and analysis (Kvale 2007, 110). Here, thematic analysis was particularly useful for examining the perspectives of different research participants and highlighting similarities and differences (Nowell et al. 2017, 2). This method was useful for identifying practices of resistance and refinement in Paper 1, and vertical and horizontal friction between international and local actors in Paper 2. In Paper 2, I combine thematic analysis with ethnographic analytical methods including thick description and the analysis of participant observation and fieldnotes (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Millar 2018).

While the analyses in Papers 1 and 2 focus on understanding the meanings and logics behind what is said and told (Fujii 2018, 75), the analyses in Papers 3 and 4 have an added emphasis on how it is said and told (Kvale 2007, 115). In Paper

3, I conducted a postcolonial discourse analysis of the interview data. When conducting discourse analysis, the data generated through interviews serve to facilitate investigation of the various social presentations of the self and the focus is on 'how the talk is constructed and what the consequences are of the different discursive presentations of a social situation' (Kvale 2007; 115). The choice of using discourse analysis for Paper 3 grew out of an interest in how women and their roles in violent extremism were talked about in my data. Postcolonial theoretical perspectives on re-presentations of the 'Other' in colonial discourses informed the analysis and directed me towards analyzing discursive practices of re-presentation defined as the production of subjects or images along with their social capacities and relations to one another (Said 1979; Mohanty 1984; Hall 1992; Spivak 1993). I analyzed the interview transcripts with a view to uncovering how women were re-presented in the discourse. This was useful because it helped me to identify dominant and alternative re-presentations of women in the discourse, as well as how the dominant re-presentation of women as 'New Security Actors' relied on the (re)production of gendered and colonial difference. This not only revealed certain expectations for women's roles and behavior in the fight against violent extremism, but also pointed to the possible consequences that unequal access to re-presentational practices may have for differently positioned actors.

Paper 4, which draws on dataset II, is a policy analysis of Rwandan national policy documents. I use Carol Bacchi's 'what's the problem represented to be?' (WPR) approach to policy analysis, which assumes that policies not only provide solutions, but also play a key role in defining the problems for which solutions are proposed (Bacchi 2009). Further, problem representations are elaborated in discourses, and we are governed through policies and the problem representations that they contain. The analysis therefore seeks to identify the implicit problems in the policy documents being analyzed. Finally, the way problems are represented has an effect on the types of solutions imaginable and may therefore also have implications for those that are governed by these policies (Bacchi 2009, 16). WPR policy analysis focusing on identifying problem representations is therefore useful for assessing the implications of policy discourses and the role of policy production in shaping norms in the national context.

5.5 Reflections on trustworthiness and analytical generalization

Interpretive, feminist and ethnographic methodologies share a commitment to reflexivity in research. Reflexivity is about acknowledging and understanding the relationship between the researcher, the research, and the social world in which this research is carried out (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 15; Ackerly and True 2008). It entails, but is not limited to, reflections about ethical considerations and researcher positionality, and impacts the knowledge claims that can be made based on the study (Fujii 2018, 82). Reflexivity can and should be exercised throughout every stage of the research process, and this has also been the case in my work with this thesis. That being said, different stages prompted different reflections, some more eye-opening than others. For example, I often felt that when using theories and concepts from IR norms theory I was unable to completely free myself from many of the assumptions in that literature which I was at the same time critical to, such as conceptualizations of the Global North as an ‘active’ norm sender and the Global South as ‘passive’ receiver. The conceptualization of normative encounters is an effort to address this in the overarching framework of the thesis, and seeks to avoid perpetuating dominant narratives and power hierarchies that often overlook the complex identities of local (non-unitary) actors and the dynamics of norms as being both co-produced and mutually transformative through an interplay of encounters rather than through ‘active’ sending and ‘passive’ receiving. Further, who I chose to interview was influenced by my research questions, which again were influenced by the literature I had read. When analyzing the empirical material, I realized that this had an impact on who were considered relevant actors and who was given voice. I discuss this issue in Paper 3.

Methodological debates in Political Science are evolving towards an increased appreciation of distinct criteria for evaluating the trustworthiness of research claims in qualitative research (see Lincoln and Guba 1985; Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 91–113). For interpretative research that is conducted with the goal of understanding contextualized meaning-making and which is based on epistemological understandings of knowledge as situated and partial, trustworthiness of research claims must be evaluated based on the ability of the researcher to reflect upon their methodological and ethical choices, as well as their

positionality, throughout the research process (reflexivity). Evaluations of trustworthiness are in turn made possible through transparency about how evidence was generated and knowledge claims produced (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 81). Sections 5.1 to 5.4 provide detailed descriptions about the methodological choices involved in the design, data generation and analysis, as well as reflections on ethics and positionality. Trustworthiness of research claims is further advanced through an engagement with different forms of evidence (Section 5.2) and the systematicity by which these different forms of evidence are analyzed (Section 5.4) (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 86 and 113).

Given the emphasis on situated meanings and contextuality, what claims to knowledge can I make beyond the settings studied in this thesis? In qualitative research, analytical generalization is about the extent to which knowledge generated through one study may be used as a guide to what might occur in another situation (Kvale 2007, 129). This may be achieved through providing rich description of the setting(s) and high-quality description of the data generation process, so that readers may determine the relevance of the findings for other contexts (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 48). According to Schwartz-Shea and Yanow (2012, 47), the aim of interpretive research is not so much to generalize but rather to theorize on the basis of knowledge that makes clear its connections to the specific settings and people who contributed to generating that knowledge, often revising or expanding existing theories (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 29). I have sought to do that by engaging with existing theories and constantly seeking to develop these through abduction. Further, conceptualizations and theories produced on the basis of this kind of research may have relevance beyond their immediate context. Through its contributions to scholarship on norms and the WPS agenda more broadly, my study of normative encounters and WPS norms in Mali and Rwanda, two settings at different 'moments' of transition, can therefore contribute to a better understanding of these phenomena in other settings undergoing war to peace transitions.

6 Conclusion

The purpose of this concluding discussion is to take a step back and reflect upon the insights this thesis has provided about the processes that take place when the WPS agenda is promoted in war to peace transitions. Section 6.1 summarizes the individual insights generated in each paper and the added value of bringing these insights together under a shared conceptual framework that explains how normative encounters shape the meanings and trajectories of gender equality norms. Section 6.2 discusses the research in broader, ongoing debates.

6.1 Summary of questions and findings

Through four papers, this thesis has sought to address the overarching question of how normative encounters shape the meanings and trajectories of gender equality norms in war to peace transitions, and how these encounters can be studied.

Paper 1 asks: How are global norms about women's inclusion in peace processes implemented 'in practice' in the context of peace negotiations, and how does practice contribute to the norm life cycle? The paper's central argument is that actors contribute to shaping the meaning and trajectories of norms by engaging in practices of resistance and refinement. The findings show that despite widespread practices of resistance, there was a high level of concessions indicating acceptance of the norm of women's right to inclusion. However, different actors also engaged in practices of refinement as observed through a number of disagreements over how the norm should be implemented 'in practice'. These disagreements concerned whether the best way to include women would be directly at the table, through civil society hearings, or from a distance (how), whether women should be included during negotiations or in the reconciliation phase (when), and whether women should be included as civil society

representatives or as members of negotiation teams (who). Further, women's activism and pressure from international partners often resulted in a shift from practices of resistance to practices of refinement, such as when practices of resistance initially excluded women's organizations from the Algiers negotiations. While Malian women's activists campaigned for women's organizations to be represented directly at the peace table, practices of refinement led to their indirect participation through civil society hearings.

The analysis further indicates that practices of refinement may serve to weaken the norm through the development of more precise operating procedures which begin to resonate across different contexts. This can be observed through the increased implementation of practices such as civil society hearings and other consultative mechanisms across various contexts including Mali, Colombia, Guatemala and Sri Lanka, indicating a potential reformulation of women's inclusion as indirect participation. The findings in this paper therefore suggest that if practice contributes to the norm life cycle and has a constitutive effect on norms, then it is important for women's organizations to access peace negotiations where these practices are located, and norms are shaped.

Paper 2 asks: What characterizes frictional interactions between different (local and international) actors when norms travel? How do frictional interactions affect norm trajectories? The paper argues that when different actors respond to friction, this shapes power relations and triggers feedback loops, which in turn trigger new responses and outcomes. Among the findings are that international actors respond to vertical friction by adaptation, creating spaces for empowerment such as the Women Leaders Platform. Vertical frictions are further characterized by a pull towards increased homogenization of women as a group and their roles as peace agents. Although empowerment and inclusion were the intended outcomes, vertical friction sometimes also resulted in disempowerment and exclusion when women did not comply with global WPS norms and the expectations of international actors. Moreover, global norms were not always able to influence local norms and practices, and sometimes vertical friction was characterized by co-option through the resilience of local practice. Rather than producing new spaces for empowerment, this resulted in superficial change and 'empty' practices.

Horizontal frictions also surfaced in response to the homogenizing pull of vertical friction, when women representing civil society and women representing the armed groups adapted their strategies to define insiders and outsiders in the Women Leaders Platform, which resulted in women 'as a group' appearing more

fragmented. Horizontal frictions within the women's movement were on the other hand met with resistance and co-option. This reinforced existing power dynamics – empowering and including some women, while disempowering and excluding others. The analysis of different actors' responses to friction shows that while vertical friction sometimes produces spaces for empowerment such as the Women Leaders Platform, responses to horizontal friction seek to define who belongs in those spaces and impacts whether those spaces will be empowering or disempowering (and for whom).

Paper 3 asks: How are global norms about women's participation in peacebuilding and conflict resolution articulated in discourses about preventing and countering violent extremism in Mali? What are the consequences of different stakeholders' engagement with norms? The paper argues that the articulation of norms about women's participation in discourses about preventing and countering violent extremism in Mali produces a dominant re-presentation of women as 'New Security Actors': This re-presentation depicts an appropriate and competent woman (an ideal type) who can contribute to preventing radicalization and violent extremism by influencing, counselling, or informing on her family and community members. The re-presentation of women as 'New Security Actors' assumes that women will act in specific ways, while other actions are discouraged. Malian women are cast in stereotypical roles as either allies of the state and the international community, who engage in counselling and informing, or accomplices to terrorists, engaged in inaction or silence. For many Malian women, assuming these roles would securitize everyday life and personal relationships. 'New Security Actors' thus emerges as a problematic re-presentation, since it emphasizes traditional gender roles and potentially exposes women to risks. It also reproduces many of the universalizing tendencies in the WPS agenda, while the transformative potential of certain WPS norms gets lost.

The paper also shows that these re-presentations tend to suppress diversity and (re)produce global and local hierarchies among different stakeholders in the local context, in particular between local elites and those who could be expected to assume the roles as 'New Security Actors'. By doing so, it sheds light on the unintended consequences that become a possibility if differentiated conditions of and forms of access to re-presentation are not revealed. Such analysis is necessary since discourses are implicated in shaping behavior and may have real-life implications for policy development and funding patterns. There is a risk that the discourse on women's roles in the fight against violent extremism could become

implicated in shaping the behavior of policymakers towards 'New Security Actors'. This may result in misguided policies and further (re)production of hierarchies, as well as potential discrimination and exclusion of certain individuals or groups of women.

Paper 4 asks: How do actors on the receiving end of norm diffusion processes actively shape norm content through policy production, and with what effects? The paper argues that when the GoR connects the promotion of gender equality to a broader nationalist project, it actively appropriates gender equality norms for the purpose of national identity construction. The paper finds that in its policies, the GoR formulates gender inequality as a problem of women's exclusion from the formal economy, and of people having the wrong mindset. The analysis shows how this particular formulation of gender equality norms in Rwandan policy documents has made these norms part and parcel of the pursuit of a nationalist agenda, and how in this process their meaning has been altered. The paper also notes that when this nationalist agenda is non-inclusive and supports the use of violence and oppression to reach other goals, the long-term effects of gender policies and reforms may turn out to be less favorable for many Rwandan women and men.

The paper thus deconstructs Rwanda as a poster child for women's empowerment and argues that the norm of gender equality serves as a means to an end for the government, whose higher interests are economic progress and constructing a 'new' national identity. Further, the GoR's appropriation of gender equality norms through its production of policies and institutions effectively makes it a norm provider to many local 'recipients', indicating how peoples' interactions with specific norms can be substantially shaped by government policies. The paper suggests that appropriation may assist in the wider diffusion of norms, and partly explains the apparent success of gender-based reforms in Rwanda, as well as challenges to the broader implementation of its gender policies.

Together, the four papers show how different actors engage with norms in multiple, overlapping and sometimes unexpected ways. The rich descriptions of the processes of contestation, friction, localization and appropriation demonstrate how normative encounters shape the meanings and trajectories of gender equality norms in war to peace transitions. Further, when agents are involved in these processes, they construct and produce new meanings and realities through their engagement with norms. The thesis shows how actors contribute to increased norm precision through the development of operating principles (Paper 1), and

how they construct positions and locations from which to claim authority and legitimacy (Papers 2, 3 and 4), as well as new identities (Papers 2 and 3) and subjects to be governed (Papers 3 and 4). Further, a recurring theme in several of the papers is representation. This includes discussions analyzed in Papers 1 and 2 over who can speak on behalf of ‘women’ as a group and struggles between different actors who claim to represent the shared interests of women. The analysis in Paper 3 shows that when civil society elites talk about how ‘Malian women’ may contribute in the fight against violent extremism, they do this in ways that suppress diversity and produce reductive re-presentations which potentially push other women to engage in new security practices.

The study of norms poses certain challenges given their immaterial, processual and contested characteristics. In this thesis, the analytical frameworks developed in the individual papers come together in an approach that addresses some of the challenges related to studying norms and normative encounters. This approach rests on the insight that by analyzing meaning-making practices of situated actors, we can shed light on how normative encounters shape the meanings and trajectories of gender equality norms in war to peace transitions. Its innovation lies in combining a diversity of analytical approaches and data sources in order to study the meaning-making practices that actors engage in, including practices of resistance and refinement at the Malian peace negotiations (Paper 1), frictional interactions in the Malian peace process (Paper 2), discursive practices of representation by local elites in Mali (Paper 3) and policy production by the Government of Rwanda (Paper 4).

6.2 Situating my research in broader debates

As we mark its 20th anniversary, researchers, activists, practitioners and politicians debate the progress of implementing the WPS agenda. With multilateralism increasingly under pressure and the significant global impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, many feel it is more pertinent than ever to assess the agenda’s progress and identify measures for future action. The research in this thesis informs such debates by offering new and unique empirical data on the implementation of the WPS agenda in Mali, a country which has been on the UNSC agenda since 2012 but which has lacked scholarly attention to the gender dimensions of conflict and peacebuilding efforts. Among the key insights provided by this thesis for actors

promoting the WPS agenda in Mali and other war to peace transitions is that it makes a difference whether women's organizations have access to spaces where norms are implemented, and that leadership practices and donor coordination may influence whether norms are followed. The research presented here should therefore encourage international actors to support different ways of providing access for women's organizations to spaces where norms are implemented. The Rwandan example confirms these insights by showing that the long-term effects of top-down implementation of gender policies and reforms may be different from what WPS advocates envision. The thesis also contributes to discussions about the status of the WPS agenda by offering a conceptual framework and a methodological approach for studying the work with promoting the WPS agenda from a norms perspective. Careful analysis of the implications of normative encounters should be of concern for anyone who seeks to promote the WPS agenda in war to peace transitions.

The research in this thesis also informs debates on whether war to peace transitions can represent windows of opportunity for the promotion of women's rights and gender equality norms. By undressing the Rwandan 'success story', it nuances these theories and reminds us that legal and policy reforms must always be interrogated on the basis of their diversified effects for different groups and the political purpose they serve in specific contexts. While it is too early to tell whether Mali's transition will result in more gender equality in the long term, this example shows the contingency of such theories: Repetitive conflict cycles may offer multiple windows of opportunity or serve to close a window that was previously open. On this note, Paper 3 cautions about potential pitfalls that must be avoided when the WPS agenda is promoted in contexts characterized by high levels of insecurity and violent extremism.

Finally, the thesis speaks to debates among norms researchers about the (un)democratic nature of norm diffusion (see Zimmermann 2017, 219; Wiener 2018, 10), including questions about who has access to engage with norms, and whose practices and discourses 'count'. The discussion regarding the granting of access to spaces where norms are shaped in Paper 1 reflects these concerns. Similarly, Paper 2 highlights the 'homogenizing pull' of vertical friction for women to assume roles as peace agents, and how women who did not conform to these expectations were dismissed as 'difficult to work with'. Paper 4 highlights the privileged position of the GoR in shaping norms through policy production. These concerns are however most explicitly addressed in Paper 3, which takes a

critical look at the practices and theories of norm localization and argues that differentiated access to discursive practices of re-presentation by different stakeholders can have unintended consequences for those actors that are the targets of normative change. The paper further argues that theories of norm localization tend to privilege the perspective of local intermediaries and thus downplay the role of local power relations and hierarchies. An overarching conclusion based on the insights from this thesis is therefore that rather than pursuing a form of local adaptation that preserves the core meaning of a norm while adapting it to be more acceptable in the local context, both researchers and practitioners should ask how normative encounters can produce more peaceful, inclusive, just and equal societies.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Interviews

No. ⁶	Organization	Interviewee category	Interviewee sub-category	Place	Date
1	Norwegian Church Aid	International	INGO	Bamako	21.02.17
2	CARE Mali	Local	INGO	Bamako	22.02.17
3	Norwegian Church Aid	Local	INGO	Bamako	22.02.17
4	Researcher	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	23.02.17
5	WILDAF Mali	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	24.02.17
6	Norwegian Church Aid	Local	INGO	Bamako	24.02.17
7	ACORD Mali	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	24.02.17
8	International Alert	International	INGO	Bamako	25.02.17
9	Centre National de Documentation et d'Information sur la Femme et l'Enfant (CNDIFE)	Local	Government	Bamako	27.02.17
10	Danish Embassy	International	Diplomat	Bamako	27.02.17
11	Danish Embassy	International	Diplomat	Bamako	27.02.17
12	MINUSMA	Local	UN	Bamako	28.02.17
13	EUTM Mali	International	INGO	Bamako	28.02.17

⁶ The total number of interviewees who participated in the 65 interviews listed here is 73 (20 men and 53 women).

14	Professor at University of Bamako	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	28.02.17
15	Association of Women for Peace Initiatives (AFIP)	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	01.03.17
16	Institut Malien de Recherche Action pour la Paix (IMRAP)	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	01.03.17
17	Institut Malien de Recherche Action pour la Paix (IMRAP)	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	01.03.17
18	National Democratic Institute	Regional	INGO	Bamako	01.03.17
19	UN Women Mali	International	UN	Bamako	02.03.17
20	WANEP Mali	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	03.03.17
21	Promediation	International	INGO	Bamako	18.09.17
22	GREFFA	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	22.09.17
23	GARI	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	26.09.17
24	MINUSMA	Local	UN	Bamako	26.09.17
25	Researcher	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	26.09.17
26	MINUSMA	International	UN	Bamako	27.09.17
27	Ministere de la Reconciliation	Local	Government	Bamako	28.09.17
28	CAFO	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	29.09.17
29	Center for Humanitarian Dialogue	International	INGO	Bamako	03.10.17
30	WANEP Mali	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	05.10.17
31	Plateforme des Femmes Leaders	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	09.10.17
32	Association of Women for Peace Initiatives (AFIP)	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	10.10.17
33	FENACOF	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	10.10.17
34	Ecole Maintien de la Paix	Local	Civil society	Bamako	11.10.17
35	COFEM	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	16.10.17
36	Plateforme des Femmes Leaders	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	17.10.17

37	Conseil National de la Jeunesse	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	18.10.17
38	WILDAF Mali	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	18.10.17
39	Women's activist and historian	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	23.10.17
40	UN Women Mali	Local	UN	Bamako	24.10.17
41	UN Women Mali	Local	UN	Bamako	24.10.17
42	Federation des Jeunes pour la Paix Mondiale	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	25.10.17
43	Truth, Justice and Recociliaiton Commission (CVJR)	Local	Government	Bamako	23.10.17
44	Groupe de travail jeunes, femmes, paix et securite	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	26.10.17
45	Woman leader	Local	Signatory group	Bamako	27.10.17
46	Collège Sahélien de Sécurité	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	27.10.17
47	National Democratic Institute	Regional	Civil Society	Bamako	27.10.17
48	Bureau du haut Représentant du Président de la République pour la mise en œuvre de l'accord pour la paix et la réconciliation	Local	Government	Bamako	30.10.17
49	UN Women Mali	Local	UN	Bamako	31.10.17
50	UN Women Mali	Regional	UN	Bamako	31.10.17
51	MISAHEL	Regional	INGO	Bamako	01.11.17
52	Plateforme des Femmes Leaders	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	07.11.17
53	Woman leader	Local	Signatory group	Bamako	21.11.17
54	MINUSMA	Local	UN	Bamako	22.11.17

55	Activist	Regional	Civil Society	Bamako	24.11.17
56	Commission DDR	Local	Government	Bamako	29.11.17
57	Plateforme des Femmes Leaders	Local	Government	Bamako	29.11.17
58	Commission DDR	Local	Government	Bamako	02.12.17
59	Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and Family	Local	Government	Bamako	06.12.17
60	Bureau du haut Représentant du Président de la République pour la mise en œuvre de l'accord pour la paix et la réconciliation	Local	Government	Bamako	07.12.17
61	Cadre de concertation des femmes des partis politiques	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	07.12.17
62	Armed forces	Local	Government	Bamako	08.12.17
63	Activist	Local	Civil Society	Bamako	10.12.17
64	MINUSMA	International	UN	Bamako	11.12.17
65	International community representative	International	INGO	United States	05.04.18

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Questions for individual interviews in Mali with international and Malian policy makers, civil servants, activists and NGOs/CSOs:

Interview No.:

Age group:

Female/Male:

Education/Training:

Employment:

Initial questions

1 Maybe we can start with you telling me about what you do, how you work with women's participation in the peace process?

Follow up questions:

How would you characterize your position and your responsibilities?

How long have you worked in Mali/this field/this job? What is your background for doing this work?

Can you tell me about your activities or programs?

Have you been part of specific efforts, advocacy, campaigns? How does this work?

What do you do? What do/did you want to achieve? (objectives/goals)

Who do you work with? What is the role of religious actors?

Are you active in any association or network? What is your role?

2 In your experience, what is the relevance of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in Mali?

Follow up questions:

Are you familiar with resolution 1325 on women, peace and security?

Do you find that resolution 1325 pertains to (your work in) Mali?

Are there elements of the resolution that are more/less relevant to the situation in Mali/for your work?

The UN has declared that it is important to include women in peace processes.

How do you see this in the case of Mali?

Mid-interview

3 Many international actors work to promote women's rights/participation in Mali. How does this affect your work?

Follow up questions:

How do you work with international actors?

How do you work with local actors?

Has something changed since the crisis? Has it become more easy/difficult to advocate for women's rights?

4 How do you view the participation of women in public life in Mali?

Follow up questions:

What roles do women play?

Do you think women have power? How?

What are your thoughts on women's situation in Mali?

In your experience, what is the understanding of gender (or women's rights) in Mali?

What does women's participation/inclusion mean/imply?

What is your experience with the women's movement in Mali? On which topics/issues do women's organizations mobilize? Are they effective? Able to mobilize?

5 What are women's opportunities to participate in the peace process in Mali, as you see it?

Follow up questions:

How are women involved in the peace process? What roles do women play?

What are important issues concerning women and the peace process?

Why should women participate/be included? What do they contribute?

What has been achieved for women in the peace process? What was done to achieve this?

What has not been achieved (failures)? Why?

6 Do you know of a process or event where women played a role? Can you share an example?

Follow up questions:

Can you describe how women were included? What were the roles, activities, strategies, actors?

What do they (who advocate) want to achieve? What did the women hope to achieve?

(How) did they get references to women into the text?

Who benefits? Who is being marginalized?

Does it affect you? What is important for you?

7 Have you observed that it is difficult for women to participate in the peace process? Can you give an example?

Follow up questions:

Have you observed any resistance to the inclusion of women in the peace process?

From where? What happens? How do you respond?

Have you been involved in any process, event, or drafting of document where this happened?

Why were women (not) included? What happened?

What did they (who advocate) want to achieve?

Is there a difference between participation and influence in the peace process for women?

Who benefits? Who is being marginalized?

Does it affect you? What is important for you?

Sometimes people say that gender issues are less urgent than other issues. What do you think of this statement? Do you agree? Why (not)?

8 In your view, what roles can women play in the fight against violent extremism in Mali?

Follow up questions:

Do you include women or gender perspectives in your work on preventing violent extremism?

How are women taken into consideration in the fight against violent extremism?

Closing

9 Is there anything else you would like to clarify or share with me?

Follow up questions:

Are there any other questions or issues that you think I should look at?

Do you know anyone else I can talk to?

Do you know of any important report or other document that you think I should read?

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix 3: Information Letter to Participants

Information for participants in research project on women's inclusion in the peace process in Mali

My name is Jenny Lorentzen and I am a doctoral researcher at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). I am currently undertaking research for my PhD in Political Science at Lund University.

What is the project about?

The project is about the participation of women in the peace process in Mali. International actors such as the United Nations are increasingly arguing that it is important to include more women in peace processes, and this project attempts to understand better how this is done: what makes this possible, and what makes it difficult. The project will focus on what different actors in Mali do to promote women's inclusion in the peace process, and how they view and experience the international pressure and the domestic dynamic.

What does it mean to participate?

I kindly invite you participate in this study through an interview which focuses on your work and on different aspects of women's inclusion in the peace process. Your thoughts and experiences are important for the study and there are no right or wrong answers to the questions. The interview is based on voluntary participation. You can at any time withdraw from the study or decline answering questions you might not feel comfortable with. The interview will happen at a time and place that is suitable for you, and it will last for about 1 hour. I will ask you for permission to record our conversation, to make sure that the representation of your views will be as correct as possible in my analysis and research.

What will happen with the information?

Please note that the interview and all information about you is confidential. Quotes and comments that might be used in the articles and chapters of the thesis will be rewritten to make them anonymous. The interview recordings will be transcribed. No names of research participants will appear either in my notes, or in the recorded or transcribed interviews. Audio recordings will be deleted after they have been transcribed, and by 31 December 2020 the latest. This research

project is registered with the Norwegian Social Science Data Services to ensure that it is in accordance with § 7-27 of the Norwegian Personal Data Act.

The major output from the research will be in the form of academic articles and a PhD Thesis. Results and insights from the project will further be disseminated in the form of policy briefs, commentaries, seminars, and in teaching and trainings. The aim is to make research findings known to relevant groups such as the NGO community and policy makers.

Voluntary participation

By giving your consent and participating in the study, you agree to let me make use of the information you share with me in this interview for my research. Participation in the study is voluntary, and you may withdraw your consent at any time without stating a reason. If you withdraw, the interview data you have contributed will be deleted.

How can you contact me?

Please do not hesitate to contact me should you have questions or wish to participate in the study. You can contact me via email or telephone:

Jenny Lorentzen, +223 900 28 682 (Mali), +47 905 56 982 (Norway),
jenlor@prio.org

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Appendix 4: Codebook

	Nodes	Description
1	Cross-cutting/free nodes	
1.1	Local specificities, proverbs	
1.2	Positionality	Refers to my relationship to interviewees
1.3	Religion	
2	WPS and gender (equality)	
2.1	Definition/meaning	
2.2	Family code	
2.3	Gender roles	
2.4	National Action Plan	
2.5	Gender quota	
2.6	Young people	Young people's participation, Youth, Peace and Security
3	Practices	
3.1	Promotion/Activism	
3.2	Resistance	
4	Relationships	
4.1	Local/International	
4.2	Conflict/collaboration between actors	
4.3	Perceptions of other actors	
4.4	Nature of civil society	how it operates, characteristics of women's movement
5	Participation/inclusion	
5.1	Ouagadougou and before	
5.2	Algiers	
5.3	Implementation phase	Everything after Algiers
6	Violent Extremism	
6.1	Women' roles	
6.1.1	_mothers	
6.1.2	_victims	
6.1.3	_perpetrators	
6.1.4	_other	
7	Security sector	
8	SGBV	Sexual violence, gender-based violence

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Normative Encounters between the 'Global' and the 'Local':

Women, Peace and Security in Mali and Rwanda

This thesis is about the processes that take place when global gender equality norms embedded in the Women, Peace and Security agenda are promoted in societies transitioning from war to peace. It explains how norms travel between different socio-political contexts through multiple and often overlapping encounters between 'global' and 'local' norms, actors, practices, and discourses. Drawing on theories on the 'agency of the governed' in norms research and the 'local turn' in peacebuilding research, it provides a conceptual framework for studying the role of global and local actors in shaping the meanings and trajectories of norms.



Jenny Lorentzen has a background in Political Science, International Relations and African studies from Lund University, the Norwegian University of Life Sciences and the University of Oslo. Throughout her studies, she has been a visiting student and researcher at the Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar and the University of Arts and Humanities in Bamako. Jenny is affiliated with the PRIO Centre on Gender, Peace and Security.

