

Gendering Politics: Explorations through the Framework of Political Representation, Democratisation and Peace Processes

Pushpa Singh* & Chetna Sharma*

Abstract

Women around the world face gender exclusion in politics and political processes. This has not only resulted in their political disempowerment but also in their lower status in the society. It is crucial to understand and analyse the nature and patterns of these exclusions. This article aims to do so by employing the frame of political representation, democratisation and peace processes as these categories are significant markers of women's political empowerment or the lack of it. They are foundational political values that define the domain of politics and serve as decisive yardsticks to examine the gendering of political spaces. These frames illustrate how political practices are shaped by the masculine discourse of politics which deny space and recognition to women by excluding them from the corridors of power. Hence, these are employed to serve as the frame of analysis for the subject matter of gendering politics. Rather than analyzing these categories as independent variables, the idea is to emphasize their inter-dependence and capture the nonlinear and cyclic nature of these processes in a broader cross-cultural, cross-regional and cross historical context.

Keywords-*gender, politics, political representation, democratisation, peace processes*

Introduction

The study of genderⁱ and politics has become a pertinent subject of scholarly engagements in the field of Politics. There has been increasing realisation of how gender as an independent category remained mostly absent from the broader framework of political analysis; why it needs to be established as a dependent as well as an independent category of understanding and how its incorporation will change the nature of the discipline. However, gender is not to be understood as exclusively referring to women; rather it includes the constructs of masculinities and

* Dr. Pushpa Singh is Associate Professor at Department of Political Science, Miranda House, University of Delhi, India.

* Dr. Chetna Sharma is Associate Professor at Department of Political Science, Kamala Nehru College, University of Delhi, India

femininities, the relationship between men and women and how these shape politics and political outcomes.

The objective of gendering politics is to establish gender as a central analytical category in politics (Singh, 2019). The aim is not just to foreground gender issues and perspectives but also to examine those dimensions of politics that may have been obscured by the male, heterosexist bias in the discipline (Weldon, 2006:246). It seeks to provide a critical account of perpetuating gender inequality in different countries and contexts and demonstrate how ideas about masculinity and femininity shape behaviours, construct relations and privileges, a certain form of conduct establishing them as norm. These imbued gender norms permeate all political spaces based on which organisations institutionalise 'definitions of femininity and masculinity, perpetuate gender hierarchies and construct gender cultures' (Connell, 2005:18). Therefore, positioning gender as a crucial category of inquiry, equal in weight to other dimensions of analysis like class, race, ethnicity and religion is pertinent (Tripp, 2010).

Research Design

The article attempts to map the idea through the three crucial frames of analysis: political representation, democratisation and peace processes. These categories are the most significant indicators of women's political empowerment or the lack of it; hence are employed to serve as the frame of analysis for the subject matter. Political representation, democratisation and peace processes are foundational political values and highest desirable goals for any society. They are the key concepts that define the domain of politics and serve as decisive yardsticks to examine the gendering of political spaces. These frames illustrate how political practices are shaped by the masculine discourse of politics which deny space and recognition to women by excluding them from the corridors of power. Participatory exclusion remains the norm for women and even when they participate, their engagements seldom translate into their empowerment.

So far, these categories have mostly been studied separately; without giving much attention to their inter-dependence and inter-connections as scholarships in these fields exist in their independent silos. The aim here is to abridge this gap and capture the nonlinear and cyclic nature of these

processes in a broader cross-cultural, cross-regional and cross historical framework. Efforts towards women's empowerment such as demand for increase in women's representation in public offices, reforms in parties and other political institutions to further democratise the political spaces, active participation of women in peace building processes should not be understood in a segmented manner. As they are mutually reinforcing, their collective account would possibly provide a better approach to gendering of the discipline. These frames of analysis are informed by understanding of the historical, political and cultural legacies as well as divergent pathways of different societies that enable or restrict space for women's agency and power struggles. Political representation, democratisation and peace processes are interlinked concepts that could possibly act as the most effective instruments to assess the extent and nature of gendering of politics itself.

Frames of Analysis

A. Political Representation

Political representation is considered as a ubiquitous indicator of women's status in a society. Therefore, this section analyses women's political representation and also incorporates analysis from different countries which highlights the dilemma of women's 'partaking inclusion' but 'participatory exclusion' making them invisible and irrelevant in institutions. Off late, there has been a greater effort towards advancement of women's political representation in the national legislatures. Nevertheless, across the countries, women are under-represented in national parliaments and top political offices. The explanation partially lies in the correlation of the societal, cultural and religious attitudes that have an apparent bearing on women's political participation. On the other hand, the type of the electoral system and voting pattern also influence the nature and scale of political representation of women. For example, proportional representation tends to provide greater scope for women's participation compared to majoritarian systems. Understanding factors determining women's political representation need a multifaceted approach of analysis (Tremblay, 2007). As the inherent patriarchal bias shapes political institutions, structures and the prevailing norms that govern the civic spaces; women's political representation becomes an uphill task. Legislatures, judiciary, political parties, and bureaucracy: none of them have been immune from the patriarchal biases as women

remain underrepresented in them and in all top tiers of government across the countries (Sharma & Singh, 2021).

Political institutions are gender regimes with distinctive ideologies of how women and men should act, think and feel (Lovenduski, 2005:26). The masculine nature and discourse of institutions becomes natural and unquestionable as men predominate the political spaces (Kronsell, 2005). When women enter a male-dominated institution, they face structural barriers that prevent them from wielding influence in the legislative process. Even when women manage to win a place in a gendered institution, they remain out-siders (Duerst-Lahti, 2002:22). Legislatures are informed by the work norms defined by the parameters of males by practicing irregular hours of work that are unwelcoming to women with more than their share of family responsibilities (Kittilson & Schwindt-Bayer, 2012). Tiffany Barnes (2018) in her study compares the legislative behaviour and working pattern of female and male legislators. She argues that female legislators have to engage in more collaborative and position building projects to achieve their goals than their male counterparts as they lack power and influence.

Exploring the ways in which gender is imprinted upon the institutions help in the assessment of political opportunities and constraints facing feminist actors: it can assist in determining when and which institutions will be more open (or closed) to gender equality demands (Chappel,2006:224). Conventional role, domestic responsibilities, societal prejudices, power asymmetries, hierarchies make it tougher for them to compete and make their places in public offices. For example, study by Olle Folke and Johanna Rickne (2016) highlight that whereas family offers a support structure for men across the professions; it may become a source of stress or conflict for women because of the patriarchal conditioning of societies. The data revealed that in the first three years after the promotions, the rate of divorce increases among the promoted women, whereas no such pattern was visible in the career graph of men (Folke & Rickne, 2016).

The conventions in the established democracies also assumed the legislature to be male. The androcentric norms are mirrored in all political spaces including the parliaments, for example, in Britain until 1998 both men and women were required to wear a top hat when making

a point of order. The top hat and tie requirements are manifestations of embedded masculinity that characterizes all-male institutions (Lovenduski, 2005). Similarly, the strict dress code and code of moral conduct was required of women. Surprisingly, women were forbidden from wearing pants in the Senate in the US Congress, though there was no written rule as such, yet was enforced by Senate doorkeepers. However, this rule was challenged by Moseley-Braun when she wore a pantsuit to the floor of the Senate. Women are always vulnerable to what they wear. Sexism, harassment and violence against women parliamentarians in the form of sexist remarks, online sexist attacks, and psychological harassment are also widespread across nations, as discussed in Inter-Parliamentary Union studies.ⁱⁱ

These are examples of glaring gender bias in the institutional structure and their norms. Nonetheless, these norms can be challenged to open new spaces of emancipation as in case of Australia; Senator Larissa Waters became the first politician to breastfeed on the Senate floor based on the rule framed in 2016 that allowed babies to be breastfed in the Parliament.ⁱⁱⁱ Jacindia Ardern, the prime minister of New Zealand, became the first female world leader to bring along her three months old daughter to UN General Assembly to attend its meeting. Ardern could do so in light of the recently reframed government rule that allows the prime minister or ministers to travel with a nanny on an overseas assignment.^{iv} However, such moves are not often accepted as ‘appropriate’ as in case of Danish MP Mette Abildgaard, who was asked to remove her five months old daughter from the parliament chamber by the speaker Pia Kjaersgaard.^v Scandinavian country is seen as a promoter of gender equality and women's rights, and as a child and family-centered nation with generous parental leave and yet displays these gendered norms of working place. Efforts towards feminized transformation of politics could be ensured with a high proportion of women legislators (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995), but this rectification would require special provisions like quotas for women. Quotas can also have considerable impact on women’s agency and may catalyse transformation of politics at the grassroots’ level.

Gender Quota: To address the underrepresentation of women, many countries in the world have adopted different provisions like quotas, laws or policies requiring candidate lists or representative bodies to include

women, racial, ethnic, or religious minorities. The United Nations Convention on the Political Rights of Women adopted in 1953 acted as a great precursor for the advancement of political rights of women and also inspired framing of legislations in this regard with an aim of bringing more women in the political domain. Though quota has been the matter of fierce political debate, several countries have reserved seats under gender quotas to improve women's participation in legislatures. Pakistan and Rwanda, for example, reserve specific seats for women in their governments. Voluntary party quota is used in European countries to secure women's representation in political parties. On the other hand, Latin America has created a mandatory legislative quota for women to be followed by all the political parties. In Latin America, gender quota has been widely implemented for women's political inclusion, and by 2017 most of the countries of Latin America have adopted them except Guatemala and Venezuela.

However, after occupying political office are women able to make a difference? There are various responses to this question. Some believe that women's numeric increase is strongly linked with several positive consequences like new outlooks in policies and legislative agendas. Amy C. Alexander conducted a comparative study to understand the correlation between women's presence in parliament and change in women's belief in their ability to govern across 25 diverse nations covering different regions and cultures (Alexander 2012:448). The study concluded that the increased representation of women in legislatures carries great symbolic value and bolsters general women citizen's faith in their capability to govern. While women may not necessarily be represented by women only; however, in all likelihood, when women are in leadership positions, they tend to push more for pro-women policies compared to men. Female representatives have brought in gender-sensitive legislation in many countries such as the Netherlands, France, Sweden, Egypt, Rwanda and South Africa. Reyes-Householder in her study on Latin America, proposes that female presidents tend to ensure higher female cabinet representation by appointing more women to their cabinet than their male counterparts (Reyes-Householder, 2016). In a similar study, Tiffany D. Barnes and Mark P. Jones show that numerous landmark laws have been passed by Argentina to expand women's rights, which has been possible due to the rise of women in the national and provincial legislatures in the last two decades. (Barnes and Jones,

2018:132). In Mexico, more bills about women's interest were written and passed by women legislators across party lines compared to their men counterparts, as highlighted by a study conducted by Jennifer Piscopo (Piscopo, 2014). In general, there is a steady rise in women occupying a significant leadership role in politics as depicted by the data of IPU stating that in 2020 ten per cent of countries are led by women.^{vi} The proportion of women ministers has also increased, but they are most likely to get portfolios related to family and social affairs.

However, increase in women's political representation do not necessarily result in policy gains for women as a group. This may be due to these possibilities: women's minority position among the larger elected body despite the affirmative provisions; male legislator's backlash against their increasing numbers; lower proportion of women may lead to targeted legislations without undermining male domination and arrival of diverse group of women legislators not keen on pursuing women's issues (Krook, 2010). Studies also reveal that quota alone is not sufficient to ensure the gendering of the political space, women's presence in top political offices alone cannot ensure her empowered status as a group. Also, the numeric increase in women's political representation may not always induce a concerted effort to bring women-centric legislation resulting in larger societal gains for women. For example, the presence of women in the highest political positions in Bangladesh has not encouraged any collaborative approach among women political leaders in passing women-specific bills. Hence, a mere increase in the numbers of women legislators may not suffice; rather use of proactive political leadership positions for influencing policy-legislation in favour of women would be required. Though number of women legislatures has increased from 11.3 per cent in 1995 to 25 per cent globally by 2020, nonetheless, women remain underrepresented in leadership roles with just 20 per cent occupying the position of the speaker.^{vii} World Economic Forum's Report on Gender Gap 2021 that studied 156 countries highlights that women represent only 26.1% of 35,500 parliament seats and just 22.6% of over 3,400 ministers worldwide, with 81 countries that never had any women as head of the state (Global Gender Gap Report, WEF, 2021). It also concluded that it would take 145 years to achieve gender parity in politics.

Hughes, in his study, concluded, 'the quota policies in effect today rarely challenge men's majority dominance of national legislatures' (Hughes, 2011:604). In all political parties, women struggle hard to get in the crucial positions, and they hardly get access to top leadership posts. O'Brien, in her study of 71 political parties in 11 advanced industrialized democracies between 1965 and 2013, suggests that in situations where parties perform well electorally there is no incentive to change the male dominance in the party (O'Brien, 2015). However, when the party performs poorly or the male political lead is caught up in a scandalous situation, women may get the leadership opportunity.

Along with political representation, democratic transitions carry immense possibilities of new opportunities and channels for women to create political space and influence policy formulation. It will be interesting to explore how women's political participation impinges on the democratisation process discussed in the section below.

B. Democratisation

In recent times, many parts of the developing world have witnessed democratisation. As a process, democratisation ideally should result in extension of citizenship rights, equal opportunities and voice of all in governance. On the contrary, in many cases, it excludes women despite their participation in large numbers in democratic transition movements. Unfortunately, women's presence failed to leave a mark on the broader debate of democratisation literature implying that their role was of little significance. (Caraway, 2004:443) This is because gender acts as a significant gatekeeper which makes it difficult for women to challenge formal as well as informal networks due to pre-existing masculinist practices. The nature of the process of democratisation and democratic transitions have clear gender dimensions (Alvarez, 1990; Beldez 2002, 2004; Waylen, 2007). Nonetheless mainstream democratisation literature remains gender blind and fails to emphasise on framing gender research in democratisation as mainstream research (Beldez, 2002). Democratisation studies of different countries illuminate how women actively participated in such movements, their processes and outcomes and yet, the comparative theorization rarely focused on the role of women in them. The mainstream literature on comparative democratisation does not put the question of gender in the centrality of

its discourse and a disjunct can be observed between the literature on ‘comparative democratisation’ and ‘gender and democratisation’. The scholarships in both these areas appear as not engaging with each other despite addressing the same area of concern. The reason being, while mainstream scholars rarely question whether gender is relevant to politics; gender scholars rarely question whether gender isn’t relevant to politics (Baldez, 2010).

One of the remarkable features of women’s participation in the process of democratic transition is that, while gender question occupies a crucial place in the political agenda during movements and protests; it is relegated back to insignificance as soon as the state of normalcy is attained. The reflection from the transition processes in some parts of the world affirm this proposition that despite women’s very active roles in such processes their contribution did not translate into any formal share in political power, institution building and decision making (Razavi, 2001; Waylen, 2007, 2010).

A brief revisit to women’s participation in the anti-colonial struggle in India highlights that it failed to fetch women any substantial gain in the formal political institutional arrangement in the post-independence period. Nationalism like colonialism was a masculinist project in which male agency was prioritized and female agency circumscribed. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century witnessed women’s active participation that reached mass scale under the leadership of Gandhi and his espousal of women’s ennobling virtue of motherhood, perseverance and suffering. But women were not seen as having an agency of their own. The discourse of nationalism and anti-colonial movement reinforced the gendered logic that used the vocabulary of ‘new women’ who were educated but yet rooted in the tradition and seen as the repository of the nation and its identity. This made them play multiple roles ranging from the image of women as ‘housewife’ to ‘modern and educated’; participating in passive resistance to armed revolutionaries. This period saw the likes of Sarojini Naidu, Kamala Devi Chattopadhyay, Aruna Asaf Ali, Durgabai Deshmukh who showed stealth in the agitation and rose to great heights. However, it appears clear that after independence, women’s activism was subdued, relegating them to the realm of domesticity.

The reasons behind the exclusion of women and their issues in post independent India were many. The women's participation in the anticolonial movement did not challenge traditional gender hierarchy as it was foreign domination that was seen as enemy and not patriarchy (Forbes, 2000; Pai, 2013). Politicians rarely displayed the political will to make any radical change in the conventional societal arrangements and women assumed that equality guaranteed by the newly written Constitution of independent India would live up to its promise. South Asian societies, deeply informed by a matrix of pre-modern culture, masculine identity and patriarchal religious constructs, conveniently reinforced the status-quo. The hypermasculine cultures of political parties, legislatures, and all other political spaces became a barrier for women's participation. Though some early women political leaders were able to covet high office in some South Asian countries by inheriting them from their male relatives. Ascendance of women leaders like Bandaranaike and Kumaratunga in Sri Lanka, Indira Gandhi in India, Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan, Khaleda Zia, and Sheikh Hasina in Bangladesh, Aung San Suu Kyi in Myanmar was legitimized because of their political legacy. Though some women leaders could make it to the top by their sheer hard work and grit.^{viii} Even after reaching the highest echelons of power, women political leaders have to struggle as in South Asian societies institutional changes and legislative reforms did not necessarily spur shifts in social, cultural and gender norms.

Similar trends of partaking inclusion in the democratic transition processes and participatory exclusion in the post-transition phase are visible in some countries of Africa. Women have shown a streak of exemplary courage by protesting against the most brutal state repression, as in the case of Mali against President Muossa Traore and in Togo against Faure Gnassingbe's presidential win in 2005 and 2017. In Sierra Leone and Liberia also, women were central forces of resistance defying the autocratic state structures and demanding free elections. In the post-conflict era, women significantly contributed to constitution-making and attempted democratic consolidation. For instance, in the 1990s, women were at the forefront of protest to defend the human rights of imprisoned activists in Kenya. Kenyan women were seen as the most active civil society group within the constitution-making process by Yash Ghai, the head of the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission.^{ix} However, this

momentum got lost with the beginning of ‘usual politics’ that favoured party politics over social mobilization.

Women’s limited participation in post-transition period also results from the reemergence of ideological and political differences dissolving feminist solidarity witnessed during transition phase. Generally, old established political parties display less enthusiasm for gender claims as these do not resonate with the electorate on ground (Razavi, 2001). For example, issues concerning reproductive rights and divorce have been strongly resisted by male dominated party structures. In Chile women played an important role in mobilizing against human rights violations by the administration of Pinochet. But the level of women’s representation dwindled in the post-transition phase.

The process of engendering democracy in Latin America in general and Mexico in particular shows similar possibilities and limitations. Though women got the right to vote in 1953, yet the real process of women’s empowerment started as late as the 1970s. A quota law was passed in 2002 that made it mandatory for the parties to include 30 per cent female to 70 per cent male to ensure women’s representation. This split was later on changed to 40 per cent female to 60 percent male by the law in 2008. However, despite quotas in the electoral arena women are found to be giving their seats to men to fulfil political party discipline. As the parties are dominated by men having decision-making power, women do not want to offend them and endanger their careers. (Ortiz-Ortega and Barquet, 2010:111)

The Arab Spring presents a recent example of reaffirming this gender paradox. The participation of women in the political mobilization was almost at par with men demanding justice and freedom.^x However, the outcome of the Arab Spring has been disappointing as social, political and economic demands of women remained unfulfilled. Instead, many countries ended up with more dictatorial and repressive regimes, reviving the discriminatory policies against women. Egypt’s previously decided 10 per cent quota for women’s participation was abandoned along with repealing laws that advanced women’s rights such as the right to divorce and child custody. Wilson Centre (2016) in a report remarks that the Arab Spring ignited high expectations for better lives and new opportunities for women. Yet so many years later, women are

increasingly losing their lives, homes, land, relatives and families in parts of the Middle East where sectarian wars continue.^{xi}

Peace processes provide another opportunity of furthering the democratisation process in conflict-ridden societies. The following section discusses women's engagement in peace processes to see if similar patterns of gender exclusions are reflected there as well.

C. Peace Processes

The recent waves of democratisation in the world have also catalysed peace processes in some of the conflict-ridden societies across the world. Though women as a group are most impacted in conflict situations yet, neither are they represented in the formal peace negotiations nor are their concerns made the central part of the discourse. This is due to the reason that hegemonic masculinity entrenches institutional exclusion preventing women from formally participating in peace negotiations and agreements. The patriarchal norms ensure that women remain invisible and unnoticeable at negotiating tables. Moreover, the gendered dynamics of conflict associate certain issues as 'women's issues' and only these issues are seen as requiring women's intervention. This further disassociates women from the larger peace negotiations.

Gendering of peace processes is required for lasting peace and to settle issues related to rehabilitation and resettlement of women, planning refugee camps, peacekeeping operations, and reconstructing war-torn societies (Hudson, 2005: 786). Critical works in the area of women and peace process also highlight this, for example, Rita Manchanda (2017) underlines the role of women as decision-makers, negotiators, peace activists, projecting women, not as victims but agents in social transformation. However, the invisibility of women is connected to their absence in various political processes that includes leadership positions in political parties, state, or non-state groups that gets translated into their absence at the peace table (Anderlini, 2007: 58). Cynthia Cockburn also argues patriarchy is reinforced on peace processes through the conventional notion of militarism and war (Cockburn, 2007). Despite engaging at different levels women are kept out of participation and leadership roles in peace processes. Many of the men perpetuating violence in the conflict phase, become party to the post-conflict

negotiation process, thereby scuttling the chances of redefining the peace processes based on the experience of women.

Lately the United Nations Security Council recognized the crucial role played by women in conflict transformation with significant emphasis on their participation and inclusion in peace building and decision making. To address the gender gap, the Security Council adopted resolution 1325 in October 2000, followed by eight more resolutions as of 2019. Despite overwhelming evidence (Council on Foreign Relations Notes, 2019) that women's participation increases the likelihood of the success of peace agreement, it remains an exception rather than a norm. There is numerous evidences to suggest that women's inclusion in peace operations enable better information gathering, greater credibility and higher chances of success. The field experience of the peacekeeping mission in Liberia shows that the presence of female soldiers made the working of the operation smoother by reducing tension and building trust. This was possible due to the local population's better acceptability and comfort with the female security forces. In culturally conservative societies like Iraq and Afghanistan, where gender segregation is firmly reinforced, male soldiers are not supposed to interact with women whereas women soldiers can quickly establish communication with men as well as women getting greater access to the population.

Women's representation in peacekeeping forces also prohibits the sexual misconduct perpetrated by some male soldiers, apart from engendering trust and improving the reputation of peacekeepers among the local population (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009). These premises were reinforced by the study *Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations* (2000) by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operation. It states that a high percentage of female soldiers in peacekeeping as in the case of Namibia (40 per cent female) and South Africa (50 per cent female) ensured a higher rate of success of these operations.^{xii} It has been also observed that the presence of 30 per cent or more female soldiers galvanized quicker participation from the local women in the peace committees (Carey, 2001: 49).

It is noteworthy that to create space for dialogue women have tried to initiate peace processes in different societies through informal mechanisms and track II peace processes. However, these are not given

valuable recognition. In particular circumstances, women have made an exceptional attempt to cross the border and initiate dialogue with women of other countries and communities. For instance, through the platform of *Ahotsak* (voices in the Basque language) formed in 2006 by women parliamentarians and politicians in the Basque country, almost 200 women came together from various political parties to negotiate the peace process. Similarly, women from Israel and Palestine tried to work together by forming alliances to initiate peace activities since the 1980s. In the case of Northern Ireland, women from the catholic and protestant sect joined hands to form the political party Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (1996), which played an important role in the peace agreement. They drew huge social trust from public consultations which helped the approval of the Good Friday peace agreement in a public referendum. The efforts of Somalian women present a compelling case where women from different clans attempted to unite themselves irrespective of attempts by the warlords to destroy their initiatives. Nevertheless, they succeeded in taking part and putting their signatures in the Somali National Reconciliation Conference in 2004. These trends were also shown by other countries deeply affected by ethnic conflicts such as Burundi, Rwanda and Bosnia, where women keenly participated in community-based conflict resolution and reconciliation.

Despite women's initiatives and contribution in peace processes not much change has been noticed in the nature of peace agreements. As reported by the Council on Foreign Relations (2019), the analysis of 1187 peace agreements signed from 1990 to 2017 shows only 19 per cent made any reference to women and only 5 per cent refer to gender-based violence. This study further notices that among all these peace agreements, only 3 percent of women were represented as mediators, 4 per cent as signatories and around 13 per cent as negotiators.

This exclusion of women at the peace table led to the absence of their concerns in peace agreements. UN study substantiate this assertion as in the past few years only 16 per cent of peace agreement contains specific provisions on women's rights and needs and just 5.7 percent of actual budgetary outlay of multi-donor trust fund finance women's empowerment project in post-conflict countries. Less than 30 countries have incorporated provisions implementing UN Resolution 1325 in their national action plan. Women's participation in peace negotiations

provide an opportunity to translate it into increasing their representation and participation in post conflict countries (Anderson 2016). High level of gender equality in institutions also ensures durable and prolonged peace after ceasefire (Gizelis 2009, Shair-Rosenfield and Wood 2017). However the dilemma of partaking inclusion of women at different levels and their exclusion in peace negotiations reinforce their invisibility in such processes.

The review of women's role in all three frames of analysis suggest that though women play a significant role in all these three processes, yet they continue to be excluded due to the profoundly gendered nature of the institutions, social structures and norms. The three frameworks discussed in this paper function differently and produce different results across diverse social and political settings, yet a common pattern of women's 'partaking inclusion' but 'participatory exclusion' define them.

Conclusion

This article conclusively suggests that gender mapping and gender-specific analysis can create a better canvas for the narrative of politics. Political participation, democratization and peace processes serve as crucial categories of gender analysis which requires a synchronized understanding rather than segmented. These categories are mutually reinforcing and interdependent in some ways, making gender inclusion a puzzle requiring focus on inter-linkages as well as the interaction of gender structures and their intersectionality. The discussion in this paper demonstrates that all these categories perpetuate gender exclusions that are nonlinear and cyclic in nature and process and need to be studied in reference to each other, as women's absence at one level leads to their invisibility in another as well. Whereas women's higher political representation would possibly feminise democratic institutions and spaces, women's seminal presence in democratisation and peace processes would further ensure their inclusion in top political offices and change the narrative of political discourse. Vice-versa, women's absence in one domain influences the possibility of inclusion and representation of their concern in other domains. This also produces a compounded effect, further limiting their political representation and role in democratisation in a cyclic process of exclusion. At the same time, only adding more women would not be sufficient. Rather, broader societal

norms require re-engagement from a gender perspective. It is important that gender-specific case studies must speak to each other, across the regions, to develop a generalized understanding while maintaining the particularities of their experiences.

References

- Ahmed, N. (2020). *Parliament in South Asia India, Pakistan and Bangladesh*. New York: Routledge.
- Alexander A. C. (2012). Change in women's descriptive representation and the belief in women's ability to govern: a virtuous cycle. *Politics and Gender*, 8, (4), 437-464.
- Alvarez, S. E. (1990). *Engendering democracy in brazil: women's movements in transition politics*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Anderlini, S. A. (2007). *Women building peace: what they do, why it matters*. Boulder USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Anderson, M. (2016). *Windows of opportunity. how women seize peace negotiations for political change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baldez, L. (2010). The gender lacuna in comparative politics. *Perspective on Politics* 8 (1), 199-205.
- Baldez, L. (2004). Elected bodies: the gender quota laws for legislative candidates in Mexico. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 29(2), 231-258
- Baldez, L. (2002). *Why women protest, women's movements in chile*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barnes, T. D. (2016). *Gendering legislative behaviour: institutional constraints and collaborations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BBC News. Australian politician becomes first to breastfeed in parliament 10th May 2017 Available at <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-australia-39853360> accessed 20.11.21.
- Bridges, D. and D. Horsfall (2009). Increasing operational effectiveness in un peacekeeping: toward a gender-balanced force. *Armed Forces and Society*. 36(1), 120-130.
- Carey, H. F. (2001). Women and peace and security: the politics of implementing gender sensitivity norms in peace keeping. *International Peacekeeping*, 8(2), 49-68.

- Celis Karen et al. (2013). introduction. *The Oxford handbook of gender and politics* DOI 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.013.0034
- Chappell, L. (2006). Comparing political institutions: revealing the gendered logic of appropriateness. *Politics and Gender*, 2(2), 223-235.
- Cockburn, C. (2007). *From where we stand war, women's activism and feminist analysis*, London: Zed Books.
- Connell, R. (2005). Advancing gender reform in large scale organisations: a new approach for practitioners and researchers. *Policy and Society*, 24(4), 5-24.
- Cottrell, J. and Y. Ghai (2007). Constitution-making and democratization in kenya (2000-2005). *democratization*, 14(1), 1-25.
- Council on Foreign Relations. (2019). *Women's Participation in peace processes*. New York: Council on foreign relations. <https://www.cfr.org/interactive/womens-participation-in-peace-processes> Accessed on 08.11.20.
- Dahlerup, D. (2006). *Women, quotas, and politics*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Duerst-Lahti, G. (2002). Knowing congress as a gendered institution: manliness and the implications of women in congress. In C. Rosenthal Norman ed. *Women Transforming Congress* (pp. 20-49), University of Oklahoma Press.
- Folke, O. and R. Johanna (2016). All the single ladies: job promotions and the durability of marriage. IFN Working Paper No. 1146, Sweden: *Research Institute of Industrial Economics*. <https://www.ifn.se/wfiles/wp/wp1146.pdf> Accessed on 30.04.21.
- France-Press, A. (2019). Danish MP told her baby not welcome in parliament. *The Telegraph*. 20th March. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/03/20/danish-mp-told-baby-not-welcome-parliament/> Accessed 23.04.21.
- Forbes, G. (2000). Women in modern India. The new Cambridge History of India. Second reprint, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.
- Global Gender Gap Report 2021 available at <https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2021/in-full/gggr2-key-findings> accessed 22.04.21.
- Gizelis, T-I. (2009). Gender empowerment and United Nations peace building. *Journal of Peace Research* 46(4): 505–523. doi:10.1177/0022343309334576

- Hudson, N. F. (2005). En-gendering UN peace keeping operations. *International Journal* 60(3), 785-807.
- Hughes, M. M. (2011). Intersectionality, quotas and minority women's political representation worldwide. *American Political Science Review* 105(3), 604-620.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2016). Sexism, harassment and violence against women. Issue brief October.
- Iwanaga Kazuki (2008). *Women's political participation and representation in asia*. Denmark: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies.
- Kittilson, M. and L.A. Schwindt-Bayer (2012). *The gendered effects of electoral institutions: political engagements and participation*. London, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kronsell, A. (2005). Gendered practices in institutions of hegemonic masculinities: reflections from feminist standpoint theory. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7(2), 280-298.
- Krook, M. L. (2010). Studying political representation: a comparative-gendered approach. *Perspectives on Politics*, March 8(1).
- Lovenduski, J (2005). *Feminizing politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Manchanda, R. (2017). *Women and politics of peace: south asia narrative on militarization, power and justice*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Norris, P. and J. Lovenduski (1995). *Political recruitment: gender race and class in the british parliament*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Brien, D. Z. (2015). Rising to the top: gender, political performance and party leadership in parliamentary democracies. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(4), 1022-1039.
- Ortiz-Ortega, A. & M. Barquet (2010). Gendering transition to democracy in Mexico. *Latin American Research Review*, 45(4), 108-137.
- Pai, S. (2013). From dynasty to legitimacy: women leaders in indian politics. *India International Centre Quarterly*, 39(3/4), 107-121.
- Piscopo, J. M. (2014). Beyond hearth and home: female legislators, feminist policy change, and substantive representation in Mexico. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 32(2), 87-110.
- Razavi, S. (2001). Women in contemporary democratization. *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 15(1), 201-224.

- Reyes-Housholder C. (2016). Presidentas rise: consequences for women in cabinet? *Latin American Politics and Society* 58(3), 3-25.
- Roy, E.A. (2018). Jacinda Ardern makes history with baby Neve at UN general assembly. *The Guardian*, September 24. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/25/jacinda-ardern-makes-history-with-baby-neve-at-un-general-assembly> Accessed on 19.08.19.
- Schwindt-Bayer, L. A. (2018). *Gender and representation in Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schwindt-Bayer, L. A. (2010) Comparison and integration: a path towards a comparative politics of gender. *Perspective on Politics* 8(1), 177-182.
- Shair-Rosenfield, S., and R. Wood. (2017). Governing well after war: how improving female representation prolongs post-conflict peace. *Journal of Politics* 79(3), 995–1009. doi:10.1086/691056
- Sharma, C. & Singh, P (2021). Gender and comparative politics: political representation in Asia. *Journal of Polity & Society*, 13, 23 – 38.
- Singh, P. & Sharma, C. (2019). Introduction. In Singh, P. & Sharma, C. *Comparative government and politics*, New Delhi: Sage, pp. 3-21.
- Tremblay, M. (2007). Democracy, representation and women: a comparative analysis. *Democratization* 14(4), 533-553.
- Tripp, A. M. (2010). Towards a comparative Politics of Gender research in which women matter. *Perspective on Politics* 8(1), 191-197.
- Tripp, A. M. (2016). Women’s movements and constitution making after civil unrest and conflicts in Africa: The Cases of Kenya and Somalia. *Politics and Gender*, 12(1), 78-106. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X16000015>.
- UN DPKO (2000). *Mainstreaming a gender perspective in multidimensional peace operations: lessons learned*, New York: United Nations Organisations.
- UN DPKO (2010). *Women count for peace the 2010 open days on women peace and security*. New York: United Nations
- <https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/media/publications/unifem/womencount4peaceopendaysreporten.pdf?la=en&vs=1024>
Accessed on 22.11.19.
- Waylen, G. (2007). *Engendering transitions. women’s mobilization, institutions and gender outcomes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Waylen, G. (2010). Gendering politics and policy in transitions to democracy: Chile and South Africa. *Policy and Politics*, 38(3), 337-352.

Weldon, L. S. (2006). The structure of intersectionality: a comparative politics of gender. *Politics and Gender* 2(2), 235-248.

Wilson Centre. (2016). Five years after the Arab spring: what's next for women in the MENA region? *Wilson Centre, Middle East Programme*, Washington.

Endnotes

- i Gender signifies an analytic and descriptive category that shows how sexual differences structure the lived experiences, often in ways that produce and sustain unequal power relations and inequalities. Gendering comparative politics seeks to provide a persuasive account of gender inequality with respect to different countries and contexts. The idea is to push the boundaries of analysis and discuss how our studies and practices advantage certain groups and forms of life, how the idea about masculinity shapes behaviours, construct relations and most importantly create a system that privileges a certain form of behaviour accepting them as norm. ‘Gender is never just about sex but varies by race, ethnicity, nation, class, and a variety of other dimensions of social life’ thus, the intersectional nature of identity add to the complexity that requires serious engagement. (Celis Karen et al 2013)
- ii For details refer Inter-Parliamentary Union, “Sexism, harassment and violence against women Parliamentarians”.
- iii For details refer, BBC News, “Australian politician becomes first to breastfeed in parliament” 10th May 2017 Available at <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-australia-39853360>
- iv For details refer Roy, E.A. “Jacinda Ardern makes history with baby Neve at UN general assembly.” *The Guardian*, September 24, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/25/jacinda-ardern-makes-history-with-baby-neve-at-un-general-assembly>
- v For details see France-Presse, A. “Danish MP told her baby not welcome in parliament.” *The Telegraph*, 20th March 2019 <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/03/20/danish-mp-told-baby-not-welcome-parliament/>
- vi Refer data available at Inter-Parliamentary Union website <https://www.ipu.org/our-impact/gender-equality/women-in-parliament>
- vii For details refer Data available at Inter-Parliamentary Union website <https://www.ipu.org/our-impact/gender-equality/women-in-parliament>
- viii A classificatory framework to understand the women leaders in India has been proposed by Sudha Pai; dynastic succession (Indira Gandhi, Sonia Gandhi), institutional climbers (Uma Bharti, Mamta Banerjee); leaders falling in between (Mayawati, Jayalalithaa, Sheila Dikshit), proxy women leaders (Rabri Devi) (Pai, 2001:109).

- ix For further details kindly refer Cottrell and Ghai, “Constitution Making and Democratization in Kenya (2000-2005),” and Tripp, “Women’s Movements and Constitution Making after Civil Unrest and Conflicts in Africa: The Case of Kenya and Somalia.
- x Young activist from Yemen, Tawakkol Abdel-Salam Karman was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011 for her leadership role and her demand for greater involvement of Yemenese women in the political processes. In 2015, a women’s team from Tunisia received the Nobel Peace Prize for their role in the mediation process to bring peaceful change.
- xi Wilson centre, “Five Years after the Arab Spring: What’s next for Women in the MENA Region?” pp. 1-27.
- xii UN DPKO, “Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations,” This UN study included the gender analysis of peacekeeping operation in Bosnia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Namibia and South Africa.