Intergenerational Peacebuilding Among Women

Leveraging the Power of Collaboration

Women PeaceMakers Program

University of San Diego | KROC SCHOOL Institute for Peace and Justice

Intergenerational Peacebuilding Among Women

Leveraging the Power of Collaboration

Authors

Elena B. Stavrevska, Youssra Biare, Ramatoulie Isatou Jallow, Nermine Mounir, Zarqa Yaftali, Heela Yoon, Briana Mawby and Hassnaa Tamam

Contributors

Additional contributors: May-Oo Mutraw, Besmillah Behin, Salaheddine Bouih, Matin Hakimi, Lima Safi and Abdul Rahman Shagiwal

International Partners: Hilde Deman (Search for Common Ground [SFCG]), Helena Gronberg (International Civil Society Action Network [ICAN]), Zarin Hamid (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom [WILPF]), Palwasha Kakar (United States Institute of Peace [USIP]), Liezelle Kumalo (Institute for Security Studies [ISS]), Hend Nafea (Search for Common Ground [SFCG]), Betchak Padilla (Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies [CPCS]) and Madeleine Rees (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom [WILPF])

Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies contributors: Andrew Blum, Necla Tschirgi, Cassandra Barrett and Aliza Carns

Report Editor:
Molly Wallace

Report Designer:
Jennifer Kotting, LLC

The Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice (Kroc IPJ) would like to thank everyone who contributed to this report, particularly those who served as International Partners during the 2021-2022 Women PeaceMakers Fellowship. Their guidance throughout the process was invaluable for creating this final report. The authors would also like to thank Necla Tschirgi, Paula Cordeiro, Ashley Boren, alejandrx cervantes, Kevin Dobyns and John Porten for their support throughout the fellowship year. The Kroc IPJ would also like to thank the experts and peacebuilders who contributed to this report by participating in interviews and reviewing the report.

About

The Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice (Kroc IPJ) launched in 2001 with a vision of active peacebuilding. In 2007, the Kroc IPJ became part of the newly established Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, a global hub for peacebuilding and social innovation.

The core of the Kroc IPJ mission is to co-create learning with peacemakers — learning that is deeply grounded in the lived experience of peacemakers around the world, that is made rigorous by our place within a university ecosystem and that is immediately and practically applied by peacemakers to end cycles of violence. The Kroc IPJ is the bridge between theory and practice at the Kroc School, driving the Kroc School's mission to shape a more peaceful and more just world.

Together with local women peacebuilders and renowned international women, peace and security organizations, the Kroc IPJ identifies the most critical peacebuilding challenges facing women leaders around the world. We then co-develop applied and actionable research to identify evidence-based solutions.

Since 2002, the Kroc IPJ has hosted the Women PeaceMakers Fellowship program. The Fellowship offers a unique opportunity for women peacebuilders to engage in a cycle of learning, practice, research and participation that strengthens peacebuilding partnerships. The Women PeaceMakers Fellowship facilitates impactful collaborations between women peacebuilders from conflict-affected communities and international partner organizations. The Fellows also co-create research intended to shape the peacebuilding field and highlight good practices for peacebuilding design and implementation.

This report was co-created by the six 2021-2022 Women PeaceMaker Fellows — Youssra Biare from Morocco, Ramatoulie Isatou Jallow from Botswana, May-Oo Mutraw from Myanmar, Nermine Mounir from Egypt, Zarqa Yaftali from Afghanistan and Heela Yoon from Afghanistan — and was supported by members of leading international peacebuilding organizations, who provided their own expertise and perspectives to shape this work. This report is based on the lived realities of women peacebuilders and peacebuilding partners, providing both concrete recommendations for an international audience and in-depth, context-specific analysis through the case studies.

Executive Summary

Compounding crises related to inequalities and violence, health, the environment, and food and water insecurity affect people across generations, and solutions to build lasting peace require the involvement and leadership of people of all generations. This report focuses on how generation and age differences affect peacebuilding work among women by analyzing how women and women's organizations are using intergenerational strategies and partnerships to build peace. This report is co-created as part of the Women PeaceMakers Fellowship, led by the voices and perspectives of the 2021-2022 Women PeaceMaker Fellows. This report provides both a global analysis and context-specific case studies.

The report argues that women's and women's organizations' intergenerational peacebuilding efforts and potential need to be better recognized, supported, developed, and encouraged at the national and international level alike. Through the case studies, the report shows examples of existing efforts, opportunities, and challenges, with the goal of shaping and influencing how decision-makers and funders approach intergenerational partnerships and strategies as part of peacebuilding work.

This report drew from the lived realities of women peacebuilders and their partners, and from experts working in the Women, Peace and Security and Youth, Peace and Security spaces. Analyzing the challenges and opportunities of working across generations revealed the following key findings:

- Working across generations improves effectiveness and reach;
- Intergenerational partnerships require clear communication, respect, and recognition of expertise;
- Networks and coalitions can foster intergenerational partnerships;
- Meaningful participation, recognition of legitimacy, and sufficient funding for intergenerational work are essential;
- Partners should focus on learning together.

The following recommendations are based on this evidence and analysis.

Recommendations for international organizations and funders

- Incorporate an intergenerational framework into programming and events, including women of different generations in all aspects of peacebuilding work.
- Assess current levels of participation of women of different generations in programming, identify existing gaps and create a framework to track this participation.
- Ensure that women of all ages and experience levels are able to participate in a meaningful way rather than being tokenized.
- Ensure that a diversity of women's and youths' voices are represented in events and programming.
- Integrate age as a category of analysis when considering whom to incorporate into programming, events and funding.
- Integrate age into existing institutional frameworks on inclusion, ensuring an intersectional approach.
- Ensure that funding and grant-making mechanisms are accessible for youth-led organizations by providing flexibility in funding processes and ensuring that clear instructions are available for people with limited experience working with international organizations.
- Make the funding application process more conducive to collaborative submissions so that grant-making encourages collaboration among women-led and youth-led organizations or organizations of different generations of adult women, rather than fueling competition among them.
- Provide funding for dialogues and relationship-building activities among women leaders of different generations.
- Provide funding for networks of women peace leaders in order to build connections and a space to share knowledge and opportunities.

Recommendations for leaders of peacebuilding organizations

- Create coalitions that benefit your own work and provide opportunities for collaboration among organizations led by junior and senior peacebuilders.
- Create broader programming activities with a focus on understanding and advancing intergenerational peacebuilding through multiple types of programming or research.
- Create mentoring programs that help cultivate leadership skills among different generations of women.
- Create pathways for women, including young women, to take leadership positions and gain skills necessary to advance in the peacebuilding field.
- Ensure that youth-focused programs include women in a meaningful and intersectional way and that women-focused programs include youth in a meaningful and intersectional way.

Recommendations for senior women peacebuilders

- Approach youth with respect, seeking to understand and learn from their experience and the unique skills they have to offer.
- Recognize the expertise that junior women peacebuilders bring to the peacebuilding process.
- Be transparent and open about what you can learn from a more junior partner and what you can offer.
- Create opportunities for intergenerational collaboration between individuals as well as between organizations.
- Create mentorship opportunities for junior women peacebuilders.
- Open spaces, especially high-level and men-dominated spaces in the peacebuilding field, to junior women peacebuilders.
- Disrupt harmful power imbalances that may discourage young women from participating fully and having their voices heard.

Recommendations for junior women peacebuilders

- Approach senior women with respect, seeking to learn from their experience and skills.
- Recognize the expertise that senior women peacebuilders bring to the peacebuilding process.
- Be transparent and open about what you can learn from a more senior partner and what you can offer.
- Create opportunities for intergenerational collaboration through networking with senior women peacebuilders.
- Initiate and engage in intergenerational dialogues, aimed at building intergenerational trust.

Table of Contents

Introduction

As the world faces multiple compounding crises, from the COVID-19 pandemic to the environmental crisis, financial crisis, care crisis, crises of food and water security, as well as growing inequalities and continuous violence, the intergenerational impact of these crises is clear. Approaches to achieving peace, especially positive peace, should center the involvement of all generations and genders.

And yet, study after study shows that an overwhelming percentage of women and young people feel excluded from the political process and tackling those crises at the highest level. Just one example, the *Be Seen Be Heard Global Youth Survey* conducted in December 2021 shows that as many as three quarters (76%) of under-30-year-olds around the world think that politicians do not listen to young people.[1]

On the other hand, old people in some countries feel excluded from current developments and, as a result, have more negative attitudes about politics and participate less in some political activities.[2] Additionally, with research pointing to individuals who have experienced an epidemic outbreak during their "impressionable years" (ages 18-25) having less faith in elections and political institutions,[3] and with low representation of young people in political institutions overall,[4] the negative impact on intergenerational trust caused by the response to the COVID-19 pandemic around the world are yet to be seen. The importance of intergenerational work in conflict-affected societies—and intergenerational peacebuilding more generally—ought to be understood within this context.

Intergenerational peacebuilding can be seen as both a means to an end and an end in and of itself; that is, on the one hand, it can refer to different generations coming together to work towards a sustainable and just peace, and on the other hand, it can refer to the repairing of the broken trust between generations and the rebuilding of the societal fabric. Intergenerational issues have been explored in depth around intergenerational transmission of trauma and continuity of violence,[5] and how to curb that transmission.[6] In conflict-affected societies in particular there is often an intergenerational passing of grievances.[7] There is a significant body of literature on issues such as educational practices for addressing trauma,[8] transmission of ethnic identity[9] and cultural beliefs,[10] and building a social legacy.[11] Nevertheless, despite both approaches to intergenerational peacebuilding noted above being frequently put to practice either implicitly or explicitly, such work has not received sufficient research attention, with few notable exceptions.[12] One area that has received particularly little attention is the domain of intergenerational peacebuilding among and by women and women's organizations, despite women's inclusion in peace processes contributing positively to sustainable peace. [13]

This report addresses that gap. The report focuses on how generation and age differences affect peacebuilding work among women. While the literature on intergenerational issues expands far beyond peace- and conflict-related topics, this report focuses specifically on intergenerational approaches to social cohesion, development, and peace. Additionally, while much of the literature on intergenerational issues focuses on youth-adult interactions, a gap exists on literature with focus on interactions between different generations of adults, including between different generations of women.

In order to better understand how women and women's organizations use intergenerational strategies and partnerships to contribute to building peace, the report furthers the growing body of research on intergenerational peacebuilding in the following ways:

- The research behind the report is led by women peacemakers and centers their experiences, knowledge, and perspectives;
- The report provides both a broader analysis and five context-specific case studies;
- The report includes findings on work between generations of adult women, as well as between adults and youth;
- Through the support and engagement of partner organizations, the report brings together peacemakers and international leaders in designing research and considering the findings.

The report argues that women's and women's organizations' intergenerational peacebuilding efforts and potential need to be better developed, supported, recognized, and encouraged at the national and international level alike. Through the case studies, the report shows examples of existing efforts, opportunities, and challenges, with the goal of shaping and influencing how decision-makers and funders approach intergenerational partnerships and strategies as part of peacebuilding work.

The report argues that women's and women's organizations' intergenerational peacebuilding efforts and potential need to be better developed, supported, recognized, and encouraged at the national and international level alike.

Methodology

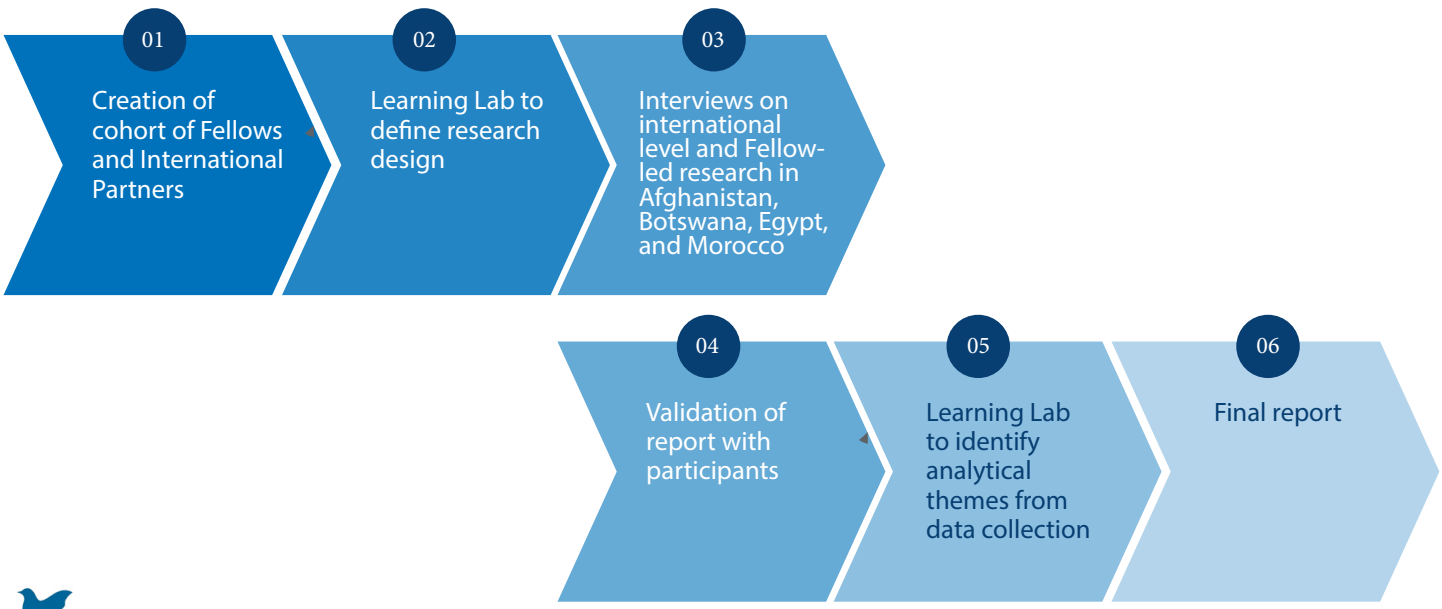
The research for this report focused on the opportunities and challenges of women and women's organizations using intergenerational strategies and partnerships to contribute to building peace. It was driven by four central research questions:

- What strategies have women peacebuilders used to build intergenerational partnerships?
- What are the challenges to building effective and meaningful intergenerational partnerships?
- How have intergenerational partnerships contributed to peacebuilding?
- What are the obstacles for intergenerational partnerships being effective in building peace?

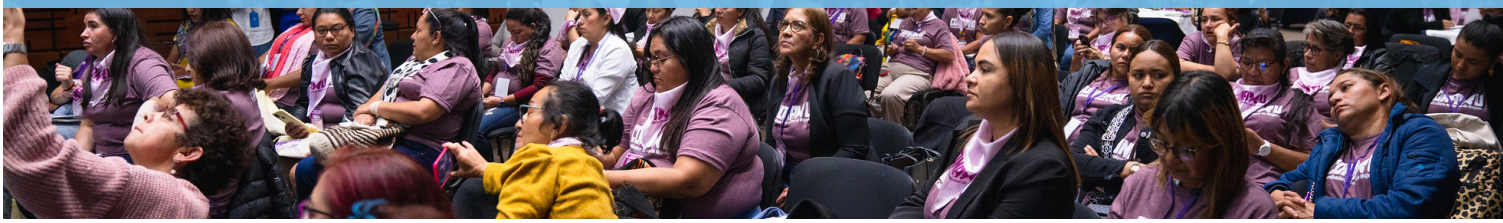
Additionally, each of the case studies was led by separate, context-specific research questions, compatible with the central research questions of the study.

The research took place in three stages. The first stage included a desk review that identified the most relevant and useful literature on intergenerational peacebuilding and mapped out key definitions, good practices and gaps in the existing literature. The materials included journal articles and reports, as well as other relevant publications by UN agencies, researchers, research organizations and civil society organizations working on women's intergenerational peacebuilding.

The second stage focused on data-gathering through semi-structured interviews, focus groups and participant observation. The research team conducted 16 interviews with representatives of international organizations who have done work related to intergenerational peacebuilding, whether with youth, women or people of all genders, in order to inform the overall report. It is worth noting that many of the international organizations the research team identified worked either with youth or with women, but very few specifically focused on young women. These interviews were conducted virtually and in English.



Importantly, the report and the work on it reflect the feminist ethics of care central to the Fellowship, which means being committed to actual dialogue, interpersonal relationships, embodiment and contextual, lived methodologies.



Simultaneously, 2021-2022 Women PeaceMaker Fellows Youssra Biare, Ramatoulie Isatou Jallow, Nermine Mounir, Heela Yoon and Zarqa Yaftali each developed and carried out research for case studies around their interests and experiences. They conducted interviews and focus groups with identified relevant interlocutors in each of their contexts, including women peacebuilders of different generations and other people involved in supporting intergenerational collaboration among women peacebuilders. Additionally, where relevant, Fellows also relied on participant observation as a method of data-gathering. The data were gathered virtually and in person, in some instances with the help of research assistants, in the languages spoken in each context. The specific methodology employed for each case study is outlined within the respective text of each.

The third and final stage focused on data analysis and interpretation of findings. Interview and focus group data, policy and legal documents, and official statements, as well as other secondary data were subject to content analysis. The findings have been written up in a manner that both does justice to the experiences gathered and is useful for future work on intergenerational peacebuilding.

Importantly, the report and the work on it reflect the feminist ethics of care central to the Fellowship, which means being committed to actual dialogue, interpersonal relationships, embodiment and contextual, lived methodologies. Additionally, the Fellowship — and as a result, this report — adopts a pluralist approach to knowledge, recognizing not only that each human is a knowledge producer and that much knowledge is collectively produced, but also that knowledge can be presented in many different forms (oral, visual and written, among others).

To that end, in conducting the research for this report, the interlocutors were treated as equal co-creators of knowledge with care, dignity and respect. Those engaged in the research were given a detailed information sheet about the research. They could choose to be included in the report anonymously, including the anonymization of any context details that might reveal their identity, or by name, should they consider it a safe and important way of exercising their agency. Additionally, every person engaged in the research was informed of their rights prior to the interviews and the focus groups, including the right to withdraw consent at any point during the research or after it was completed. A draft version of the report was also sent to every person who was involved, ensuring that their views were accurately represented in the text and that any further feedback was incorporated in the final version.

Understanding intergenerational peacebuilding

Along with gender, age and generation are salient factors in understanding peacebuilding. Like gender, age categories are socially constructed and are connected to particular meanings and values that affect personal relationships, social practices and politics.[14] This report specifically focuses on how those categories and the meanings attached to them come into play in intergenerational peacebuilding efforts. Intergenerational peacebuilding in the context of this report means the collaboration of different generations, whether youth and non-youth or different generations of adults, in building sustainable and just peace.

Intergenerational collaboration has been linked to stronger community cohesion; improved understanding between younger and older populations; greater participation in community development by older people, youth and children; and decreased fear of crime.[15] A study focused on Ethiopia showed that storytelling through music can bridge differences across generations and support reconciliation and peacebuilding.[16] Different generations of activists worked together to form a movement to overturn anti-abortion legislation in Argentina, building solidarity and mutual recognition among age groups.[17] In some instances, especially in conflict-affected societies, intergenerational work can serve as a mechanism to learn from past efforts — or as Ghada Rifai, the co-founder of the Syrian organization Mobaderoon Network, puts it, "We need to know what was there before."[18]

The boundaries between different generations are rarely clearcut, posing a challenge for studies of intergenerational collaboration. For instance, there is no universally accepted definition of "youth," and definitions vary between countries.[19] The United Nations, for example, defines "youth" as people who are between the ages of 15 and 24 years old. According to this definition, there are approximately 1.2 billion youth in the world, 16 percent of the global population.[20] The *Convention on the Rights of the Child* considers anyone younger than 18 to be a child.[21] Other frameworks use a different definition. For instance, the *African Youth Charter* of the African Union defines "youth" and "young people" as people between the ages of 15 and 35.[22] The Youth, Peace and Security agenda defines "youth" as being between the ages of 18 and 29, but this is sometimes expanded in the peacebuilding work undertaken in different contexts to include young people up to the age of 35.[23] The distinction between generations gets even more complex when it comes to collaboration across different generations of non-youth adults.

Forms of intergenerational collaboration and peacebuilding

Efforts to observe best practices or create a framework for intergenerational peacebuilding work have focused on some common principles, such as mutual understanding, respect and benefits for older and younger participants; learning and training for both generations; and the development of relationships characterized by solidarity and care.[24] In the work to pass on knowledge, power and access, which should be at the heart of intergenerational collaboration,[25] peacebuilders use various forms of collaboration, which sometimes overlap, including intergenerational partnerships, mentorships, trainings and dialogues. These collaborations happen at the institutional, organizational and sometimes individual level. This section addresses each of these forms of collaboration in turn: partnerships, mentorships and trainings and dialogues.

Partnerships

Mentorships and trainings

Dialogue

Partnerships

The equal distribution of power is a critical piece of partnerships. Partnerships must contain a mutual respect and regard for each other's value and expertise, where no partner holds greater authority over the other and both benefit from the partnership. Within existing structures and institutions, most of the work of youth-led organizations is intergenerational, whether through interactions with decision-makers, other organizations, or donors. However, most of this work falls short of the ideal partnership model despite certain efforts. The guide for how public officials should implement the Youth, Peace and Security agenda at the national level specifically notes that "[y]outh can engage meaningfully if they feel they are truly listened to, trusted, and supported, and if they themselves trust their counterparts," and that instead of isolating young people's participation to "youth" issues only, intergenerational partnerships are key to fully and meaningfully engaging young people on all societal issues and in different spaces.[26] Given the central role that intergenerational collaboration plays for them, it is no surprise that becoming equal partners and being regarded as equals are strategic priorities for some youth-led organizations, including the United Network of Young Peacebuilders.[27]

Nevertheless, the instances of formalized intergenerational partnerships appear to be rare, which is perhaps to be expected considering the unequal power dynamics of intergenerational work, often shaped by dominant stereotypes of young people that minimize their agency, capacity, expertise and experiences. An example of intergenerational partnership noted by several of the interviewees is the Global Coalition on Youth, Peace and Security — a leading platform that brings together over "70 organizations from civil society, including youth-led and youth-focused organizations, UN entities, donors, academia and inter-governmental bodies," and shapes global policy and practice on youth, peace and security[28] — even though there is some criticism as to how inclusive and equal the Coalition is or can be, given its UN focus. In addition to this form of partnership, some of the case studies point out that in a number of instances, especially in conflict-affected societies, partnerships happen rather organically at the grassroots level, whether ad hoc or longer term. However, peacebuilders on the ground are quick to point out these partnerships and collaborations cannot always happen organically and ought to be developed strategically, especially considering the critical role they play in building trust and understanding that contribute to a sustainable peace.[29]

It is important to note that not all intergenerational collaborations are, can be, or seek to be formalized. In the case of intergenerational LGBTQ+ work, it is precisely the informality that allows for the freedom to do a different type of work.[30] In many instances, "informal intergenerational pathways [have been literally] life-saving," with older queer people creating networks for younger queer people to get out of smaller communities or conflict-affected areas.[31] In other cases, the lack of formalization might come from the youth-led movement or initiative's refusal to get officially registered, be that due to concerns for their safety or lack of trust in the system. Regardless of the reasons, it is critical to understand that not all intergenerational collaboration is visible or unfolds in formalized spaces.

Mentorships and trainings

Mentorships and trainings appear to be a more prevalent form of intergenerational collaboration. These forms of collaboration are usually centered around knowledge being shared by the mentor or the trainer, with the goal of advancing the mentees' or trainees' skills and expertise. Efforts to offer peace education across generations, such as the work undertaken by World BEYOND War, are an important example of this form of collaboration.[32] The Peace Huts in Liberia offer another illustration of intergenerational mentorship on peacebuilding at work, with a particular focus on gender equality.[33] This bottom-up mechanism initiated by Liberian rural women[34] offers mentorship and leadership opportunities, as well as spaces where youth can address their concerns, "such as early marriage, teen pregnancy and anger management, to maintain peaceful relationships in the community."[35]

Intergenerational mentorship regarding peacebuilding fulfills a knowledge-sharing function, as well as an occasional power- and access-sharing function. Usually, it is assumed to mean more senior peacebuilders advising and coaching the younger peacebuilders. Nevertheless, intergenerational collaboration relies on the recognition that different generations have different strengths and different capabilities. For instance, one recent example of young people acting as mentors or trainers emerged during the transition to remote, online working because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Highlighting this example, Cynthia Chigwenya notes,

> *Within the African Union, a lot of young people came up to upskill or capacitate some older generations who now know how to use Zoom for a meeting, for instance. So, it is not a matter of the youth can do it on their own or the elderly can do it on their own. We can only talk of representative and sustainable peace, if all stakeholders feel that they have a stake and that they should contribute, and no one feels that resorting to violence is an option for them.*[36]

Dialogue

Finally, the most prominent form of intergenerational collaboration is intergenerational dialogue. In some cases, intergenerational dialogues have been used as conflict resolution mechanisms, while in others they help communities and decision-makers better understand the needs and capabilities of different generations. An example from Kyrgyzstan entails intergenerational dialogues that bring together civil society organizations, youth volunteer groups, women's groups' representatives, local self-government representatives and elders from the Aksakals courts[37] in order to discuss conflict resolution initiatives.[38] At the same time, these intergenerational dialogues also contribute to the social cohesion of the community.[39]

Focusing specifically on youth, Eliška Jelínková, the Co-Director of the United Network of Young Peacebuilders, notes,

> *Young people understand the need for intergenerational dialogue, even though the criticism we sometimes receive is that we act like we have all the answers. Most of our activities have a component that focuses on intergenerational dialogue, be that by inviting non-youth stakeholders to speak to youth about the implementation of YPS at the national level or by organizing a high-level dialogue with UN Security Council members focused on how to bring the YPS Agenda forward.*[40]

At times the dialogues bring together people from multiple generations and are very deliberately organized by youth organizations. These dialogues are often organized with the support of women's peacebuilding organizations, as is the case with the Coalition for Action on 1325 in Uganda.[41]

Interviewees with experiences in the different forms of intergenerational peacebuilding all point to the need to bridge the gap between generations without resorting to traditional, institutionalist and often militaristic approaches to peacebuilding. Instead, regardless of the form it takes, intergenerational collaboration ought to start by understanding what women and young people are already doing in the spaces of peace and security, considering them experts in their own right, and approaching them as equals who have a lot to offer.

Two agendas: WPS and YPS

While the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) and Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) agendas both seek to improve representation and inclusive decision-making, young women often struggle to find a place in either field. Too often, an intersectional lens is lacking in work focused on women or youth.

In 2000, the UN Security Council (UNSC) adopted Resolution 1325. Since then, the UNSC has adopted another nine resolutions — 1820 (2009), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2010), 1960 (2011), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015), 2467 (2019) and 2493 (2019)[42] — that, together with 1325, form what is known as the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. The agenda consists of four pillars: prevention, participation, protection, and relief and recovery.[43] While all ten resolutions clearly refer to "women" in their text, eight also refer to "girls," which points to at least a partial consideration of the position of the girl child in conflict-affected contexts. The WPS agenda is then implemented at the national level through so-called National Action Plans, which vary in scope, intent and framing.[44]

The Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) agenda draws on the language and ideals of the WPS agenda. The YPS agenda was formalized in 2015 through UNSC Resolution 2250, which recognized that young people play an important role in peace and security issues. UNSC Resolution 2250 mirrors language from UNSCR 1325, which founded the WPS agenda. At the same time, it is important to note that the initial motivation that led to the adoption of 2250 came from concerns "around rapidly shifting demographics and potential peace and security concerns from 'youth' — largely synonymous with young men."[45] Subsequent YPS resolutions, however, such as 2419 (2018), addressed meaningful inclusion of young women in peace processes, and then 2535 (2020) outlined specific steps in operationalizing the YPS agenda.[46] Much like the WPS agenda, the YPS agenda consists of different pillars, including participation, protection, prevention, partnerships, and disengagement and reintegration.

In addition to the YPS agenda, the *World Programme of Action for Youth* guides UN action on youth. The Programme includes "girls and young women," "full and effective participation of youth in the life of society and in decision-making," and "intergenerational issues" among its priority areas.[47] Additionally, formal structures, including high-level UN meetings and annual meetings of youth delegates, provide youth the opportunity to speak at an international level.[48]

Both the WPS and the YPS agendas seek to address exclusion, inequalities and structural causes of conflict, sharing common strategies for engagement. The YPS field plays a key role in recognizing and highlighting the importance of youth in peace and security decision-making and implementation. However, practitioners and policymakers in both fields have experienced challenges with siloed thinking and lacking an intersectional lens that considers both gender and age.[49] The YPS agenda, for example, has been critiqued for lacking a gender lens, even though some of the architects of the agenda have argued that this was an intentional strategy early on, in an effort to avoid some of the critiques the WPS agenda faced initially, such as the appearance of pitting women against men.[50] The WPS agenda, on the other hand, has been critiqued for centering older women. In other words, "gender" is assumed to mean "women," and "youth" is assumed to mean "men."[51] As a result, young women often face exclusion from both fora: on the one hand, for not being old enough to be considered a "woman" and, on the other hand, for not facing enough challenges or not being seen as enough of a threat to be considered a "youth," as viewed through certain lenses.[52] Additionally, women (including young women) are spoken of in a binary way, either as leaders or as victims. This challenge has plagued both agendas.

The two fields have responded differently to these critiques. A few of the interviewees noted that the YPS is a space that appears much more open to change. As one of the co-founders of Our Generation for Inclusive Peace, Ruby Weaver, points out,

> *The roots of the YPS are often linked to rise in a countering violent extremism and radicalization agenda and with this notion of youth being perpetrators of violence. And the YPS agenda is trying to address some of that, but because it is in response to a very masculinized perception of youth, there is automatically a definition of youth that we have to challenge with a gender lens. But the reactions to that have been much more open […] The pushback has almost been logistical.*[53]

At the same time, the extent to which LGBTQ+ youth have been able to participate in the YPS agenda has been limited.[54] "This comes in addition to queer youth being usually depicted as victims or simply recipients of violence within YPS frameworks, rather than equitable stakeholders of building peace and security alongside their peers."[55]

Reflecting on the experience of Our Generation for Inclusive Peace, a feminist organization working on the intersection of the two agendas and aiming to make both more inclusive, intersectional and decolonized,[56] Ruby Weaver recalls: "A lot more of the resistance we have faced has been within WPS spaces, as opposed to YPS spaces. The fact that we can distinguish so clearly between the two is a challenge and an issue in having to divide our efforts between the two and constantly be looking at where we can bring those two together."[57] In the course of the research for this report, various interviewees pointed out the siloing of the two agendas, notable efforts to overcome that trend notwithstanding. Equally importantly, this issue also posed a methodological challenge for the research, reflected in the pool of potential interviewees, with most people squarely working on one agenda or the other.

Both the WPS and the YPS agendas seek to address exclusion, inequalities and structural causes of conflict, sharing common strategies for engagement.

Building bridges between WPS and YPS programming and priorities

The WPS agenda came into being through coalition-building efforts for successful advocacy. Many women's and feminist organizations continue those efforts across the world today, in the Global South[58] and the Global North alike, working tirelessly at the grassroots, local, regional, national and international levels. The organizations working on WPS are sometimes connected in networks and alliances, such as the Coalition for Action on 1325, which is an alliance of more than 60 organizations (some of which are community-level organizations, while others are regional, national and international),[59] and the International Civil Society Action Network, which works with partners in over 40 countries.[60]

At the UN level, the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, which is "a consensus-based coalition of 19 international non-governmental organizations working to advance the Women, Peace and Security agenda at the United Nations and around the world,"[61] is based in New York, and its members are regularly invited to the Security Council to provide the civil society perspective on the agenda.[62] While some of the NGO Working Group members do have an intersectional approach in their work, none of the members is a youth-led organization.

The Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP), one of the members of the NGO Working Group on WPS, is a rare example of a coalition that explicitly promotes synergies between WPS and YPS agendas in a couple of ways, including through their Young Women for Peace Program, operating in ten countries.[63] The GNWP also works on bringing young women into the spaces where the work on the WPS National Action Plans unfolds.[64] Moreover, in December 2019, GNWP was at the forefront of the 55+ organizations and networks from around the world coming together to form the Beijing+25 Women, Peace, and Security – Youth, Peace, and Security Action Coalition, with the goal to advocate for stronger WPS and YPS language in the documents that were to result from the Beijing+25 processes.[65]

Prior to the first YPS resolution, the Working Group on Youth and Peacebuilding was established in 2012. Part of the broader UN Inter-Agency Network on Youth Development, the Working Group was later renamed to the Global Coalition on Youth, Peace and Security.[66] The Global Coalition "brings together a wide constituency of civil society organizations, including youth-led and youth-focused organizations, UN entities, donors, academia and inter-governmental bodies" and is co-chaired by the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, the United Network of Youth Peacebuilders and Search for Common Ground.[67] Its goal is to provide guidance and support in the implementation of YPS, create and sustain a community of practice on YPS, improve and promote evidence-based practice, and support and advocate for young people's meaningful participation, as outlined in the YPS resolutions.[68] The Global Coalition's work is intended to be intergenerational not only by virtue of its decision-making structure (all decisions are approved by all three co-chairs) and inclusion of young people in high-level discussions (such as at the Security Council), but also by virtue of intergenerational partnerships it employs "to leverage each other's strengths."[69] Interviews with two of the three co-chairs highlighted a lot of the work that goes into changing norms in state and UN institutions, challenging the concept of representation and rethinking who young people are representing when they speak, as well as rethinking the intersection of youth and gender.[70] The members of the Global Coalition do coordinate with the NGO Working Group on WPS and its members, and the success of the two coalitions advocating for more inclusive practices and policies is evident.

Beyond the efforts directly linked to the implementation of these two peace and security agendas — and beyond a specific focus on peace and security altogether — in May 2019, UN Women announced a multi-generational campaign called Generation Equality.[71] This campaign was created to mark the 25th anniversary of the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*, a worldwide landmark document for the advancement of women's rights and gender equality that was adopted in 1995. At the heart of Generation Equality is an intergenerational approach, as the campaign was launched with the goal of bringing together "the next generations of women's rights activists — many of whom may not have been born in 1995 — with the gender equality advocates and visionaries who were instrumental in creating the Beijing Platform for Action more than two decades ago, to accelerate efforts to make gender equality and women's rights a lived reality."[72] Intergenerational partnerships and youth leadership are seen as the driving forces behind Generation Equality.[73] Similarly, at least one interviewee has noted that the Generation Equality Forum, held in 2021, is an example of how women's rights and youth-led organizations can work together to push for gender equality.[74]

Especially of interest here is one of the most important outcomes of the Generation Equality Forum: the *Compact on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Action* (WPS-HA Compact),[75] which is intended to be an intergenerational, inclusive movement for action on WPS and gender equality in humanitarian action.[76]

Such intergenerational efforts further emphasize the need, importance and potential of building bridges between the WPS and YPS programming and priorities. Through these efforts the international community has placed priority on leadership from women and youth, acknowledging the importance of their voices. However, building mutually beneficial and respectful intergenerational partnerships can still be difficult. The following chapter will analyze these challenges.

Factors that impede intergenerational collaboration

Creating intergenerational collaboration that is equitable can be challenging; often, opportunities and resources are not evenly distributed, leaving key voices out of the conversation. Several key themes emerged from interviews with participants around the common obstacles and impeding factors to creating and sustaining intergenerational collaboration. These themes are a critical part of cross-generational work and can determine whether and how that work unfolds. The impeding factors that were particularly emphasized in the interviews conducted for this report and are outlined in this chapter include: lack of meaningful participation and representation; gatekeeping and rigid institutional structures; stereotypes and lack of respect; lack of trust; restrictive funding structure and processes; and perceived lack of legitimacy. Some of these factors are highlighted through two case studies focused on Afghanistan authored by Women PeaceMaker Fellows Heela Yoon and Zarqa Yaftali. One zooms in on the case of the Eastern provinces of Afghanistan specifically, and the other zooms out to the case of Afghanistan more broadly to reveal some of the challenges to intergenerational work undertaken by women peacebuilders at the grassroots and national levels. Importantly, the case studies also provide glimmers of hope and recommendations for how these challenges can be overcome.

Lack of meaningful participation and representation

Meaningful participation of young people, including young women, is one of the key elements of intergenerational collaboration. It is precisely in that direction that a lot of the advocacy around WPS and YPS especially is directed. Meaningful participation, in peace and security efforts and more broadly, demands that women of all generations, as well as young people, be treated as equal partners, that they not be tokenized, that their participation be respected and valued and that they should be allowed to participate meaningfully, not simply show gratitude for the opportunity to participate.[77] These efforts push back against a lot of the current practice. Inclusion of all these groups, especially at the national level, is indeed usually tokenistic, and the person who is invited is expected to represent and speak on behalf of all the women or all the youth in the whole country.[78] To that end, young people are often asked to speak only to the youth experience, and women are invited to speak only to women's experiences, even if they have deep subject matter expertise in the topic being discussed. Recognizing the expertise of women and young people in the subject matter, not just as women or youth representatives, is a key aspect of ensuring meaningful representation.[79] On top of that, there is very little knowledge on the part of non-youth stakeholders of youth-led organizations and of those actors who should be included. Additionally, nepotism and elitism are both prevalent, whereby it is powerful people's children who are being invited or young people from privileged backgrounds.[80] For both youth and women, sometimes even when they are included, there is no due diligence done to check whether the young people invited are in fact connected to any youth movements or organizations,[81] or that the women represent any women's rights organizations or initiatives. Beyond this, increasingly there is not only tokenization but also sometimes even cooptation of efforts, with young people being pushed aside from spaces that they have created.

There are often power dynamics behind the invitations for representation and participation as well. As Christine Odera, the Global Coordinator of the Commonwealth Youth Peace Ambassadors Network, remarks,

> *Sometimes when you as a young person are invited to the conversation, it is easier. But when it is you, the young person, inviting the older people in the conversation, it is harder. Because they speak over you, they do not speak with you. And that becomes a challenge because they dominate the conversation when you are inviting them to have a conversation [as equals]. It is a power play in a way too, especially as you cannot say "no" to their invitation, but they can say "no" to yours.*[82]

Additionally, much like women, youth face many obstacles to representation and leadership in peace and security fields, including being disadvantaged by unequal power dynamics, a lack of clear roles for youth, unclear decision-making processes, a lack of respect for youth opinion, a lack of resources for youth activists, and, apart from notable exceptions,[83] a lack of an intersectional sensibility.[84] This last point refers to the youth, when considered at all, being approached as a monolithic category. However, not only is youth a heterogenous group in terms of age – it includes both teenagers and young adults, for instance – but it is also heterogenous in terms of identities, exclusions and the structural violence different young people face. For example, the experiences and needs of youth living with disabilities might differ from those of young people living in rural areas, of young women or of LGBTQ+ youth. This is precisely why many have stressed the need for a multi-stakeholder approach to peacebuilding, which would be able to tease out these specifics of different young people's and women's experiences.

Young women, for example, are often overlooked and underrepresented in peacebuilding leadership, especially in large international organizations working in the field. Young women experience difficulty participating in, much less co-leading or co-owning, initiatives.[85] A study focused on Ghana found that older women and young men tend to occupy the spaces for peacebuilding led by women and youth, while young women are usually left out of "inclusive" peacebuilding efforts.[86] In fact, in discussing the position of young women, as well as LGTBQ+ youth, in peacebuilding, many of the interviewees for this study used the expression "falling through the cracks." This expression was used as an indication that the spaces for youth, if any, are dominated by young men, and the spaces for women, when they exist, are dominated by older women.

Young women, for example, are often overlooked and underrepresented in peacebuilding leadership, especially in large international organizations.

Women PeaceMaker Fellow Heela Yoon explores the state of intergenerational peacebuilding for women in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan in her case study for this report and highlights the lack of meaningful inclusion of young women peacebuilders. As of 2021, with the return of the Taliban to power, Afghanistan is ranked as one of the most challenging places to be a woman,[87] and Afghan women and youth face high risks of physical and sexual abuse and exploitation and serious restrictions on their rights.[88] While Afghan women have gained prominence in peacebuilding activities over the past 20 years, young Afghan women remain largely absent from these spaces in the eastern provinces, and Yoon's case study reveals that intergenerational peacebuilding has not been an area of focus in training and programming in the Eastern Zone. This research demonstrates that there are significant barriers to intergenerational peacebuilding in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan, due to limited funding and capacity in the face of security and social constraints that prevent young women from participating fully.

According to many of the participants that Yoon interviewed, most people view women and girls in Afghanistan as victims of war and conflict, not changemakers. While both young women and men appear to experience similar types of marginalization from decision-making processes, young women face additional gender-specific obstacles, particularly in Kunar and Laghman provinces. According to the findings in Nangarhar province, young women peacebuilders felt that NGOs focus on empowering senior women and promoting their inclusion in policies and peacebuilding practices without emphasizing the inclusion of young women or girls. In the context of the Eastern Zone, senior women and men peacebuilders are typically seen as authority figures, providers and protectors, while young women or girls are considered learners and asked to assist in tasks expected of people of their age.

Yoon finds that all participants in her study think that intergenerational peacebuilding is valuable and essential and that this type of work could create new levels of understanding critical to building sustainable peace. Yoon's case study highlights the need for meaningful inclusion of young women in peace, security and political decision-making processes and for governments and international partners to help address the obstacles to their meaningful inclusion, including lack of access to education, economic opportunities and resources. Yoon emphasizes a need for programming that specifically identifies intergenerational work as a tool and useful strategy for building peace and working for gender equality. Read the full case study on page 39.

Youth-led organizations, wherever possible, have pushed back against exclusion. It is worth noting this has not always been possible. In some cases, there are cultural factors that play a role, with any complaint about an opportunity that you have been given being seen as ingratitude. In other instances, funding might depend on a good relationship with the more senior generation and pushing back might potentially damage that relationship. Yet in others, pushing back might come with certain security risks, too. As the rare youth-led network that one "cannot not include," UNOY Peacebuilders are in a privileged position to be able to push back against exclusionary practices. Its co-director, Eliška Jelínková, reflects on the position they are in:

> *Some of our members in certain countries really face challenges when it comes to engaging with someone. And they are still very much either tokenized or are told, in a way, to "wait your turn until you are older." This is something that we have started to track and see, when we put our members forward for especially a more high-level engagement, we evaluate how they felt, how they were treated by others, if there was any follow-up engagement, what was the level of preparation, the information they received and if they would ever engage in such a format again. This is all very important for us to know, so we are not putting people up to almost fail or to feel uncomfortable. And then we communicate that to the people who invited us in the first place. This has worked really well. People have been very surprised in a way that we would like to continue some kind of a partnership with them going forward, that we are not interested only in a one-off speaking opportunity. [Moreover] sometimes we are approached and asked to speak to our members to ask them to fall in line. This happens at the national level, but even at the UN level. Be that because their boss did not like the feedback that was given by this person we have invited, so they would appreciate if next time we send someone else or if we could share the talking points ahead of time, etc. We have never had anyone not come back to us after we have expressed that a certain practice is not ethical.*[89]

Gatekeeping and rigid institutional structures

It would be inaccurate to assume that there is no gatekeeping within the spaces intended to promote more inclusion, including YPS and WPS spaces. For instance, it has been mentioned that despite the noteworthy steps in becoming a more inclusive space, the Global Coalition for YPS has in some respects remained an elite, closed-door endeavor.[90] Queer youth and youth with disabilities, despite their regular experiences of navigating violence, are rarely included, which leaves a huge gap in the perspectives taken into consideration for policy and programming.[91] When they are brought in, queer youth and youth with disabilities are often invited to share only their perspectives on queer rights or disability rights respectively, rather than on YPS efforts overall.[92] At the same time, as Rashad Nimr, a co-author of the study *Celebration, Pride, and Violence: Queer Experiences in Youth, Peace & Security*, remarks,

> *The Global Coalition has actually been a lot more welcoming to diverse voices,and welcomed our LGBT working group internally. I have honestly had more issues with trying to break into the WPS movement that I find exclusionary than I have with YPS. That being said, there were experiences [within the YPS field] when working with unfriendly governments, that we were implicitly told to not be too loud about these issues. [At the same time], the Coalition does rely on a lot of the same voices including well known international partners and civil society entities, as opposed to being able to truly build grassroots solidarity in a consistent and inclusive manner.* [93]

Some of these shortcomings might also be a result of the UN — generally accountable to member states — being one of the co-leaders of the agenda, which limits the space for innovation and demands that the work be upwards,[94] that is, speaking to the UN.

As alluded to above, rigid structures and gatekeeping can also be problems in WPS spaces. Speaking of the experiences of Our Generation for Inclusive Peace, Ruby Weaver notes,

> *We are working within these very rigid structures by gift of being a Security Council agenda (speaking of WPS), which has filtered through into civil society engagement in this area and there is a culture of gatekeeping from a lot of really fantastic activists and civil society organizations that have done a huge amount of work and have made huge amounts of progress, but now feel defensive of that progress. So, having young people come in and say "we should probably shift something, we are not being ambitious enough by challenging just the institutions within which we are currently working, we need to shift the rules by which we are playing, we want to challenge that a little more," that gets met with defensiveness. [For us, it is about] recognizing achievement and recognizing where there is a lot of further progress [to be made] and where taking a step back to reflect might be needed.*[95]

Similarly, even initiatives designed with an explicit intergenerational approach can often replicate exclusionary structures. The WPS-HA Compact, for instance, whilst explicitly intergenerational, "received a lot of criticism for its processes and ways of engaging youth voices that became very extractive or often created barriers to youth participation, through, for instance, short deadlines, little notice for participation, no financial or technical support for attendance."[96] The experience of Our Generation for Inclusive Peace participating in this forum, among others, shaped the content of their meaningful participation guidance note,[97] which could be beneficial for anyone aiming to engage youth activists and youth-led organizations.

Stereotypes and lack of respect

The other most significant factor noted in interviews that impedes intergenerational collaboration was that unfortunately women and youth are often not respected as peacebuilders in formalized spaces. Despite this, youth, in particular, are sometimes seen as both the cause and the resolution of violence — a view that "plac[es] both the blame for conflict and the burden of breaking cycles of political violence on youth," with them serving as "a receptacle for the dreams and anxieties" of adults and international actors.[98] Historically and still, young people have largely been treated as passive subjects, with non-youth stakeholders often dividing them into categories of perpetrator, peacemaker, or victim, and then expecting them to behave as such. There still is a lot of stigma against young men, for instance,[99] being seen as either perpetrators or potential perpetrators of violence (or of anything related to instability). At the same time, young women are often seen as victims. This treatment of young people as passive subjects deny young people their agency to decide for themselves, failing to acknowledge that young people are not just aimlessly following orders that other, non-youth stakeholders are giving.[100]

The knowledge of young people, and young women especially, is frequently devalued in intergenerational interactions. This is especially concerning considering the lack of access that young people have to spaces where intergenerational partnerships and dialogue can flourish. Even when youth and women are provided opportunities to participate and speak in formal and high-level structures, organizers may use their presence to reinforce existing and approved messages rather than allowing them to exert full agency.[101] As noted earlier, both youth and women are frequently tokenized and invited to fill the "youth spot" or the "woman spot" rather than being seen as experts otherwise worthy of being there. When they are invited, women and young people are expected to represent all women or all youth, respectively, often regardless of the intersectional exclusions different women and youth groups are facing, and their expertise, even when acknowledged, is expected to be on strictly defined "women issues only" or "youth issues only." This, of course, disregards the fact that most societal issues, by virtue of their wide consequences and intergenerational impact if nothing else, are both women and youth issues.

The devaluing of women's and young people's knowledge ties in with a number of stereotypes, which are an important impeding factor. Among these stereotypes are the perceptions that women and youth are disorganized, that they lack expertise, and that they are "an issue to be solved".[102] The assumption partly responsible for the stereotypes is that people with more experience, or older people and men in particular, are wiser. Of course, that is not always true, especially if their field of expertise is not relevant to the situation at hand.[103] The priority given to older generations can sometimes also be a result of cultural factors.[104] The stereotypes about young people are frequently multi-layered, tapping into various stereotypes informed by patriarchal and racist understandings. Some of the interviewees for this report spoke of their experiences of being looked down on, unsure whether that is due to their age, gender, ethnicity and race, or all of these together.[105] Speaking as a young woman peacebuilder, Cynthia Chigwenya reflects:

> *Sometimes I can come into a space as a youth peacebuilder and the conception of the people I am engaging with is what do I know as a young person, "I'm older than you." Then imagine, as a young peacebuilder, as a female, engaging with a predominantly male group. Those characteristics already set the tone for the engagement. And frequently you come to meetings where you are the only woman or the only young person.* [106]

The intersecting effect of the multiple existing stereotypes is further exclusion and marginalization of the experiences, knowledge and needs of young women in peacebuilding processes.

Lack of trust

Another critical impeding factor is that different generations are often dismissive of each other.[107] This is frequently related to the existing lack of trust. For young people, there is a lack of trust towards non-youth-led organizations and their governments, based on previous experiences. For different generations of women, on the other hand, there is a lack of trust sometimes towards youth and often towards their governments, having experienced the patriarchal norms frequently advanced by states. At the same time, institutions demonstrate a lack of trust towards women and youth, as well as a lack of confidence in their ability and capacity to meaningfully contribute. This lack of trust has been notably shown in the 2018 progress study on YPS, *The Missing Peace*.[108] The lack of trust on the part of young people can sometimes be justified, especially if one considers the findings from the report "*If I Disappear*": *Global Report on Protecting Young People in Civic Space*, which shows that frequently it is the government that perpetrates violence against young people.[109] As a result, according to Eliška Jelínková, "sometimes it is not safe to try and work on intergenerational relationships as you might be exposing yourself to many more risks."[110] The same risks exist for different generations of women peacebuilders.

Woman PeaceMaker Fellow Zarqa Yaftali analyzes the situation of the women's movement in Afghanistan, the roles of senior women leaders throughout the Afghan diaspora and young leaders remaining in Afghanistan, and the links between the two generations in her case study for this report. Since the Taliban took control of Afghanistan in August 2021, they have continually imposed restrictions on women's freedom of movement and limited their area of activity and presence in society by closing schools, not allowing women civil servants to work, and restricting women's public appearances.[111] Many senior women leaders who had played a critical role in promoting women's rights left the country, continuing to work from abroad. New young leaders have emerged to advocate for women's equal rights to education, employment and freedom of movement, organizing demonstrations and staged resistance against the Taliban.[112] These women have faced threats to their lives, imprisonment and torture.[113]

Yaftali finds that opinions about the state of peacebuilding in Afghanistan differ by generation. Some young leaders working in Afghanistan feel that there are no intergenerational peacebuilding networks among women and that work done by women over the past two decades was not sustainable. In contrast, many of the more senior generation feel that the work that women do today in Afghanistan is inherited from the older generation, and that the younger generation has learned skills from the older generation because the older generation made investments in building the capacity of the younger generation.

The participants who Yaftali interviewed consistently raised trust and respect as key factors in building and maintaining intergenerational relationships. Younger participants feel that they can learn a lot from the older generation, and older participants recognize that existing strategies and learning from the past may not apply in the context of the current situation. Participants agreed that women's intergenerational peacebuilding efforts can and will bring results.

Yaftali argues that international and regional organizations should support capacity-building programs tailored to the unique needs of those working in Afghanistan and those working in the diaspora. Connecting Afghan women peace leaders to international networks of women peacebuilders and to mentoring programs is also seen as a key way to increase support and build connections. Yaftali also highlights the need for funding that reaches young women in Afghanistan and those in the diaspora. Read the full case study on page 46.

Restrictive funding structures and processes

Restrictive funding mechanisms can be a major impeding factor to intergenerational peacebuilding efforts. First, they favor international organizations and promote a so-called "trickle down" approach, which creates distrust and an us-versus-them division, to say nothing of colonial dynamics.[114] Additionally, many funders have a strong preference for registered entities, which can also further the intergenerational division.[115]

Many interviewees cited the limited availability of funding for peacebuilding work and specifically for women- and youth-led peacebuilding work. For example, considering the perspective of donors, it becomes challenging to fund initiatives that are not registered with any entity and are not formalized. In some instances, as noted earlier, this is a result of women's, young people's and/or LGBTQ+ people's lack of trust in the institutions and the system, but it may also be a result of potential security concerns. Yet, in other instances, this refusal to register might also be a result of inadequate funding, as in many contexts registering an organization requires being able to pay for the entity and prepare the documentation needed for registration, as well as having a bank account and a certain amount of money for the organization to run. These requirements can be quite cumbersome and discouraging, especially for an organization that is just starting out.[116] As Mallika Iyer notes, "The international community is sticking to these traditional donor systems that are irrelevant for young people,"[117] in addition to being, as Saji Prelis remarks, "not adequate for tackling some of the biggest problems the world is facing."[118]

The lack of resources with which many women-led and youth-led organizations and movements contend can impede intergenerational collaborations, not only due to competing for limited resources, but also due to not having the human resources to engage. For instance, many of the interviewees stressed the importance of understanding that most youth organizations are run on a voluntary basis and therefore have limited time and capacity. Some of the interviewees remarked that even in friendly spaces, youth-led organizations are faced with short deadlines, big asks with very little context around what is wanted, unrealistic expectations around what a youth-led organization can deliver, and then a lack of understanding when the organization pushes back and points out that it is impossible for a voluntary organization to meet such demands.[119] These unrealistic expectations about the organizational capacity of youth-led peacebuilding organizations are often accompanied by an attitude that participation is a great opportunity for young people, who should be grateful simply to be invited into the room. Instead, it can be helpful for non-youth organizations to understand the value of young people participating in these spaces and sharing their perspectives, so that different generations come together and learn from one another.[120]

Volunteer-based organizations often lack access to funding, due to the limited funding for peacebuilding organizations in general and for women- and youth-led organizations specifically. As Cynthia Chigwenya notes,

> *The issues of funding are challenging. We cannot avoid speaking about that. A lot of times we have inclusivity being used as a buzzword. But when it comes to actual funding to carry out the work that they need to do, some organizations generally prefer to give money to more established organizations and that becomes a challenge. There is simply no funding to carry out some of the youth-led peacebuilding. And that relates to some of the stereotypes. People look at you and think "you are a youth-led group, do you even have the capacity, can I trust you with my money?*[121]

Some of the women-led organizations face similar challenges and stereotypes, which come in addition to the already very limited funding for gender equality and women's rights issues. These challenges and stereotypes impede the potential for intergenerational peacebuilding partnerships, much less equitable partnerships, and undermine the agency and legitimacy of youth and different generations of women as active and responsible peacebuilding actors. Such undermining further links to the issue of legitimacy discussed below. Additionally, when considering the lack of funding, it is also worth noting that despite peacebuilding organizations' best intentions, sometimes a project or an initiative might not have enough resources to bring different generations together.[122]

As noted earlier, there can be competition and gatekeeping between women's rights organizations and youth-focused organizations. While some of it might be based on misconceptions about the WPS and YPS agendas[123], part of the competition and gatekeeping comes from the limited funding that is available, and part from viewing young people, including young women, through existing stereotypes.

The first step in transforming this intergenerational exclusion is to think of exclusion as violence.[124] When seen that way, especially in the context of conflict-affected societies, addressing exclusion becomes a critical part of the peacebuilding work that women's rights organizations and youth-focused organizations undertake.

Perceived lack of legitimacy

Legitimacy is another key aspect of intergenerational work that can determine interactions and collaborations, not only across different generations of women peacebuilders but also between women, youth and other peacebuilders.

In some instances, the question of legitimacy in intergenerational interactions and collaborations in the peacebuilding domain appears to be tied to the issue of resources, with the legitimacy of youth and women peacebuilders being questioned when the work is voluntary. As a result, they are not taken seriously by men, and elder men perhaps in particular. The questions of legitimacy young women in particular face are often tied to patriarchal expectations of the role and place of women in society. In some contexts, this is directly linked to women's marital status, with unmarried women's legitimacy as peacebuilders being raised as an issue and their agency undermined.[125] This can be a double-edged sword; women's and young people's legitimacy is often questioned so that they are not treated as equal partners, but when they are invited in a tokenistic way, their expertise is assumed and expected to be representative of their entire demographic group.

The challenge of legitimacy, however, is not only related to intergenerational collaboration between different peacebuilding organizations; it is also relevant to funding relationships and decisions. A similar, but distinct, point related to legitimacy is that to receive funding or be considered a "legitimate organization" one must be formally recognized or registered, which comes with rules and regulations that require the organization to fit a certain mold. As Ruby Weaver notes,

> *If an organization wishes to take a different approach, one that challenges classic interpretations of hierarchy or ways of decision-making, then it will not meet "due diligence" assessments, or they will not be taken seriously. This is something that both women-led and youth-led organizations struggle with. Our Generation for Inclusive Peace has faced this challenge. We are a non-hierarchical collaborative organization that centers feminist values of equality and diversity — however, to register we are required to appoint an "executive director" among other things which forces us to change our structures, alter our values and fit into the mold. We are required to replicate exclusionary, hierarchical structures and that shapes both internal and external interactions, often impeding transformative and inclusive engagement.*[126]

Christine Odera raises the point of organizations drawing legitimacy from the work they have done together but having different goals. She mentions an example with a project they implemented in Nairobi with another organization:

> *It was literally an intergenerational conversation. But I remember when it came to the reporting, a lot of the language that we used was changed. Because at the end of the day, you realize they are looking at how that report will enable them to get more funding. While as a younger woman, my target is to literally tell a true story of what is happening on the ground and some of the solutions to be offered as per youth needs, a true reproduction of what youth and young women need and what their lived realities are on the ground. So, you realize that our goals are very different even when it comes to the interventions we have on the ground. And sometimes that challenges the intergenerational approach.*[127]

The factors assessed in this chapter create serious obstacles to the creation of meaningful intergenerational partnerships. A lack of meaningful participation and representation, gatekeeping and rigid institutional processes, stereotypes and lack of respect, lack of trust, restrictive funding structures and a perceived lack of legitimacy for young women are all challenges that require systemic, institutional and individual responses. The following chapter analyzes factors that can help individuals and organizations overcome these challenges.

Factors that advance intergenerational collaboration

Although building equitable, mutually beneficial intergenerational relationships is challenging, women leaders around the world invest in this type of work to create more sustainable and inclusive peacebuilding efforts. This chapter highlights several key strategies and factors that help build and maintain effective intergenerational collaborations. The factors that advance intergenerational collaboration that were particularly emphasized in the interviews conducted for this report and are outlined in this chapter include: mutual respect and recognition of expertise; trusting and meaningful interpersonal relationships; spaces for intergenerational peacebuilding at the international and national levels; structuring funding opportunities to facilitate collaboration; and creating national-level policies and programs that center intergenerational engagement. Some of these factors are spotlighted in three case studies authored by Women PeaceMaker Fellows Ramatoulie Isatou Jallow, Nermine Mounir and Youssra Biare.

The first two case studies, one from Botswana and the other from Egypt, show how women of different generations work together towards meaningful changes and positive peace. The Botswana case study focuses on coalitions among women-led civil society organizations and highlights some of the successes of these coalitions, particularly in advancing gender equality, human rights and positive peace in the country. The Egypt case study analyzes the extent to which different generations of women peacebuilders in the governorates of Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine have established trusting and meaningful relationships that contribute to empowerment and peace promotion in their communities. This case study points to the importance of and the need for connection between women peacebuilders across ages and, critically, backgrounds. In the third case study, Biare engages with the example of the women religious guides in Morocco, the Mourchidates, and examines how this government-initiated mechanism of national-level intergenerational programming undertaken by women contributes to countering violent extremism and building a more peaceful society.

Mutual respect and recognition of expertise

Intergenerational work often appears to emerge organically,[128] and the factors that advance intergenerational collaborations are many. The first, as might be expected, is the existence of mutual respect and recognition of expertise in intergenerational relations. As Mallika Iyer notes, "The best way to work with youth-led organizations is to trust that they have a vision in mind, even if the vision is constantly evolving."[129] Similarly, the best way to work with women's rights organizations is to trust their experiences and knowledge in navigating many of the challenges intergenerational work faces. There has been a change in more recent years, even if not across all contexts, in young people being approached as experts in their own right, not only because they are young people but because of the experience and knowledge that they hold.[130] While there has been a similar development in recognizing the expertise of women, starting in the early 2000s with UNSCR 1325, one ought to remain mindful of the current global anti-gender movement, which has strongly pushed back against most gender equality efforts. Encouragingly, many youth groups appear to be more gender balanced than other groups, and, equally, a significant number of them approach gender as a social construct that is not binary.

Some important forms of solidarity have emerged that strengthen mutual respect. Reflecting on her experience in Kenya, Christine Odera notes that,

> *There are many people who genuinely want to mentor younger people, who open the door for those who follow. We have also had older women introduce us to some of the stakeholders who were hard to reach otherwise. They teach you the politics. Sometimes even the politics of how to dress and how to present yourself, especially as a woman, going into certain spaces […] So some of them have given us guidance on how to play the politics. And of course, the other thing is security because especially as a young woman getting into these spaces you realize sexual violence is still as prominent. So sometimes they warn you. Other times when young mothers who are mediators have to go on missions for days, older women have opened up their houses when they have nannies and have taken care of the children during these missions.*[131]

In the case study conducted for this report, Woman PeaceMaker Fellow Nermine Mounir and her co-author Hassnaa Tamam study the extent to which senior and junior women peacebuilders have established trusting and meaningful relationships in the context of the BH initiative[132] in the El-Minya governorate in Egypt. Minya is one of the poorest cities in Egypt,[133] and it has frequently been a flash point for sectarian violence between Muslims and Christians.[134] The BH initiative has played a role as a broker and translator, utilizing their professional network to invite experienced trainers and practitioners from the capital to come and work with young people. As trusted members of the community, the leaders of BH are able to bring Muslim and Christian youth together.

Many participants whom Mounir and Tamam interviewed could not easily define or relate to the concept of intergenerational peacebuilding,[135] and many said that these types of relationships rarely exist, and, if they do, they are mostly informal and sporadic. Many participants did not view themselves as peacebuilders, whether because they do not feel their work is formal or significant enough to be considered peacebuilding or because of negative connotations associated with the word "peace" in Egypt.[136] A majority of participants saw the benefit of working across generations but think that these types of relationships are rare in peacebuilding work in general and between women in particular.[137] Many relationships are formed during peacebuilding programs and slowly disappear after the program without a platform or structure to bring people together. Others noted that intergenerational relationships are usually built informally, through personal friendships developed over the course of work. Yet other participants prefer to focus on relationships among women in general without highlighting age, which they think will help make partnerships more inclusive and effective.

Mounir and Tamam's research highlights strategies for successful relationship-building among women peacebuilders of different generations, including creating informal spaces for friendships, dialogue and support; creating spaces for decentralized learning across generations; cultivating opportunities for senior women to coach and mentor younger women; forming informal networks of solidarity to address experiences of gender-based abuse; and facilitating the ability of some women to act as brokers, catalysts, role models, sources of access and legitimizers for other women.

However, women's intergenerational peacebuilding partnerships confront a range of challenges. Structural challenges include the limited opportunities for learning and employment in the peacebuilding field, which sometimes creates competition between actors; the separation between women who work in civil society, the public sector and academia; local peacebuilding programs lacking mechanisms for intergenerational dialogue and focusing instead on age-restricted groups; and overall restrictions on civil society in Egypt. Another significant challenge is the strong dependence in the peacebuilding field on "women from the capital" as programmatic staff and trainers at the expense of local women who might have similar capacity or strong potential.

Mounir and Tamam's research argues that working across generations improves the sustainability of peacebuilding programs and the resilience of women involved in these programs. Mounir and Tamam emphasize the importance of creating platforms to help women peacebuilders in Egypt network, exchange ideas and experience, and learn from each other. Peacebuilding programs can incorporate dialogue across generations of peacebuilders and recognize the capacity of women from across the country rather than only from the capital. Limited funding for peacebuilding is available in Egypt as it is not experiencing widespread armed conflict, and this can lead to competition between organizations for funding. Read the full case study on page 52.

Trusting and meaningful interpersonal relationships

Another crucial factor that advances intergenerational peacebuilding appears to be trusting and meaningful one-on-one relationships. "It is very much about individuals that have become big allies over the years, who recognize their privilege and their position, and really use it to open the doors and hold them open for young people."[138] At the same time, these one-on-one relationships are so critical because certain spaces are dominated by certain personalities. This, in turn, makes relationships key in trying to shift the culture and the system.[139]

This focus on individual relationships not only requires continuous effort and time to build and maintain those relationships, but it also brings up the issue of sustainability. The building of relationships effectively restarts when a person leaves a particular organization, ministry or UN agency. Moreover, considering that the project design is usually limited and limiting in timeframe, the sustainability of interactions becomes a momentous factor in building trust, solidarity and intergenerational peacebuilding work altogether, whether as a means to an end or an end in and of itself.

Woman PeaceMaker Fellow Ramatoulie Isatou Jallow examines intergenerational peacebuilding in her case study for this report on the work women and women-led human rights CSOs do across generations in Botswana and how this work is strengthened through the deliberate formation of intergenerational coalitions. Although Botswana has a reputation for being peaceful, it is among the fifteen most unequal countries in the world in terms of income distribution according to the World Bank,[140] and unemployment[141] and multi-dimensional poverty are prevalent.[142] Freedom of expression[143] and civic freedom[144] are deteriorating, and the country experiences the highest incidence of rape in the world.[145] Many of the participants that Jallow interviewed did not identify themselves as peacebuilders in the formal sense. They acknowledged the importance of intergenerational coalitions, but some were unable to identify specific instances of when they had used this strategy.

All the participants Jallow interviewed emphasized the impact of coalition-building among women and women-led CSOs across generations in building sustainable peace in Botswana. Senior women CSO leaders use their existing organizations to incubate new, up-and-coming organizations led by young women, providing technical advice and institutional support.

More junior participants highlighted that more senior women teach youth how to position themselves to speak and be heard in different cultural contexts.[146] Senior women were also seen as supportive, pushing younger women to explore their highest potential. Senior women interviewees highlighted the fact that young women often bring vibrancy, dynamism and resourcefulness to the work, and they have benefited from younger women's insight into the existing climate, particularly about shifts within the women's rights movement and inclusivity.[147]

However, challenges remain to establishing and maintaining intergenerational relationships. Younger participants felt that more senior women are often too rigid and lack the flexibility to adapt to changing norms.[148] Younger women also felt that they are often not treated as professionals with skills to contribute[149] and that more senior women have not thought deliberately about "handing over the baton" to young women, assuming that young women will take over in the future but not making efforts to cultivate their management skills.[150] Some older women felt that younger women lack humility to learn from senior women's experience[151] and that young women are ill-prepared for the opportunities provided by senior women.[152] Some senior women felt that youth do not possess the same level of dedication or sacrifice for peacebuilding work that senior women do.[153]

Jallow notes that communication and respect are needed from individuals of each generation, with the willingness to learn from each other. Additionally, it is important to create non-hierarchical coalitions to allow for joint ownership in decision-making between the members, with clear lines of communication. Using a co-creation approach, ensuring that tasks are equitably distributed, and mapping the skills of all partners involved will help facilitate positive and respectful working relationships. Limited peacebuilding funding in Botswana due to its reputation as a peaceful country has also created competition between women-led organizations; opening funding opportunities will help facilitate coalitions and partnerships in this space. Read the full case study on page 61.

Spaces for intergenerational peacebuilding at the international and national levels

Global coalitions can help by creating inclusive, open spaces that encourage intergenerational collaborations and level the playing field. The creation of such inclusive and open spaces is done both through global coalitions challenging their own understandings and norms, and through them promoting a better understanding of the functioning of different organizations across its various stakeholders. Creating the space where women and young people can have their voices heard, acknowledging that women and youth are not homogenous groups, and adopting different approaches to engagement are all noteworthy factors that can advance intergenerational collaboration.[154]

Just as importantly, the changing direction at the international level, where women's and young people's involvement in the peace and security domains has increasingly been encouraged, has been a critical factor in advancing intergenerational peacebuilding collaborations. Even though some of the changes can be described as lip service instead of the seismic shifts that are needed globally,[155] the adoption of the WPS and YPS resolutions has been instrumental for many working in conflict-affected societies. "Those resolutions that set the tone for what the priorities are and what organizations should gear towards promoting — 20 years ago you would not think of young people [or women] as active participants in peacebuilding or governance, but we are seeing them in leadership positions more and more."[156]

Mallika Iyer, the then Director for Asia and the Pacific and Europe Programs and Humanitarian Action at the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, points out that in some cases,

> *Intergenerational means creating space for interaction of women's rights and youth organizations. In many countries, youth organizations do not have access to the spaces that women's rights organizations have access to, so for us it is really important setting up that connection between young people and established women's rights organizations and having women's rights organizations being more invested in young people, provide mentorship but also learn from them and invest directly in their ideas*[157].

One example Mallika Iyer notes is that young people, and young women in particular, often do not have access to conversations about the National Action Plans (NAPs) as part of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, so the women's rights organizations in some countries are able to involve them in those discussions.[158] In this sense, focusing on representation even in high-level places can lead to intergenerational peacebuilding collaboration by leveraging different access points.

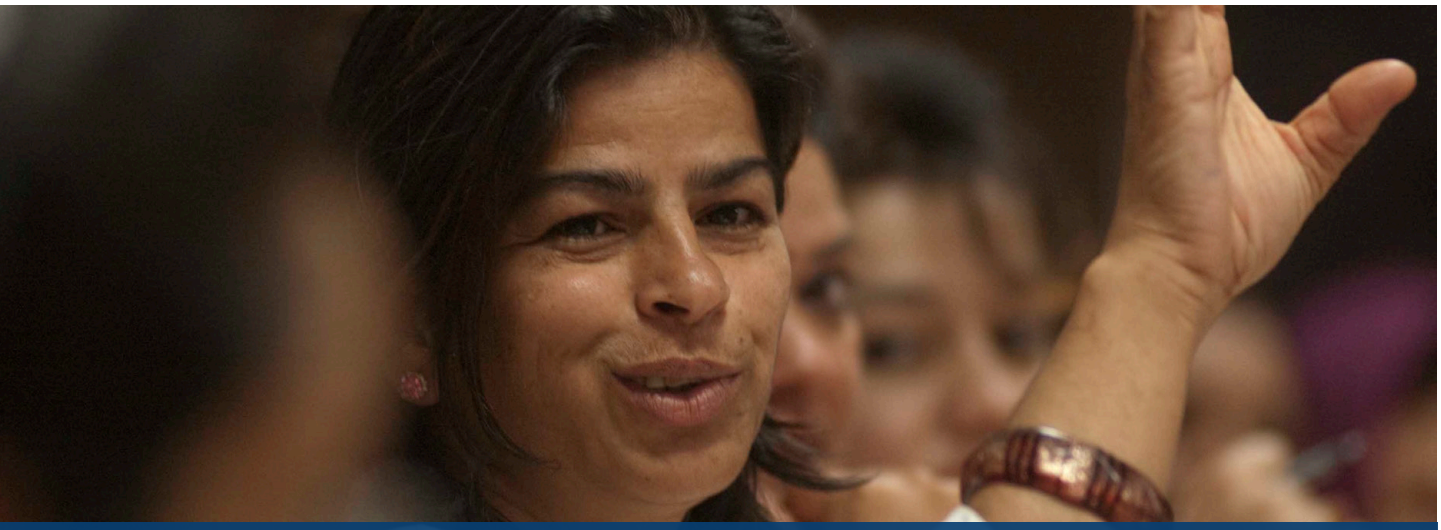
At the same time, especially when considering meaningful representation and participation, one often ought to look beyond high-level and formal spaces, which are rarely conducive to genuine inclusion. Work at the grassroots level, which often occurs organically and "through the cracks," points to different trends. For example, as research conducted by Search for Common Ground and UNOY points out, youth-led peacebuilding work appears to be quite sex-balanced, as many youth groups tend to have roughly equal numbers of young women and young men in leadership roles.[159] Additionally, a lot of the work at the grassroots level is not only intergenerational but frequently transgenerational[160] — i.e., it involves more than two generations, with meaningful representation and participation of different generations. In other cases, such work of intergenerational peacebuilding organizations that brings together youth, elders and other generations in the community is also inclusive along other intersecting identities to ensure truly meaningful representation and participation.[161]

The Philippines provides a positive example of meaningful representation and participation of young people, including young women, in the peace process. Considering the youth-focused[162] and gender-focused provisions in the peace agreement, this peace process is also a great example of youth-led organizations and women-led organizations coming together.[163]

The youth dividend that some countries, such as Uganda, are experiencing is another significant factor in creating space for intergenerational peacebuilding.[164] Additionally, youth often leverage technology and social media to mobilize movements and build transnational networks.[165] As Cynthia Chigwenya, the African Union's Youth Ambassador for Southern Africa, points out, "Young people are increasingly getting engaged in grassroots work to encourage peacebuilding. Be that, for instance, through social media by starting a hashtag on tolerance or just engaging with each other at a peer-to-peer level. Young people increasingly have a role to play in peacebuilding."[166] Case studies have shown the important roles that youth have played in different settings. Youth have played a key role in social movements such as the Arab Spring protests, Occupy protests and the One Million Voices against FARC marches in 2009 in Colombia.[167] Youth in Sierra Leone also challenge local governance structures to demand change and create spaces for contesting and negotiating intergenerational norms.[168] In some cases, it is the cross-context or cross-regional element that makes intergenerational work possible, paving the way for mentorship and learning to take place without the obstacle of gatekeeping and competition.[169]

The meaningful representation and participation that can come with inclusive international and national peacebuilding spaces entails certain rights but also certain responsibilities. Some of these responsibilities might include understanding how, within a landscape of limited funding, one can cooperate with other peacebuilding organizations instead of competing for funding. Moreover, there is also the question of documenting peacebuilding work undertaken by women and young people, to ensure that it is recognized and not forgotten. As Cynthia Chigwenya puts it, "Documenting allows us to take stock, to go back with a reference point and assess our progress, and to have tangible evidence when we make a case for participation and inclusion."[170]

The meaningful representation and participation that can come with inclusive international and national peacebuilding spaces entails certain rights but also certain responsibilities.



Structuring funding opportunities to facilitate collaboration

Donors can advance intergenerational peacebuilding work, and especially work undertaken by women and women's organizations, by allocating sufficient funding for such collaborations, by financially supporting the longer-term development of organizations and initiatives that focus on intergenerational peacebuilding, and by showing flexibility and rethinking the funding model that prioritizes registered organizations and project-cycle-limited activities.

Using certain funding structures can help facilitate collaboration. In some cases, grants require that actors, including those of different generations, come and work together.[171] In other instances, organizations of different generations choose to come together in order to become more competitive for funding opportunities. Mallika Iyer notes:

> *Sometimes we get around this in certain contexts by going to an established women's rights organization that is registered, is part of the system, and can serve as a fiscal sponsor for the youth organization. They are the ones that receive the funding and then give it to the youth organization. They take on the responsibilities of audits and financial reporting, but also train the young people of how they can do those things by themselves too. This is a great example of intergenerational cooperation where no one is put at risk and the young people are able to carry out their work without compromising what they want. But we also push the donors to be better and change the ways in which they work […] Supporting young people means directing funding towards their initiatives — sometimes we provide guidance and technical support, if it is necessary, but sometimes it is not necessary. They know what they want to do and how to do it.*[172]

Creating national-level policies and programs that center intergenerational engagement

Governments can also play a role in intergenerational collaboration. The findings of the *"If I Disappear"* report mentioned earlier notwithstanding, national governments can have a positive role in encouraging intergenerational peacebuilding work by and among different generations of women.

The case study authored by Woman PeaceMaker Fellow Youssra Biare engages with the example of the women religious guides in Morocco, the Mourchidates, and examines the government's promotion of this national-level, women-led, intergenerational programming for countering violent extremism and building a more peaceful society. Biare's research identifies significant stages of the Mourchidates' process of emergence, assesses their role in social change, and examines more specifically the role of young Mourchidates in peacebuilding.

The Mourchidates are women religious leaders who fulfill all the same roles and duties as imams do — except for prayer, which is reserved for men.[173] The goal of the Mourchidate initiative is to counter religious radicalization, working in mosques, prisons, youth centers, hospitals and schools.[174] Their role is primarily preventive, but they also intervene in more serious cases; they may redirect their interlocutors to other authorities when the problems they are asked to address are not religious in nature. The Mourchidate program works with women between the ages of 22 and 80, young men between the ages of 14 and 22, and children, with the aim of combating the factors that drive extremism.

The Mourchidates work across generations in two different ways: older and younger Mourchidates work together, and Mourchidates work to reach younger community members. The Mourchidates have direct contact with decision-makers, which provides them with an important platform and helps them foster dialogue among youth, other Mourchidates and decision-makers. The Mourchidates act as a channel to connect youth to decision-makers and allow the youth to speak about their social issues and indirectly affect peacebuilding. In addition, the Mourchidates have important platforms to speak about regional and national issues, particularly related to radicalization and extremism. According to the interviewees, these dialogues contribute to intergenerational social cohesion and thus to the creation and maintenance of a more peaceful society.

The impact of intergenerational work among these women differs by location. The age gap is a challenge for both Mourchidates and younger beneficiaries in rural regions, but in larger cities such as Casablanca, Rabat and Tanger, the age gap appears not to have affected program success. The Mourchidates are successful in reaching older women from rural areas, who reported that the program was eye-opening for them, but the Mourchidates struggle to capture younger women's attention and engagement, due to the age difference between the participants and many of the Mourchidates.

The Mourchidate initiative makes a unique contribution to intergenerational peacebuilding efforts and shows how governments can facilitate work across generations. Biare emphasizes that a structure should be created so that older Mourchidates can mentor younger Mourchidates. Her research also highlights an opportunity to expand the program in rural areas and to offer programming in additional languages. Read the full case study on page 70.

Despite significant challenges, the factors identified in this chapter provide points of entry for building more effective and meaningful intergenerational partnerships among women. Individuals and institutions can invest in building mutual respect and recognition of expertise, trusting and meaningful interpersonal relationships, funding opportunities that facilitate collaboration and national-level policies and programs that center intergenerational engagement. Drawing on these central themes, the following chapter discusses key findings and recommendations.

Key Findings

This report has drawn on the lived experiences of women peacebuilders and their partners, and more broadly from experts and peacebuilders working in the WPS and YPS spaces. Analyzing the challenges and opportunities of working across generations reveals the following key findings.

Working across generations improves effectiveness and inclusiveness

Peacebuilding efforts can be more effective when women of different generations are valued and heard throughout the process. The report has shown that intergenerational partnerships, mentorships and training, and dialogues can profoundly shape peacebuilding processes and outcomes. The two case studies focused on Afghanistan show the challenges of building intergenerational partnerships and how a gap in these relationships can negatively impact women's efforts to build gender equality. The case studies on Botswana and Egypt show how programming and support can open opportunities for young leaders and bolster more senior leaders' efforts, and the case study on Morocco shows how national-level programming can bring young women leaders into the spotlight while supporting violence prevention. These studies together demonstrate that taking an intergenerational approach enables the creation of coalitions, capacity-building, access to a greater number of people and the expanded reach of peacebuilding efforts.

Intergenerational partnerships require clear communication, respect and recognition of expertise

Working across generations is directly related to ensuring that peacebuilding work includes and benefits women of all ages. The findings of this report, particularly those drawn from the case studies, reveal that communication, respect and equitable treatment are fundamental to building beneficial intergenerational relationships and partnerships. This requires efforts on both organizational and individual levels, such as the willingness to learn and share, as well as to engage on an equal playing field with people of other generations.

Donors and institutions can facilitate intergenerational collaborations

Organizations, including governmental and international organizations, can also play a significant role in facilitating mutually beneficial intergenerational partnerships by ensuring that their policies — particularly around funding and resource management — are accessible, transparent and responsive to the needs of those doing the peacebuilding work.

Networks and coalitions can foster intergenerational partnerships

Institutions play a critical role in facilitating individual partnerships, and more senior organizations — including at the international level — can play an important role in supporting and partnering with younger organizations, particularly ones with limited experience applying for funding. The Botswana case study shows how more experienced organizations can provide a platform for newer organizations and provide training, mentorship and support that also benefits their own missions.

Networks have emerged throughout this study as a key tool for building capacity, sharing opportunities and fostering relationships. Across the case studies and examples included in this report, participants have identified the importance of existing networks for opening opportunities and facilitating communication. In both Afghanistan case studies, networks are a key tool needed to bridge existing gaps and foster new means of communication and solidarity. Networks and coalitions, as shown in the Morocco case study, can provide the basis for new partnerships and open opportunities for emerging leaders.

Meaningful participation, recognition of legitimacy and sufficient funding for intergenerational work are all essential

As the roles of women and youth are highlighted and supported through the WPS and YPS agendas, the report finds that organizations can specifically highlight the intersection of these agendas and ensure meaningful participation of people across generational divides. The Egypt case study demonstrates how necessary it is to leverage the skills of people of all communities and generations. Similarly, the Morocco case study shows the importance of intergenerational collaboration for sharing skills among colleagues but also for expanding the reach of programming.

Equal and mutually beneficial intergenerational partnerships allow partners to learn together

On both an individual and an institutional level, creating equal and mutually beneficial intergenerational partnerships requires a willingness on all sides to learn from each other. Partners working together can identify the skills and knowledge that can be shared and determine how to combine the strengths of the partners to create change in the most effective way possible.

Recommendations

Compounded security, health and environmental crises have long-term and cross-generational impacts, but creating inclusive intergenerational partnerships to build positive peace has proven challenging. Drawing on women peacebuilders' experiences both at the international level and in country-specific contexts, this report provides evidence for how women and women's organizations use intergenerational strategies and partnerships to contribute to building peace.

The report argues that women's and women's organizations' intergenerational peacebuilding efforts and potential must be better developed, supported, recognized and encouraged at the national and international levels in order to promote long-lasting and sustainable peace.

The following recommendations are based on the evidence and analysis presented in this report.

Recommendations for international organizations and funders

- Incorporate an intergenerational framework into programming and events, including women of different generations in all aspects of peacebuilding work.
- Assess current levels of participation of women of different generations in programming, identify existing gaps and create a framework to track this participation.
- Ensure that women of all ages and experience levels are able to participate in a meaningful way rather than being tokenized.
- Ensure that a diversity of women's and youths' voices are represented in events and programming.
- Integrate age as a category of analysis when considering whom to incorporate into programming, events and funding.
- Integrate age into existing institutional frameworks on inclusion, ensuring an intersectional approach.
- Ensure that funding and grant-making mechanisms are accessible for youth-led organizations by providing flexibility in funding processes and ensuring that clear instructions are available for people with limited experience working with international organizations.
- Make the funding application process more conducive to collaborative submissions so that grant-making encourages collaboration among women-led and youth-led organizations or organizations of different generations of adult women, rather than fueling competition among them.
- Provide funding for dialogues and relationship-building activities among women leaders of different generations.
- Provide funding for networks of women peace leaders in order to build connections and a space to share knowledge and opportunities.

Recommendations for leaders of peacebuilding organizations

- Create coalitions that benefit your own work and provide opportunities for collaboration among organizations led by junior and senior peacebuilders.
- Create broader programming activities with a focus on understanding and advancing intergenerational peacebuilding through multiple types of programming or research.
- Create mentoring programs that help cultivate leadership skills among different generations of women.
- Create pathways for women, including young women, to take leadership positions and gain skills necessary to advance in the peacebuilding field.
- Ensure that youth-focused programs include women in a meaningful and intersectional way and that women-focused programs include youth in a meaningful and intersectional way.

Recommendations for senior women peacebuilders

- Approach youth with respect, seeking to understand and learn from their experience and the unique skills they have to offer.
- Recognize the expertise that junior women peacebuilders bring to the peacebuilding process.
- Be transparent and open about what you can learn from a more junior partner and what you can offer.
- Create opportunities for intergenerational collaboration between individuals as well as between organizations.
- Create mentorship opportunities for junior women peacebuilders.
- Open spaces, especially high-level and men-dominated spaces in the peacebuilding field, to junior women peacebuilders.
- Disrupt harmful power imbalances that may discourage young women from participating fully and having their voices heard.

Recommendations for junior women peacebuilders

- Approach senior women with respect, seeking to learn from their experience and skills.
- Recognize the expertise that senior women peacebuilders bring to the peacebuilding process.
- Be transparent and open about what you can learn from a more senior partner and what you can offer.
- Create opportunities for intergenerational collaboration through networking with senior women peacebuilders.
- Initiate and engage in intergenerational dialogues, aimed at building intergenerational trust.

Conclusion

Many of the most critical issues facing communities around the world intersect and defy rapid or simple solutions; they require long-lasting and sustained effort spanning generations of peace leaders. As women leaders develop strategies and build coalitions, lessons and leadership opportunities must pass to the next generation for progress to continue. Centering intergenerational partnerships is not only about ensuring representation for women of all ages; building collaboration across generations is critical to ensure that achievements are not lost and that new leaders take up the ongoing work to build peace and strengthen gender equality.

Afghanistan Case Study: Intergenerational gaps in grassroots peacebuilding in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan

CASE STUDY

By Heela Yoon; Contributors: Lima Safi and Abdul Rahman Shagiwal

Highlighting the need for location-specific responses to gaps between generations of peacebuilders in and from Afghanistan

Context

The meaningful inclusion of women and youth is critical for building sustainable peace and facilitating transitional justice.[175] To promote women's inclusion in peace processes and conflict prevention, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) in 2000.[176] Since the adoption of this landmark resolution, UN Member States, including Afghanistan, have adopted National Action Plans (NAPs) to localize the WPS agenda to increase women's effective participation in decision-making processes and executive leadership positions in civil service.[177] Since the adoption of Afghanistan's first NAP, implementation of the action plan has been limited by security issues, lack of financial support from the government and lack of intergenerational support at the local and national levels.[178]

In Afghanistan, women's and youths' rights have been severely violated and used by various actors for political gain. As of 2021, Afghanistan is ranked as one of the most challenging places in the world to identify as a woman.[179] Afghan women and youth are at risk of physical and sexual abuse and exploitation. They also experience serious restrictions in realizing their fundamental human rights, despite the contributions of Afghan women and youth that have shown them to be powerful agents of change benefiting society over the last 20 years.[180] Although inclusion of women and youth was mentioned explicitly in many dimensions of the Afghan peace talks, their ability to participate at the official local and national levels has not always been meaningful across generational divides, especially in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan.

While senior Afghan women have gained some prominence in peacebuilding activities and discussions over the past 20 years, young Afghan women remain largely absent in these spaces in the context of the eastern provinces. This study highlights such critical gaps in peacebuilding efforts, drawing from data gathered through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions conducted in July 2022 in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan. This focus on the Eastern Zone is important because of its border with Pakistan and the overconcentration of peacebuilding efforts by local and international NGOs in this

region. The primary objective of this case study is to inform policymakers and donor organizations about the gaps and opportunities related to intergenerational peacebuilding efforts in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan.

The Eastern Zone of Afghanistan includes Laghman, Kunar and Nangarhar provinces. Nangarhar province is located on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border and is bordered by Kunar and Laghman provinces to the north, Pakistan to the east and south, and Kabul and Logar provinces to the west. The topography is composed of rangeland, bare soil and rocky outcrops. The vast majority of the population belongs to the Pashtun ethnic group, though Tajiks, Arabs, Pashai and others reside there as well.[181] The literacy rate in Nangarhar is 27 percent.[182] Figures show that approximately 1.7 million people live in the Nangarhar province.[183] There are no official data for women inhabitants in recent years, but an estimated 701,000 women lived there in 2013.[184]

Kunar province is located on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border in north-eastern Afghanistan. It borders Nangarhar province to the south, Nuristan province to the north, and Laghman province to the west, and has a border with Pakistan in the east. The province contains mostly mountain ranges covered in natural forest and is home to just under 500,000 people; most of them are Pashtun, with only five percent Nuristani and other minorities.[185] The overall literacy rate in Kunar province is 20 percent.[186]

Laghman province is also close to the Pakistan border and has a population of roughly 493,000 people.[187] Just over half the people are Pashtun, with more than 40 percent Tajik, Pashai and Kata. Like Kunar, Laghman is primarily a mountainous province. The overall literacy rate is highest compared to the other eastern provinces at 31 percent[188] but still falls below Afghanistan's national average of 37 percent.[189]

There has been a notable lack of analysis of the situation of women and girls in these provinces specifically. Against such a backdrop, this case study explores the intergenerational challenges that Afghan women and girls face in peacebuilding in the Eastern Zone.[190]

Methodology

This case study highlights the gaps and challenges related to intergenerational peacebuilding in the Eastern Zone, particularly those faced by young women, who have been disproportionately marginalized. In addition, this research shows the importance of understanding gender and age dynamics among women peacebuilders and community groups in order to design transformative programs that address the needs of junior and senior peacebuilders in the Eastern Zone. Addressing those needs is key to building a more inclusive, equal and peaceful Afghanistan.

This case study aims to answer the following research question and sub-questions:

- What are the intergenerational challenges Afghan women face in their peacebuilding work at the grassroots level in the Eastern Zone?
  - What methods do women use to overcome these challenges and engage in intergenerational peacebuilding initiatives at the grassroots level in the Eastern Zone of Afghanistan?
  - Are the gaps and challenges related to women's intergenerational peacebuilding similar in all three eastern provinces of Afghanistan (Kunar, Laghman, and Nangarhar)?

The research proceeded in two phases. First, researchers conducted a literature review of existing research on intergenerational partnerships, interactions and challenges in women's and youth's peacebuilding and development programs in the Eastern Zone. However, very few documents were available. The existing literature, including the Afghanistan NAP, focuses on WPS implementation but does not focus specifically on the Eastern Zone. Second, to gather primary data, researchers conducted in-person and online interviews in the Pashto and Dari languages. The participants were Afghan women and men activists between the ages of 20 and 45 and included senior and junior peacebuilders, local peacebuilders inside Afghanistan, and those who have left the country. The participants were selected due to their involvement in peacebuilding, women's rights, civil society and human rights activities. In-person interviews were conducted in Nangarhar with the support of two local researchers. Due to the current context and high security risk, face-to-face interviews were limited to five to ten participants in Nangarhar province. Online interviews were conducted via various communication platforms, including Zoom, WhatsApp and phone calls, with 55 activists of different ages and genders. Participants were given the option to remain anonymous, and the researchers have taken precautions to protect participant safety in the drafting of this case study. Furthermore, participants had the option to edit and clarify their responses and comments, if necessary.

Intergenerational peacebuilding in the context of this case study

Understandings of intergenerational peacebuilding

General understandings of intergenerational peacebuilding were mixed across provinces. Fewer than half of the 45 women participants from Nangarhar province between the ages of 21 and 45 were familiar with the concept of intergenerational peacebuilding to some extent. Most of these participants, who came from Behsood, Jalalabad, Khogyani, Shehzad and Kama districts, understood women's intergenerational peacebuilding to mean women's participation in political and social decision-making.

In explaining how they understood intergenerational peacebuilding, one of the young women activists especially stressed the importance of participation by different generations, stating:

> *I believe intergenerational peacebuilding is the idea that peace should be built by and for every generation. This is because every decision made today is based on the events of the past and will affect the events of the future. Therefore, conflict can be inherited and passed down through generations, but that should not further ruin future generations. So, future generations must grow up in a safe and conflict-free world. A better world than the one that they themselves were born into. So, it makes sense that to build long-lasting, positive peace, the voices of every generation are important.*[191]

Moreover, young women participants from Nangarhar also shared their experience of attending different workshops on gender equality but not having a clear understanding of the terms "women" and "young women." Najiba from Khewa District of Nangarhar stated, "In our culture and in Nangarhar, all the girls above 16 or 15 are called women, and we don't understand the difference between senior women and young women." [192] This suggests that the previous workshops or trainings conducted in Nangarhar over the past 20 to 22 years did not have clear references to the diversity of women and young women.

Based on the interview findings, participants from Kunar and Laghman provinces lacked knowledge of intergenerational peacebuilding and did not have experience participating in peacebuilding projects that focused on intergenerational themes. One of the participants from Kunar stated, "I do not know much about this term, but I think it is the peace between the generations who have important rules inside society, such as activists and politicians.'"[193] According to this participant, intergenerational peace involved politicians and activists, not women peacebuilders or community peacebuilding leaders from different age groups. All but two of the 15 participants aged 25-40 from different districts of Laghman, such as Dawlat shah, Mehetarlam, Qarghayi and Alishang, were unclear about this concept. One of the participants stated, "I had been in this field for four years and heard different terms regarding peace, but I have not come across what intergenerational peace means."

Intergenerational peacebuilding programs in the Eastern Zone

This study revealed that intergenerational peacebuilding has not been an area of focus in peacebuilding training and support programs in the Eastern Zone, but there have been limited opportunities to establish intergenerational relationships. For example, a 2020 UN- and Nangarhar University-supported event series on peacebuilding in Kunar, Laghman and Nangarhar provinces[194] and a 2021 WPS workshop[195] both focused on peacebuilding more broadly but did not specifically address generational or age-related differences, according to participants. However, the 2021 workshop did indirectly foster some level of intergenerational collaboration, as it included women and men of different ages and from a range of districts in Nangarhar province. Additionally, the participants were mostly younger and interacted with more senior women peacebuilders in a follow-up dialogue. Four young respondents from Nangarhar stated that they had participated in past programs to foster intergenerational harmony through peace activities with participants of various generations. A female law graduate and activist from Nangarhar stated, "I am aware of several friends and co-workers who founded a program at Nangarhar University called Peace House. People of various ages, genders and ethnicities engage in this program and offer their thoughts on conflict resolution and peace."[196]

According to the findings in Nangarhar province, the young women peacebuilders felt that established NGOs focus on empowering senior women and promoting their inclusion in policies and peacebuilding practices without emphasizing the inclusion of young women or girls. In the context of the Eastern Zone, senior women and men peacebuilders are typically seen as authority figures, providers and protectors, while young women or girls are considered learners and asked to assist in menial tasks expected of people of their age.

The findings also showed that Kunar and Laghman provinces did not have many programs that focused on intergenerational peacebuilding, probably linked to the high illiteracy rate and security risks in the provinces. According to the participants, most people view women and girls in Afghanistan as victims of war and conflict, not changemakers. For instance, a 35-year-old woman peacebuilder from Kunar said, "The Eastern Zone has always been deprived in terms of peacebuilding initiatives. Maybe that is why I am unfamiliar with initiatives entitled with the name; most men in our province do not let their daughters or female members participate in any initiatives or go to schools."[197] A 23-year-old woman, Mursal from Kunar, highlighted that:

> *Intergenerational peacebuilding requires two key elements: peace and a literate generation. Both, in my opinion, are lacking in contemporary Afghan culture. The first is a lack of educated youth, and the second is peace on its own. Our older generation is largely uneducated. As a result, there is a profound difference in thinking between the younger and older generations. It becomes more challenging for them to reach a consensus on a single issue. Therefore, I would suggest that the main obstacle to these endeavors is a lack of education.*[198]

Another woman activist from Laghman stated, "I do not know about other Eastern Zone provinces, but Laghman is a very small province; we do not usually get this type of initiative due to security and because more focus is on Nangarhar province."[199]

Limits to participating in intergenerational peacebuilding

Even though there is a great demand and need for such initiatives, participants from these provinces stated that due to the security situation and cultural barriers, international and local NGO presence was very limited. Nearly all the women who responded to the survey who were asked about limits on involvement in public life and civil activities reported being prevented from engaging in the civil and peace-related activities they had been undertaking before the Taliban took control of Afghanistan in 2021.

Across the provinces, most of the women respondents viewed intergenerational peacebuilding through the lens of economic empowerment. They believed economic empowerment initiatives such as vocational trainings are the only peacebuilding work. They did not understand the different dimensions of intergenerational peacebuilding, including political participation, freedom of speech, meaningful participation in decision-making processes and others. As many as 45 women participants stated that they have not participated in intergenerational peacebuilding initiatives involving young women or male allies. Khadija from Laghman province stated, "Yes, as a youth of this society, I know the value of peace, and I have participated in different peace-related programs. However, I have not participated in intergenerational peacebuilding initiatives." [200]

Funding opportunities for women peacebuilders in Kunar and Laghman provinces also limits women's participation in intergenerational activities. According to participants, Laghman and Kunar provinces do not have many CSOs and other councils to promote women's participation in peacebuilding efforts or initiatives. There are not enough funds from the government or international NGOs to start intergenerational efforts. Nooria from Mahtarlam District of Laghman stated, "Most trainings that happened in Laghman province were focused on learning how to sew and make clothes. We never had trainings that can teach us what intergenerational peacebuilding is. NGOs had fundings for vocational trainings only."[201]

Participants also emphasized the lack of academic research and resources available to understand the importance of intergenerational peacebuilding efforts and the role of men as allies. Participants also noted the lack of participation of the young generation in peace-related initiatives as a significant barrier.

Most young women reported feeling sidelined by senior women in leadership positions. They felt that most peacebuilding efforts in Afghanistan involved young men but not young women. The research showed that young Afghan women felt that their needs were not considered in peacebuilding initiatives because their needs were considered to be the same as those of older women. Most of the young women participants showed frustration about their exclusion from local peacebuilding, the decision-making process and engagement with tribal and religious leaders.

Perceived impact of intergenerational peacebuilding among women

All participants in the case study noted that intergenerational peacebuilding work is highly valuable and essential in the current situation in Afghanistan. They considered intergenerational work, coordination and cooperation beneficial, timely and effective for peacebuilding, highlighting that society needs everyone involved in result-oriented efforts. In this case study, many participants believed that intergenerational efforts could create new levels of understanding key to building sustainable peace. For example, one of the participants stated,

> *The main challenges are that we Afghans do not understand each other and do not talk with each other. Last year we had three-day trip to Herat for a program called "Let Us Talk." Before this, I thought maybe Herat's people did not understand the struggles of women in the eastern provinces and vice versa. However, I was wrong; I learned so much once I started talking to different women and girls.*[202]

One of the other participants stated, "I think intergenerational peacebuilding could be the best solution for our problems in the current situation. This way, we can have an opportunity to discuss the root causes of conflict and misunderstanding and become stronger as one generation. This unity can help us achieve what other countries have."[203]

Across interviews, participants emphasized and provided examples of work experiences at the local level and how intergenerational work positively affected their peacebuilding work and activities before the Taliban regime. In Nangarhar province, young women mentioned their experience attending community peacebuilding dialogues with senior women from government and civil society organizations. They highlighted the positive impact it had on their careers and future collaboration to address the needs of young girls in Nangarhar province. Notably, many participants believe that they are experiencing more barriers under the Taliban government to freedom of expression or restrictions on their intergenerational cooperation efforts, especially when working among or with women and men. For instance, one of the participants stated, "Freedom of expression and social activities can be a force to stand up together as responsible citizens and work for peacebuilding easily."[204] Another participant stated, "Activism is the only peaceful way to reach positive consensus in peacebuilding efforts. Women should be freed from cages and seen as half of the society."[205]

The participants emphasized that different groups within society, including people of different ages, perspectives, ethnicities and genders, are facing various problems and have common goals, and combating those problems requires joint or intergenerational efforts. They stressed the need for solid intergenerational programs, specifically centered on women's participation.

Participants also emphasized the work of Afghan women and girls over the past 20 years, which resulted in the creation of local councils at the district level for women and girls. Participants claimed that these trainings and programs significantly impacted women's knowledge of the concept of peace. For instance, one participant stated,

> *I do believe that such programs can have a great impact. For example, previously, peace was an unknown term for women; yes, they knew what it means, but they could not understand their contribution and importance to this concept. After different INGOs started programs and trainings related to this concept, we are witnessing many women involved in peace-related issues.*[206]

Conclusion and recommendations

Despite the different barriers to intergenerational peacebuilding, participants still prioritized the need for future intergenerational peacebuilding initiatives. While both young Afghan women and young Afghan men appear to experience similar types of marginalization from decision-making processes, young women face additional gender-specific obstacles, particularly in Kunar and Laghman provinces. This research demonstrates that the barriers to intergenerational peacebuilding in the Eastern Zone remain significant, due to limited funding and capacity in the face of security and social constraints that prevent young Afghan women's participation in expressing gender- and age-specific needs. To address these barriers and concerns, the research revealed the following recommendations.

Recommendations for academia:

- Support additional academic research and data on intergenerational peacebuilding efforts, which are needed to understand the context and the existing gaps in the Eastern Zone.
- Facilitate academic cooperation between international academic institutes and universities in Kunar, Laghman and Nangarhar provinces for research trainings in order to allow Afghan women to participate in filling these information gaps.

Recommendations for UN Member States and the donor community:

- In collaboration with the Afghan government, develop and implement concrete plans that promote intergenerational peacebuilding efforts and the meaningful inclusion of young Afghan women in peace and security initiatives, as well as in political decision-making processes.
- Invest in the capacities of women and young women by ensuring that safe and accessible learning opportunities are provided in all three provinces.
- In collaboration with the Afghan government, address the structural barriers limiting intergenerational efforts and young women's meaningful participation, including lack of access to education, economic opportunities and resources in Laghman and Kunar provinces.
- Provide accessible, flexible and long-term financial support to local civil society organizations in the Eastern Zone working on intergenerational peacebuilding.
- Recognize the expertise of senior and junior women peacebuilders and include them in design and implementation processes for peacebuilding efforts.
- Support grassroots women-led intergenerational peacebuilding initiatives in all three provinces of the Eastern Zone.
- In collaboration with the Afghan government, provide safe spaces and protection for women and young women peacebuilders in the Eastern Zone who are advocating for intergenerational peacebuilding.
- Ensure the availability of consistent gender-disaggregated monitoring, evaluation and reporting data related to the implementation (or lack thereof) of intergenerational peacebuilding initiatives in Eastern Zone.

Recommendations for civil society and the private sector:

- Hold the Afghan government accountable and pressure the government to increase training opportunities, funding for workshops and capacity-building, institutionalized accountability and good governance.
- Ensure the availability of consistent gender-disaggregated monitoring, evaluation and reporting data related to the implementation (or lack thereof) of intergenerational peacebuilding initiatives in Eastern Zone.
- Allocate intergenerational peacebuilding-focused funding and resources to the Eastern Zone and ensure intergenerational participation at all levels of the decision-making process.
- Mobilize young Afghan women at the grassroots level, in rural and remote areas, to ensure their full participation, recognizing and highlighting the intersectionality of senior Afghan women's and young Afghan women's experiences and contributions.
- Consider the language barriers in the Eastern Zone and include all the ethnic and religious groups in trainings and workshops.

Afghanistan Case Study: Two generations, one dream — equality for women in Afghanistan

CASE STUDY

By Zarqa Yaftali, with the support of Besmillah Behin and Matin Hakimi

Addressing gaps in experience, trust and collaboration between generations of Afghan women's rights activists

Context

This case study addresses one of the most tragic periods of women's lives in Afghanistan. Since August 15, 2021, Afghanistan has been ruled by the Taliban, an oppressive terrorist military group. Since coming to power, the Taliban have continually imposed restrictions on women's freedom of movement and limited their area of activity and presence in society. Schools have been closed, female civil servants have not been allowed to work, and women's public appearances have become more harshly limited.[207] As one woman, a former government employee, noted while speaking to Human Rights Watch: "The future looks dark. I had many dreams and wanted to continue studying and working. I was thinking of doing my master's. Now, [the Taliban] don't even allow girls to finish high school."[208]

Women's participation in the peace process is critical to ensuring peace is long-lasting and inclusive.[209] Since men are the primary leaders in war and violent conflict, they are often seen as the primary actors for ending war and building peace. However, peacebuilding is the foundation for creating sustainable human security and equitable development in countries emerging from conflict,[210] so empowering women leaders to participate in peacebuilding is crucial.[211]

Over the past two decades, the women's movement has been one of the strongest movements shaped in Afghanistan; women have been leading efforts to build a brighter future for the country. Women's advocacy, along with international political support, resulted in many critical achievements in gender equality.[212] Women's equal rights were enshrined in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in 2004.[213] Moreover, the women's movement successfully advocated for the promotion of women's rights in the country's legal framework by including amendments to the existing laws and introducing new legislation, including the *Elimination of Violence Against Women*[214] and the *Law on Protection of Child Rights*,[215] among others.

Additionally, women in Afghanistan took the lead in implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and the development of a National Action Plan.[216] In 2010, when the Government of Afghanistan announced its willingness to initiate peace talks with the opposition, women of Afghanistan struggled to find a space at the peace talks table. Only nine women were included in the National Consultative Peace Council, compared to seventy men.[217] On the provincial and district levels, smaller Provincial Peace Committees (PPCs) had at least four women as members as a result of effective campaigns led by women's civil society organizations.[218] Through these engagements, women gained valuable experiences and skills and were recognized as peacebuilders, peace messengers and peacemakers.

Women slowly started building coalitions and developing their agenda for peacebuilding in Afghanistan. Women members of the High Council for National Reconciliation had ongoing contact with women in civil society and would seek their opinions on the content of the discussions.[219] However, limited political will in the Afghan government and among international actors and cultural barriers to women being seen as leaders, meant that women were unable to take on a vital role in the peace talks conducted in Qatar in 2020.[220]

August 15th, 2021, which marked the collapse of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, had a drastic impact on the women's movement in Afghanistan. The country faced an exodus of professionals, activists and politicians.[221] Women leaders who were critical to building peace and democracy left the country. While most of them are still active and participate in advocacy efforts,[222] their departure left a considerable gap in women's efforts to restore their role and space amid this critical situation in the country.

The situation led to the emergence of new leaders and activists who remained in Afghanistan and worked for the protection of their rights. They have organized demonstrations and staged resistance against the Taliban and their restrictive rules against women.[223] They have faced threats to their lives and have been jailed and tortured extensively by the Taliban.[224] This new generation of women leaders and peacebuilders struggles to secure a space in Afghanistan's current restrictive environment, advocating for women's equal rights to education, employment and freedom of movement.

Methodology

This case study assesses the situation of the women's movement in Afghanistan, the roles of women leaders in the diaspora and younger leaders who have remained in the country, and the links between the two generations. This case study is concerned with the survival of the movement's achievements in relation to the Afghan peace process, especially as restrictions on women's rights continue to expand. The following questions were used to organize the research:

- What is the legacy of the women's movement in Afghanistan for the new generation of women's rights activists?
- What are some of the long-lasting achievements of the women's rights movements in Afghanistan in relation to the peace process?
- What are the contributions of the new generation of women's rights activists to the peace process in Afghanistan?
- How have intergenerational relationships among women's rights activists developed over the past decade? What are some of the challenges to intergenerational relationship-building, and how can these relationships be strengthened?

Ten Afghan women peacebuilders were interviewed for this study. The interviewees included women active in the peacebuilding process in Afghanistan over the last two decades, both senior and emerging young women activists engaged in peacebuilding and women's political participation in Afghanistan. The participants were mostly women who had been displaced recently from Afghanistan, though four of the participants were still living in Afghanistan at the time of data collection. The participants are from different ethnic groups. Four of the interviews were conducted in person, and the rest were conducted online.

Participants included the following profiles:

1. A law graduate from Kabul who stepped in and assumed leadership of the women's network after the fall of the Taliban. She is based in Kabul and works daily to ensure women can access their fundamental rights;

2. Nargis Nihan: A high-profile leader involved in peacebuilding efforts through an organization she established. She works with women's groups at the community level to support peacebuilding and conflict resolution. She was the acting Minister of Mines and Petroleum in the previous government;

3. Nigina Yari: A young peacebuilder activist and founder of several civil society initiatives involving women and peace;

4. Humaira Saqib: A journalist and emerging civil society activist since 2018;

5. Hasina Safi: A Minister of Information and Culture in the former government, the acting Minister of Women's Affairs before the fall of the previous government, an activist and a civil society leader for the past two decades;

6. Naira Kohistani: A journalist, activist and civil society leader for the past 15 years;

7. Habiba Sarabi: A high-profile peacebuilder, minister, provincial governor and member of the National Peace Council, active for more than 20 years;

8. Robina Hamdard: A law graduate, UN staff member and peace activist for the past 16 years;

9. Fawzia Koofi: A high-profile political leader, head of a political group, former member of parliament and member of the peace negotiations;

10. Parwan Ibrahimkhail: A young woman and peace activist for the last ten years, one of the protesters who was arrested by the Taliban after they took control of the government.

The researchers also conducted two focus group discussions in Kabul and Balkh provinces with a total of 12 participants. All the participants were members of civil society and women's organizations and active in the peace processes in their provinces. Each focus group discussion included six participants and was conducted in Farsi.

Access to women leaders outside of Afghanistan was one of the main limitations, along with identifying and interviewing those women in Afghanistan, considering the security threats against them. Identifying focus group participants and finding a safe place for the discussions was another challenge in conducting this study. All possible precautions were taken to limit the risks and ensure the safety of everyone who took part in this study, research assistants and research participants alike.

Intergenerational peacebuilding in the context of this case study

This case study focuses on intergenerational peacebuilding across the groups of women peacebuilders active before and after the fall of the Afghan government in August 2021. In this context, the first generation mainly refers to women leaders and activists who were active in peacebuilding programs over the past twenty years, while the new generation refers to the women who are currently in the country and working to build peace since August 2021, in the absence of many senior women leaders who left Afghanistan.

According to the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame, peacebuilding is the,

> *Development of constructive personal, group, and political relationships across ethnic, religious, class, national, and racial boundaries. It aims to resolve injustice in nonviolent ways and to transform the structural conditions that generate deadly conflict. Peacebuilding can include conflict prevention, conflict management, conflict resolution and transformation, and post-conflict reconciliation.*[225]

Peacebuilding for the women of Afghanistan includes a wide range of activities and initiatives, such as women's political activism securing space in political dialogues and peace talks, advocacy for inclusion in the Afghanistan High Peace Council, and participation in the Qatar talks and other forums. Women also play a critical role in community development and peacebuilding in Afghanistan, by, for example, working with youth, training volunteers as mediators and training communities about conflict resolution techniques.

Successes and challenges in intergenerational peacebuilding among women in Afghanistan

Perspectives on the peacebuilding process

Almost all participants in this study agree that Afghanistan's peacebuilding process is highly politicized and that the process of ending war does not necessarily mean bringing peace. They also agree that, given the collapse of institutions dedicated to the peace process, it is unclear what shape peacebuilding will take in the future. The women who have been active in the peacebuilding process in Afghanistan over the last two decades firmly believe that they have laid a strong foundation upon which the new generation of emerging leaders in the country can build. They also think there is no clear-cut division between the women of the two generations. Women leaders who were forced to leave the country are still active and support the women's movement in the country. The participants in this group confirm that since leaving the country, they have been actively and vigorously involved in advocacy, fundraising, program creation and support for capacity-building for the emerging generation of women peacebuilders. They acknowledge that the young generation of women peacebuilders are brave, responsible and passionate.

Opinions about the state of peacebuilding in Afghanistan differ by generation. Some participants who are currently in Afghanistan and are considered part of the new generation of women peacebuilders hold that there is no such thing as intergenerational peacebuilding networks among women. They believe that most of the peacebuilding work conducted by women in the past two decades was not sustainable, as they see it being based on short-term objectives and not a long-term sustainable vision. At least one respondent mentioned that "there is no peacebuilding process, and no women are participating, Afghan women are hopeless."[226] The respondent was frustrated because she felt that most of the work done under peacebuilding programs in Afghanistan was not practical and specific but rather frequently merely performative, and that even small initiatives had disappeared. However, she hoped that women would still be able to learn step by step. In contrast, some participants, primarily those from the more senior generation of women peacebuilders who have mostly been forced to move out of the country, believe that what women do today in peacebuilding is what they inherited from the older generation. The respondents in this older group maintain that the current peacebuilding and women's empowerment efforts have learned a great deal from the women leaders who strived to establish a legacy for today.

Perspectives on women peacebuilders' intergenerational relationships

Respondents from the new generation of women peacebuilders, who are still based in Afghanistan, believe that a respectful relationship is being created gradually with the older generation of women peacebuilders, though this experience is not universal; these relationships depend on experience and the level of support the younger generation receives from the older generation. As these relationships are built, the concept of intergenerational peacebuilding also becomes clearer. Some members of the younger generation noted that they receive support and mentorship from some of the older generation about how to address life under Taliban rule, and the women who participated in the study believe strongly that women's intergenerational peacebuilding efforts will bring results. The new generation believes that there is a lot that they can learn from the older generation of women peacebuilders. However, peacebuilders from the older generation understand that the new generation is working in a different context; most of the strategies and learnings from the past will not apply to the current situation.

The older generation of women peacebuilders believe they have made considerable investments in building the capacity of the young generation of peacebuilders. They reference a significant number of initiatives, projects and programs implemented during the past two decades aimed at building the capacity of young women and girls. They believe that the past two decades provided many opportunities for women leaders to transfer skills and experience to young women and girls and prepare them to become involved in peacebuilding efforts in a meaningful way. They also believe that the young generation is equipped with better education and skills than the older generation and can continue building on existing peacebuilding efforts using their skills and unique approaches. In addition, some members of the young generation of women peacebuilders acknowledge the fact that they were able to attend training initiatives organized for youth by the older generation of peacebuilders and benefited from their experiences.

Successes and challenges

Women's role in social peacebuilding at the community level was highlighted as a success during this research process. Many of the participants in this study support local initiatives for peacebuilding and conflict resolution at the community level. They help women's councils and groups in several provinces of the country participate in community-level peacebuilding by providing resource mobilization, training and capacity-building. Surprisingly, these community-level structures mostly survived the shocks of the political change in the country and are still active in their local communities.

Participants highlighted the role of social media in allowing women to continue engaging in peacebuilding work. Most interviewees believe that social media is crucial in ensuring that women's voices and their situations are heard and understood by people worldwide. Reaching out to the world and connecting the two generations of women peacebuilders, even after the older generation left the country, has been an instrumental part of their work.

However, challenges remain in communication and partnership between the two generations of women peace leaders. The participants identified a trust deficit as one of the critical challenges facing the two generations. The young generation of peacebuilders expressed that, because most of the women's movement leaders left the country after the Taliban took control, they were left alone. Respondents from the older generation instead think the young generation is in a better position than the older generation was, as they can start working from where things were left by the older generation and they can also rely on the experiences of the peacebuilders who spent their lives working in this area. In addition, several respondents of the new generation feel excluded and that there is no intergenerational peacebuilding process. On the other hand, women leaders of the older generation of peacebuilders believe they did not purposefully exclude anyone but rather think that women leaders may have rushed decision-making to make the best use of time and resources. Most participants agree, however, that the mental stress of growing up during a war may contribute to the feeling of exclusion common among the younger generation.

Factors like trust and respect were consistently raised by several respondents. The respondents in both generations believe relationships between the two generations of women peacebuilders in Afghanistan must be based on trust, respect and experience.

In addition to the generational dimension, divisions based on language, tribe and political ideology contribute to the loss of trust among peacebuilders. This division and the lack of a common, practical, clear vision regarding peacebuilding in Afghanistan have caused women to step away from working together.

Conclusion and recommendations

The current situation in the country is fragile; there are no state institutions and structures to be held accountable. Nevertheless, almost all participants agree that dialogue between the two generations should continue. Peacebuilding is an ongoing struggle that needs everyone's efforts and sacrifices. Respondents of both generations agree that a critical contribution women peacebuilders of all generations can make is to break taboos. Since women are not heavily involved in the war, it is also assumed that they have no role in bringing peace. Women in Afghanistan challenge this stereotype under the new regime through ongoing struggle, activism and dialogue. Women peacebuilders of both generations try to open up space for themselves and other women at the peace negotiation table. Leveraging the strengths of the younger generation in Afghanistan and the older generation abroad is vital.

Recommendations for international and regional organizations:

- Support capacity-building for the younger generation of women peacebuilders and for women living outside of Afghanistan; this assistance must be tailored to their unique circumstances.
- Fund women peacebuilders both inside and outside Afghanistan; provide both technical and financial resources.
- Connect Afghan women peace leaders to international networks of women peacebuilders so that they can learn from practical examples put in place by other women.
- Provide consistent, inclusive and consultation-based support to advance equality and protection for women and girls in Afghanistan, especially from the US, Canada and the EU.

Recommendation for Afghan women peacebuilders and international allies:

- Create mentorship programs and networks to build connections among the two generations of women peacebuilders; focus on building trust and facilitating joint advocacy opportunities.

Egypt Case Study: Egyptian women peacebuilders in search of connection, recognition and space

CASE STUDY

By Nermine Mounir; co-author: Hassnaa Tamam

Highlighting the need for connection between women peacebuilders of different ages and backgrounds

Context

In October 1999, UN General Assembly Resolution A/53/243 called for a global movement for a culture of peace, which invited all Member States to commit to the fuller development of a culture of peace through values, attitudes, modes of behavior and ways of life conducive to the promotion of peace among individuals, groups and nations.[227] A few years before, the UN also declared the year 2000 to be the International Year for a Culture of Peace and the decade from 2000 to 2010 to be the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World.[228]

These efforts had their effect on Egypt, particularly through the efforts of the First Lady at the time, who launched The Suzanne Mubarak Women's International Peace Movement in 2004.[229] Since then, several initiatives focusing on peace education have emerged, mostly led by middle-class, educated young professionals; however, the impact and outreach of these initiatives and the movement itself was mostly confined to the intellectual elite. In fact, the organization led by the author of this case study also started during that time. The agenda of most of the initiatives focused on diversity, dialogue, tolerance and the overall promotion of peace values and related skills. Considering the political situation at that time, many of these initiatives focused on audiences and topics seen as less political and mostly followed the UN agenda within the country.[230] For example, issues of sectarian violence, extremism and security-related issues remained exclusively within the purview of the government and religious institutions. Violations of human rights were also absent from the agenda.

The situation started to change after 2011, following the January 25th revolution.[231] With the expansion of public space and the realization of the need for societal reconciliation, many initiatives were formed that openly called for societal dialogue and for the promotion of nonviolence in all aspects of society.[232] Many of these initiatives were openly political, which constituted a significant transformation in the agenda of civil society in relation to a culture of peace. Their outreach was no longer confined to the intellectual elite but expanded to include more work at the grassroots level, reaching out to more marginalized groups and those further away from the capital.

Unfortunately, this significant opening of the public sphere did not last for long. Since the military intervention in July 2013,[233] the struggle against the Muslim Brotherhood has allowed the government to take several measures aimed at regaining state control over the public sphere. To achieve this aim, the regime has issued several laws and decisions putting strong limitations on social and political activism and on civil society work in general.[234] Accordingly, many of the peace education initiatives had to minimize their activities or practice self-censorship by avoiding threatening or controversial topics and target groups. Some ended up shutting down their activities altogether.[235]

Despite that, those who continued are still[236] striving to make an impact and use their creativity to address the continuing challenges facing civil society in Egypt. Many continue to expand beyond the capital, reaching out to new target groups in marginalized areas and communities. This is also a strategy to maneuver around the limitations on civil society. One of these initiatives is the focus of this case study. The initiative is called BH[237] and was founded by a couple living in El-Minya governorate. Minya is one of the poorest cities in Egypt, as the poverty rate is almost 60 percent.[238] The city has a strong presence of militant Islamic groups while also being the home of the second largest Christian population in the country.[239] It has frequently been a flash point for sectarian violence between Muslims and Christians.[240] According to a report by the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, Minya has been a center of sectarian violence, often related to the construction of churches, Christian religious services, rumors about romantic affairs between Muslims and Christians, or low-level disputes that quickly turned to mob violence between Muslims and Christians.[241]

Inspired by his previous work in an interreligious dialogue project, and in response to increasing societal tensions, the founder of BH and his wife decided to create spaces for human interaction and dialogue between young people—spaces where they can experience coexistence, appreciate diversity and learn necessary skills to deal with conflicts nonviolently. As he puts it, "growing up in Minya, we never felt the separation between Muslims and Christians, we were one community, all living in peace and harmony. Now it is different, so we decided that we want our children to experience what we had before through building our own community of peace - BH community."[242] Through their initiative, they play the roles of brokers and translators, utilizing their professional network to invite experienced trainers and practitioners from the capital to come and work with the young people. As trusted members of the community, they have the ability to bring together Muslim and Christian youth who rarely have the opportunity to meet and interact on a deep human level in daily life. The uniqueness of this initiative is that it brings together a diversity of actors across age, religion, social and economic background, and gender. The founders themselves and many of the "experts" belong to a much older generation than the participants, while striving to work together to build a community for peace and coexistence, with the challenges and opportunities that accompany such a dream.

The initiative has been supported by a broader network of peacebuilding practitioners called the Selmiya network, which is a grassroots movement made up of over 40 initiatives working to spread a culture of peace. The founders and participants of these initiatives within the network are primarily youth, providing a unique model for civil society organizations (CSOs) in Egypt, where there are a few movements working together on the ground.[243]

This case study focuses on the nature and dynamics of the relationships that exist between the different generations of women involved in the BH initiative and its surrounding network, and the impact of these relationships on peacebuilding. The aim is to explore how intergenerational linkages and dialogue can take place in a way that is mutually empowering and that strengthens the inclusion and resilience of women in peacebuilding.

Methodology

The main question motivating this case study was as follows: To what extent have senior and junior women peacebuilders established trusting and meaningful relationships that contribute to their mutual empowerment and to the promotion of peacebuilding in their communities? The case study also examined the following sub-questions:

- What is the relationship between different groups of women working towards peace?
- What strategies have been used when developing these partnerships, and are they effective?
- How does identity affect relationships between these women?
- How does gender affect how women peacebuilders from the capital are perceived and how much impact they are able to have?
- What are the challenges and obstacles to creating effective intergenerational peacebuilding partnerships?

The research team collected information from diverse sources: mostly women of different generations and backgrounds working in peace education in Egypt and some men also involved in peace education who have direct interaction with these women. Data collection primarily focused on the BH peace education initiative because it involves women from different backgrounds, age groups and experiences as co-founders, leaders, teachers, supporters and participants, but the research also considered other initiatives outside of the capital led by grassroots leaders. Furthermore, the primary researcher previously worked with the BH initiative and has direct experience and knowledge of their work.

In this study, the researchers decided to define a "woman peacebuilder" as any woman who works directly on issues related to peace and who has an interest in building their career in this field. In selecting research participants, the researchers therefore considered these criteria, as well as diversity of age and experience. The researchers conducted interviews and focus groups and used participant observation to gather data. The team interviewed 30 women peace educators and peacebuilders in person and online. These women worked in civil society, in academia or as researchers, or as decision-makers in the public sector, and they ranged from 18 to 45 years old. The researchers also included people who had different levels of experience and divided them into "juniors" (those with up to five years of experience) and "seniors" (those with more than five years of experience). The research focused on three governorates: Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine. The researchers also conducted focus groups in El-Minya governorate with eight participants and Cairo with five participants. The participants were from a range of ages, experiences and backgrounds, but all were leaders, staff or beneficiaries of peacebuilding programs who have an interest in peace education, whether professionally or on a volunteer basis. Finally, the team collected data through participant observation, analyzing the interactions between participants in informal settings and in the community. The team experienced some challenges reaching out to some of the women selected for interviews, due to scheduling difficulties, lack of contact information or distance.

The researchers considered cross-generational issues through not only age but also experience, as some women were taught and mentored by much younger women who have more experience and knowledge in the field. The research team focused on examining whether and how age and/or experience play a role in the formation of relationships between women, the dynamics of these relationships, and the impact these relationships can and do have. The researchers paid attention to differences across generations, without approaching "generation" as a coherent category of analysis, and examined relationships within as well as between generations.

Intergenerational peacebuilding in the context of this case study

Many participants could not easily define or relate to the concept of intergenerational peacebuilding.[244] Many participants noted that the interview was the first time they had heard or thought about the concept. Further questioning revealed several reasons for this. First, many said that these types of relationships rarely exist and, if they do, they are mostly informal and sporadic. Others explained that since the peacebuilding field is relatively new in Egypt, there are not many generations of people, especially women, working in the field. Some also said that they had never reflected on the concept of "intergenerational peacebuilding" before, so they do not have a clear understanding of the concept and what it means to them. It was interesting to observe that most of the participants emphasized that the parties in intergenerational relationships need to be "equal," This might indicate the negative experiences the younger participants have had with traditional types of relationships between the different generations. It might also indicate that they realize the difference between intergenerational relationships among women peacebuilders compared to those they experience in other spaces.

Equally important and illuminating, when asked about whether they consider themselves "women peacebuilders," respondents provided answers that could be grouped into three categories.[245] The first and most dominant — especially among women from outside the capital — included women who were reluctant to identify as peacebuilders and emphasized that they are "striving" to be peacebuilders by practicing peaceful values in their lives. Some preferred to call themselves "lovers of peace" or "peacebuilders but relatively — meaning that they are not always able to do that," but they hope to be so one day.[246] The second category comprised those who refused to be called peacebuilders. For some, they were worried about the idealist image of the peacebuilder, which they felt they could not maintain most of the time. Others felt that their efforts are so small and cannot accumulate to become an act of peacebuilding. A third group refused to be called peacebuilders although they work on dialogue, anti-terrorism or gender issues. It was not clear why these participants did not see this work as peacebuilding, but it could be connected to the negative connotation associated with the word "peace" in Egypt.[247]

It is also worth noting the diversity of answers among women when asked about their own definition of "peace." Some of the answers included: to be able to express oneself; freedom; acceptance of the other; creativity; inner peace and being gentle with oneself; human rights; nonviolence towards others; positive communication; negotiation; human security; feminism; safe space; and inner peace.[248]

Most of the women from outside the capital focused on inner peace or peace with their personal surroundings, including family and friends.[249] Many of them also focused on the role of women in peacebuilding within the family and the smaller circles around her — the traditional roles of women. Only a few of them focused on the role of women in peacebuilding within the "public sphere." The exception is the women from St. Catherine, who directly thought of peace in the context of the conflict between Egypt and Israel, which is relevant given the political issues at play in that area. However, after discussions, they started to speak about peace in relation to their personal lives. Many of the women from the capital focused on social peace and, to a lesser extent, peace at the international level.

Perceived impact of intergenerational peacebuilding among women

Questions about the impact of intergenerational partnerships elicited three kinds of responses.

A common and dominant response came from participants who believe in working across generations but see that these types of relationships are rare in the field in general and between women in particular.[250] Many of the relationships that are formed during peacebuilding programs slowly disappear after the program ends, as many of these programs lack mechanisms for sustaining the communication beyond the duration of the work. In fact, almost 90 percent of interviewees, from different ages and levels of experience, said that none of the programs they were part of had an intergenerational component or resulted in a special program focusing directly on intergenerational partnerships. Many highlighted that since the peacebuilding field is relatively new and fluid, and because there is no platform or structure that brings peacebuilding actors—much less women peacebuilders—together, it is hard for women to develop sustained networks and relationships. Some noted that they had seen attempts to coordinate this type of partnership, but they lacked strategies and tools for implementation. On the other hand, many said that the intergenerational relationships that they are part of are mostly informal, taking the form of friendships developed through individual initiatives on the part of the women involved. Many of these partnerships were formed as a result of taking part in a workshop together, attending forums or gatherings related to peace, or working together. They explained that these types of relationships can be very empowering to both parties, especially considering that the peace education field is relatively new in Egypt. Some also saw that emphasizing the "age factor" in women's partnerships is important because, according to them, each generation needs to acknowledge the existence of the other generation and that they are different.

A second group of participants did not see the importance or relevance of women's intergenerational relationships.[251] Some perceived these types of relationships as emphasizing differences over similarities, which they viewed as negative. Others preferred to focus on relationships among women in general without highlighting age, which they think will help make partnerships more inclusive and effective. Some also suggested that it is more useful to focus on experience and qualifications than on age to avoid patronizing or condescending attitudes from the older generation toward the younger generation. Others felt that a focus on relationships across generations without an emphasis on the relationships between women only was more important and inclusive, helping bring more actors into the peacebuilding field.

The third group held a much less common opinion, which is that "healthy" intergenerational relationships are impossible to achieve and that typical intergenerational relationships can have negative consequences, especially on younger people. Some emphasized that, in these relationships, the senior partners will always seek to convince the younger to follow what they see as "right." For example, one participant said, "Each generation has its own mindset and priorities, and this makes communication challenging."[252]

Most of the interviewees described the relationships between women peacebuilders of different generations in Egypt as positive and generally supportive.[253] However, as mentioned earlier, many said that the relationships they are involved in are mostly informal, in the form of friendships. Many saw that most of these relationships are collaborative and built on mutual trust, with individuals striving to accept each other's differences and build common ground. They emphasized that many women seek to continue the relationships informally beyond the duration of the program or work they are involved in and that they are a strong source of support for one another, especially in issues related to gender and women's rights.

Many of the participants appreciated the impact of these relationships on their career path and professional learning journey. For example, some junior women mentioned that their entry point into a peacebuilding career was through other, senior women who provided them with the opportunity and resources to engage in the field and take their first steps. This was particularly important for them because educational and professional opportunities in the peacebuilding field in Egypt are limited, and information about these opportunities is often difficult to access. Many also appreciated that these senior women trusted their abilities and potential despite being young and saw in them qualities that sometimes they did not even see in themselves. Many junior peacebuilders struggle with finding opportunities in the peacebuilding field, since most organizations require "experience" that many young people do not have yet.

For many participants, these relationships had a similar impact on their personal life. For example, some of the younger participants shared that they turn to their women friends from the older generation when they face problems with their families or in their personal relationships. They also constitute a strong base of support for each other when facing experiences of gender discrimination or gender-based violence.

Successes and challenges in intergenerational peacebuilding

Through data found in the interviews, the researchers identified themes related to successes and challenges of intergenerational peacebuilding partnerships among women, as well as themes related to international peacebuilding with its opportunities and limitations.

Many of the junior participants interviewed shared that relationships in which they felt that their ideas and experience were respected and appreciated by their senior partners were most useful.[254] These junior peacebuilders emphasized that it was especially helpful when older peacebuilders were willing to listen, help them reflect and support them in finding their own answers and solutions. Learning happened through day-to-day experiences and through interacting informally outside of work or trainings.

In addition, when asked how the background of those involved in a relationship might affect the level of trust, the quality of the relationship, and its impact, many participants answered that the factor of "identity" does not matter; what matters is the character of the person. They explained that, as long as those who are part of the relationship have a similar mindset, relationship formation will be easy and positive. The research team also observed that many of the participants were able to transcend differences when they connected over shared similarities and mutual respect. For example, one of the women interviewed in St. Catherine said, "With the facilitators, we felt like they are our friends, not our teachers. They respected us and treated us as equals. They were also curious to know about us."[255] The quality of relationships was also enhanced when peacebuilders felt they could learn something from the other person that would help them build valuable knowledge and experience.

Successes

Participants highlighted examples of successful strategies for building relationships among women peacebuilders of different generations, including creating informal spaces for friendships, dialogue and support; creating spaces for decentralized learning across generations; senior women acting as coaches and mentors to younger ones; and women forming informal networks of solidarity in addressing experiences of gender-based abuse. This section focuses on one success in particular: women acting as brokers, catalysts, role models, sources of access and legitimizers for other women.

Women's roles as brokers and translators were particularly important in the context of the BH initiative. Women from the older generation, or those who started earlier in BH, served as brokers or translators between the initiative and the community. Senior women played a key role as brokers between the private sphere, which shapes and dominates the reality of the junior women, and the public sphere, where the latter were invited to engage as active agents of change and even leaders. Parents were more willing to send their girls to participate in the activities of BH only because these "older" — and more trusted — women were present. Some of these women were actively engaged in continuous negotiation with the families to convince them to send their girls to attend the program. This was a very important role, considering limitations on women mixing with men or those from different religions. Having the privilege to access private spaces as women, in addition to the trust the community has in them, allowed these older women to open opportunities for more women to play an active role in the public sphere. The ones who later became leaders in the program acted as mobilizers, inviting girls from the community, who were mostly from the same religion as the leaders, to come to these programs. Many of them also acted as "coaches" to these younger girls, especially when they were confused in the beginning and felt threatened by the participants of different genders and religions.

For some of them, these women were also role models, giving them hope that they might also follow their dreams and make their voices heard.[256] Their success encouraged some families to grant their daughters more freedom so that they could become like these women.

One of the senior peace activists said, "When I first joined the program, I was assigned to be a leader to a group of Muslims and Christians who are much younger than me. I remember the first day when I introduced myself to them, they were very astonished, and I faced a lot of resistance, because they thought I must be a fundamentalist. I believe this was because I am fully covered [wearing niqab/burqa]. But after we spent time together, we became very close and they call me mama, both Muslims and Christians. These four years we spent together were the best days of my life."[257]

Furthermore, some participants emphasized that relationships among women peacebuilders and the solidarity between them had an impact on consolidating the struggle for women rights and freedom in society.[258] For example, one of the interviewees who is a well-known feminist emphasized that the recent laws (most importantly Article 306 [paragraphs A & B] of the *1937 Penal Code*, amended on June 21, 2021)[259] that criminalized harassment in Egypt were the result of the accumulated struggle of different generations of women feminists who use one another's support to persist despite continuous attacks and stigmatization.[260]

These women also act as translators. Many of the concepts and methods used in BH's workshops are not familiar to people in Minya, and most of the trainers and facilitators are middle-class professionals from the capital whose language and perspectives often differ from those in Minya. Therefore, senior women who had greater experience in the peacebuilding field played a significant role in translating the words and ideas into a language that people in Minya could relate to, in order to understand the importance of the work being done and then disseminate this knowledge among their communities.

Challenges

Women's intergenerational peacebuilding partnerships confront a range of challenges, whether structural, cultural or normative, potentially hindering their impact. Structural challenges include the limited opportunities for learning and employment in the peacebuilding field, which sometimes creates competition between actors; the separation between women who work in civil society, the public sector and academia; local peacebuilding programs lacking mechanisms for intergenerational dialogue and instead focusing on age-restricted groups; and overall restrictions on civil society in Egypt. Another significant challenge was the strong dependence in the peacebuilding field on "women from the capital" as program staff and trainers at the expense of local women who might have similar capacity or strong potential.

Cultural challenges include the prevailing gender norms that restrict women's freedom and mobility to meet and interact with other women in the peacebuilding field, and social norms of leadership in Egypt that make it a challenge to establish positive relationships across generations. Leaders can easily, intentionally or unintentionally, fall into the trap of abusing their power and suppressing the autonomy of those they are leading. On the other hand, the younger generation sometimes idealize leaders, positioning them as saviors who do not make mistakes or who do not act in a way that hinders peace. If those being idealized make mistakes, young peacebuilders can lose faith in the cause of peacebuilding altogether.

Finally, some participants were unable to identify any impact that resulted from intergenerational peacebuilding. Some said that it is too early to see an impact, and others said that there might be an impact, but it is hard for them to identify since it is usually personal and related to change in attitudes, which are difficult to assess.[261]

The impact of intergenerational peacebuilding among women

Based on these findings, there are several reasons why intergenerational peacebuilding among women is important not just to women peacebuilders but also to the wider peacebuilding community. First, the research showed the role intergenerational women's peacebuilding efforts played in the integration of young people, and young women in particular, into the peacebuilding field in Egypt. This took place through improving access to knowledge and resources for women who were interested in pursuing a career in peacebuilding work and through the roles senior women played as coaches and mentors to emerging young women peacebuilders.

Second, working across generations improves the sustainability of peacebuilding programs and the resilience of women involved in these programs. As in the case of BH, the informal relationships that were built during the peacebuilding programs allowed for the continuation of the impact even after the program ended through mutual support, mutual learning and solidarity between the women involved in these relationships. This is particularly important in conservative communities, where older women tend to have more power and legitimacy; they can act as brokers between younger women and their community, supporting them in their negotiation for their rights. Older women also act as role models to the younger ones, inspiring them to continue their struggle for freedom and rights.

Furthermore, intergenerational peacebuilding among women holds great potential for enabling the women involved to learn and co-create new approaches to leadership and collective action and collaboration across generations. They have the opportunity to reshape the traditional forms of leadership and create new ones based on the values of equality, collectivity, freedom and autonomy.

There are many unrealized opportunities for intergenerational peacebuilding that can have positive effects not just on the parties in the relationship but also on their surroundings and on the community at large. New perspectives are needed on both sides: The older generation must be aware that new generations of peacebuilders are emerging, and that change is inevitable, while the younger generation must recognize that communication with the older generation is valuable for their own learning journey and career. Both generations need to learn how to establish a balanced relationship that brings together the wisdom and experience of the older generation and the energy and creativity of the younger one; both need to acknowledge the relative advantages that the other party has and what they have to offer in return. Many of the participants saw strong potential in intergenerational partnerships for opening more spaces for women to play an active role in peacebuilding efforts. Some saw this potential in civil society or academia, while others had high aspirations for the integration of women into security-related efforts, such as addressing violence in border areas like Sinai.

The field of peace education in Egypt is growing and more people are becoming interested in the field. There is an opportunity for peacebuilders to work in the world of business, media and journalism, cyberspace, and the judiciary, including through professional mediation. Furthermore, there is untapped potential for dialogue and collaboration between civil society, academia, and new platforms and institutions in the government in advancing the agenda of peace and coexistence.

There is also a huge opportunity for intergenerational peacebuilding in Egypt to contribute to creating and disseminating local knowledge around the values and skills of peace and nonviolence in society.

Finally, perhaps one of the biggest opportunities of intergenerational peacebuilding is the potential it holds for consolidating the inclusion and engagement of young people in peace education as a form of civic engagement.

Conclusion and recommendations

Perhaps the biggest discovery of this research was identifying the deep desire women peacebuilders in Egypt have for intergenerational collaboration but also how rare this sort of intergenerational collaboration currently is in their work. When the researchers approached women to invite them for the interviews, the team received praise for the topic and research questions. As the process unfolded, many even offered to help in the different efforts needed to conduct the research. This need for connection might be motivated by the shared experiences of discrimination, which many women, regardless of background, raised in their interviews. It may also come from a place of growing confidence. Day by day, women peacebuilders from different generations and backgrounds are winning small victories here and there, in both the private and the public space. In essence, they are practicing what Assef Bayat called "the art of presence," practiced by citizens who have the courage and creativity, in spite of all odds, to circumvent constraints, utilizing what is available and discovering new spaces within which to make oneself heard, seen, felt and realized.[262]

The power and impact of these women can be further magnified if they join efforts and utilize their diversity to support each other's learning journey and struggle. Other actors also have a role to play to enable a positive environment for peacebuilding work in general and for women's intergenerational peacebuilding in particular. The following recommendations were identified because the researchers believe that they are realistic, feasible and likely to yield very positive results.

Recommendations for women peacebuilders:

It is very important for women peacebuilders in Egypt to jointly establish a structure that brings them together to network, exchange knowledge and co-learn. This can take place in the form of a network or a platform co-led by a group of women or organizations who have the interest and the resources to coordinate this structure. It is also important that these relationships be created across sectors—civil society, academia and the public sector.

Recommendations for the designers and leaders of peacebuilding programs:

- Prioritize and fund peacebuilding efforts in Egypt. Although Egypt is not experiencing widespread violent conflict, there are many latent conflicts that could eventually lead to large-scale violence.
- Ensure that peacebuilding programs allow for meaningful dialogue across different generations of peacebuilders. This can take place in the form of workshops, forums or even dialogue sessions.
- Integrate mechanisms for continuous communication between the different generations beyond the duration of peacebuilding programs.
- Design peacebuilding programs that consider the gendered social norms that impact women's access to these programs and encourage senior women peacebuilders in the community to play a role in addressing these social norms and in improving access for junior peacebuilders to the peacebuilding field.
- Recognize the professional capacity of senior "local" women who can play an active role in empowering junior women peacebuilders in their communities rather than relying on women from the capital.
- Develop professional mentorship programs that provide the opportunity for senior women peacebuilders to support junior women to build their career path in the peacebuilding field.
- Design intergenerational peacebuilding programs that allow for mutual learning, dialogue and experience-sharing between junior and senior women peacebuilders and that support them to learn how to establish and maintain healthy relationships based on equality, mutual learning and collaboration.

Botswana Case Study: Intergenerational coalition-building between women-led civil society organizations in Botswana

By Ramatoulie Isatou Jallow

Leveraging the experiences of women of different generations through coalition-building

CASE STUDY

Context

Identified as one of the fastest growing economies of the southern African region, particularly between 1966 and 1989 with the discovery of diamonds,[263] Botswana has built a strong international reputation for peacefulness. To promote this, the first President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, set out to build a nation premised on the values of democracy, development, self-reliance and unity.[264] The concept of *botho*[265] was added as a fifth value in 1997 with the formation of Vision 2016, a 50-year roadmap designed by the government to firmly establish the country as an educated, prosperous, productive, compassionate, just and caring nation.[266] To maintain Botswana's culture of civic participation, negotiation and consultation, chiefs (*dikgosi*) have been deliberately retained as central figures at the community level to unify and harness the voices of Batswana from the grassroots.[267] Additionally, the *kgotla*[268] has been maintained nationwide to provide space for the discussion of community programs and projects, the voicing of community opinions on government policy decisions, dissemination of information and dialogue promotion.[269]

Despite these efforts, from the context of positive peace,[270] Botswana is also described as "a slow storm … it is there and it is brewing."[271] Firstly, Botswana is among the 15 most unequal countries in the world in terms of income distribution according to the World Bank.[272] Additionally, unemployment in December 2021 was recorded at 26 percent, with youth unemployment at 34 percent.[273] Multi-dimensional poverty remains prevalent, as 46 percent of Botswana's population as of 2020 could be considered poor according to this measure.[274] Freedom of expression[275] and civic freedom have also deteriorated in the country.[276] From the perspective of gender-based violence (GBV),[277] Botswana is now the country with the highest incidence of rape in the world, at the rate of 92.93 instances recorded per 100,000 people.[278] Additionally, one in three women in the country have faced some sort of abuse in their lifetime.[279] The quality of Botswana's democracy has also often been questioned, being described by one author as a form of "authoritarian liberalism," noting that the country has been ruled by the same political party since independence in 1966.[280] In the same vein, a feud sparked a serious tribal divide in the country when current President Mokgweetsi Masisi succeeded former president Lieutenant General Seretse Khama Ian Khama in 2018.[281]

Against this backdrop of division, de-democratization and increased inequality, the question is: How can women position themselves to help put the pieces back together and build positive peace? The UN Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda emphasizes the important role that women play in peacebuilding and conflict prevention.[282] At the continental level, this is acknowledged under Commitment 8 of the African Union (AU) *Gender Policy* (2009).[283] Though the underrepresentation of women in the National Parliament in Botswana remains a cause of concern,[284] Botswana has a vibrant civil society, largely spearheaded by women. These civil society organizations have been prominent since the women's rights movement started in the 1980s and have supported the creation of a sustainable peace culture in the context of human rights.[285]

The creation of one of the country's first national women's organizations in 1986,[286] Emang Basadi (Stand Up Women), ushered in several wins for women in Botswana. Among other activities, the organization identified areas of legal reform for the benefit of women and held several workshops and trainings to build women's capacity to join politics and take up decision-making positions.[287] It also laid the foundation for the iconic case of *Attorney General v. Unity Dow*, in which Sections 4, 5 and 13 of the *Citizenship Act of 1984*, which prohibited Batswana women from passing on Botswana citizenship to their children in almost all cases, were declared discriminatory on the basis of sex and therefore unconstitutional.[288] This period also saw the conversion of the Women's Affairs Unit into a fully-fledged department under the then Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs. Botswana also ratified the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW) in 1997 after a decade of advocacy and the formation of the National Women's NGO Coalition.[289] However, some scholars argue that the women's rights movement has slowly started to lose its voice and momentum.[290] To this end, the collapse of the National Women's NGO Coalition and the diminishing funding opportunities connected to Botswana being declared a middle-income country are cited as obstacles to the growth of the movement.[291] The need to build coalitions between women and among women-led CSOs therefore presents a world of possibility for strengthening the movement, enabling a more deliberate, directed and collective effort to further human rights in Botswana, and thereby contributing to the building of a sustainable peace in the country.

In light of the Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) agenda, which acknowledges the important role of youth in conflict prevention, resolution and peacebuilding,[292] and the *Continental Framework for Youth Peace and Security* at the level of the AU,[293] an opportunity exists to center the voices of youth, particularly young women active in the CSO space and in civil society coalitions. As more than two-thirds of the total population of Botswana is under 35 years old,[294] intergenerational collaboration represents a critical source of power and invigoration to the movement of women-led CSOs in Botswana. The Government of Botswana has created an agenda to develop youth leadership and enhance youth civic engagement through the *Revised National Youth Policy 2010*[295] and the *Vision 2036*.[296] These frameworks support the opportunity to harness the voices of youth, particularly young women, in coalition-building and working toward peace.

Methodology

The central research question this case study sought to address is as follows: To what extent have coalitions among women-led CSOs of different generations been successful in enhancing peace in Botswana? This research question was broken down into three more specific questions:

- What are the methods that have been used to build these coalitions to contribute towards the creation of a sustainable peace culture in Botswana?
- What factors make coalitions among women-led CSOs across generations impactful?
- What are the challenges of and barriers to building successful coalitions of this type in Botswana?
- What are the challenges and obstacles to creating effective intergenerational peacebuilding partnerships?

Data collection for this research relied on in-depth interviews with women (senior and youth) based in CSOs, business, legal work and academia in Botswana. These interviews were mostly conducted in English with a few Setswana phrases or terms used by interviewees. Interviews were held both virtually and in person, depending on the preference of the interviewee. In total, 20 women were interviewed, seven of whom were youth as defined by Botswana's *Revised National Youth Policy 2010*, between the ages of 15 and 35 years old. The women interviewed who were senior spanned the age range of 36 to 64 years old. The interviewees were mostly located in Gaborone, but some were based in Lobatse, Maun and Johannesburg (South Africa). Interviewees were selected based on their experiences in promoting women's rights in their various spheres of work as well as their knowledge of the women-led CSO community in Botswana. This research also relied on secondary data sources including existing literature in books, journal articles, news reports and other publications tied to intergenerational coalition-building among women-led CSOs in Botswana.

This research was also limited by some obstacles. No current officials from the Government of Botswana were interviewed to determine the current support that may be given to women-led CSOs. However, some interviewees were employed by the Government previously and were able to share past experiences and the evolution of women's rights.

Intergenerational peacebuilding in the context of this case study

This study examines intergenerational peacebuilding in the context of the work done by women and women-led CSOs across generations in the field of human rights and explores how this work is strengthened through the deliberate formation of intergenerational coalitions. Approaching peacebuilding as "the effort to strengthen the prospects for internal peace and decrease the likelihood of violent conflict,"[297] Strickland and Duvvury (2003) note that furthering peacebuilding requires a gender perspective as well as "diverse actors and the emergence of local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and civil society."[298] This study has primarily understood the "intergenerational" aspect of peacebuilding as coalitions, collaborations and partnerships between youth (15-35 years old) and senior (36+ years old) women and women-led CSOs. These coalitions, partnerships and collaborations may take place at the community or national level. Interviewees mostly understood the "intergenerational" aspect of peacebuilding within the context of coalition-building.

As a starting point, the researcher asked whether women active in the human rights-focused civic space actually saw themselves as peacebuilders. When asked this question, interviewees responded in various ways. Some identified as peacebuilders on the basis of their work in connection to their religion and wellness practices,[299] while others identified as peacebuilders on the basis of their work in connection to human rights and social justice. Though some interviewees acknowledged the connection between their work in human rights and social justice and in building a sustainable peace, they concluded that this did not translate into "formal" peacebuilding work. A youth interviewee based in Gaborone stated,

> *I was almost afraid to frame myself [as a peacebuilder] because I didn't see space for peacebuilders in psychological, social stressors and economic violence. I largely saw peacebuilders in the frame of people who are working with extremism…Maybe there is opportunity to create more language to broaden the idea of peacebuilding.*

Upon reflecting on the conversation, a senior interviewee based in Gaborone stated,

> *Maybe the phenomenon of peacebuilding is new to us, just understanding that whatever contribution you are making to the society is peacebuilding in a way, but maybe I would have only identified myself as a businessperson. But now, I see that peace is achieved collectively by contributions from different perspectives. We build peace in different ways and we should see ourselves as such, that whatever good we are trying to bring into our society that is aimed at uplifting human life fits into peace in a way. People need to see the perspective of peace in Botswana…*[300]

This quotation suggests a lack of awareness about the concept of sustainable peace and peacebuilding in the Botswana context, and the need to explore the language that can be used to expand the understanding of peacebuilding to include work on cultivating positive peace.

All interviewees agreed that intergenerational coalitions among women-led CSOs are imperative. One interviewee stated,

> *Coalitions are key to sustainable peace…they build momentum that otherwise would not be activated through implementation in silos or an individual alone. Multiple voices are engaged, and it makes a problem noticeable. Coalitions with the right membership, organizations and individuals must be able to demonstrate the ability to set out of their narrow spaces, into broader contexts, in working together to achieve a common goal.*[301]

Though most interviewees acknowledged the importance of intergenerational coalitions, some of them were unable to identify specific instances where this tool was used in their work. Ironically, after further conversation, many interviewees realized that intergenerational coalitions actually accounted for a large portion of their activities, without necessarily being labeled as such. In this way, it may be argued that there is a need to build more understanding around intergenerational coalitions as a tool, to encourage their deliberate use.

Perceived impact of intergenerational peacebuilding among women

All individuals who were interviewed noted the impact of intergenerational coalition-building among women and women-led CSOs on building sustainable peace in Botswana. Specifically, interviewees identified at least four important impacts of intergenerational coalition-building among women.

First, the enactment of the *Domestic Violence Act* (2008)[302] and the *Children's Act* (2009)[303] were cited as a product of a series of national intergenerational consultations[304] that harnessed the voices of both youth and senior women in government, academia, the legal fraternity and civil society. The Domestic Violence Act was a critical step in bolstering women's rights, as it provided for remedies under civil law for survivors and broadened the understanding of domestic violence to include physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, economic abuse, intimidation, harassment, damage to property, unlawful detainment and stalking.[305] The enactment of the *Children's Act* amounted to the domestication of international laws protecting the rights of the child within the national context. These intergenerational processes meant that the two pieces of legislation that resulted were shaped and enriched by the experiences and voices of different generations, making their implementation on the ground more impactful.

Second, the University of Botswana's participation in the Young Women's Leadership Project on Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights in Universities—a regional, feminist, university-based research network of seven universities—has also had an impact.[306] At the University of Botswana, this involvement was spearheaded by Dr. Godisang Mookodi and Dr. Sethunya Mosime, identifying as senior women peacebuilders. This project ran between 2010 and 2020 and brought together young women students at the university, creating a safe space for them to explore themes and conversations around the self in the context of campus life, touching on sexuality, sexual orientation, sexual harassment and body mapping.[307] The project also gave young women the platform to organize activities and dialogues under a range of different topics in collaboration with seasoned senior women in the space, taking international issues related to gender and sexuality and contextualizing them in relation to the experiences of young women in Botswana.[308] Some alumnae of the project established the Feminism in Botswana forum, a digital platform that creates and facilitates feminist discourse aimed at building individual agency and collective power.[309] Ultimately, the funded, intergenerational conversations organized here were deemed impactful due to the fact that they humanized both senior and younger women and created a mutual platform to enable them to learn from each other and together without a sense of hierarchy.

Third, as a culmination of all the intergenerational lobbying that women and women-led CSOs have carried out over the years in Botswana, the Government of Botswana responded by enacting the *Sexual Offenders Registry Act* (2021).[310] This followed the uptick in work on GBV during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 in response to increased rates of intimate partner violence against women and defilement cases against children.[311] This law provided for the establishment of a sexual offenders registry as well as a Sexual Offenders Inter-Sectoral Council.[312] The Government of Botswana also facilitated the establishment of a GBV unit in 2021 as a response to the staggering rates of GBV in the country[313] and established specially mandated GBV courts with judicial officers specifically trained to deal with cases of this nature.[314]

Finally, the COVID-19 pandemic saw the formation of the Coalition on NGO Funding that consisted of women-led CSOs across generations, specifically spearheaded by young and senior women in organizations such as the Botswana Centre for Public Integrity, Molao Matters, Ditshwanelo – Botswana Centre for Human Rights and the Botswana Gender Based Violence Prevention and Support Centre (BGBVPSC), among others.[315] Together, this group of NGOs was able to solicit donor funding to assist the Government in providing food packages to families in need during the COVID-19-related mandatory lockdowns. Additionally, this platform obtained funding for the training of attorneys in how to assist with GBV cases ethically and sensitively. The success of this coalition was largely premised on the intergenerational exchange between the women and women-led CSOs who spearheaded the coalition. The senior women were able to use their existing networks to solicit funding, and the younger women were placed in a position to ensure that the projects for which the funding was used were the most relevant to people on the ground.

The benefits and challenges of intergenerational coalition-building between women in the CSO environment

Interviewees highlighted a number of benefits and challenges entailed in working relationships and coalition-building between younger and senior women.

Senior women's contributions

Participants noted that senior women taught youth how to position themselves to speak and be heard in different cultural contexts.[316] Senior women were also seen as supportive, with the ability to push younger women to explore their highest potential. One interviewee stated, "I feel that I have ended up where I am because I was motivated by the [senior] women around me, they pushed my boundaries, they dared me to take the risk… I found my ability to have a voice... I was enabled and empowered to make decisions and I was supported and backed."[317] Interviewees mentioned that it is critical for youth to partner with senior women in the space as "the senior generation comes with a lot of institutional memory, reach and contacts that we are still trying to get. They come with trust because they have been in the system longer and are able to secure funding for intergenerational work on this basis."[318] Senior women can impart their experience to youth as a means to improve their work, helping young women to navigate old systems while concurrently working to dismantle systems that are no longer useful.[319]

Senior women in the CSO space also use their existing organizations to incubate new, up-and-coming organizations led by young women, providing technical advice and institutional support. This was the case with Ditshwanelo – The Botswana Centre for Human Rights, which initially housed the Botswana Centre for Public Integrity[320] because it recognized the younger organization's potential, work and need for support to grow.

Perceived challenges of partnering with senior women

Despite these benefits of working with senior women, younger interviewees also mentioned challenges in these working relationships. For instance, some indicated that senior women can often be rigid and lack the flexibility to take on new ideas and adapt to changing norms.[321] Ageism was repeatedly outlined as a major concern in that young women collaborating with senior women are often not treated as professionals with skills to contribute.[322] Instead, young women are often infantilized, and being "young" is deemed synonymous with a lack of skill and a need for training, which closes the door to discussing partnership. As stated by one of the interviewees, "When you present a case *ba go simolola bare 'ee ngwanaka'* just know that that is done. You are patronized and now *o ngwana*."[323] In this way, intergenerational interactions within the women's rights movement often run the risk of being an extension of parent/child relationships as sometimes the perspective brought by younger women can be dismissed due to their age.[324]

In addition, interviewees observed that senior women have often not thought deliberately about "handing over the baton" to young women and inviting them to collaborate within the space. It is assumed that young women will eventually take up leadership positions when the senior women leave, but concrete efforts are not made to ensure that there is a cultivation of young women in this respect, showing them the realities and importance of management positions within the civic space.[325] Interviewees noted that some senior women in the human rights space do not seem to understand when to let youth be youthful, when to correct them, and when to give space for youth to learn in the work.

Senior women may not include youth due to significant time and resource constraints. One interviewee stated, "It is a rat race, we are constantly going and going, and we do not make time to build. It is about delivery as opposed to building, which is a problem."[326] In addition, some bigger and more established civic organizations led by senior women are perceived as posing a challenge to coalition-building with other women-led organizations due to their dominance and their natural monopoly over funding.[327] Consequently, the internal environment of some of these coalitions can be highly competitive.

Younger women's contributions

In the course of the study, senior women interviewees highlighted the fact that young women often bring vibrancy, dynamism and resourcefulness to the work. In the words of a senior interviewee, "I learn about the things affecting young people, and they provide a freshness, an aliveness, an open mindedness. They are more experimental, eager, and enthusiastic."[328] Reflecting on the work of young women during the first mandatory lockdown in response to the COVID-19 pandemic in Botswana, a youth interviewee stated,

Youth were more relevant to the needs on the ground because young people are forced to know what is happening everywhere, and we often do our work very well. We are blessed with the ability to be a lot more mobile and a lot more innovative. If we do not have the answers, we will find them. We are exposed to the art of finding solutions where things feel impossible and there is reliance and need to have youth involved.[329]

Another interviewee noted that young women are often very passionate about creating change and bring a sense of urgency to their work.[330] Young women have also been celebrated for harnessing innovative methods in forming coalitions, such as art activism or "artivism," virtual dialogues, public charitable events and the use of social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and TikTok. Respondents felt that young women are naturally attuned to the evolution of human rights norms happening in their era. As such, senior women have benefited from tapping into the understanding of younger women to have insight into the existing climate, particularly about shifts within the women's rights movement and inclusivity.[331] As stated by one of the interviewees, "Sometimes, no matter how progressive you are, there are certain things that you are just going to have to learn from young people."[332]

Perceived challenges of partnering with younger women

Nonetheless, there was also the perception that some young women lack the humility to learn from senior women's experience, instead viewing senior women as dispensable to their work.[333] Additionally, interviewees observed that some young women turn up ill-prepared for opportunities provided by senior women.[334] On a related note, interviewees generally identified youth as ill-equipped with the tools relevant for the world of work, with very theoretical or academic knowledge as opposed to practical insight.[335] Interviewees also noted that young women often struggle with competing priorities between career, education and family, making it challenging to work consistently.[336] Additionally, senior women's perception is that youth do not possess the same level of dedication or sacrifice for the work as they do, noting that, in the past, senior women supported peacebuilding work regardless of the lack of resources or funding support.[337] Lastly, with the increased competition to be visible and perceived as changemakers on national, regional and global stages, senior women are often uncertain of the true motivation of youth work and whether it operates from a genuine desire to uplift life within the community.[338] Cumulatively, these experiences and perceptions have been flagged as making it hard for senior women to interact and build coalitions with younger women.

Cross-cutting dynamics in intergenerational coalition-building

Interviewees candidly pointed out that both younger women and senior women believe they are more knowledgeable and seasoned than the other.[339] Historically, CSOs led by senior women have never been required to engage with younger women; this practice has been introduced more recently through donor requirements, in which some funding is dependent on youth representation.[340] Interviewees acknowledged that power structures in Botswana, such as those under the government, were not created to enhance the voices of youth, with youth requiring the support of senior women to be taken seriously.[341]

Challenges in the women-led CSO environment that may impede intergenerational coalitions

Intergenerational coalitions also face a few broader challenges. The first challenge is that not all women or women-led organizations in the civic space are necessarily feminist, which can reduce inclusion of sex workers and LBTQ individuals, sidelining these groups from the mainstream women's rights movement due to the patriarchal stance of some of the organizations.[342] Furthermore, in strengthening the impact of intergenerational coalitions among women and women-led CSOs in the civic space, more work needs to be done to promote the inclusion of different classes of women within coalitions, particularly women active in rural communities as well as women working in different fields to advance a multi-sectoral lens.[343]

Additionally, it is clear there is a lack of trust in this space and that women and women-led CSOs mostly work in silos or short-term partnerships because of it. This tendency is further intensified by a lack of funding, which means that many organizations function in survival mode.[344] Accordingly, money — as opposed to the substantive issues or causes themselves — has become a huge incentive for coalition-building.[345] Many women-led organizations have also been flagged as having weak internal governance and accountability structures, which, in some respects, creates more harm than benefit in the way their work is organized.[346] Moreover, there is also a leadership deficit that is blatant in this space. Old coordinating bodies that have collapsed, such as the Women NGO Coalition, have been replaced with new bodies, such as the Botswana Coalition of Non Governmental Organizations and the Gender Commission, without intensive reflection on how coalition-building can be improved in Botswana.[347] An interviewee also presented the lack of a strong national human rights institution as a hindrance to effective intergenerational coalition-building among women and women-led CSOs.[348]

Conclusion and recommendations

From the context above, Botswana's state of peacefulness is largely taken for granted due to the absence of armed conflict in the country. The irony is that many of the interviewees acknowledged Botswana's deterioration of positive peace in recent years, which has had and may continue to contribute to increased levels of violence in the country if left unaddressed. Since most of their work is currently focused not on armed conflict but on other forms of direct and structural violence, most interviewees have expressed difficulty in coining their work as "peacebuilding." Therefore, as a starting point, it is clear that there is space for conversations and training around the concept of positive peace, sustainable peace and peacebuilding in the context of Botswana to promote understanding around its importance and necessity, to encourage more work in the area, and to have more individuals who comfortably identify as peacebuilders through their work. Additionally, further opportunity exists to conduct more intergenerational dialogues between younger and senior women in order to facilitate better synergy and trust between these groups of women in furthering peace work. Doing so will provide a platform for the two groups to explore other inroads for collaboration to cultivate sustainable peace in Botswana. Opportunity also exists to train and equip women with the practical tools to engage in intergenerational peacebuilding. There is also an opportunity to provide further education on the concept of intergenerational coalitions among women and women-led CSOs to ensure that they are formed more deliberately. The following recommendations seek to address these gaps.

Recommendations for senior women:

- Consciously enter the mindset of giving more space to younger women, to defeat competition and jealousy within coalition spaces.
- Be actively aware of the power young women wield with respect to intergenerational peacebuilding and use this as the motivating factor to actively seek out their perspectives and partnerships with them.
- Deliberately make yourselves available and accessible to young women for collaboration, partnership and coalition-building.
- Actively work towards mentoring and passing the baton to younger women from the onset, co-founding organizations and initiatives with them as equal partners to engage them in decision-making and management, building their capacity and giving critical, constructive feedback.
- Help build the capacity of young women in both urban and rural areas in critical skills necessary within the CSO space, such as audience-mapping, the creation of relevant messaging, leadership, research, advocacy, public speaking and monitoring and evaluation.

Recommendations for young women:

- Recognize the importance of having senior women on board for building coalitions and peace.
- Actively approach senior women to solicit their advice and lean on their existing experience.
- Enter the existing human rights context and intergenerational coalitions with professionalism.
- Reflect on the values you wish to uphold in furthering human rights and peacebuilding.

Recommendations for both senior and young women and women-led CSOs as they build intergenerational coalitions:

- Celebrate and protect one another in the context of the CSO space.
- Cultivate trust in working with one another.
- Ensure that the structure of the coalition is non-hierarchical to allow for joint ownership by the members in decision-making, with clear lines of communication. In the event that leadership is nominated, ensure this is rotational, dependent on the schedules of the members, with an emphasis on servant leadership.
- Guarantee that decision-making takes a co-creation approach based on an overwhelming majority linked with the justifications put forward in relation to each decision.
- Declare any conflicting interests at the commencement of the coalition to ensure transparency and build trust.
- Establish the agreed-upon governance structure and accountability mechanisms for the coalition.
- Make sure that tasks are equitably distributed and that there is an agreed work plan to provide deadlines for the work.
- Ensure that supervisors are seen as guides as opposed to overseers.
- Maintain the institutional memory of the coalition, tapping into members' prior knowledge with respect to human rights and the specific subject matter being addressed by the coalition.
- Carry out skills-mapping to understand who would be better placed to carry out particular tasks and what pairing of individuals or organizations may work best together.
- Ensure that the coalition is as multi-sectoral and inclusive across as many different gender identities, marginalized groups, locations and social classes as is feasible.

Recommendations for government:

- Reorganize government structures to better recognize the voices of young women without the need for accompaniment by senior women.

Recommendations for funders:

- Ensure that funding is available for peacebuilding work in Botswana regardless of the absence of war.
- Make the funding application process more conducive to collaborative submissions.
- Provide more support towards basic, intimate, intergenerational conversations as opposed to trainings, as they are more impactful and meaningful in promoting humanized connections.
- Ensure that funding is context-based, with support being given based on a realistic understanding of the needs of the community.
- Make assistance more flexible, with succinct and manageable reporting requirements.

Morocco Case Study: The role of Mourchidates in peacebuilding and preventing violent extremism in Morocco

CASE STUDY

By Youssra Biare; Contributor: Salaheddine Bouih

Highlighting the role of national-level intergenerational programming in countering violent extremism in Morocco

Context

After the terrorist attack that took place in Morocco in 2003,[349] the Moroccan government felt the need to equip the country's clerics with solid theological foundations. Clerics were seen as important, influential stakeholders who could potentially help prevent violent radicalization. At the same time, there was a need to review women's status in Moroccan society.

Intergenerational work is defined as the transmission of experience and knowledge between people of different ages.[350] Intergenerational activity can promote greater social cohesion, stronger solidarity and development.[351] Dialogue between people of different ages can be a real lever for growth. The intergenerational work conducted through the Mourchidate program has had positive impacts on supporting the message of interfaith tolerance.

The Mourchidates are women religious leaders who take on all the same roles as imams except that they cannot lead a congregation in prayer — a role reserved for men.[352] The goal of the Mourchidate initiative is to counter religious radicalization. Mouchidates intervene in mosques, prisons, youth centers, hospitals and schools. They present a tolerant vision of Islam and try to deconstruct the narratives that encourage extremist drifts.[353] Their role is primarily preventive, but they also intervene in more serious cases. In addition, they may redirect their interlocutors to other authorities when the problems they are asked to address are not religious in nature.

Aware of the importance of women's participation in the country's social and economic development, Morocco has introduced reforms in this direction over the last couple of decades — the most important being reforms to the Family Code, which previously enshrined women's subservient role in reproduction and the private sphere only.[354] These reforms aim to integrate "the principle of equal rights and obligations for men and women and promote the full and active contribution of women at the highest levels in all domains, be they political, economic, social, or cultural."[355] One important such reform was the introduction of a gender quota in Parliament, where 60 of 395 seats are now reserved for women

in the Lower House. In addition, one-third of the seats in regional councils are now reserved for women.[356] Furthermore, Morocco recently mandated a 30 percent minimum for female representation on the boards of public companies by 2024, and 40 percent by 2027.[357] In alignment with these reforms, the Moroccan government started a program to further support the Mourchidate women religious leaders responsible for promoting religious moderation and tolerance, particularly among the most vulnerable populations.

Morocco is 99 percent Muslim (mainly Sunni), with the remaining one percent of the population made up of Christians and Jews.[358] It is divided into 15 regions and covers an area slightly larger than the state of California, with each graduating Mourchida being "appointed in an administrative region in which there is a local religious council and a representative of the Ministry of Religious Endowments and Islamic Affairs, thus ensuring full coverage of the national territory."[359] The level of urbanization in the country has reached almost 60 percent,[360] with Mourchidates working in both high-density urban areas and remote, rural areas. To react to the rise of radicalization, the Moroccan government proposed to support women's greater involvement within the religious sphere through the creation of the Mourchidate program, which was enacted in 2005 by order of Morocco's Islamic Affairs Ministry.[361] The program aims to counter violent extremism and extremist ideologies of Islam, but over time it has also become a strategic instrument of the country's foreign policy, which seeks to present Morocco as an advanced and innovative spiritual hub.[362]

The Mohammed VI Institute for the Training of Imams, Morchidines and Morchidates trains classes of "students of 32 nationalities from Africa, Asia and Europe."[363] They follow a religious curriculum based in moderate Islamic thought, supplemented by vocational training classes, such as language skills, computer literacy and trade-based skills in order to make their work more financially viable.[364] The first applicant pool consisted of 745 imam applicants and 515 Mourchidate applicants,[365] of which 50 Mourchidates were certified.[366] All candidates, regardless of gender, must be younger than 46 years old and hold a bachelor's degree from a Moroccan or equivalent university.

The first class of the Mourchidate program graduated in 2006. So far, the Institute has trained 1,200 Mourchidates at the rate of 100 each year. The goal is to increase this total to 2,000 by 2030. As of 2022, more than 500 Mourchidates are in service in Morocco. They work in mosques, communities and prisons, reacting to the rise of radical Islam and taking an active role in peacebuilding. They act as social workers, delivering social services and outreach to at-risk communities. Through their work, the Mourchidates aim to promote moderate Islam and ideologies by correcting misconceptions on the Quran's teachings and emphasizing the Quran's principles of peace, tolerance and moderation in Islam.[367] Their targets are younger women and men from marginalized regions who are at risk of being radicalized, as well as those already convicted and imprisoned.

The Mohammed VI Institute stands out as the only institution to provide both men and women with modern religious training. Its emphasis on moderation and the application of Islamic principles of tolerance and love to social issues has positively impacted affected communities, especially women, who for so long have been barred from official peacebuilding efforts. Training Mourchidates not only gives women more direct religious and political influence, but it also allows this message of peace to reach deeper into local communities.

Countering violent extremism is only one important component of the Mourchidate program. The training project for Mourchidates is part of the Moroccan Kingdom's broader strategic vision linked to reforms grounded in the values of citizenship, the improvement of Moroccans' living conditions, and the management of religious affairs. In addition to working to prevent violent extremism, the Mourchidates advise women on legal issues and the position of Islam on various social issues.[368] They also provide training on good parenting techniques for women in order to improve peace in the home.[369]

The introduction of the Mourchidates is seen by some a real "revolution" in the Muslim world, as it widens the place of women in a traditionally masculine space — the mosque — and strengthens their right to interpret sacred texts in order to spread a culture of tolerance and peace. Mourchidates work predominantly with women between the ages of 22 and 80, young men between the ages of 14 and 22, and children, with the aim of combating the factors that drive extremism.

In light of the positive impact it has had on society, this program serves as a model for other Muslim countries — particularly with regard to the powerful role of young women in Muslim society. The success of Morocco's initiative has resonated with many countries. A number of imam students in France[370] and sub-Saharan African countries[371] are traveling to the Institute in Rabat for training, to become certified and work towards countering violent extremism in their home countries. Sub-Saharan African countries in particular are hoping that by sending their next generation of imams to Morocco, they will solve the problems they have had with religious radicalism while still preserving the teachings of Islamic faith.[372]

The objective of this case study is to identify significant stages of the process by which the Mourchidate program emerged, understand the role of Mourchidates in social change and examine the role of young Mourchidates in particular in peacebuilding.

Methodology

This study focused on addressing the following research question:

- How do Mourchidates work with people of different generations to reduce participation in violent extremism?

This study focuses on the work of Mourchidates with younger women and men in two rural and three urban areas. The study is based predominantly on interviews with Mourchidates, two representatives of Morocco's Islamic Affairs Ministry and two representatives of the Rabita des Ulamas Council. Notably, a representative of the Moroccan Islamic Affairs Ministry accepted to meet but refused to be interviewed on the Mourchidates Program, as it is considered a public national program, and therefore the interview needed to be authorized by the higher council. Interviews with Mourchidates were conducted in each of the following locations: Rabat, Casablanca, Salé and two rural areas of the country — one near Beni Mellal and one in Marrakesh-Safi. Additional interviews took place via Zoom. In addition to the interviews, data were gathered through three focus groups. Two of the focus groups included six Mourchidates each, and one focus group included six youth beneficiaries of the program. The researcher made an effort to include Mourchidates and beneficiaries from different parts of the country because rural areas are key areas for recruitment of youth into extremist groups.

Intergenerational peacebuilding in the context of this case study

The Mourchidates work across generations in two different ways: older and younger Mourchidates work together, and Mourchidates work to reach younger community members. The Mourchidates have direct contact with decision-makers, which provides them with an important platform and helps them foster dialogue among youth, other Mourchidates and decision-makers. According to the interviewees, these dialogues contribute to intergenerational social cohesion and thus to the creation and maintenance of a more peaceful society.

Imams can more easily influence men, and Mourchidates can more easily influence women. It is easy for Mourchidates to bring women and youth closer and break down the barriers between generations, using a participatory approach to facilitate communication and promote peace and tolerance. This work is particularly important, as equal partnerships between older generations and youth are vital in ensuring young people's meaningful participation in society, including in peacebuilding and in countering violent extremism.[373] The Mourchidates are from a different generation than the youth participating in the sessions, who ranged from 16 to 30 years old.

The Mourchidates highlighted the significant role that religion plays in young men's and women's lives. However, it is also important to engage with them beyond interreligious dialogue, helping them build their capacity through a variety of specific activities. Due to support from the Religious Council, Mourchidates have legitimacy and the possibility to reach a diverse set of people within their society, including men, women, youth, community leaders, activists, educators and social workers. This makes their impact range wider than that of other peacebuilding actors.

Mourchidates work with individuals through group sessions that discuss religious texts and their relation to different social issues. Sessions related to self-empowerment and socio-economic independence, not to mention tolerance, are a crucial component of the program. Women engaged in the socio-economic sector in their regions are active in their communities and therefore contribute to the development of the country. According to a Mourchida from the program, "An educated, tolerant woman, means a tolerant child, means a tolerant country."[374] This is important because women are often the channel of information for the entire family and therefore for the entire community. Women are not passive; they are important actors in peacebuilding and countering extremism. Mothers, for example, can be the first to detect changes in their children and should be equipped with the right tools to act as urgent preventers.

To work on peace at a national level, the linguistic and cultural specificities and identities of each region are considered and reflected in the work. The majority of the rural population in Morocco is comprised of the Amazigh ethnic group,[375] which has different language dialects depending on the region in which they live. Mourchidates choose to work in specific regions based on their language skills and knowledge of the traditions and customs of the region.

Mourchidates reported interacting directly with more than 100 young men and women each month in each of their assigned regions. They lead interactive group sessions in schools and mosques. According to younger women Mourchidates, receiving training from Mourchidate peers can break down barriers and allow for a more engaging learning experience. A Mourchida in Salé noted that having a younger fellow Mourchida with her during her sessions improved her effectiveness in delivering her lesson and promoting her message through religious classes.

The impact of intergenerational work among these women differs by location. For example, the age gap was a challenge for both Mourchidates and younger beneficiaries in rural regions, where the younger women abstained from attending classes after the first two sessions. In larger cities such as Casablanca, Rabat and Tanger, the age gap was not a determining factor of program success.

One Mourchida from Salé noted that she adapts her methods depending on the nature and the location of the people she is dealing with, choosing the tools that are most appropriate for the situation. For example, she approaches older women, younger women and children in different ways; the approach also depends on whether her work is in schools, prisons or mosques. This Mourchida stated:

> *The younger women can be very interested in what we preach if we approach them the right way, providing these younger women with a safe space and a safe platform for discussion and debate... after all, Islam is about communication and understanding, and if we can't promote safety within our small sessions, how can we promote peace within a larger society?*[376]

The Mourchidates' work with youth has proven important in preventing the negative consequences of conflict for young people, helping them to deal with the conflict they face in a positive way and to learn from it. Youth are often involved in conflict, whether divided between people of different backgrounds, ideologies, neighborhoods, countries, sexes or levels of authority. While challenging for participants and facilitators, these types of conflicts are also opportunities for learning. They can act as creative catalysts for all parties involved by encouraging them to reconsider their values, positions and beliefs and to imagine how to work together in the interests of each.

Perceived impact of intergenerational peacebuilding among women

Due to lack of education and work opportunities the prevalence of poverty in rural areas,[377] recruitment of young women to extremist groups may happen primarily in rural regions of Morocco and thus deserves the attention of the Mourchidates. Rates of female radicalization in rural areas are significant,[378] and empowering these women is a critical radicalization prevention tool.[379] Rural areas in Morocco often lack access to informal trainings and workshops, and school drop-out rates are high compared to other regions in Morocco,[380] so younger women are the primary target for educational and vocational programs and workshops. Communicating with the rural women participants requires specific skills and techniques, which the Mourchidates learned during their 12-month program; these skills are key to reaching out to younger women and to building a bridge between the two generations of women. However, the cultural context of rural areas tends to differ from the context in cities such as Casablanca, Rabat or Fes. In Beni Mellal, communication needs to be conducted in the Amazigh dialect, and, in the Rif region, communication needs to be conducted in the Tarifit dialect.[381] Most Mourchidates do not speak these dialects, so they cannot impact most of the women or youth in those regions due to language differences and difficulties; although these women are a priority audience, access to programming is limited.

Sixty percent of respondents, across both Mourchidates and participants, said that they understand the importance of intergenerational work in peacebuilding and across social issues in Morocco. Although the Mourchidate program is open to anyone 22 or older, most women succeed in joining the program at 39 years or older. While the Mourchidates have been successful in reaching older women from rural areas, who reported that the program was eye-opening for them, they have struggled to capture younger women's attention and engagement, due to the age difference between the participants and the Mourchidates.

Another challenge is the mentality of the families in rural areas where women are not allowed to participate in trainings or workshops. That said, Mourchidates are perhaps the actors best positioned to overcome this challenge, as rural women are most likely to be allowed to participate in gatherings with other women.

According to the interviewees, aside from the regions around big cities, the Mourchidates' programs are only able to cover a few rural regions, although the need in rural areas is high. Both participants and Mourchidates recommended a shift in focus to rural areas in order to work with younger women, focusing on their social and professional engagement and capacity-building.

To address the challenge entailed in connecting with younger women, Mourchidates reported applying the techniques taught in their training program, including the following:

- Identify common interest with their beneficiaries.
- Volunteer together in the field through social actions and mobile promotional campaigns.
- Use audio-visual methods to deliver sessions and teachings.
- Use interactive sessions instead of more traditional teaching methods.
- Share values, beliefs and ethics.
- Build trust with younger women and men so that youth are more comfortable speaking about their social issues.

Using these techniques helps facilitate the interfaith dialogue and tolerant communication between the Mourchidates and youth; ensuring that the youth are comfortable helps them provide insight on the region and implement solutions relevant to the area. The Mourchidates act as a channel to connect youth to decision-makers, allowing the youth to speak about their social issues and indirectly affect peacebuilding. In addition, the Mourchidates have access to important platforms to speak about regional and national issues, particularly related to radicalization and extremism.

Communication is also key to the Mourchidates' role in prevention. They provide trainings that are adapted to the needs of the participants and focused on empowering and supporting youth to enter the professional sphere, including trainings on self-development and self-confidence. Working across generations helps attract more younger women into the program and grants further credibility to the Mourchidates' work.

Mourchidates are increasing their representation, participation and leadership in all public institutions, including in peacekeeping, the security sector and peacebuilding, and are supporting the development of the country. Their work is conducted not only at religious sites but also in prisons and schools. The Mourchidates support the families of returnees from conflict zones and act as social workers as well as religious teachers. This impact is strengthened through intergenerational work, dismantling harmful gender norms and implementing protective measures.

Conclusion and recommendations

The Mourchidate initiative provides a unique contribution to intergenerational peacebuilding efforts and is an innovative state-led program. The community of Mourchidates spans generations and bridges age differences between the Mourchidates and the participants. This program is foundational for preventing radicalization and expanding the channels of communication between youth and decision-makers. Through the research for this study, the following recommendations were identified:

Recommendations for Mourchidate training program leaders:

- Make the recruitment process easy and captivating for younger women so that a greater number of young women are able to become Mourchidates.
- Pair younger Mourchidates with older Mourchidates who can serve as mentors.
- Expand the program in rural areas and provide additional language training for Mourchidates, including in Amazigh and Tarifit.
- Mobilize more materials, tools and human resources to support Mourchidates' efforts to communicate with participants.

Endnotes

1 The Body Shop, *Be Seen Be Heard: Understanding Young People's Political Participation* (The Body Shop, n.d.), https://beseenbeheardcampaign.com/static/media/UN_REPORT_TBS_ACCESSIBLE.b891cbcfa84c773f78e5.pdf, 6.

2 Elise Uberoi and Neil Jonston, *Political Disengagement in the UK: Who is Disengaged?* (London, UK: House of Commons Library, 2022), https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-7501/.

3 Cevat G. Aksoy, Barry Eichengreen, and Orkun Saka, "The Political Scar of Epidemics," *Systemic Risk Centre Discussion Papers DP 97* (2020), https://www.systemicrisk.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2020-08/dp-97.pdf.

4 United Nations, *Youth political participation and decision-making* (United Nations, 2013), https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-political-participation.pdf.

5 L.H. Berckmoes, J.T.V.M. de Jong, and R. Reis, "Intergenerational Transmission of Violence and Resilience in Conflict-affected Burundi: A Qualitative Study of Why Some Children Thrive Despite Duress," *Global Mental Health*, vol. 4 (2017), https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/global-mental-health/article/intergenerational-transmission-of-violence-and-resilience-in-conflictaffected-burundi-a-qualitative-study-of-why-some-children-thrive-despite-duress/3F5893A5D40CB085EE743EBDCD9CF453; E. Mark Cummings, et al., "Children and Political Violence from a Social Ecological Perspective: Implications from Research on Children and Families in Northern Ireland," *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2009): 16-38, https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/19229611/; D. Gorman-Smith and P. Tolan, "The Role of Exposure to Community Violence and Developmental Problems Among Inner-City Youth," *Development and Psychopathology*, vol. 10, no. 1 (1998): 101-116, https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/9524810/; Theresa S. Betancourt, et al., "The Intergenerational Impact of War: Longitudinal Relationships between Caregiver and Child Mental Health in Postconflict Sierra Leone," *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, vol. 56, no. 10 (2015): 1101-1107, https://acamh.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jcpp.12389; Heide Rieder and Thomas Elbert, "The Relationship between Organized Violence, Family Violence and Mental Health: Findings from a Community-Based Survey in Muhanga, Southern Rwanda," *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*, no. 4 (2013), https://www.researchgate.net/publication/258639839_The_relationship_between_organized_violence_family_violence_and_mental_health_Findings_from_a_community-based_survey_in_Muhanga_Southern_Rwanda; Regina Saile, et al., "Does War Contribute to Family Violence against Children? Findings from a Two-Generational Multi-informant Study in Northern Uganda," *Child Abuse & Neglect*, vol. 38, no. 1 (2013), https://www.researchgate.net/publication/258634603_Does_war_contribute_to_family_violence_against_children_Findings_from_a_two-generational_multi-informant_study_in_Northern_Uganda; Suzan Joon Song, Wietse Tol, and Joop de Jong, "Indero: Intergenerational Trauma and Resilience between Burundian Former Child Soldiers and their Children," *Family Process*, vol. 53, no. 2 (2014): 239-251, https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/24635407/; Cyril Kenneth Adonis, "Exploring the Salience of Intergenerational Trauma among Children and Grandchildren of Victims of Apartheid-Era Gross Human Rights Violations," *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology*, vol. 16, no. 1-2 (2016), https://www.ajol.info/index.php/ipjp/article/view/148710; Hadas Wiseman, Einat Metzl, and Jacques P. Barber, "Anger, Guilt, and Intergenerational Communication of Trauma in the Interpersonal Narratives of Second Generation Holocaust Survivors," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 76, no. 2 (2010): 176-184, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1037/0002-9432.76.2.176; Toine Spapens and Hans Moors, "Intergenerational Transmission and Organised Crime. A Study of Seven Families in the South of the Netherlands," *Trends in Organized Crime*, no. 23 (2020): 227-241, https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12117-019-09363-w.

6 Brandon Hamber and Ingrid Palmary, "A Dance of Shadows and Fires: Conceptual and Practical Challenges of Intergenerational Healing after Mass Atrocity," *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, vol. 15, no. 3 (2021): 100-120, https://pure.ulster.ac.uk/en/publications/a-dance-of-shadows-and-fires-conceptual-and-practical-challenges-; Teresa Naseba Marsha, et al., "The Sweat Lodge Ceremony: A Healing Intervention for Intergenerational Trauma and Substance Use," *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2018), https://www.proquest.com/openview/edf796a24d95e29030ff890020ae64d3/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=1996357.

7 Margareta Jelić, Dina Čorkalo Biruški, and Dean Ajduković, "Competing Collective Narratives in Intergroup Rapprochement: A Transgenerational Perspective," *Journal of Social and Political Psychology,* vol. 9, no.2 (2021): 370-400, https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.6939; Interview with Fatema Ahmadi, member of Our Generation for Inclusive Peace, conducted on July 6, 2022, via Zoom.

8 Nancy J. Lin, Karen L. Suyemoto, and Peter Nien-chu Kiang, "Education as Catalyst for Intergenerational Refugee Family Communication about War and Trauma," *Communication Disorders Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 4 (2008), https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1525740108329234.

9 Gili Segall, et al., "The Intergenerational Transmission of Ethnic Essentialism: How Parents Talk Counts the Most," Developmental Science, vol. 18, no. 4 (2014): 543-555, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/desc.12235; Carla Paulette Nancoo, *Authoring our Stories: A Narrative Inquiry Exploring the Intergenerational Transmission of Ethnic Identity among Three Generations of African American Women*, (University of Georgia dissertation, n.d.), https://getd.libs.uga.edu/pdfs/nancoo_carla_p_201405_phd.pdf.

10 Claudia Robin Long, Grandmothers Laughing: Intergenerational Transmission of Cultural eliefs about Pregnancy and Childbirth among Native American Women, (Portland State University dissertation, 1997), https://www.proquest.com/openview/fad8e674d4f5bb49453398586bdcb455/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y; Ebtesam Ali Alteneiji, Exploring Intergenerational Value Changes across Three Generations of Emirati Women using Focused Ethnography, (University of San Diego dissertation, 2020), https://digital.sandiego.edu/dissertations/172/.

11 Rodlescia S. Sneed, et al., "Developing and Maintaining Intergenerational Relationships in an Economically Vulnerable Community: Findings from the Flint Women's Study," *Journal of Women & Aging* (2021), https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/08952841.2021.2015229.

12 See, for instance, Helen Berents, "Thinking Intergenerationally: WPS and the Youth, Peace, and Security Agenda," IPI Global Observatory (2020), https://theglobalobservatory.org/2020/10/thinking-intergenerationally-wps-and-youth-peace-security-agenda/; Leslie Dwyer, "Beyond Youth 'Inclusion': Intergenerational Politics In Post-Conflict Bali," *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, vol. 10, no. 3 (2015): 16-29, DOI: 10.1080/15423166.2015.1085810; Mikaela Luttrell-Rowland, Jessica Engebretson, Puleng Segalo and the Women, Peace and Security Collective. "Shaping Policy, Sustaining Peace: Intergenerational Activism in the Policy Ecosystem," *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2021): 109-119, DOI: 10.1080/10130950.2021.1883926; Sebastian Angzoorokuu Paalo. "Intergenerational Gaps in Women's Grassroots Peacebuilding in Ghana: A Critique of 'Inclusive Peacebuilding'," *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research*, vol. 14, no. 4 (2022): 287-303, DOI: 10.1108/JACPR-01-2022-0663.

13 UN Women, "The Power of Women Peacebuilders," (UN Women, 2019), https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2019/10/compilation-the-power-of-women-peacebuilders; https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/IPI-E-pub-Reimagining-Peacemaking.pdf.

14 Helen Berents and Siobhan McEvoy-Levy, "Theorising Youth and Everyday Peace(building)," *Peacebuilding*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (2015): 115-125. Available at https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21647259.2015.1052627.

15 Tamara Mitrofanenko, "Intergenerational Practice: An Approach to Implementing Sustainable Development and Environmental Justice," *Women and Children as Victims and Offenders: Background, Prevention, Reintegration* (2016): 721-743, available at https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-28424-8_28.

16 Tatek Abebe, "Storytelling through Popular Music: Social Memory, Reconciliation, and Intergenerational Healing in Oromia/Ethiopia," *Humanities*, vol. 10, no. 2 (2021): 70, available at https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0787/10/2/70.

17 Barbara Sutton, "Intergenerational Encounters in the Struggle for Abortion Rights in Argentina," *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 82 (2020), available at https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0277539519304893.

18 Interview with Ghada Rifai, Co-Founder of the Mobaderoon network, conducted on July 20, 2022, via Zoom.

19 United Nations, "Youth," (UN, n.d.), available at https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/youth.

20 Ibid.

21 United Nations, *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, General Assembly resolution 44/25 (OHCHR, 1989), available at https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-rights-child.

22 African Union, African Youth Charter (AU Assembly: Banjul, the Gambia, 2006), available at https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7789-treaty-0033_-_african_youth_charter_e.pdf.

23 Interview with Eliška Jelínková, Co-Director of the United Network of Young Peacebuilders and Co-Chair of the Global Coalition on YPS, conducted on June 9, 2022, via Zoom. I

24 Mikaela Luttrell-Rowland, et al., "Shaping Policy, Sustaining Peace: Intergenerational Activism in the Policy Ecosystem," *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2021): 109-119, available at https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10130950.2021.1883926; International Center for Research on Women, "The Intergenerational Approach to Development: Bridging the Generation Gap," Information Brief (ICRW, 2003), available at https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/1810/284454/ICRW_Intergenerational-Approach_2003.pdf?sequence=1; UNESCO, *Intergenerational Programmes: Public Policy and Research Implications: An International Perspective*, ed. Alan Hatton-Yeo and Toshio Ohsako (UNESCO, n.d.), available at https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED458364.pdf.

25 Interview with Helena Gronberg, Program Director at ICAN, conducted on July 5, 2022, via Zoom.

26 Global Coalition on Youth, Peace, and Security, *Implementing the Youth, Peace and Security Agenda at Country-level: A Guide for Public Officials*, (New York: Office of the UN Secretary-General's Envoy on Youth, 2022), https://www.un.org/youthenvoy/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/YPS-guide-for-public-officials-1.pdf, 57-58.

27 Interview with Eliška Jelínková, 2022.

28 The Global Coalition on Youth, Peace and Security (2023), https://youth4peace.info/node/347.

29 Interview with Ghada Rifai, 2022.

30 Interview with Rashad Nimr, co-author of *Celebration, Pride, and Violence: Queer Experiences in Youth, Peace & Security*, July 5, 2022, via Zoom.

31 Ibid.

32 Interview with Phil Gittins, Education Director of World BEYOND War, conducted on June 6, 2022, via Zoom.

33 Erica Lawsom and Vaiba K. Flomo, "Motherwork and Gender Justice in Peace Huts: A Feminist View from Liberia," *Third World Quarterly* 2020; vol. 41, no. 11 (2020):1863–1880.

34 Maria Martin de Almagro and Pol Bargués, "A feminist opening of resilience: Elizabeth Grosz, Liberian Peace Huts and IR critiques," *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 2022 13: 1-26

35 Lawsom and Flomo, 2020.

36 Interview with Cynthia Chigwenya, Youth Ambassador for Southern Africa for the African Union, conducted on July 15, 2022, via Zoom.

37 Aksakal courts (courts of elders) are neotraditional institutions in Kyrgyzstan, revitalized in 1995, with jurisdiction over property, family law, and torts. For more, see J. Beyer, "Customizations of Law: Courts of Elders (Aksakal Courts) in Rural and Urban Kyrgyzstan," *PoLAR*, vol. 38 (2015): 53-71, https://doi.org/10.1111/plar.12086.

38 Interview with Aiperi Janyzakova-Tursunalieva, Project Manager, and Aigerim Toktogulova, Project Coordinator at International Alert Kyrgyzstan, conducted on July 25, 2022 via Zoom.

39 Ibid.

40 Interview with Eliška Jelínková 2022.

41 Interview with Robinah Rubimbwa, Executive Director of the Coalition for Action on 1325, conducted on July 8, 2022, via Zoom.

42 PeaceWomen, "The Resolutions," Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, n.d., http://www.peacewomen.org/why-WPS/solutions/resolutions.

43 United Nations Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, Women Peace and Security (WPS) & Youth Peace and Security (YPS): Complementarities of the Two Agendas," n.d., https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/WPS-YPS%20complementarities_%20Final.pdf.

44 Sarah Smith and Elena B. Stavrevska, "A Different Women, Peace and Security is Possible? Intersectionality in Women, Peace and Security Resolutions and National Action Plans," *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2022): 63-82, https://bristoluniversitypressdigital.com/view/journals/ejpg/5/1/article-p63.xml.

45 UN DPPA, n.d.

46 Ibid.

47 United Nations, *World Programme of Action for Youth*, (Geneva: UN, 2010), https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/wpay2010.pdf.

48 Berents and McEvoy-Levy, 2015.

49 Helen Berents, "Thinking Intergenerationally: WPS and the Youth, Peace, and Security Agenda," IPI Global Observatory (2020), https://theglobalobservatory.org/2020/10/thinking-intergenerationally-wps-and-youth-peace-security-agenda/; Our Generation for Inclusive Peace, "Inclusive Peace, Inclusive Futures: Exploring the Urgent Need to Further the Women, Peace and Security and the Youth, Peace and Security Agendas," Our Generation for Inclusive Peace Policy Paper (2019), https://6d688fb3-adb9-4734-accd-733d8f3078ce.filesusr.com/ugd/286f6c_50e48e22c4064cbab1cbeb27aa86b652.pdf.

50 Interview with Saji Prelis, Co-Chair of the Global Coalition on Youth, Peace and Security, conducted on June 17, 2022, via Zoom.

51 Our Generation for Inclusive Peace, 2019.

52 Interview with Eliška Jelínková, 2022.

53 Interview with Ruby Weaver, Co-Founder of Our Generation for Inclusive Peace, conducted on June 14, 2022, via Zoom.

54 Mena Ayazi, et al., *Celebration, Pride, and Violence: Queer Experiences in Youth, Peace & Security*, (Search for Common Ground, Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, and TransEnd, n.d.), https://youth4peace.info/system/files/2022-07/Celebration,%20Pride,%20and%20Violence-Queering%20YPS%20Paper%20(1).pdf.

55 Interview with Rashad Nimr, 2022.

56 https://ourgenpeace.com/

57 Interview with Ruby Weaver, 2022.

58 S. Basu, "The Global South Writes 1325 (Too)," *International Political Science Review*, vol. 37, no. 3 (2016): 362–374, https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512116642616.

59 Interview with Robinah Rubimbwa, 2022.

60 Interview with Helena Gronberg, 2022.

61 "About," NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (2020), https://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/about/.

62 Ibid.

63 Interview with Mallika Iyer, Director for Asia and the Pacific and Europe Programs and Humanitarian Action at the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, conducted on June 14, 2022, via Zoom.

64 Ibid.

65 Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, "55+ Women and Youth Organizations and Networks Launch the Beijing+25 Women, Peace, and Security-Youth, Peace, and Security Action Coalition," n.d., https://gnwp.org/b25-wps-yps-global-coalition-launch/; Generation Equality, *Connecting Women and Peace and Security (WPS) and Youth and Peace and Security (YPS) to Beijing+25 and the Generation Equality Forum*, (Generation Equality, 2020), https://gnwp.org/wp-content/uploads/B25-WPS-YPSAdvocacy-Paper-web-bold-1.pdf.

66 "Global Coalition on Youth, Peace and Security," Youth4Peace, n.d., https://youth4peace.info/About_GCYPS.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid

69 Interview with Saji Prelis, 2022.

70 Interview with Eliška Jelínková, 2022; interview with Sali Prelis, 2022.

71 Generation Equality, "Press Release: UN Women Announces Global Intergenerational Campaign to Bring Women's Rights and Empowerment to the Forefront," May 6, 2019, https://forum.generationequality.org/news/press-release-un-women-announces-global-intergenerational-campaign-bring-womens-rights-and.

72 Ibid.

73 Generation Equality, "Youth Leadership and Intergenerational Partnership: The Driving Force of Generation Equality," August 12, 2022, https://forum.generationequality.org/news/youth-leadership-and-intergenerational-partnership-driving-force-generation-equality.

74 Interview with Mallika Iyer, 2022.

75 Generation Equality, *Women, Peace & Security and Humanitarian Action Compact: Framework* (Generation Equality, n.d.), https://wpshacompact.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/WPS-HA-Compact_Framework-EN-Web.pdf.

76 Generation Equality, "Women, Peace & Security and Humanitarian Action (WPS-HA) Compact," n.d., https://forum.generationequality.org/women-peace-security-and-humanitarian-action-wps-ha-compact.

77 Interview with Eliška Jelínková, 2022.

78 Interview with Mallika Iyer, 2022.

79 Interview with Ruby Weaver, 2022.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid.

82 Interview with Christine Odera, Global Coordinator of the Commonwealth Youth Peace Ambassadors Network and Operations, Training and Programs Chair at the Kenya National Youth Service Council, conducted on July 4, 2022, via Zoom.

83 Lakshitha Saji Prelis, "The Critical Movement for Youth Inclusion," in *Untapped Power: Leveraging Diversity and Inclusion for Conflict and Development*, ed. Carla Koppell (New York, 2022; online edn, Oxford Academic, 2022), https://academic.oup.com/book/41548.

84 Gender Equality Forum, *Young Feminist Manifesto: A Bold and Transformative Vision for Change* (Gender Equality Forum, 2021), https://gefyouthmanifesto.wixsite.com/website.

85 Generation Equality Forum, 2021.

86 Sebastian Angzoorokuu Paalo, "Intergenerational Gaps in Women's Grassroots Peacebuilding in Ghana: A Critique of 'Inclusive Peacebuilding'," *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research* (2022), https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/JACPR-01-2022-0663/full/html?skipTracking=true.

87 Leah Rodriguez, "The 10 Best And Worst Countries To Be A Woman In 2021," *Global Citizen*, October 21, 2021, https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/best-worst-countries-for-women-gender-equality/.

88 Women for Women International, "Afghanistan Response," Women for Women International, n.d.,accessed August 5, 2022, https://womenforwomen.org.uk/work-we-do/afghanistan-response?gclid=EAIaIQobChMI2ublotLy-AIVA7LVCh3MYAtBEAAYAiAAEgLHcPD_BwE.

89 Interview with Eliška Jelínková, 2022.

90 Interview with Rashad Nimr, 2022.

91 Ibid

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid.

94 Ibid.

95 Interview with Ruby Weaver, 2022.

96 Ibid.

97 Our Generation for Inclusive Peace, "How to Meaningfully Engage Youth Activists and Youth-led Organizations," (OGIP, n.d.), https://cdn.sanity.io/files/oj41ninc/production/d615fde8005e78a3a71c43de7c437da59760bc37.pdf.

98 Berents and McEvoy-Levy, 2015.

99 Interview with Nell Bolton and Michelle Bradley, Catholic Relief Services, conducted on June 16, 2022, via Zoom

100 Interview with Eliška Jelínková, 2022.

101 Berents and McEvoy-Levy, 2015.

102 Interview with Christine Odera, 2022

103 Interview with Fatema Ahmadi, 2022.

104 Interview with Mary Hwyere, Northeast Program Manager for International Alert in Maiduguri, Nigeria, conducted on June 30, 2022, via Zoom.

105 Interview with Anniela Carracedo, Board Member for World BEYOND War, conducted on July 15, 2022, via Zoom.

106 Interview with Cynthia Chigwenya, 2022.

107 Interview with Nell Bolton and Michelle Bradley, 2022.

108 Graeme Simpson, *The Missing Piece: Independent Progress Study on Youth and Peace and Security*, A/72/761-S/2018/86 (United Nations General Assembly Security Council, 2018), https://youth4peace.info/system/files/2018-03/Progress%20Study%20on%20Youth%2C%20Peace%20%26%20Security_A-72-761_S-2018-86_ENGLISH_0.pdf.

109 Rita Izsák-Ndiaye, *If I Disappear: Global Report on Protecting Young People in Civic Space* (Office of the Secretary-General's Envoy on Youth, 2021), https://unoy.org/downloads/if-i-disappear-global-report-on-protecting-young-people-in-civic-space/.

110 Interview with Eliška Jelínková, 2022.

111 UN Women, *Women's Rights in Afghanistan One Year after the Taliban Take-Over*, (UN Women, 2022), https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2022-08/Gender-alert-2-Womens-rights-in-Afghanistan-one-year-after-the-Taliban-take-over-en_0.pdf.

112 Michal Kranz, "Afghan Women, Undeterred by Taliban, Secretly Network for Change," *Al Jazeera*, November 28, 2022, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/11/28/how-women-are-secretly-building-support-networks-for-each-other.

113 "Afghanistan: Women Protesters Detail Taliban Abuse." Human Rights Watch, October 20, 2022, https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/10/20/afghanistan-women-protesters-detail-taliban-abuse.

114 Interview with Saji Prelis, 2022.

115 Ibid.

116 Interview with Cynthia Chigwenya, 2022.

117 Interview with Mallika Iyer, 2022.

118 Interview with Saji Prelis, 2022.

119 Interview with Ruby Weaver, 2022.

120 Ibid.

121 Interview with Cynthia Chigwenya, 2022.

122 Interview with Mary Hwyere, 2022.

123 Interview with Mallika Iyer, 2022.

124 Interview with Saji Prelis, 2022.

125 Interview with Christine Odera, 2022.

126 Interview with Ruby Weaver, 2022.

127 Ibid.

128 Interview with Helena Gronberg, 2022.

129 Interview with Mallika Iyer, 2022.

130 Interview with Eliška Jelínková, 2022.

131 Interview with Christine Odera, 2022.

132 Name was changed upon request from the founders.

133 "Assiut, Minya Have 370 of Poorest Villages: Minister El Said," www.zawya.com, June 3, 2020, https://www.zawya.com/en/economy/assiut-minya-have-370-of-poorest-villages-minister-el-said-ewtteqqj; al-Anani, Khalil, "Egypt's Uprising of the Poor is a Real Threat to Sisi," *Middle East Eye*, October 2, 2020, https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/egypts-uprising-poor-will-sisi-finally-be-toppled.

134 Safaa Saleh, "Egypt's Minya Province Flashpoint for Muslim-Christian Violence," *AL-MONITOR*, April 25, 2014, https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2014/04/egypt-sectarian-violence-minya-province.html.

135 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

136 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

137 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

138 Interview with Eliška Jelínková, 2022.

139 Interview with Ruby Weaver, 2022.

140 New World Bank Report Assesses the Sources of Inequality in Five Countries in Southern Africa," The World Bank, March 9, 2022, https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2022/03/09/new-world-bank-report-assesses-sources-of-inequality-in-five-countries-in-southern-africa.

141 Statistics Botswana, *Quarterly Multi-Topic Survey* (QMTS): Quarter 4, 2021, (Gaborone: Statistics Botswana, 2021), https://www.statsbots.org.bw/sites/default/files/publications/Quarterly%20Multi-Topic%20Survey%20Report%20Q4%2C%202021.pdf, 52, 103; "Botswana Youth unemployment 4th Highest in SADC," *Sunday Standard*, September 28, 2022, https://www.sundaystandard.info/botswana-youth-unemployment-4th-highest-in-sadc/.

142 Khaufelo Raymond Lekobane, *Leaving No One Behind: An Individual-Level Approach to Measuring Multidimensional Poverty in Botswana*, IDS Working Paper, vol. 2020, no. 539 (2020), https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/15381/Wp539_Online.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, 195, 198.

143 "Covid-19 Triggers Waves of Free Speech Abuse," Human Rights Watch, n.d., https://features.hrw.org/features/features/covid/index.html#violence.

144 CIVICUS, *People Power Under Attack 2021*, (CIVICUS, 2021), https://civicus.contentfiles.net/media/assets/file/2021GlobalReport.pdf, 6.

145 There is some dispute around updated and official rates of rape incidents in Botswana and South Africa, the nation that previously ranked the highest in rates of rape. See World Population Review, "Rape Statistics by Country 2022," World Population Review, n.d., https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/rape-statistics-by-country; Cayley Clifford, "Highest in the World? Social Media Post Gets South Africa's Rape Rate Wrong," *Africa Check*, September 27, 2022, https://africacheck.org/fact-checks/meta-programme-fact-checks/highest-world-social-media-post-gets-south-africas-rape-rate.

146 Interview with Dr. Ava Avalos, HIV Specialist Physician and Managing Director of Careena Centre (Pty) Ltd for Health, conducted on May 15, 2022.

147 Interview with Mandipa Machacha, Economic, Social and Cultural Research for Southern Africa, Amnesty International, conducted on May 18, 2022.

148 Interview with Dr. Ava Avalos, 2022; Interview with Lebani Mazhani, Attorney, Health Activist and Medical Law Specialist, conducted on May 26, 2022; Interview with Bosa Sebele, Attorney and Human Rights Defender, conducted on May 27, 2022.

149 Interview with Monalisa Danieli Mungure, Executive Director of Molao Matters, conducted on May 19, 2022; Interview with Moitshepi Macheng, Co-Founder of Youth Impact, conducted on May 22, 2022.

150 Interview with Wame Jallow, Vice President of Population Media Center, conducted on May 19, 2022.

151 Interview with Moitshepi Macheng, 2022.

152 Interview with Moitshepi Macheng, 2022.

153 Interview with Lorato Moalusi, Executive Director of Botswana Gender Based Violence Prevention and Support Center, conducted on May 19, 2022.

154 Interview with Nell Bolton and Michelle Bradley, 2022.

155 Interview with Saji Prelis, 2022.

156 Interview with Cynthia Chigwenya, 2022.

157 Interview with Mallika Iyer, 2022.

158 Ibid

159 United Network of Young Peacebuilders and Search for Common Ground, *Mapping a Sector: Bridging the Evidence Gap on Youth-Driven Peacebuilding*, (The Hague: UNOY Peacebuilders and Search for Common Ground, 2017), https://www.sfcg.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Mapping-a-Sector-Bridging-the-Evidence-Gap-on-Youth-Driven-Peacebuilding.pdf.

160 Interview with Christine Odera, 2022.

161 Interview with Fatema Ahmadi, 2022; interview with Nell Bolton and Michelle Bradley, 2022.

162 https://reliefweb.int/report/philippines/value-post-conflict-inclusion-youth

163 Interview with Mallika Iyer, 2022.

164 Interview with Robinah Rubimbwa, 2022.

165 Berents and McEvoy-Levy, 2015.

166 Interview with Cynthia Chigwenya, 2022.

167 Berents and McEvoy-Levy, 2015.

168 Johanna Boersch-Supan, "The Generational Contract in Flux: Intergenerational Tensions in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 50, no. 1 (2012): 25-51, https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-modern-african-studies/article/abs/generational-contract-in-flux-intergenerational-tensions-in-postconflict-sierra-leone/9F87CDC4BD9F8F1959CF1251B24459D2.

169 Interview with Helena Gronberg, 2022.

170 Interview with Cynthia Chigwenya, 2022.

171 Interview with Aiperi Janyzakova-Tursunalieva and Aigerim Toktogulova, 2022.

172 Interview with Mallika Iyer, 2022.

173 Anne Speckhard, *Women in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism*, (UN Women, 2021), https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Field%20Office%20ECA/Attachments/Publications/2021/2/PVE_TrainingManual-min.pdf.

174 Ibid.

175 Nancy Lindborg, "The Essential Role Of Women In Peacebuilding," United States Institute of Peace, November 20, 2017, https://www.usip.org/publications/2017/11/essential-role-women-peacebuilding.

176 Ibid.

177 "Afghanistan," Securitywomen, accessed April 3, 2023, https://www.securitywomen.org/unscr-1325-and-national-action-plans-nap/afghanistan.

178 Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, *Afghanistan's National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325-Women, Peace and Security* (Kabul, Afghanistan: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate of Human Rights and Women's International Affairs, 2015), https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/wps-afghanistan_national_action_plan_1325_0.pdf.

179 Rodriguez, 2021.

180 Women for Women International, n.d.

181 "Nangarhar Province," Naval Postgraduate School Program for Culture and Conflict Studies, 2017, accessed October 14, 2022, https://nps.edu/web/ccs/nangarhar.

182 Ibid.

183 "Nangarhar," European Union Agency for Asylum, last modified December 2020, https://euaa.europa.eu/country-guidance-afghanistan-2020/nangarhar.

184 "Nangarhar," Knoema World Data Atlas, accessed August 5, 2022, https://knoema.com/atlas/Afghanistan/Nangarhar.

185 "Kunar," European Union Agency for Asylum, last modified December 2020, https://euaa.europa.eu/country-guidance-afghanistan-2020/kunar.

186 "Kunar Province," Naval Postgraduate School Program for Culture and Conflict Studies, accessed August 5, 2022, https://nps.edu/web/ccs/Kunar.

187 "Laghman," European Union Agency for Asylum, last modified December 2020, https://euaa.europa.eu/country-guidance-afghanistan-2020/laghman.

188 "Laghman Province," Naval Postgraduate School Program for Culture and Conflict Studies, accessed August 5, 2022, https://nps.edu/web/ccs/laghman.

189 "Literacy Rate, Adult Total (% of People Ages 15 and Above) – Afghanistan," World Bank, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, accessed October 24, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.ZS?locations=AF&name_desc=true.

190 Alison Davidian, "Expert's Take: Gender Equality Is Critical For Afghanistan's Future, Long-Term Development, and Sustained Peace," UN Women, October 12, 2021, https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2021/10/experts-take-gender-equality-is-critical-for-the-afghanistans-future#:~:text=Afghan%20women%20had%20the%20right,2004%20constitution%20enshrines%20gender%20equality.

191 Online Interview with young woman activist from Nangarhar, conducted July 19, 2022.

192 Online Interview with young woman activist from Nangarhar, conducted July 15, 2022.

193 Online Interview with senior male activist from Kunar, conducted July 22, 2022.

194 "Nangarhar University Students Take Peacebuilding Discussions to Communities," United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, January 13, 2021, https://unama.unmissions.org/nangarhar-university-students-take-peacebuilding-discussions-communities.

195 Online interview with women participants of the workshop in Nangarhar province, conducted July 21, 2022.

196 Online Interview with young woman activist from Nangarhar, conducted July 15, 2022.

197 Interview with senior women peacebuilders from Kunar, conducted July 15, 2022.

198 Interview with young women peacebuilders from Kunar, conducted July 15, 2022.

199 Interview with senior peacebuilders from Laghman, conducted July 5, 2022.

200 Interview with young woman peacebuilder from Laghman, conducted July 20, 2022.

201 Online interview with senior peacebuilders from Laghman, conducted July 14, 2022.

202 Online interview with young woman from Nangarhar, conducted July 5, 2022.

203 Online interview with senior women peacebuilders from Nangarhar, conducted July 25, 2022.

204 In-person interview with young male activist from Kunar, conducted July 11, 2022.

205 Online interview with senior women peacebuilders from Kunar, conducted July 11, 2022.

206 Online interview with senior women peacebuilders from Nangarhar, conducted July 11, 2022.

207 "Women's Rights in Afghanistan One Year after the Taliban Take-Over" UN Women, August 15, 2022, https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2022-08/Gender-alert-2-Womens-rights-in-Afghanistan-one-year-after-the-Taliban-take-over-en_0.pdf.

208 "Afghanistan: Taliban Deprive Women of Livelihoods, Identity," Human Rights Watch, January 18, 2022, https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/01/18/afghanistan-taliban-deprive-women-livelihoods-identity.

209 UN Women, "Women's Participation in Peace Processes Results in More Durable and Stable Peace," in *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325* (UN Women, 2015), https://wps.unwomen.org/participation/.

210 Liezelle Kumalo, "Beyond Rhetoric: The Role of Women in Sustainable Peacebuilding," Institute for Security Studies, May 20, 2015, https://issafrica.org/iss-today/beyond-rhetoric-the-role-of-women-in-sustainable-peacebuilding#:~:text=Peacebuilding%20is%20the%20foundation%20for,achieving%20lasting%20peace%20after%20conflict.

211 "Strengthening Women's Meaningful Participation in Peace Processes," UN Women, August 20, 2021, https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2021/8/feature-strengthening-womens-meaningful-participation-in-peace-processes.

212 Laura Grenfell, "The Participation of Afghan Women in the Reconstruction Process," *Human Rights Brief 12*, no. 1 (2004): 22-25, https://digitalcommons.wcl.american.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=&httpsredir=1&article=1297&context=hrbrief.

213 Canadian Women for Afghanistan Women, "Women and the Rule of Law in Afghanistan," Canadian Women for Women in Afghanistan, accessed April 7, 2023, https://www.cw4wafghan.ca/sites/default/files/attachments/pages/cw4wafghan-womenruleoflaw-factsheet2_0.pdf.

214 Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, *Law on Elimination of Violence Against Women* (EVAW) (Kabul, Afghanistan: Ministry of Justice, 2009), https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5486d1a34.pdf.

215 Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, *Law on Protection of Child Rights*, (Kabul, Afghanistan: Ministry of Justice, 2019), https://www.unicef.org/afghanistan/media/3936/file/Law%20on%20Protection%20of%20Child%20Rights.pdf.pdf.

216 Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, *Afghanistan's National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325-Women, Peace, and Security* (Kabul, Afghanistan: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate of Human Rights and Women's International Affairs, 2015), https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/wps-afghanistan_national_action_plan_1325_0.pdf.

217 Fereschta Sahrai and Victoria Scheyer, "Acting upon Afghan Women's Appeals to Inclusive Peace," Peace Research Institute Frankfurt blog, March 16, 2022, https://blog.prif.org/2022/03/16/acting-upon-afghan-womens-appeals-to-inclusive-peace/.

218 Ibid.

219 "National Conference – Meaningful Participation of Women in Afghanistan Peace Process," Equality for Peace and Democracy, accessed December 5, 2022, http://www.epd-afg.org/national-conference-meaningful-participation-of-women-in-afghanistan-peace-process/.

220 Roshan Noorzai and Zeba Khadem, "Women Concerned over Underrepresentation in Afghan Talks," *Voice of America*, October 13, 2020, https://www.voanews.com/a/extremism-watch_women-concerned-over-underrepresentation-afghan-talks/6197044.html.

221 Michael Scollon, "Brain Drained: Exodus of Professionals since Taliban Takeover Leaves Afghanistan Starting from Scratch Again," *RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty*, August 12, 2022, https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-brain-drain-workforce-anniversary/31983884.html.

222 Mona Tajali, "Afghanistan's Women in Exile Continue to Push for Equality," *The Washington Post*, August 19, 2022, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/08/18/afghanistan-women-exile-activism/.

223 Michal Kranz, "Afghan Women, Undeterred by Taliban, Secretly Network for Change," *Al Jazeera*, November 28, 2022, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/11/28/how-women-are-secretly-building-support-networks-for-each-other.

224 "Afghanistan: Women Protesters Detail Taliban Abuse," Human Rights Watch, October 20, 2022, https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/10/20/afghanistan-women-protesters-detail-taliban-abuse.

225 Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, "What is Strategic Peacebuilding?" University of Notre Dame Keough School of Global Affairs, accessed April 7, 2023, https://kroc.nd.edu/about-us/what-is-peace-studies/what-is-strategic-peacebuilding/.

226 Interview with Dr. Habba Sarabi, member of negotiation team, conducted online, June 28, 2022.

227 United Nations General Assembly, *Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace: Resolutions Adopted by the General Assembly*, A/RES/53/243 (New York: UN General Assembly, 1999), accessed July 4, 2022, https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f54e0.html.

228 United Nations General Assembly, *International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World*, 2001-2010, A/RES/60/3 (UN General Assembly, 2005), accessed July 4, 2022, https://www.refworld.org/docid/44168a920.html.

229 The Suzanne Mubarak Women's International Peace Movement, "End-of-Decade Report: International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World," April 13, 2010, https://decade-culture-of-peace.org/end-of-decade-report/cgi-bin/ib4/ikonboard.cgi?s=45959f9d54b36192014c76fb5857b0e2;act=ST;f=6;t=409.

230 Saskia Brechenmacher, "Institutionalized Repression in Egypt," in *Civil Society Under Assault: Repression and Responses in Russia, Egypt, and Ethiopia* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2017), https://carnegieendowment.org/2017/05/18/institutionalized-repression-in-egypt-pub-69959.

231 Reem Abou-El-Fadl, "Beyond Conventional Transitional Justice: Egypt's 2011 Revolution and the Absence of Political Will," *International Journal of Transitional Justice 6*, no. 2 (2012): 318-330, https://doi.org/10.1093/ijtj/ijs011.

232 Shereen Aly Sayed, *Egyptian Youth Building a Peaceful Community – A Case Study*, Master's Thesis (The American University in Cairo, AUC Knowledge Fountain, 2015), https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds/1420.

233 Maria Frederika Malmström, "The Affects of Change: An Ethnography of the Affective Experiences of the 2013 Military Intervention in Egypt," in *Methodological Approaches to Societies in Transformation: Anthropology, Change, and Development*, ed. Y. Berriane, et al. (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 237-255, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65067-4_10.

234 Azzurra Meringolo, "The Struggle over the Egyptian Public Sphere," Instituto Affari Internazionali, 15/04 (2015): 1, https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep09818; Sherif Mansour, *Stifling the Public Sphere: Media and Civil Society in Egypt* (Washington, DC: National Endowment for Democracy, 2015), http://www.ned.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Stifling-the-Public-Sphere-Media-Civil-Society-Egypt-Forum-NED.pdf; Brechenmacher.

235 John Pollock, "President Morsi and the Future of Egyptian Civil Society," Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, July 21, 2012, http://www.fletcherforum.org/home/2016/9/6/president-morsi-and-the-future-of-egyptian-civil-society.

236 Safaa Saleh, "Egypt's Minya Province Flashpoint for Muslim-Christian Violence," *AL-MONITOR*, April 25, 2014, https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2014/04/egypt-sectarian-violence-minya-province.html.

237 Name was changed upon request from the founders.

238 "Assiut, Minya Have 370 of Poorest Villages: Minister el Said," Zawya, June 3, 2020, https://www.zawya.com/en/economy/assiut-minya-have-370-of-poorest-villages-minister-el-said-ewtteqqj; Khalil al-Anani, "Egypt's Uprising of the Poor Is a Real Threat to Sisi," *Middle East Eye*, October 2, 2020, https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/egypts-uprising-poor-will-sisi-finally-be-toppled.

239 Saleh, 2014.

240 Ibid.

241 Ibid.

242 Interview with the founder, El-Minya, conducted June 2022.

243 Sayed, 2015.

244 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

245 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

246 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

247 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

248 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

249 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted by July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

250 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted by July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

251 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted by July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

252 Interview with a junior peace researcher, Cairo, conducted May 2022.

253 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted by July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

254 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted by July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

255 Interview with a senior peace activist, St. Catherine, conducted June 2022.

256 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted by July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

257 Interview with a senior peace activist, El-Minya, conducted June 2022.

258 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

259 Gamal Essam El-Din, "Egypt Parliament Approves Toughening Penalties on Sexual Harassment Crimes," Ahram Online, July 11, 2021, https://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/416994/Egypt/Politics-/Egypt-parliament-approves-toughening-penalties-on-.aspx.

260 Interview with a junior peace researcher, Cairo, conducted May 2022.

261 Series of interviews with junior and senior women peacebuilders in Cairo, Minya and St. Catherine, conducted July 2022, via offline meetings and Zoom.

262 Asef Bayat, Life as Politics: *How Ordinary People Change the Middle East* (Redwood City, CA, USA: Stanford University Press, 2010)

263 Charles Harvey, "Botswana: Is the Economic Miracle Over?" *Journal of African Economies 1*, no. 3 (1992): 335-368, https://academic.oup.com/jae/article-abstract/1/3/335/692020?redirectedFrom=fulltext.

264 Seretse Khama, "Botswana – A Developing Democracy in Southern Africa," speech presented to Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1970, 6, http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:285227/fulltext01.pdf.

265 Botho has been used to describe a sort of social contract that everyone must adhere to, which promotes a sense of "mutual respect, responsibility and accountability by members of society towards each other," derived from the Setswana proverb "*motho ke motho ka batho ba bangwe*," translating to "a person is a person with, through and because of others." See J. Morena Rankopo and Kabo Diraditsile, "The Interface between *Botho* and Social Work Practice in Botswana: Towards Afrocentric Models," African Journal of Social Work 10, no. 1 (2020): 2, https://www.ajol.info/index.php/ajsw/article/view/194092; Government of Botswana, *Vision 2016: Towards Prosperity for All* (Gaborone, Botswana: Presidential Task Force, 1996), 5, https://paris21.org/sites/default/files/3144.pdf.

266 Government of Botswana, *Vision 2016*. This Vision has now been re-modified into *Vision 2036*, available at: https://www.statsbots.org.bw/sites/default/files/documents/Vision%202036.pdf.

267 Godsglory O. Ifezue, "Understanding Chieftainship in Botswana: The Status and Power of Chiefs in Present Day Botswana," *Journal of African Law* 59, no. 2 (2015): 274-281, https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-african-law/article/abs/understanding-chieftainship-in-botswana-the-status-and-powers-of-chiefs-in-present-day-botswana/A08FC177B41FA796545E5E5ABAEA0E69.

268 Traditional platforms where the community would previously meet under the auspices of a chief (kgosi) to carry out traditional ceremonies, trials, punishment and village level discussion, typically located at the center of the village. See Barbara Ntombi Ngwenya and Donald L. Kgathi, "Traditional Public Assembly (Kgotla) and Natural Resources Management in Ngamiland, Botswana," in *Rural Livelihoods, Risk and Political Economy of Access to Natural Resources in the Okavango Delta, Botswana* (Nova Science Publishers Inc., 2011), 249, https://www.novapublishers.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/978-1-61122-302-6_ch13.pdf.

269 Ngwenya and Kgathi, "Traditional Public Assembly," 249; Interview with Dr. Sethunya Mosime, Head of Sociology at the University of Botswana, conducted on May 19, 2022.

270 Positive peace refers to more than the absence of direct violence and also includes the presence of social justice, reconciliation and community. A positive peace framework acknowledges that issues such as marginalization, inequality and lack of opportunity drive conflict and asserts that peace approaches must address underlying social, economic and political inequalities in order to create a cohesive and thriving community. See Gearoid Millar, "Ambition and Ambivalence: Reconsidering Positive Peace as a Trans-Scalar Peace System," *Journal of Peace Research* 58, no. 4 (2021): 640-654, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0022343320941909.

271 Interview with Pusetso Morapedi, Executive Director of The Botswana Center for Public Integrity, conducted on May 17, 2022.

272 "New World Bank Report Assesses the Sources of Inequality in Five Countries in Southern Africa," The World Bank, March 9, 2022, https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2022/03/09/new-world-bank-report-assesses-sources-of-inequality-in-five-countries-in-southern-africa.

273 Statistics Botswana, *Quarterly Multi-Topic Survey* (QMTS): Quarter 4, 2021, (Gaborone: Statistics Botswana, 2021), 52, 103, https://www.statsbots.org.bw/sites/default/files/publications/Quarterly%20Multi-Topic%20Survey%20Report%20Q4%2C%202021.pdf; "Botswana Youth Unemployment 4th Highest in SADC," *Sunday Standard*, September 28, 2022, https://www.sundaystandard.info/botswana-youth-unemployment-4th-highest-in-sadc/.

274 Khaufelo Raymond Lekobane, "Leaving No One Behind: An Individual-Level Approach to Measuring Multidimensional Poverty in Botswana," *IDS Working Paper* 2020, no. 539 (2020): 195, 198 https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/15381/Wp539_Online.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

275 "Covid-19 Triggers Waves of Free Speech Abuse," Human Rights Watch, accessed April 20, 2023, https://features.hrw.org/features/features/covid/index.html#violence.

276 CIVICUS, *People Power Under Attack 2021* (CIVICUS, 2021), 6, https://civicus.contentfiles.net/media/assets/file/2021GlobalReport.pdf.

277 Interview with Lorato Moalusi, Executive Director of Botswana Gender Based Violence Prevention and Support Center, conducted on May 19, 2022; Interview with Monalisa Danieli Mungure, Executive Director, Molao Matters, conducted on May 19, 2022.

278 There is some dispute around updated and official rates of rape incidents in Botswana and South Africa, the nation that previously ranked the highest in rates of rape. See World Population Review, "Rape Statistics by Country 2022," World Population Review, accessed April 20, 2023, https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/rape-statistics-by-country; Cayley Clifford, "Highest in the World? Social Media Post Gets South Africa's Rape Rate Wrong," *Africa Check*, September 27, 2022, https://africacheck.org/fact-checks/meta-programme-fact-checks/highest-world-social-media-post-gets-south-africas-rape-rate.

279 "Much More Needs to be Done in Ending GBV in Botswana," UNFPA, July 17, 2020, https://botswana.unfpa.org/en/news/much-more-needs-be-done-ending-gender-based-violence-botswana.

280 Kenneth Good, "Authoritarian Liberalism: A Defining Characteristic of Botswana," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 14, no. 1 (2007): 29-51, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02589009608729580.

281 Joel Konopo, "How Will the Conflict between Masisi and Khama End?" Center for Investigative Journalism, May 24, 2022, https://inkjournalism.org/2573/how-will-the-conflict-between-masisi-and-khama-end-%EF%BF%BC/.

282 United Nations Security Council (UNSC), *Resolution 1325* (2000), S/RES/1325 (2000), adopted October 31, 2000, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SC_ResolutionWomenPeaceSecurity_SRES1325%282000%29%28english_0.pdf.

283 African Union, *African Union Gender Policy* (AU, 2009), 18, https://www.un.org/shestandsforpeace/sites/www.un.org.shestandsforpeace/files/african_union_gender_policy_2009.pdf; African Union, *Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa* (Addis Ababa, 2004), https://www.mrfcj.org/pdf/Solemn_Declaration_on_Gender_Equality_in_Africa.pdf; African Union, *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa* (Maputo: AU, 2003), https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/Women/WG/ProtocolontheRightsofWomen.pdf; African Union, *Continental Result Framework: Monitoring and Reporting on the Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Africa* (2018-2028) (AU, 2019), https://au.int/en/documents/20190204/continental-results-framework-reporting-and-monitoring-implementation-women-peace.

284 Pini Bothoko, "Women's Underrepresentation in Politics Causes Worry," *Mmegi Online*, March 14, 2022, https://www.mmegi.bw/news/womens-underrepresentation-in-politics-causes-worry/news.

285 Gretchen Bauer, "Update on the Women's Movement in Botswana: Have Women Stopped Talking?" *African Studies Review* 54, no. 2 (2011): 24, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41304774.

286 Athaliah Molokomme, "Emang Basadi (Botswana)," *Signs* 16, no. 4 (1991): 848-51, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3174576.

287 Bauer, "Update," 24.

288 *Attorney General v. Unity Dow* 1992 BLR 119 (Botswana, Court of Appeal).

289 Bauer, "Update," 24.

290 Keneilwe Mooketsane, "An Analysis of State-Civil Society Relationships in Botswana: A Case of the Women's Affairs Department and Women NGOs" (Unpublished Thesis, Master of Public Policy, Faculty of Humanities, University of Cape Town, 2011), 89, https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/11074.

291 Mooketsane, "An Analysis," 89.

292 United Nations Security Council, *Resolution 2250* (2015), S/RES/2250 (2015), adopted December 9, 2015, https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N15/413/06/PDF/N1541306.pdf?OpenElement

293 African Union, *Continental Framework for Youth, Peace and Security* (AU, 2020), https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/39150-doc-continental_framework_on_youth_peace_and_security_-_english.pdf.

294 UNFPA, 'Demographic Dividend: Botswana', accessed May 22, 2022, https://botswana.unfpa.org/en/topics/demographic-dividend-0; Republic of Botswana, Botswana Revised *Youth Policy 2010* (Gaborone, Botswana: Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture, 2010), https://www.youthpolicy.org/national/Botswana_2010_National_Youth_Policy.pdf. This policy defines youth in Botswana as those between 15 and 19 years old.

295 Republic of Botswana, *Botswana Revised Youth Policy 2010*.

296 Republic of Botswana, *Vision 2036: Achieving Prosperity for All* (Gaborone, Botwana: Vision 2036 Presidential Task Team, 2016), https://www.statsbots.org.bw/sites/default/files/documents/Vision%202036.pdf.

297 Richard Strickland and Nata Duvvury, *Gender Equity and Peacebuilding. From Rhetoric to Reality: Finding the Way* (International Center for Research on Women, 2003), 6, https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/bitstream/handle/10625/28959/IDL-28959.pdf?sequence=1.

298 Ibid., 6.

299 Interview with Mother K Masire, Founder of Botho Treats, conducted on May 17, 2022.

300 Interview with Banusi Mbaakanyi, Executive Director of Lane 6 (Pty) Ltd and Chairperson of the Botswana Textile and Clothing Association, conducted on May 16, 2022.

301 Interview with Irene Ramatala, Project Officer for USAID, conducted on May 20, 2022.

302 Government of Botswana, *Domestic Violence Act* (Cap. 28:05) (Gaborone, Botswana: Government of Botswana, 2008), http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.detail?p_lang=en&p_isn=84993&p_country=BWA&p_count=182.

303 Government of Botswana, *Children's Act* (No 8. Of 2009) (Gaborone, Botswana: Government of Botswana, 2009), https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.detail?p_lang=en&p_isn=97343.

304 Interview with Irene Ramatala, 2022.

305 Government of Botswana, *Domestic Violence Act*, Section 2.

306 "Team: Dr. Godisang Mookodi," Global Center of Spatial Methods for Urban Sustanability (SMUS), accessed April 20, 2023, https://gcsmus.org/conferences/botswana/team/dr-godisang-b-mookodi/.

307 Interview with Dr. Godisang Mookodi, Department of Sociology at the University of Botswana, conducted on May 20, 2022. "Body-mapping" is defined as the process of individuals plotting their body through the use of drawings, paintings and other mediums to visually depict experiences in their lives. This is used as a form of therapy, particularly from the perspective of sexual violence.

308 Interview with Dr. Godisang Mookodi, 2022; Interview with Dr. Mpho Gilika, Department of Sociology at the University of Botswana and Founder of The African Women Leadership Academy, conducted on June 28, 2022. The African Women Leadership Academy liaised with the young women involved under the Young Women's Leadership Project.

309 Feminism in Botswana Facebook Page, available at: https://www.facebook.com/FIBotswana.

310 Government of Botswana, *Sexual Offenders Registry Act*, 2021, No. 7 of 2021 (Gaborone, Botswana: Government of Botswana, 2021), https://www.botswanalaws.com/Botswana2021Pdf/Sexual%20Offenders%20Registry%20Act,%202021-%20Act%20No.%207%20of%202021.pdf.

311 Interview with Mandipa Machacha, Economic, Social and Cultural Research for Southern Africa at Amnesty International, conducted on May 18, 2022.

312 Government of Botswana, *Sexual Offenders Registry Act*, 2021, Preamble.

313 Dikarabo Ramadubu, "Police to Set up Fully-Fledged GBV Unit this Financial Year," *Botswana Guardian*, February 18, 2021, https://www.pressreader.com/botswana/botswana-guardian/20210218/281668257685037.

314 Keletso Thobega, "Botswana Sets up GBV Courts to Tackle Pandemic Backlog," *Reuters*, November 30, 2020, https://www.reuters.com/article/botswana-rape-court-idAFL8N2IG3BE.

315 Interview with Pusetso Morapedi, 2022; Interview with Lorato Moalusi, 2022; Interview with Monalisa Danieli Mungure, 2022.

316 Interview with Dr. Ava Avalos, HIV Specialist Physician and Managing Director of Careena Centre (Pty) Ltd for Health, conducted on May 15, 2022.

317 Interview with Wame Jallow, Vice President of Population Media Center, conducted on May 19, 2022; Interview with Yandile Nuku, Regional Programme Manager at Co-Creation Hub, Founding Partner, Head of Strategy & Business Development, Nest Hubs, conducted on June 4, 2022.

318 Interview with Monalisa Danieli Mungure, 2022.

319 Interview with Moitshepi Macheng, Co-Founder of Youth Impact, conducted on May 22, 2022.

320 Interview with Pusetso Morapedi, 2022.

321 Interview with Dr. Ava Avalos, 2022; Interview with Lebani Mazhani, Attorney, Health Activist and Medical Law Specialist, conducted on May 26, 2022; Interview with Bosa Sebele, Attorney and Human Rights Defender, conducted on May 27, 2022.

322 Interview with Monalisa Danieli Mungure, 2022; Interview with Moitshepi Macheng, 2022.

323 Translated to: "As a youth, when you present a case and they (senior women) start saying 'yes, child,' just know that that is done. You have been patronized and now you are referred to as a child." Interview with Irene Ramatala, 2022.

324 Interview with Dr. Godisang Mookodi, 2022.

325 Interview with Wame Jallow, 2022.

326 Interview with Wame Jallow, 2022.

327 Interview with Anonymous, Gaborone, Botswana, conducted on May 21, 2022.

328 Interview with Dr. Ava Avalos, 2022.

329 Interview with Monalisa Danieli Mungure, 2022.

330 Interview with Monalisa Danieli Mungure, 2022.

331 Interview with Mandipa Machacha, 2022.

332 Interview with Mandipa Machacha, 2022.

333 Interview with Moitshepi Macheng, 2022.

334 Interview with Moitshepi Macheng, 2022.

335 Interview with Monalisa Danieli Mungure, 2022; Interview with Irene Ramatala, 2022.

336 Interview with Lorato Moalusi, 2022.

337 Interview with Lorato Moalusi, 2022.

338 Interview with Pusetso Morapedi, 2022.

339 Interview with Pusetso Morapedi, 2022.

340 Interview with Monalisa Danieli Mungure, 2022.

341 Interview with Irene Ramatala, 2022.

342 Interview with Monalisa Danieli Mungure, 2022.

343 Interview with Katlego Kolanyane-Kesupile, performance artist, musician, writer and LGBT activist in Botswana, conducted on May 31, 2022; Interview with Cindy Bigamoyo Kelemi, Executive Director of the Botswana Network on Ethics, Law and HIV/AIDs, conducted on May 31, 2022.

344 Interview with Monalisa Danieli Mungure, 2022.

345 Interview with Mandipa Machacha, 2022.

346 Interview with Anonymous, Gaborone, Botswana, conducted on May 21, 2022.

347 Interview with Lorato Moalusi, 2022; Interview with Dr. Godisang Mookodi, 2022.

348 Interview with Anna Chalmers, Programs Manager at the Southern African Litigation Centre, conducted on June 8, 2022.

349 Anneli Botha, "Chapter 3: Terrorism in Morocco," in *Terrorism in the Maghreb: The Transnationalization of Domestic Terrorism* (Institute for Security Studies, 2008), https://issafrica.org/chapter-3-terrorism-in-morocco.

350 Sabina Jelenc Krašovec and Marta Gregorcic, "Intergenerational Exchange of Knowledge, Skills, Values and Practices between Self-Organized Active Citizens in Maribor, Slovenia," *Australian Journal of Adult Learning* 57, no. 3 (November 2017): 402-420, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1163876.pdf.

351 Alan Hatton-Yeo and Clare Batty, "Evaluating the Contribution of Intergenerational Practice to Achieving Social Cohesion," in *Promoting Social Cohesion: Implications for Policy and Evaluation*, ed. Peter Ratcliffe and Ines Newman (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2011), https://academic.oup.com/policy-press-scholarship-online/book/16966/chapter-abstract/174253467?redirectedFrom=fulltext&login=true.

352 Anne Speckhard, *Women in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism* (UN Women, 2021), https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Field%20Office%20ECA/Attachments/Publications/2021/2/PVE_TrainingManual-min.pdf.

353 Ibid.

354 Hayat Zirari, "Women's Rights in Morocco: Assessment and Perspectives," *IEMed Mediterranean Yearbook 2010* (European Institute of the Mediterranean, 2010), https://www.iemed.org/publication/womens-rights-in-morocco-assessment-and-perspectives/.

355 "Promotion of Women's Rights," The Embassy of the Kingdom of Morocco to the USA, 2008, accessed April 21, 2023, https://themoroccanembassy.com/moroccan_embassy_human_rights_promotion.aspx.

356 "Gender Quotas Database | Morocco," International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, September 2022, https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas.

357 Samia Mouline, Onur Ozlu, and Lucas Herzog, "A Big Step Forward for Women's Leadership in Morocco," World Bank Blogs, January 19, 2022, https://blogs.worldbank.org/arabvoices/big-step-forward-womens-leadership-morocco.

358 United States Department of State, "2021 Report on International Religious Freedom: Morocco," in *2021 Report on International Religious Freedom* (Washington, DC: Office of International Religious Freedom, 2022), https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-report-on-international-religious-freedom/morocco/.

359 "The Mohammed VI Institute for the Training of Imams, Morchidines and Morchidates (Religious Preachers)," Mohammed VI Foundation of African Oulema, April 8, 2019, https://www.fm6oa.org/en/the-mohammed-vi-institute-for-the-training-of-imams-morchidines-and-morchidates-religious-preachers/.

360 Morocco," Africapolis, accessed November 21, 2022, https://africapolis.org/en/country-report/Morocco.

361 "The Mourchidates, the Mauritanian Women Religious Guides Responsible for Deconstructing Radical Discourse and Preventing Violent Extremism," United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime: West and Central Africa, accessed November 21, 2022, https://www.unodc.org/westandcentralafrica/en/westandcentralafrica/stories/2022/the-mourchidates--the-mauritanian-women-religious-guides.html.

362 Salim Hmimnat, "A New Generation of Imams in Morocco," Oasis International Foundation, June 26, 2020, https://www.oasiscenter.eu/en/a-new-generation-of-imams-in-morocco.

363 United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism, *Protecting Religious Sites from Terrorist Attacks: Good Practices Guide* (Global Programme on Countering Terrorist Threats against Vulnerable Targets, 2022), 36, https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/sites/www.un.org.counterterrorism/files/2118451e-vt-mod4-religious_sites_final-web.pdf.

364 Priyadarshini Sen, "The Moroccan School Training Women Imams to Combat Extremism," Religion Unplugged, August 10, 2020, https://religionunplugged.com/news/2020/5/1/moroccos-school-training-women-imams-to-combat-extremism.

365 Thyra Nast, "Mourchidates: Promoting a New Role in Islam for Women in Morocco and the Global Muslim Community" (unpublished capstone paper, American University, April 2010), 36, https://auislandora.wrlc.org/islandora/object/0910capstones%3A62/datastream/PDF/view.

366 Speckhard, *Women in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism*.

367 Ibid.

368 Similarly in Mauritania. See "The Mourchidates," UNODC.

369 Speckhard, *Women in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism*.

370 Jade Lévin, "The Next Generation of Imams Fighting for a French Islam," Religion Unplugged, November 26, 2020, https://religionunplugged.com/news/2020/11/25/the-next-generation-of-imams-fighting-for-a-french-islam.

371 Hmimnat, "A New Generation of Imams in Morocco."

372 Ibid.

373 "Involving Youth in Positive Youth Development," Youth.gov, accessed November 21, 2022, https://youth.gov/youth-topics/involving-youth-positive-youth-development; "Prevention of Violent Extremism through Youth Empowerment in Jordan, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia," UNESCO, August 12, 2020, https://en.unesco.org/preventing-violent-extremism/youth/project; USAID YouthPower, *Promising Practices in Engaging Youth in Peace and Security and P/CVE* (USAID YouthPower Learning, 2017), https://www.youthpower.org/sites/default/files/YouthPower/resources/Peace%20and%20Security%20Brief%209-21-17%20PRINT%20FINAL-OK.pdf.

374 Focus group with Mourchidates, ages 30-44, conducted online on June 30, 2022, translated by Youssra Biare.

375 Government of Canada, *Morocco: Brief History of the Berbers Including Their Origins and Geographic Location* (Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2000), https://www.refworld.org/docid/3df4be668.html.

376 Interview with a Mourchida from Salé, conducted online on July 1, 2022, translated by Youssra Biare.

377 World Bank, "Poverty in Morocco: Challenges and Opportunities," World Bank, 2014, accessed April 21, 2023, https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/559921523249877468/pdf/125040-WP-ENGLISH-PUBLIC-Poverty-in-Morocco-Summary-poverty-note.pdf.

378 This is based on January 2022 research conducted by Youssra Biare, drawing on data from the Moroccan Central Office of Judicial Research (Bureau Central d'Investigations Judiciaires).

379 Anita Orav, Rosamund Shreeves, and Anja Radjenovic, *Radicalisation and Counter-Radicalisation: A Gender Perspective* (European Parliamentary Research Service, European Parliament, 2018), https://www.europarl.europa.eu/EPRS/EPRS-Briefing-581955-Radicalisation-gender-perspective-rev-FINAL.pdf; Speckhard, *Women in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism*; Erin Marie Saltman and Ross Frenett, "Female Radicalization to ISIS and the Role of Women in CVE," in *A Man's World? Exploring the Roles of Women in Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism*, ed. Naureen Chowdhury Fink, Sara Zeiger, and Rafia Bhulai (Hedayah and Global Center, 2016), 142–63, https://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AMansWorld_FULL.pdf.

380 Aicha El Alaoui, Naicker Sigamoney, and Ambalika Dogra, "Students' Perception of Early School Leaving: A Moroccan Case Study," *Social Sciences & Humanities Open* 4, no. 1 (2021): 1-8, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2021.100203.

381 "The Rif of Morocco," Global Morocco Exploration, April 22, 2020, https://www.globalmoroccoexploration.com/the-rif-of-morocco_p225.html.

Photo Citations

Cover image: A scene from community discussions at the massive gathering in Pesantren Annuqqayah—one of the oldest Islamic boarding schools in the country—on how women contribute to peace in their communities Photographer: UN Women/ Ryan Brown, https://flic.kr/p/S3Gda6.

p. iv-v: 25 November 2010. El Fasher: Activities in El Negaa Stadium in El Fasher (North Darfur) to launch the 2010 Commemoration of the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence. Photographer: Albert Gonzalez Farran / UNAMID, https://flic.kr/p/9pwxmM.

p. vi: New schools and a clinic for Kuma Garadayat. Photographer: Albert Gonzalez Farran - UNAMID, https://flic.kr/p/bnvu1T.

p. 2: Women, Peace and Security - UN Security Council Open Debate, 2022 qt UN Headquarters in New York. Pictured: Zahra Nader, Afghan Canadian journalist. Photo: UN Women/Ryan Brown, https://www.flickr.com/photos/unwomen/52444093306/in/album-72177720303074834/.

p. 4: At the 1st National Meeting of the National Coordinator of Women (CONAMU), former women guerrilla fighters and women's rights organizations discussed how to foster dialogue and reconciliation to achieve gender equality and a sustainable peace. Photo: UN Women/Pedro Pi, https://www.flickr.com/photos/unwomen/52606408052/in/album-72177720304971095/.

November 2011. Dar El Salaam: UNAMID in collaboration with the North Darfur Committee on Women organizes an open day session on the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security in Dar El Salaam, North Darfur. Photographer: Albert Gonzalez Farran - UNAMID, https://flic.kr/p/aBMHRA.

Orange the World 2022 - Malawi. An inter-generational dialogue in Malawi united seasoned young activists, women's groups and chiefs to network, while more than 1,100 people participated in the national 16 Days launch, with traditional dances, poetry, theatre and a solidarity march led by the national police brass band. Photo: UN Women/Faith Mvula, https://www.flickr.com/photos/unwomen/52580327867/in/album-72177720303930711.

p. 8: BADAM DEVI. More than 1 million women have been elected to Panchayats, a system of local self-governance in India. Badam Devi (pictured right) is one of them, elected for the first time from Lahora village in Rajasthan's Tonk district. Photographer: UN Women/Anindit Roy-Chowdhury/ Ashutosh Negi, https://flic.kr/p/kTFLzD.

p. 10: SGP-GEF-UNDP Peru/Enrique Castro-Mendívil High Andean women. Alpaca photo essay. https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/12/1131982.

p. 12: Peace Café Adda on 16 Days of Activism: Cyber Security. Photographer: UN Women/ Md Murad Hasan, https://flic.kr/p/2o5rpCL.

p. 14: 5 December. 2013. El Fasher: Students of the Midwifery School and three technical schools for girls in El Fasher, North Darfur, and UNAMID staff members march together to commemorate the 16 Days of Activism against Gender Violence, organized by UNAMID Gender Unit. Photographer: Hamid Abdulsalam, UNAMID, https://flic.kr/p/i6St1a.

p. 17: UN Women staff visit the Territorial Space for Training and Reincorporation (ETCR) of Pondores (Colombia), a settlement created by the Government to facilitate the reincorporation of former FARC guerrilla members in the context of the 2016 Peace Agreement. Photo: UN Women/Pedro Pio., https://www.flickr.com/photos/unwomen/52607163824/in/album-72177720304971095/.

p. 22: A scene from community discussions at the massive gathering in Pesantren Annuqqayah—one of the oldest Islamic boarding schools in the country—on how women contribute to peace in their communities. Photographer: UN Women/Ryan Brown, https://flic.kr/p/2fPcu7x.

p. 23: 3 November 2011. Dar El Salaam: UNAMID in collaboration with the North Darfur Committee on Women organizes an open day session on the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security in Dar El Salaam, North Darfur. Photographer: Albert Gonzalez Farran - UNAMID, https://flic.kr/p/aBK6Ei.

p. 27-28: Women and their children watch the Darfur Drama actors perform at El Srief (North Darfur). This peacebuilding initiative is organized in part by UNDP, the African Union, the UN's Mission in Sudan and a number of other international and local partners. Photographer: UN/Albert Gonzalez Farran, https://dam.media.un.org/asset-management/2AM9LOYGPIFT.

p. 30: UN Women staff visit the Territorial Space for Training and Reincorporation (ETCR) of Pondores (Colombia), a settlement created by the Government to facilitate the reincorporation of former FARC guerrilla members in the context of the 2016 Peace Agreement. Photo: UN Women/Pedro Pio, https://www.flickr.com/photos/unwomen/52607163824/in/album-72177720304971095/.

p. 31: At the Global Open Day on Women and Peace in Nepal, Ram Maya Lamichhane of the National Network Against Domestic Violence represented one of a number of women advocating for increased women's representation in peace negotiations. Photographer: Photo: UNIFEM/Deependra Bajrachaya, https://flic.kr/p/8aJc8d.

p. 33: Afghan women leaders speak at the UN: "Give us a seat at the table." Photo: UN Women/ Amanda Voisard, https://www.flickr.com/photos/unwomen/51628777973/in/album-72157720080627837/.

p. 35: At the Global Open Day for Women and Peace in Gaza, women activists highlighted the impact of the humanitarian crisis and dire health situation on Gazan women and girls, the exacerbation of violence against women and economic despair in times of conflict and under siege, as well as the need for greater support to women's political participation. Photographer: UNIFEM/ Ventura Formicone, https://flic.kr/p/8iSLZx/.

p. 39-40: UN Women Humanitarian work - Za'atari Refugee Camp, Jordan. Photo: UN Women/Christopher Herwig, https://www.flickr.com/photos/unwomen/31136118343/in/album-72157662184095578/.

sandiego.edu/ipj
Download Report

@WomenPeaceMaker

@womenpeacemakers

Women PeaceMakers Program

University of San Diego | KROC SCHOOL Institute for Peace and Justice