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Queer feminist approaches:

- share understanding of the factors driving conflict

- highlight gender and SOGIESC impacts of violence

- recognise more complex realities beyond men as perpetrators and women and queer people as victims

- reject the instrumentalisation and co-optation of rights by actors who then deprioritise them when inconvenient

- expand definitions of peace and security

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QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY BELFAST

What is a Queer Feminist Analysis of Peace and Security?

Feminist and LGBTQIA rights activists have spent decades analysing conflict, addressing the differential impacts of violence, and influencing policy and practice at local, national, regional, and global levels. There has been some success stemming from these efforts, with certain movements becoming more intersectional, several humanitarian and peacebuilding organisations taking steps towards inclusivity, and talk of 'queering WPS' in policy-making spaces.

However, there is confusion around how women's and LGBTQIA rights intersect in conflict, if gender, peace, and security efforts should engage with LGBTQIA rights, and how to do so. Actors take an array of approaches, including contradictory ones, those that conflate gender with a male/female binary, and those that exclude women. There is disquiet over co-optation, instrumentalisation, dilution of movements, and concentration on cis gay men's realities (seen 'easier' to investigate and present in policy spaces). Moreover, focus on certain types of countries can occlude the reality that LGBTQIA people face security risks across a number of contexts.

This analytical framework combines the insights of feminist and queer activism and theory with regards to conflict, peace and security. While we intend it to be of relevance across varied contexts, given the expertise of those involved in developing it, we draw significantly from insights from Afghanistan, Colombia, Myanmar, Nepal, Nigeria, Northern Ireland, and Uganda. We stress the need for nuance and context specificity and hope it will be a useful resource that can be localised by activists and used to inform policy and programming. The framework consists of five key areas, which are presented in turn.

1. Queer feminist approaches share understanding of the factors driving conflict

They emphasise the importance of addressing the (gendered and SOGIESC) root causes of conflict, question who and what the security state protects, and show how state actions feed grievances.

Conflict analyses, including for women, peace and security initiatives,[1] underline how interplay between economic, social, political, and other factors trigger and sustain violence. Structural violence[2] and its supporting attitudes and beliefs contribute to conflict and its escalation. For example, empire and enslavement have lasting legacies including climate change, religious fundamentalisms, geopolitical power dynamics, and violence against LGBTQIA[3] people linked to colonial laws.[4] They also include ongoing exploitation of land and other resources to maximise profit for companies rather than peoples and continuing occupation and struggles for self-determination, as in Palestine and Western Sahara.

Gender and social exclusion are other key factors. As feminist activists and scholars alike have found, one of the best predictions of whether a country will experience internal and external conflict is its level of gender inequality.[5] This inequality, homophobia, societal violence, and risk of armed conflict are related.[6] Violence against women, girls, and queer people happens before, during and post-conflict. For example, Turkey has one of the highest rates of violence against women and girls,[7] cracks down on LGBTQIA activism,[8] and recently withdrew from the Istanbul Convention, arguing that its equality clause promoted LGBT rights and was a threat to the traditional family.[9] Concurrently, communities perceive violence against girls, women, and queer people as indicators that conflict is imminent or continuing, challenging assumptions about when conflict starts and stops.[10] Patriarchal gender norms also drive insecurity.[11] Certain gender (essentialist) identities framing men as protectors and breadwinners and women as vulnerable incentivise or shame men into joining armed groups.[12] Violence often widens existing inequalities and social exclusion, driving conflict further and leading to new forms of policing gender and SOGIESC.[13]

Moreover, state actions can heighten violence. Governments often take approaches to power seen as 'masculine,' considering it a finite resource requiring coercion, domination, and force. They prioritise the continuation of the regime, economic interests (like those of mining companies), and issues such as immigration, instead of human security. Non-violent concerns and demands are routinely not taken seriously. Governments aiming to crush dissent through militaristic and heavy-handed responses rather than tackle root causes or negotiate solutions also shrink civic space.[14] Security personnel and peacekeepers can harm rather than protect,[15] creating or increasing anger and discontent which is used by armed groups to recruit and ensure population support.[16] Nevertheless, many actors continue to assume that security forces are forms of 'good' that need reform rather than fundamental, root and branch change. The focus of post-conflict reconstruction, including gendered approaches, often prioritises passing or amending laws, rather than their implementation and governmental and societal transformation. Outsourcing of security responsibilities to private companies, such as the Wagner Group, and community militias, frays accountability, leads to more impunity for abuses, and further exposes the mismatch between conflict dynamics and state responses to them.[17]

2. Queer feminist approaches highlight gender and SOGIESC impacts of violence

They pay attention to how harms can be similar <u>and</u> different based on gender and SOGIESC, the abuses perpetrated by security personnel, and the ways conflict shifts norms.

People of all genders and SOGIESC are affected by conflict in similar ways. Their education, healthcare, other services, and livelihoods are disrupted or destroyed. They are displaced, injured, left with lifelong disabilities, raped, traumatised, and killed. Yet, men of 'fighting age' in many contexts tend to be more at risk of arbitrary arrest, detention, extrajudicial killing, and (forced) recruitment into fighting due to gender norms that mean they are seen as a resource or a threat. Conversely, women can be left behind to negotiate safety and wellbeing with combatants and find how to keep their families fed, sheltered, and secure. The lesser access to power, resources, and social networks of many girls, women, queer people, minoritised boys and men, people with disabilities, and others subjected to discrimination and social exclusion also means they find it more difficult to escape violence and to rebuild their lives, particularly if subjected to multiple forms of discrimination.[18] As a result, they can be more at

risk of sexual exploitation and negative coping strategies, such as restricting food intake. Queer people, who may have weaker social networks especially if their SOGIESC is known, are particularly affected by displacement and separation from supportive friends and family.[19]

Girls, women and queer people also face additional harms. Queer girls and women may be more at risk of being forced into (early) marriages against their will, given their lack of economic prospects and to hide their SOGIESC.[20] Armed groups and state security forces differ but, even in contexts with significant numbers of women in combat roles, women members can be treated differently to men and queer people may have to hide their identity due to discriminatory treatment and violence. For example, paramilitary groups in Colombia were more prone to use sexual violence to control civilians and usually banned queer people from their ranks, whereas insurgent groups tended to have participation of women in relatively similar conditions to men but enforced contraception and abortions.[21] People who engage in sex work and survival sex can face financial precarity, stigma, and violence, particularly if clients are of the same gender.[22] Intersex people require targeted support, often missing, that addresses their specific experiences and needs.[23] Displaced and refugee women and queer people may be more vulnerable to gossip, surveillance, and restricted movement due to increased numbers of people and concerns for safety and virtue.[24] Militias created or adapted to protect communities can police morality.[25] As a result, girls, women and queer people can face increased pressure to conform to gender stereotypes, social isolation, and violence. Forced displacement can also deprive queer people of their ethnic and cultural background, deepening isolation, forcing them to confront ethnic, racial, and gendered discrimination, and exacerbating need for targeted mental health support, including for transgender and gender diverse communities.[26]

In addition, even in contexts of relative peace, girls, women, queer people, and excluded men have been subjected to both violence and lack of adequate response from security actors. In Nigeria, police officers engage in mass arrests and extortion, including of queer people,[27] and soldiers have perpetrated sexual violence.[28] Soldiers in Myanmar arrested, publicly stripped, detained, and tortured a trans woman in Sagaing region.[29] Since the takeover of the Taliban in Afghanistan, LGBTQIA people have received public punishments by courts and been raped, killed, and tortured by the Taliban, their supporters, and their relatives, and women have been banned them from work, education, and travel.[30] In Europe and North America, police forces have been found to be institutionally racist, misogynistic and/or homophobic.[31] In addition, people from excluded groups are often not believed or are otherwise revictimised by law and justice processes, leading to lack of trust in state institutions and reluctance to come forward.[32] Women and LGBTQIA human rights defenders face the same risks and violations as male colleagues (such as surveillance, arbitrary detention, torture, and assassination) plus additional risks (for example sexual abuse, domestic violence, and attacks on their reputation from family, colleagues, and the state).[33]

Finally, periods of conflict are times of shifting and contested norms. Many men are killed or detained, engage in fighting, or are unable to engage in livelihood activities so there is often an increase in women's roles, responsibilities, and decision-making. However, while realities may have shifted, norms take longer to transform. There can be significant backlash, with women forced into mostly domestic roles. Norms can be shifted by violence in other ways too, as shown by how colonising powers fixed ethnic identities and tried to enforce gender and SOGIESC norms that mirrored those of their own societies.[34] Not only did these powers overwrite the diversity of pre-colonial attitudes and practices but they also erased them, making it difficult for activists to trace back these histories.

3. Queer feminist approaches recognise more complex realities beyond men as perpetrators and women and queer people as victims

They highlight how gender, SOGIESC, and other factors influence the roles people play in conflict but refuse essentialism and the tokenism often attached to representation of marginalised groups without transformation of power.

Emphasis on women, children, queer people, and people with disabilities as (only) objects of concern can deny their agency while that on (cis, straight, non-disabled) men as perpetrators ignores their vulnerability. Entire groups can be 'feminised' in this way, such as the reduction of indigenous or racialised groups to singular identity markers such as their healing qualities.[35] In reality, people's lives do not fit these categories. The same person can be

bystander, peacebuilder, perpetrator, and victim, as shown by the mothers demanding news of disappeared family members in Argentina and Sri Lanka, children recruited and used by armed groups in Myanmar, Sudan, and Yemen, and women who saved people at risk of violence but face exclusion from mainstream rescue narratives in Rwanda and Nigeria.[36] Women urge and shame men to fight, buy weapons, and enable and commit ethnic cleansing, genocide, and war crimes[37] while LGBTQIA people take homonationalist positions that perpetuate nationalist and racist ideologies and violence.[38] Yet, how women and queer people drive violence is mostly not addressed. Indeed, having women or minorities in positions of power can be used to mask overly militaristic approaches and human rights abuses.

There are consequences to these simplistic narratives. Men who engage in violence dominate mediation and peace agreements while women are excluded, tokenised, and their peacebuilding work seen as apolitical community-based care work. While inclusion programmes yield some results, increased numbers have not led to transformation of power structures with the approaches proposed by feminists and LGBTQIA rights activists often ignored or diluted. For example, processes supporting people exiting armed groups often give more emphasis to men, seen as heroes and/ or dangerous.[39] Skills training options reflect stereotypes, with women who played important combat and other roles directed towards sewing, make-up and hairdressing while men are trained as carpenters or electricians.[40] Former leaders who engaged in brutality are often rewarded with positions of power to end the violence. These choices further increase inequalities and affect the participation and access to public spaces of girls, women and queer people.

4. Queer feminist approaches reject the instrumentalisation and co-optation of rights by actors who then deprioritise them when inconvenient

They critique how women's and queer liberation are prioritised, co-opted, and instrumentalised when aligned with geopolitical objectives but dismissed when they no longer serve.

Feminists and queer activists draw attention to the incomplete nature of inclusive and/or feminist foreign and development policies. Concern for human rights in countries aligned to economic and other interests is different compared with others. States are permitted to use violence whereas communities experiencing appropriation of their land by logging, mining and other extractive industries supported by their governments cannot. Arms producing countries transfer weapons to abusive regimes who commit violations, including against girls, women and queer people.[41] Levels of military spending increase while funding for public services is cut and donor countries redirect development funding to military assistance.[42] Sanctions are pursued regardless of their effects on the already most marginalised, their erosion of women's leadership and feminist activism, and how they enhance the doubling down of militarised approaches by the (mostly) men in power.[43]

There are also historical continuities between how gender and SOGIESC are mobilised for other purposes. European powers used a civilising mission that reduced the power and status of women, constructed gender binaries, and imposed heteronormativity to justify colonisation, occupation, and natural resource extraction.[44] Likewise, countries today, such as India in Kashmir[45] and the USA and UK in Afghanistan,[46] partially justify military action with reference to 'saving women' while Israel engages in pink- and purple-washing to detract from criticism over its human rights and humanitarian law violations.[47]

Finally, this attention on rights is inconsistent. It depends on donor agendas, domestic politics, and whether anti-rights sentiments are in ascendance. The USA and its allies left Afghanistan after two decades, knowing the implications of a return to Taliban rule for girls, women and queer people.[48] Despite national and global support for the #BringBackOurGirls campaign, girls and women abducted and forced into marriages in northeast Nigeria find it difficult to leave them due to fear that facilitating divorces will push former combatant husbands to return to fighting.[49] Abortion and LGBTQIA rights were considered disruptive to the Northern Ireland peace process, with several attempts to liberalise abortion law blocked from 1972 to 2019[50] and homophobic paramilitary violence positioned as somehow less serious.[51] In the context of protracted conflicts, previous gains have to be constantly defended. In Colombia, recent discussions around the government-led 'Total Peace' policy have, once again, forced feminist and queer organisations to push for (re)conceptualising security through the realities of women and queer people, leading to exhaustion as efforts at inclusion

seem never-ending.[52] Indeed, the rights of women, queer people, and other marginalised groups are all too often disregarded, seen as the collateral damage or price to pay for (a partial) peace.

5. Queer feminist approaches expand definitions of peace and security

They state that conflict and peace are not binary categories given continuities of violence against girls, women and LGBTQIA people, the significant violence present in 'post-conflict' societies, and the level of everyday and structural violence.

Ceasefires and peace agreements do not mean an end to violence, especially for girls, women, and queer people. Continued community tensions can fray social bonds, with root causes of conflict persisting but under-addressed. For example, post-conflict societies may have higher rates of domestic violence as former combatants return home, struggle to cope, and face war-related mental health crises.[53]

A holistic understanding of peace and security also needs to include the everyday interpersonal, familial, community and state violence that girls, women and queer people in particular experience in private and public spaces.[54] The failure of the Colombian peace agreement referendum due to its perceived links with 'gender ideology,' recent anti-homosexuality legislative efforts in Ghana, Kenya, and Uganda, and the curtailing of abortion, trans, and intersex rights in the USA are some examples of how anti-rights movements erode rights, with repercussions for democracy, peace, and safety.[55]

As activists have argued for decades, peace means freedom from: discriminatory laws and policies; harassment, intersex medical interventions, and other attacks on bodily autonomy; shackling and other abuses against people with disabilities; intimate partner and domestic violence; and repercussions for transgressing gender and SOGIESC norms – in times of relative peace and conflict. It also means fundamental shifts in relations between peoples and their states . After all, conflict-affected people often define peace holistically to include good governance and infrastructure, enough food for the household, access to education, healthcare, and other public services, and an absence of violence inside and outside the home. [56]

Conclusion

The ideas presented in this framework reflect decades of feminist and queer thought and action that have also made the case that we must:

1) Tackle the root causes of violence (incorporating patriarchal norms, gender inequality, and social exclusion - including but not restricted to SOGIESC), transform security forces, and find new ways of handling conflict, including upstream prevention;

2) Support individuals and communities to prevent, reduce and recover from conflict-related harms and adjust to new gender and SOGIESC realities and norms to mitigate the likelihood of backlash;

3**) Move beyond tokenism and stereotypes** to recognise the range of roles people of all genders and SOGIESC play in driving violence <u>and</u> peace, and ensure transformative participation of women's and LGBTQIA rights groups;

4) End the instrumentalisation and co-optation of human rights and instead support human rights defenders and deliver foreign and development policies that are truly inclusive and feminist in practice as well as on paper; and

5) Reimagine governance and societal relations to move towards: effective implementation of laws and policies that protect minoritised groups; equitable and safe access to education, healthcare, and other public services; justice, fairness, and practices of care; redistribution of resources; and shifting gender, SOGIESC and other discriminatory and exclusionary norms.

Endnotes

[1] The women, peace and security agenda is a framework for implementing a gender perspective in peace and security. It includes 10 UN Security Council Resolutions, starting with Resolution 1325 in 2000.
[2] The injustice, inequality, and exploitation that lead to different opportunities and outcomes.
[3] The acronym LGBTQIA (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, intersex, and asexual) has come to be used to describe those of diverse sexual orientations, gender identities and expressions, and sex characteristics (SOGIESC) considered non-normative. Alternatively, the term queer is used. We acknowledge that these terms developed in European and North American contexts and do not fully reflect histories and realities elsewhere. Given the lack of alternatives that transcend geographical contexts, we will use these terms interchangeably in this paper.
[4] United Nations General Assembly, 'Report of the Independent Expert on protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, Victor Madrigal-Borloz,' A/78/227, (2023).
[5] C. Cockburn, 'Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War: A Feminist Standpoint,' (2020) 12(2) *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 139–157; V. Hudson et al, *Sex and World Peace*, (Columbia University Press, 2012).
[6] A. Ekvall, 'Gender Inequality, Homophobia and Violence: The Three Pillars of Patriarchal Norms and Attitudes, and their Relations, PhD thesis,' (University of Antwerp, 2019).
[7] According to official government figures, around four in ten women are subjected to physical and/ or sexual violence during their lives: Ministry of Family and Social Policies and Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 'Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey,' (2015).
[8] Y. Smallens, 'Turkey's LGBT Crackdown is About Silencing All Opposition,' *Al Araby,* 2 August 2022.
[9] Amnesty International, 'Turkey's Withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention Rallies the Fight for Women's Rights Across the World,' *Amnesty International News*, 1 July 2021.
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[12] S. Herbert, 'Links between Women's Empowerment (or Lack Of) and Outbreaks of Violent Conflict,' *GSDRC Helpdesk Report*, (2014).
[13] Colombia Diversa, 'Orders of Prejudice: Systematic Crimes Committed Against LGBT People in the Colombian Armed Conflict,' (2021); A. Bhagat, 'Queer Global Displacement: Social Reproduction, Refugee Survival, and Organised Abandonment in Nairobi, Cape Town, and Paris,' (2023) 55 *Antipode* 1517-1537; Human Rights Watch, "They Treated Us in Monstrous Ways": Sexual Violence Against Men, Boys, and Transgender Women in the Syrian Conflict, (2020).
[14] CIVICUS Monitor, 'Tracking Civic Space,' available at: https://monitor.civicus.org/globalfindings_2023/, last visited 16.01.2024.
[15] For example: Human Rights Watch, 'Mali: New Atrocities by Malian Army, Apparent Wagner Fighters,' (2023); Amnesty International, 'Investigate Alleged Rape and Killing of Two Kachin Women,' ASA 16/006/2015, (2015); S. Razack, '"From the 'Clean Snows of Petawawa": The Violence of Canadian Peacekeepers in Somalia,' (2000) 15(1) *Cultural Anthropology* 127–63; M. Nilsson and L. González Marín, 'Violent Peace: Local Perceptions of Threat and Insecurity in Post-Conflict Colombia,' (2019) 27(2) *International Peacekeeping* 238–262.
[16] T.A. Benjaminsen and B. Ba, 'Why do Pastoralists in Mali Join Jihadist Groups? A Political Ecological Explanation,' (2018) 46(1) *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 1-20.
[17] Lawyer and human rights defender Maxim Krupskiy has been documenting how this is unfolding in Russia: M. Krupskiy, 'Kennan Cable No. 92: Russian "Foreign Agents" Scenario: From the Weaponization of Transparency to Public Discrimination,' *Wilson Center*, June 2024.
[18] For example, civilians with disabilities in Gaza face greater difficulties fleeing their homes and accessing humanitarian aid, children with disabilities in Syria face heightened risk during attacks and lack of access to basic support services, and older people are subjected to violence by armed opposition groups and state forces alike in northeast Nigeria: Human Rights Watch, 'Gaza: Israeli Attacks, Blockade Devastating to People with Disabilities,' (2023); Human Rights Watch, '"It Was Really Hard to Protect Myself": Impact of the Armed Conflict in Syria on Children with Disabilities,' (2022); Amnesty International, '"My Heart is in Pain": Older People's Experiences of Conflict, Displacement, and Detention in Northeast Nigeria,' AFR 44/3376/2020, (2020).
[19] For example, see C. Nagarajan, 'Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer and Intersex Realities in Northeast Nigeria,' (TIERs, 2022).
[20] For example, in Afghanistan, Madina, a 25-year-old intersex woman, received a growing number of threats from people who knew or suspected she was intersex when the Taliban returned to power in 2021. Her mother decided to arrange a marriage, hoping it would protect her. When her new husband discovered she was intersex, he began to beat her daily, forced her to sleep in the cowshed, took her jewellery, and deprived her of food: B. Paigham, J.L. Feder, and anonymous Afghan researcher, 'A Mountain on My Shoulders: 18 Months of Taliban Persecution of LGBTIQ Afghans,' (Outright International, 2023).
[21] Colombia Diversa, '¿Quién nos va a contar? Informe para la Comisión de la Verdad sobre experiencias de personas LGBT en el conflicto armado colombiano,' (2021); Colombian Constitutional Court, Judgment SU-599, 2019.
[22] Colombia Diversa, '¿Quién nos va a contar? Informe para la Comisión de la Verdad sobre experiencias de personas LGBT en el conflicto armado colombiano,' (2021); Global Network of Sex Work Projects, 'Briefing Paper: The Homophobia and Transphobia Experienced by LGBT Sex Workers,' (NSWP and M-Pact, 2018).
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[24] C. Nagarajan, D. Amanyire, and T. Kakal, 'Research for Change: Assessing Responses to the Needs of Survivors of Sexual Violence in Humanitarian Settings. Findings from Borno State, Nigeria,' (KIT and Save the Children, 2022); C. Nagarajan, 'Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer and Intersex Realities in Northeast Nigeria' (TIERs, 2021).
[25] Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica (Colombia), 'Aniquilar la diferencia: lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y transgeneristas en el conflicto armado colombiano,' (2015).
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[27] M. Sule, 'Different Agendas, One Goal: How Nigerians United to #EndSARS,' *Al Jazeera*, 18 November 2020; The Initiative for Equal Rights, 2022 Human Rights Violations Report, (TIERs, 2022).
[28] Amnesty International, 'They Took Our Husbands and Forced Us to be Their Girlfriends: Women in North-East Nigeria Starved and Raped by Those Claiming to Rescue Them,' AFR 44/9122/2018, (2018).
[29] Correspondence with Myanmar based activist, March 2024.
[30] B. Paigham, J.L. Feder, and anonymous Afghan researcher, 'A Mountain on My Shoulders: 18 Months of Taliban Persecution of LGBTIQ Afghans,' (Outright International, 2023); F. Abbasi et al, 'An Avenue to Justice for Afghan Women: Bringing a CEDAW Case before the International Court of Justice,' (2024) *Cambridge Journal of Law, Politics and Art*.
[31] For example from the United Kingdom, please see: L. Casey, 'An Independent Review into the Standards of Behaviour and Internal Culture of the Metropolitan Police Service,' (2023).
[32] Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition (Colombia), 'My Body is the Truth: Experiences of Women and LGBTQ+ People in the Armed Conflict,' (2022).
[33] Please see the work of the Women Human Rights Defenders International Coalition for more information, available at: https://www.defendingwomen-defendingrights.org/about/, last visited 13.05.2024.
[34] A. Saini, *The Patriarchs: How Men Came to Rule*, (Fourth Estate, 2024).
[35] Ibid.

[36]Amnesty International, 'Argentina: The Right to the Full Truth,' AI Index AMR 13/03/95, (1995); Human Rights Watch, 'Sri Lanka: Families of 'Disappeared' Persecuted,' *HRW website*, 29 August 2024; United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, 'Secretary General's Report on Children and Armed Conflict,' A/77/895-S/2023/363, (2023); C. Nagarajan, *The World Was In Our Hands: Voices from the Boko Haram Conflict*, (Cassava Republic Press, 2024); S.E Brown, *Gender and the Genocide in Rwanda: Women as Rescuers and Perpetrators*, (Routledge, 2018).

[37]I. Steflja and J.T. Darden, *Women as War Criminals: Gender, Agency, and Justice*, (Stanford University Press, 2020); T. Thylin, 'Violence, Toleration, or Inclusion? Exploring Variation in the Experiences of LGBT Combatants in Colombia,' (2020) 23(3) *Sexualities* 445-464; S.E Brown, *Gender and the Genocide in Rwanda: Women as Rescuers and Perpetrators*, (Routledge, 2018).

[38]J. Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, (Duke University Press, 2007).

[39]For example, despite women's equality being an explicit goal of the PAIGC, women who had fought for liberation from Portuguese rule in Guinea Bissau needed to produce two male former fighters as witnesses to their participation to be allocated post independence stipends. They were not supported by the veterans' affairs department, were excluded from the new national army while most male veterans were accepted into it, and struggled financially: A. Ly, 'Gendered Patterns of Migration and Changing Gender Relations in Guinea Bissau,' in P. Chabal and T. Green (eds), *Guinea Bissau: Micro State to 'Narco State,'* (Hurst, 2016).

[40]For example in Sri Lanka and Colombia: N. Gowrinathan, *Radicalizing Her: Why women choose violence?*, (Beacon Press, 2020); A.M. Barrera-Téllez, 'Mujeres excombatientes y transformación de conflictos: paradojas de la construcción de la paz en la lucha armada,' (2018) *La Manzana de la Discordia* 21-39.

[41]Article 6(3) of the Arms Trade Treaty 2014 prohibits arms transfers if a State Party has knowledge at the time of authorisation that they 'would be used in the commission of genocide, crimes against humanity, grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, attacks directed against civilian objects or civilians protected as such, or other war crimes.' There have been a number of legal challenges to the legality of arms transfers, for example from the UK to Saudi Arabia in 2016 and from Denmark, the Netherlands, UK, and USA to Israel in 2023.

[42]PeaceWomen has reported on this through their #MovetheMoney campaign, raising awareness about how WPS initiatives continue to be underfunded even while military funding increases: http://www.peacewomen.org/WPS-Financing, last visited 05.10.2024.

[43]A.C. Drury and D. Peksen, 'Women and Economic Statecraft: The Negative Impact International Economic Sanctions Visit on Women,' (2014) 20(2) *European Journal of International Relations* 463-490. For sanctions' impacts on Iran, see https://www.rethinkingiran.com/life-under-sanctions.

[44]M. Lugones, "Toward a Decolonial Feminism." (2010) 25(4) *Hypatia*, 742–59; UN Independent Expert on Protection Against Violence and Discrimination based on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity, 'The Impact of Colonialism in Violence and Discrimination based on SOGI (Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity,' A/78/227, (2023).

[45]S. Kazi, 'Women, Gender Politics, and Resistance in Kashmir' (2022) 18(1) *Socio-Legal Review* 95.

[46]For reflections on this history, see: N.N. Archer, 'Don't Use Girls as Justification for Bombing Afghanistan, again,' *openDemocracy*, 17 August 2021.

[47]Pinkwashing and purplewashing describe practices whereby companies or countries proclaim their support for LGBTQIA or women's rights respectively as a public relations exercise and to distract attention from human rights violations they commit. For a Palestinian perspective, please see: E. Freedman, '"Queerness is Part of Palestinian Culture. We've Existed Forever,"' *972 magazine*, 18 January 2023.

[48]Z. Taj, 'The Cost of U.S. Withdrawal From Afghanistan: "Get Ready. The Taliban Are Coming,"' *Ms Magazine*, 3 May 2021.

[49]Interviews conducted in Maiduguri, Nigeria by Chitra Nagarajan, December 2020 and June 2023.

[50]S. Sheldon, J. O'Neill, C. Parker, and G. Davis, '"Too Much, too Indigestible, too Fast"? The Decades of Struggle for Abortion Law Reform in Northern Ireland,' (2020) 83(4) *The Modern law Review* 761-796; C. Pierson, 'One Step Forwards, Two Steps Back: Women's Rights 20 Years after the Good Friday Agreement,' (2018) 71(2) *Parliamentary Affairs*, 461–481.

[51]M. Duggan, (2017). 'Lost in Transition? Sexuality and Justice in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland,' (2017) 68 *The Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly* 159-80.

[52]Corporación de Investigación y Acción Social y Económica–CIASE, Corporación SISMA Mujer, Colombia Diversa, Colectivo de Pensamiento y Acción: Mujeres Paz y Seguridad, 'Miradas feministas para transformar la seguridad Aportes para el diseño de una política de desmantelamiento de organizaciones y conductas criminales que atentan contra la defensa de los derechos humanos y la construcción de paz integral en Colombia,' (2022).

[53]S. Cowlishaw et al, 'Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in Military and Veteran Populations: A Systematic Review of Population-Based Surveys and Population Screening Studies,' (2022) 19(14) *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 8853.

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[55]J.F. Serrano Amaya, 'La Tormenta Perfecta: ideología de género y articulación de Públicos,' (Centro Latino-Americano em Sexualidade e Direitos Humanos, 2017); A. Okech, 'Uganda's anti-homosexuality law is a patriarchal backlash against progress,' *The Conversation*, 31 May 2023; L. Osei and N. Kahungi, 'Legislating Identity: A Critical Analysis of the Anti-LGBT Bills in Kenya and Ghana,' *Jurist*, 23 April 2024; National Women's Law Center, 'Our Bodies, Our Futures: Connecting Abortion Rights and Trans and Intersex Rights,' (2022).

[56]While men were more likely to associate peace with the absence of formal conflict, and the stability of governance and infrastructure, women tend to have a broader perspective which included enough food for the household, access to healthcare and education, and an absence of violence in the home: ActionAid, IDS, and Womankind, 'From the Ground Up: Women's Roles in Local Peacebuilding in Afghanistan, Liberia, Nepal, Pakistan and Sierra Leone,' (2012).