



IGARAPÉ INSTITUTE

think connect transform



Policy Brief

Gender and Mediation in Guinea-Bissau: The Group of Women Facilitators

Adriana Erthal Abdenur, Igarapé Institute



Policy Brief

Gender and Mediation Group of Women Facilitators

Adriana Erthal Abdenur, Igarapé Institute¹

Key Recommendations

- Identify the challenges and opportunities inherent to participating in the Group of Women Mediators (GMF) and how hurdles could be overcome.
- Ensure the personal safety of the group's current and prospective members and support ways to make it feasible for the women to participate on an ongoing basis.
- Support and encourage the safe documentation of the GMF activities.
- Promote stronger linkages to other women's groups in Guinea-Bissau, including the Network of Women Mediators and the Network of Parliamentary Women (Rede de Mulheres Parlamentares, RMP).
- Strengthen links to regional organizations such as WIPNET and ECOWAS and to global institutions such as the UN, especially via the UNWomen, DPA, and UNIOGBIS, focusing on capacity-building, knowledge-sharing, and drawing lessons learned.
- Promote South-South cooperation on mediation and facilitation by creating links to other women's groups elsewhere in Africa, including other Lusophone countries.

Introduction

On July 10, 2017, the President of Guinea Bissau, José Mário Vaz, met politician Domingos Simões Pereira, who had served as Prime Minister from 2014 to August 2015. Although Pereira remained head of the country's major political party, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cabo Verde (PAIGC), he had been dismissed (along with the entire cabinet) by the president in August 2015 during a power struggle between the two men. In a public statement, Vaz had justified the dismissal by referring to a "breach of trust." For two years following this event, Vaz and Pereira had refused to speak to each other over differences regarding the implementation of the Conakry Accord, which sought to address some of the root causes of the country's recurring political instability. Given the personal acrimony involved, as well as political differences, the meeting between Vaz and Pereira came as something of a surprise to observers. Yet behind the scenes, a small group of women facilitators had worked intensely for months to bring the two men in the same room. The meeting resulted from their persistent yet discreet efforts to help lessen tensions around the impasse by promoting dialogue among the key actors.

This policy brief addresses the origins and development of the Group of Women Facilitators (*Grupo de Mulheres Facilitatoras* - GMF), focusing on the period from May to November 2017. Although the brief does not offer a systematic evaluation of the initiative, the general impact of the GMF during these six months on the Conakry Agreement debates and, more broadly, on Guinea-Bissau's political scene are assessed in light of the objectives the group set out for itself in May. The analysis draws on a combination of desk review of policy documents from the Guinea-Bissau government, major international organizations such as the UN and ECOWAS, and civil society entities in Guinea-Bissau, as well as semi-structured interviews with group members and other stakeholders carried out in Bissau in November 2017.

While the GMF does not represent a panacea to the country's recurring instability, it offers a promising if incipient innovation in conflict prevention in Guinea-Bissau. By opening up a space for women to facilitate dialogue at the highest levels, the GMF has established new channels of communication that may not only benefit the Conakry process, but also promote greater political inclusiveness. If adequately supported by national and international actors, the GMF may contribute towards the prevention of future political instability and violence in Guinea-Bissau. In this sense, the GWF seems well aligned with calls within the UN and ECOWAS to address the root causes of instability in Guinea-Bissau and to promote the Women, Peace and Security Agenda that has emerged out of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000).

The brief is structured in the following manner. First, some background is provided on the role of women in Guinea-Bissau society and politics. Next, the formation and evolving strategy of the GWF is analyzed against the backdrop of the Women, Peace and Security agenda as it has evolved within the UN, African Union (AU), and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The last part of the text offers a series of recommendations on how international actors can support the initiative so as to help ensure its continuity and effectiveness and possibly to broaden its scope and positive impact on Guinea-Bissau's political scene.



"Toca-toca" (minibuses) street, November 14, 2017. Bissau, Guinea-Bissau. Photo: Beatriz Bechelli

Women in Guinea-Bissau's Society and Politics The Women, Peace and Security Agenda and Peace Processes

The role of the GWF in Guinea-Bissau is relevant to the broader national and global agenda on Women, Peace and Security, and especially as it relates to the emergence of networks of women mediators. Although women are affected by conflict in specific and often disproportionate ways, they remain severely underrepresented in peace negotiations and major political processes designed to address political instability or resolve armed conflict. Recognizing this underrepresentation and the missed opportunities that it generates—namely, that of promoting a more lasting and inclusive peace—in the UN has promoted the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. The landmark UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) built on efforts launched during the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women to broadly acknowledge that, far from "just" victims, women play a multitude of roles in conflict, and therefore also constitute key political agents in the prevention and resolution of conflict.

Several other UN resolutions—including 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), and 1960 (2010) have called on the international community to pay greater attention to how gender shapes conflict and its resolution, including the recognition that women are indispensible to attaining lasting peace. Since Resolution 1325, over two decades of efforts have been implemented so as to promote the meaningful participation of women in peace process around the world. UNWomen, for instance, has carried out a wide gamut of capacity-building, knowledge-sharing, best practices documentation, network-formation, and other efforts meant to empower women and girls in conflict-affected settings. Other UN divisions have also become more proactive in related efforts. The Department of Political Affairs (DPA), for example, features a subdivision devoted to gender, and the Standby Mediation Team always has at least one gender expert. The department has also issued a document, the 2017 "Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies," that promotes the principles and channels for boosting the meaningful role of gender in conflict resolution. At the same time, the more than thirty funds, programmes, agencies and other bodies that form the UN system have come to incorporate and/or mainstream into their initiatives in ways that are directly relevant to populations in conflict-affected settings. However, this agenda has moved forward in a slow and often piecemeal fashion, and the UN has been criticized for dragging its heels in incorporating more women in mediation and other conflict prevention roles.

Despite these challenges, the Women, Peace and Security Agenda has shaped norms and practices in other organizations and at a variety of levels. The African Union (AU), in particular, has launched several new initiatives meant to promote this agenda throughout the continent. As part of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), the Peace and Security Department (PSD) has adopted the Gender, Peace and Security Programme (2015-2020)², which seeks to mainstream gender by taking into account women's and men's experiences and potential in building secure and stable societies. The African Union Commission (AUC) has also appointed a Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security tasked with ensuring that the voices of women in conflict situations are heard and that they play a role in resolution. In 2016, the AU launched FemWise, the Network of African Women in Conflict Prevention and Mediation, which is tasked with deploying women mediators around the continent as well as providing strategic advocacy, capacity building, and networking for making peace-making in Africa more inclusive³.

As part of this agenda, the AU also works in close partnership with other multilateral organizations in Africa, including the Regional Economic Communities (RECs)—including ECOWAS in West Africa—and Regional Mechanisms (RMs). ECOWAS has a Gender and Development Center (GDC) which, despite not being focused on peace and security issues, has developed an agenda on gender equality that is relevant in addressing conflict drivers related to social exclusion, especially that of women. For instance, in 2010 the GDC partnered with a variety of organizations—the United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA), the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET), and the Alliance for Migration, Leadership and Development (AMLD) to organize a conference and publish a related report mapping good practices in West Africa for gender in the security sector.

Both as a direct result of these normative frameworks and organizational mechanisms and independently of them, some recent innovations have appeared in women's participation in peace processes around Africa. In the civil war that devastated Liberia from 1989 and 1999, women played a part in the process that yielded the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2003) and in rebuilding the country. A number of innovative conflict prevention mechanisms have emerged out of the peace process there, notably the Women's Situation Room model (Limo 2017). In South Sudan, an umbrella coalition of 75 civil society organizations, the South Sudanese Network for Democracy & Elections (SSUNDE), has promoted inclusive democratic processes as part of its agenda for transparent and democratic elections. Support from organizations like the UN and the AU, as well as RECs and RMs, have boosted continuity in certain homegrown efforts to promote the role of women in mediation and conflict prevention more broadly. In all of these efforts to promote the women, peace and security agenda, network-creation—whether at the local, national or international level—has emerged as a key strategy in ensuring that women's voices are heard in conflict prevention efforts. It is against this backdrop, and within the context of Bissau-Guinean society in particular, that the GWF has emerged.

The Role of Women in Guinea-Bissau Society and Politics

Historically, women in Guinea-Bissau have been limited to traditional roles in and around the domestic sphere, bearing the brunt of family responsibilities and often the expenses of caring for children and other relatives. Women and children have been especially affected by the country's extremely high poverty rates. Guinea-Bissau consistently ranks among the poorest countries on the planet; its HDI index (0.424) places is 178th among the countries surveyed by UNDP. Guinea-Bissau's GNI (2011 PPP\$) per capita is USD\$1,369, and life expectancy at birth is 55.5 years⁴.

Due to the precariousness of state institutions and discriminatory practices, women in Guinea-Bissau also have severely limited access to public services, when these are available. Literacy rates, already high nation-wide, are particularly high among women. Girls tend to drop out of school early, often in preparation for early marriage. Accordingly, their opportunities for labor market participation are constrained, and they must resort to informal activities such as smallscale commerce or shelling cashew nuts. This precariousness is particularly glaring because women in Guinea-Bissau are often heads of households. In addition, women in Guinea-Bissau are disproportionately victims of human rights abuses including sexual violence, workplace discrimination, and child and forced marriage⁵. Despite a 2011 law banning the practice, it is estimated that 48% of the country's female population has been subjected to female genital mutilation and cutting (FGM/C)⁶.

Despite these considerable hurdles, women have long been considered the backbone of Bissau-Guinean society, even beyond the domestic sphere. They often play a crucial role mediating local disputes in the *tabancas*, or rural communities. In addition, as explained below, women have played a salient role in nation-building, shaping Bissau-Guinean politics—especially as they relate to peace and security—since the struggle for independence.

The Role of Women in Guinea-Bissau Politics

The formation of the GWF must be understood with reference to the broader roles played by women, and challenges they have faced, in political participation in Guinea-Bissau. Under Portuguese colonial rule, which lasted from the mid-1400s to 1973, Guinea-Bissau women had low social status and practically no political voice due to the superimposition of two oppressive forces: traditional norms and Portuguese laws that discriminated against women⁷.

The participation of Guinea-Bissau women in modern politics can be traced back to the struggle for independence, which lasted from 1963 to 1974. In the early years of the independence movement, from 1956 to 1962 (when the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde – PAIGC - remained underground), women organized the meetings of party leaders, prepared and distributed party propaganda, and served as go-betweens among the different cells of the PAIGC that were scattered throughout the territory. Starting in 1963, when the liberation

process reached the armed phase, women began participating in armed operations, taking on a wider variety of roles as the fighting intensified. As the PAIGC advanced, it created "liberated areas" around the country. Once the first PAIGC congress was held, in 1964 in Cassacá, the group launched a socio-political revolution through the reorganization of these territories. According to party rules, within the political structures that emerged in these places, two out of every five members of village committees had to be women⁸.

By 1966, the paucity of men available to issue public orders prompted the creation of majoritywomen popular militias tasked with protecting villages from attacks by the Portuguese army; women were thus integrated into PAIGC military structures. The PAGC's Marxist inspiration promoted a discourse of greater gender equality and emancipation, especially by granting rural women access to formal education. In his speeches, leader Amílcar Cabral often stressed that attaining national sovereignty depended on women's direct participation in the liberation process. According to Gomes (2016), the anti-colonial movement gave rise to the feminist movement in Guinea-Bissau.

In 1970, the PAIGC established that at least two-fifths of the village committee members were to be women, and in 1972 women were included among jurors in popular courts. They also played a key role in the model school (Escola-Piloto) in Conakry, from where the PAGC planned its struggle, by taking on roles in its management, key teachers, and student committee representatives. Armed struggle also opened up new spaces for female emancipation. Although women remained a minority, a few Guinean (as well as Cabo Verdean and Angolans) stood out, including Titina Silla, Teodora Gomes, Francisca Pereira, and Joana Barbosa. Carmen Pereira, who served as commander and political commissary of the Southern Front, considered as the most decisive victory for PAIGC in the war (Cordeiro 2013). Pereira became the only woman to be formally elected to the Executive Committee of the Struggle, at that time the political body of the PAIGC (Coutinho 2017). These and other women thus played a significant role performed in Guinea-Bissau's nation building, including the steps towards democratic processes.

After Guinea-Bissau achieved independence, in 1973, the PAIGC led a single-party regime until the 1990s, when there was a transition to multi-party system, albeit one marred by coups and mutinies. Carmen Pereira served as president for three days in 1984, when a new Constitution was being introduced. Ironically, despite the tentative steps towards democracy, many of the gains in women's participation made in the previous period were lost. A brief but highly destructive civil war was fought, from 1998-1999, and thereafter Guinea-Bissau continued marked by a perverse alternation of power through which groups and individuals within the country's small elite vie for power, often resorting to unconstitutional means such as government overthrows. Since the first free elections were held, in 1994, not a single president of Guinea-Bissau has managed to finish his mandate, and coups d'état are recurring.

Since then, despite some high-visibility posts (Fatumata Djau Baldé, for instance, was Minister of Foreign Affairs until the coup in September 2003), there has been a considerable decline in the participation of women in GB politics. The number of women holding positions in both the Cabinet and the National Assembly has fallen. In the latest legislature, there were only 13 women out of 100 MPs, and three women among 16 Ministers in the government⁹. The highly embattled transition government of José Mário Vaz does not feature a single female minister, and the Ministry of Women, Family and Social Cohesion has had its programmes weakened due

to scarce resources and the government paralysis around the Conakry Accord. Moreover, during elections, women are widely mobilized by political parties to galvanize votes, but at the same time they are overwhelmingly left out of candidate lists.

While the country's civil society organizations have tried to address gender issues in Guinea-Bissau, including gender-based violence and genital mutilation, and in spite of the fact there are several such entities led ...during elections, women are widely mobilized by political parties to galvanize votes, but at the same time they are overwhelmingly left out of candidate lists.

by women, the acute lack of continuous resources and limited capacity constrains their ability to press for change. Regional networks like Women in Peacebuilding (WIPNET), a part of the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding, WANEP, have attempted/attempt to carry out initiatives in Guinea-Bissau but have faced difficulties in maintaining a presence in the country due to a combination of resource constraints and recurring instability. While government officials state that women's rights remain a priority, many admit that the country's gender issues remain significant¹⁰.

In addition to homegrown efforts, multilateral organizations, donor countries, and cooperation partners, including UNIOGBIS, have implemented several initiatives relates to women and gender. In 2012, the UNIOGBIS Gender and Political Office carried out a needs assessment and cycle of training on women's political participation. The training targeted a total of 30 participants from political organizations, trade unions, media and civil society¹¹. UNWomen in Guinea-Bissau has supported leadership workshops for young local women, among a wide variety of initiatives. South-South Cooperation partners have also contributed; for instance, Brazil has supported capacity-building in women's health and prevention of violence against women through a trilateral cooperation arrangement with UNFPA and the government of Guinea-Bissau¹².

Despite these efforts, the lack of local resources and the recurring instability in the country threaten the sustainability of many such responses. Another challenge concerns the lack of a national organization to deal comprehensively with women's issues, despite efforts by local and international actors, such as a Women's Political Platform that was initially set up in 2008 with UN support. The Platform brought together eight NGOs and all of the political parties and helped to set some priorities for addressing women's rights and political participation. There is also no National Action Plan (NAP) for Women, Peace and Security, which could serve as a normative framework and blueprint for addressing gender issues related to conflict prevention.

The Conakry Accord Impasse and the Group of Women Facilitators

After the 12 April 2012, coup d'état, ECOWAS led efforts to produce a roadmap for peace, structuring an agreement around an earlier agreement, signed by the parties in Bissau. The Bissau agreement had set out six points to establish an inclusive dialogue process, form a consensusbased interim government, and to carry out reforms until the 2018 elections. ECOWAS brokered talks in Conakry among Bissau-Guinean politicians, as well as some civil society organization and religious leaders. On 14 October 2016, these talks produced the ten-point Conakry Accord, which establishes more detailed plans for implementing the roadmap. However, the two sides—the PAIGC and its allies, and the opposition groups—developed divergent interpretations of key points in the accord. This divergence led to a political impasse that has paralyzed the parliament (no plenary sessions have been held since) and left Guinea-Bissau without a fully functioning government.

Adding to the complexity of the situation, fifteen members of the PAIGC (the Group of 15) announced that they dissented from the party's position and were expelled from the party. Due to ambiguities in the country's electoral laws, there have also emerged conflicting interpretations over whether the 15 parliamentarians can be expelled from PAIGC. In August, the Special Representative of the Secretary General, Madibo Touré, told the UN Security Council that the situation posed risks of a deteriorating political and security situation, especially as legislative elections are planned for May 2018 approach¹³.

In an effort to break this ice, a group of women facilitators was created in May 2017. The Group brought together ten women from different civil society organizations in Guinea-Bissau, and of different ages and levels of experience with politics. Members ranged from young women to political veterans such as to Fatumata Djau Baldé, the former head of the diplomatic service, Francisca "Zinha" Vaz, a former parliamentarian and ex presidential candidate. Vaz, in particular, became active in organizing the group and brought insider knowledge of the political system, a more direct communication channel to the key stakeholders, and leadership to the initiative. It was decided early on, however, that active women politicians would not be included in the group because members felt party interests may jeopardize the neutrality of the initiative. The group began working to promote dialogue among the key stakeholders in the negotiations so as to lessen tensions around the Conakry agreement impasse.

The GMF began organizing meetings, first among themselves and then with key stakeholders. From late June and throughout July 2017, the GMF held meetings with several leaders, including the one between Vaz and Pereira. The group encountered initial resistance from the (male) key stakeholders and overcame this reluctance through a variety of strategies, from direct conversations to meetings with stakeholders' relatives and others who were close to them. Eventually, José Mário Vaz and other leaders agreed to allow Zinha Vaz and one another GMF member (the women alternated in this position) to sit in on high-level meetings. The women decided that their role would be one of observation rather than mediation in the sense of proposing formulas for an end to the impasse; they considered that the task of finding a solution fell on those key actors, and that the GMF should focus instead on facilitating dialogue rather than resolve the impasse themselves.

After months of intense work, the group began preparing reports on what they had accomplished. They considered to have attained "around 90%" of their goals, as Zinha Vaz stressed in an August 2017 interview, primarily in terms of (re)establishing communication channels and lessening tensions among key political stakeholders¹⁴. Although the impasse over the agreement persists, in November 2017 the GMF chose to "lay low" and "wait for the situation to mature." Members expressed some concern at the degree of pressure they began feeling, not only because President Vaz [in Monrovia, I think], but also because they began to feel they may be at personal risk. This concern was coupled with the increasing public exposure to which the members found themselves subjected through their activities. These concerns led to a decrease in the active membership of the group. Of the 10 women who initially composed the group, only 7 remained active by November, a sign of the fatigue that had beset the group and that prompted it to step back and wait for further developments.

The GMF initiative has been lauded in New York by the current president of the Peacebuilding Commission Country-Specific Configuration for Guinea-Bissau, Brazilian Ambassador Mauro Vieira, who underscored the usefulness of the group in building confidence, alleviating tensions, and opening up communication channels among the key actors. In November 2017, the UN sent a member of the UN Mediation Support Unit to hold a two capacity-building workshop with the GMF and two other groups in Guinea-Bissau interested in mediation: the Grupo de 70 (Group of 70) and the Rede de Mulheres Mediadoras (Network of Women Mediators). This offered an opportunity for the initial group to link to other organizations, acquire new capacities in mediation and facilitation, and explore the possibility of expanding membership and broadening the group's agenda.



Woman crossing the street, November 13, 2017. Bissau, Guinea-Bissau. Photo: Beatriz Bechelli

Recommendations

The GMF emerged as a discreet and small-scale effort in dialogue facilitation, but it did not appear out of the blue. Throughout the history of Guinea-Bissau, women have played key roles in mediating conflict and creating communication channels, from the local to the national level. Since the struggle for independence, women have also played highly visible role in Guinea-Bissau politics, despite the lack of continuity and the decline in meaningful participation in recent years.

The GMF could have an important role to play in conflict and political instability in Guinea-Bissau, including around election times, which tend to trigger social turmoil and political elite in-fighting. More broadly, the GMF could become a key actor in the broader efforts to address the many remaining gender-related challenges in Guinea-Bissau. In light of this trajectory, the following recommendations for how the international community could help make the GMF more effective and sustainable:

a. Ascertain that the group is interested in continuing and expanding its initiatives, especially given the accounts of fatigue and risk in recent months. Map the challenges and opportunities inherent to participating in the GMF and how hurdles could be overcome in the perspective of the women themselves.

b. Ensure the personal safety of the group's current and prospective members by monitoring and addressing emerging risks, but also by creating mechanisms for alternating roles within the group. Also allow for rest periods that will help avoid fatigue among members. Support ways to make it feasible for the women to participate on an ongoing basis, for instance by providing childcare and logistical support.

c. Support and encourage the documentation of the GMF activities, maintaining an archive with protected data for consultation and analysis, drawing lessons learned, as well as for the historical value of the initiative.

d. Promote stronger linkages to other women's groups in Guinea-Bissau, including the Network of Women Mediators and the Network of Parliamentary Women (Rede de Mulheres Parlamentares, RMP). Building ties to the RMP would enable the GMF to join forces in addressing other aspects of women's participation in Guinea-Bissau politics and defending women's rights. Links to youth groups are also essential, given the country's young population.

e. Strengthen links to regional organizations such as WIPNET and ECOWAS and to global institutions such as the UN, especially via the UNWomen, DPA, and UNIOGBIS. Support from these organizations, however, should be calibrated so as to avoid eroding the sense of local ownership of the GMF. These links should focus on capacity-building, knowledge-sharing, and drawing lessons learned.

f. Promote South-South cooperation on mediation and facilitation by creating links to other women's groups elsewhere in Africa and elsewhere, including other Lusophone countries.

References

Abdenur, Adriana Erthal (2017) "Breaking the Ice: Women and Conflict prevention: Instituto Igarapé, Innovation in Conflict Prevention (ICP) project: https://igarape.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/ ICP-Innovate-Abdenur-Mulheres-Guine-Bissau-INGLES.pdf

Coutinho, Ângela Sofia Benoliel (2017) "The Participation Of Cape Verdean Women In The National Liberation Movement Of Cape Verde And Guinea-Bissau, 1956- 1974: The Pioneers" Africa In The World.

Cordeiro, Ana Dias (2013) "Amílcar Cabral queria ter as mulheres ao seu lado na luta. Sempre" Publico, 20 January: https://www.publico.pt/2013/01/20/jornal/amilcar-cabral-queria-ter-as-mulheres-ao-seu-lado-na-luta-sempre-25914383

Gomes, Patricia Godinho (2016) "A mulher guieense como sujeito e objeto do debate histórico contemporáneo" in Por Cabral, Sempre – Fórum Amílcar Cabra 2013: comunicações e discursos, Praia, Fundação Amílcar Cabral, pp 209-229.

_____. (2004) "Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde islands: women's participation in the political struggle.

Limo, Irene (2017) "Women's Situation Room in Africa: An Initiative for Peaceful and Inclusive Elections" ACCORD, Durban, 16 February: http://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/womens-situation-room-africa/

Moura, Tatiana, Sílvia Roque, Sara Araújo, Mónica Rafael (2009) "Invisibilidades da Guerra e da paz: violências contra as mulheres na Guiné-Bissau, em Moçambique e em Angola" *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* 86, pp. 95-122.

UNDP (2017) "Guinea-Bissau": http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/GNB

UNICEF (2017) "Guinea-Bissau: Statistical Profile on Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting": https://data.unicef.org/wp-content/uploads/country_profiles/Guinea-Bissau/FGMC_GNB.pdf

UNIOGBIS (2016) "Na Guiné-Bissau as mulheres é que garantem o sustento da fam;ilia" 6 April: https://uniogbis.unmissions.org/na-guiné-bissau-mulheres-é-que-garantem-o-sustento-da-fam%C3%ADlia

Endnotes

1 Adriana Erthal Abdenur is coordinator of the Peace & Security area of Instituto Igarapé. The author wishes to thank the interviewees in Bissau, especially Francisca Vaz, Suzi Barbosa, and Janet Murdoch. Giovanna Kuele of Igarapé Institute and Beatriz Bechelli of Georgetown University were also vital to the completion of fieldwork for this project.

2 African Union (2016) "Programme on Women, Gender, Peace and Security" 9 May: http://www.peaceau.org/en/page/80-women-gender-peace-and-security-1

3 African Union (2017) "African Union to Convene the Steering Committee of 'FemWise-Africa' ahead of Imminent Deployments of Women Mediations" October 3: https://au.int/en/newsevents/20171002/african-union-convene-steering-committee-%E2%80%9Cfemwise-africa%E2%80%9D-ahead-imminent

4 UNDP (20717) "Guinea Bissau": http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/GNB

5 UNIOGBIS (2016) "Na Guiné-Bissau as mulheres é que garantem o sustento da família" 6 April: https://uniogbis. unmissions.org/na-guiné-bissau-mulheres-é-que-garantem-o-sustento-da-fam%C3%ADlia

6 UNICEF (2017) "Guinea-Bissau: Statistical Profile on Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting": https://data.unicef.org/wp-content/uploads/country_profiles/Guinea-Bissau/FGMC_GNB.pdf

- 7 See Gomes 2016.
- 8 Coutinho 2017.

9 https://uniogbis.unmissions.org/en/training-and-needs-assessment-womens-political-participation-guinea-bissau

10 UNIOGBIS (2012) "Training and Needs Assessment on Women's Political Participation in Guinea-Bissau" 16 August: https://uniogbis.unmissions.org/en/guinea-bissau-women-are-bread-winners

11 *Ibid.*

12 Agência Brasileira de Cooperação/UNFPA (n.d.) "Cooperação Sul-Sul em Guiné-Bissau": http://www.unfpa.org.br/ Arquivos/guine_bissau_cooperacao.pdf

13 http://m.whatsinblue.org/479808/show/df58285c451cd135af9af72ccec5b47b/

14 DN (2017) "Grupo de mulheres da Guiné-Bissau afirma que há condições para ultrapassar crise" 2 August: https://www.dn.pt/lusa/interior/grupo-de-mulheres-da-guine-bissau-afirma-que-ha-condicoes-para-ultrapassar-crise-8680081.html.





About the ICP Initiative

Innovation in Conflict Prevention (ICP) is a project aimed at identifying promising approaches, responses, and practices in the prevention in armed conflict, focusing on six country case studies in Africa.

The initiative is led by Instituto Igarapé, a think and do tank based in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and funded by Global Affairs Canada.

icp@igarape.org.br

igarape.org.br/en/innovation-in-conflict-prevention



Global Affairs Canada Affaires mondiales Canada

Art Direction Raphael Durão - STORM.pt





Igarape Institute

Rua Miranda Valverde, 64 Botafogo, Rio de Janeiro – RJ – Brasil - 22281-000 Tel/Fax: +55 (21) 3496-2114 contato@igarape.org.br facebook.com/institutoigarape twitter.com/igarape_org

www.igarape.org.br