Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence[1]

April 2009

Women's participation in conflict resolution and building peace is called for in Security Council resolutions 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2008). This briefing note reviews numbers of women in proportion to men in official roles in peace processes since 2000. It notes that there has been little appreciable increase in the strikingly low numbers of women in formal peace negotiations over the past eight years. Informal, or 'Track II' conflict resolution mechanisms have provided women with more entry-points for engagement, but these processes are even less clearly documented than formal mechanisms.

More significant than actual numbers of women involved is whether there are channels for groups of women to bring issues of concern to the negotiating table. A review of the content of peace accords shows that in some cases women's engagement as informal observers has resulted in peace accords that address issues of significance to women. These issues include redress or judicial response to abuses of women's human rights (particularly sexual violence), provisions for ensuring women's participation in post-conflict political competition, and economic and social rights for women.

Data on numbers of women in peace talks comes from publicly available official documentation including the text of peace agreements, media accounts of composition of negotiating teams, and published reports. One consequence of the sensitivities surrounding peace processes is that the data about the composition of delegations (which can shift over time) can be inconsistent. There are in consequence a number of data gaps, indicated by grey oblongs in the table below. Wherever possible the data is drawn from the point in negotiations when women's participation was at its peak. However, difficulties in obtaining data may mean the most accurate count was not available nor represented here.

A review of a sample of 21 major peace processes since 1992 shows that women represent a strikingly low number of participants:

- Only **2.4%** of signatories to this sample of peace agreements were women;

- No women have been appointed Chief or Lead peace mediators in UN-sponsored peace talks, but in some talks sponsored by the AU or other institutions women have joined a team of mediators. A recent positive case is the role of Graça Machel as one of the three mediators for the Kenya crisis in 2008.

- Women's participation in negotiating delegations averaged **5.9%** of the 10 cases for which such information was available;

- Priority gender-specific provisions in peace accords are women's **physical security** and **human rights guarantees.**

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[1] This is research in progress. To contribute to the data reflected in this report, please contact Anne Marie Goetz (anne-marie.goetz@unifem.org).

		Women Signatories	Women Mediators	Women Witnesses	Women in Negotiating Teams
1	**El Salvador (1992) – CPA** *Chapultepec Agreement*	12%	0%	–	13%
2	**Guatemala (1996) – CPA** *Agreement on a Firm and Lasting Peace*	11%	0%	–	–
3	**Northern Ireland (1998) – Belfast** *Good Friday Agreement. Multi-Party Agreement*	2%	0%	–	2%
4	**Indonesia (1999) – CPA** *Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of Timor*	0%	0%	0%	–
5	**Sierra Leone (1999) - CPA** *The Lomé Peace Agreement*	0%	0%	25%	0%
6	**Burundi (2000) – Arusha COH / CSF / CPA** *Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi*	0%	0%	–	2%
7	**Papua New Guinea (2001) - Bougainville PAC** *Accord Papua New Guinea*	7%	0%	–	4%
8	**Afghanistan (2001) – Bonn CPA** *Agreement on Provisional Arrangements in Afghanistan Pending the Re-establishment of Permanent Government Institutions*	9%	0%	–	9%
9	**Somalia (2002) - Eldoret COH / CSF** *Declaration on Cessation of Hostilities and the Structures and Principles Principles of the Somalia National Reconciliation Process*	0%	0%	0%	–
10	**Cote d'Ivoire (2003) – CPA** *Linas-Marcoussis Peace Accords*	0%	0%	0%	–
11	**DRC (2003) - Sun City CPA** *The Sun City Agreement ("The Final Act")*	5%	0%	0%	12%
12	**Liberia (2003) – Accra COH / CSF / CPA** *Peace Agreement between the Government of Liberia, the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy, the Movement for Democracy in Liberia and the political parties*	0%	0%	17%	–
13	**Sudan (2005) - Naivasha CPA** *The comprehensive peace agreement between the Government of the Republic of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Sudan People's Liberation Army.*	0%	0%	9%	–
14	**Darfur (2006) – Abuja CPA** *Darfur Peace Agreement*	0%	0%	7%	8%
15	**Nepal (2006) – CPA** *Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)*	0%	–	0%	0%
16	**Phillipines (2007) – IAG** *Communique on the Tripartite Meeting between the GRP, MNLF and OIC*	0%	0%	–	–
17	**DRC (2008) - Goma - North Kivu CSF** *Acte D'Engagement*	5%	20%	0%	–
18	**DRC (2008) - Goma - South Kivu CSF** *Acte D'Engagement*	0%	20%	0%	–
19	**Uganda (2008) – Juba COH / CSF / IAG** *Juba Peace Agreement*	0%	0%	20%	9%
20	**Kenya (2008) – Nairobi** *Agreement on the Principles of Partnership of the Coalition Government*	0%	33%	0%	–
21	**Central African Republic (2008) – CPA** *Accord de Paix Global*	0%	0%	0%	–

Documented presence of women   No presence of women documented   – Official sources not available

Special Measures and Track II Mechanisms:

A number of initiatives have been taken in recent years to amplify women's voices in peace processes, both formal and informal. Two recent examples are reviewed here:

- **Uganda**   In partnership with the Department of Political Affairs, UNIFEM provided a Gender Adviser to the Secretary-General's Special Envoy to LRA-Affected Areas (2007 – 2008). This has resulted in a more inclusive national ownership processes, building trust between capital-based organizations and those based in conflict-affected areas in the North. UNIFEM supported a series of national consultations and provided issue-specific expertise which contributed to a gender-responsive draft peace agreement which addresses specific aspects of women's experience of conflict. Some of the issues raised in the consultations, and ultimately included in the women's protocols on implementing the accord include: gender-responsive reconstruction policies and implementation frameworks, women's participation in the DDR process, gender-sensitive SSR, accountability and justice for gender-based crimes (including sexual violence), and gender-sensitive reconciliation processes.

- **Darfur**   UNIFEM supported a Gender Expert and Support Team (GEST) to participate in the Abuja Inter-Sudanese Peace Talks in 2006, and seconded a Gender Expert to the Mediation Team. The GEST together with women delegates to the negotiating parties developed "Women's Priorities for Peace and Reconstruction in Darfur", a common gender platform. This document was used to support the inclusion of gender issues in the peace talks, and included provisions such as wealth-sharing and land rights, affirmative action, physical security, women's participation in the DDR process, and a gender-responsive reconciliation commission. A substantial portion of women's priorities were integrated into the final Darfur Peace Agreement in Abuja. This agreement did not hold however. Subsequently, women have engaged via a Consultative Forum in Khartoum (supported by AU and UNIFEM) for Khartoum-based Darfurian women's organizations and Members of Parliament to facilitate strategic planning on women's participation in the ongoing Darfur Peace Process.

Gender related provisions in Peace Agreements:

Assessments of the gender-responsiveness of a peace process must be grounded in analysis of the *content* of peace accords. The table below indicates whether gender-specific language has been included within more general provisions in ten peace accords in a series of categories that are commonly found in peace accords: Human Rights Guarantees, Physical Security, Legal Security, Economic Security and Political Participation. These 5 broad categories and their related 31 sub-categories were selected based on categories distinguished by UNIFEM and the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) in 2005 and 2003 respectively.[2] A cursory review shows that where women have been involved, even as non-speaking observers, in peace processes, they have been able to ensure that matters of importance to them are included in peace accords, with the strongest cases being Uganda, Darfur (Abuja), Burundi, DRC and Liberia. Women's presence has not necessarily meant that some particularly difficult issues are addressed or included, a notable absence in many cases being redress for sexual violence, and for other war-time abuses of women's rights.

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[2] United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). "Securing the Peace: Guiding the International Community towards Women's Effective Participation throughout Peace Processes." (2005); and

United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW). "Peace agreements as a means for promoting gender equality and ensuring participation of women – A framework of model provisions." Report of the Expert Group Meeting, EGM/PEACE/2003/REPORT. Ottawa, Canada, (2003).

Matrix table — Peace Agreement gender provisions. Columns are grouped by peace agreement, each with a **GENERAL** and **GENDER** sub-column.

	Notes	Papua New Guinea (2001) - PAC GENERAL	GENDER	Cote d'Ivoire (2003) - CPA GENERAL	GENDER	Nepal (2006) - CPA GENERAL	GENDER	Uganda (2008) COH / CSF / IAG GENERAL	GENDER	Darfur (2006) - CPA GENERAL	GENDER	Burundi - Arusha Accords (2000) - COH/CSF/CAG GENERAL	GENDER	Liberia (2003) COH / CSF / CAG GENERAL	GENDER	Afghanistan (2001) - CPA GENERAL	GENDER	DRC (Sun City) (2003) - CPA GENERAL	GENDER	Kenya (2008) National Accord and Reconciliation Act GENERAL	GENDER
HUMAN RIGHTS GUARANTEES																					
Human rights reference	1/	●	●	●		●	●	●		●	●	●	●	●		●		●	●	●	●
UN Human Rights Instruments	1/	●				●				●	●	●	●	●	●			●	●		
Drafting of new Constitution	1/		●				●		●		●	●						●	●	●	
Establishment of National Machinery	2/	●				●				●		●	●					●	●		
PHYSICAL SECURITY																					
Physical security reference	3/	●		●		●				●		●	●	●	●			●		●	●
Establishment / Reform / Engagement with Police Force	4/	●				●			●	●	●	●		●		●					
Healthcare provision	3/					●				●	●	●						●	●	●	
Return and/or repatriation of IDPs / Refugees	4/					●		●		●		●	●						●		
Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR)	4/	●		●		●	●	●	●	●		●		●	●			●			
LEGAL SECURITY																					
Legal rights reference	3/	●	●	●		●		●		●		●	●	●	●			●			
Restoration and/or recognition of Nationality / Citizenship	3/			●	●	●						●						●			
Redress of Gender Based Violence	5/						●				●		●						●		
Land Rights, Inheritance and Housing	3/			●		●		●		●	●	●						●		●	
Restricting Impunity/Ensuring Accountability	3/	●				●	●	●	●	●		●				●		●		●	
ECONOMIC SECURITY																					
Economic Security reference	3/			●		●		●		●	●	●	●			●		●		●	●
Education	3/					●				●	●	●						●	●		
Employment	3/					●				●		●	●					●	●		
Credit	3/									●	●	●								●	●
Economic Exploitation / Forced Labor	3/																	●	●		
Equal and Fair Employment Practices	3/					●		●		●	●	●	●					●	●	●	●
Equal Pay	3/																		●		
Social Security Benefits	3/																				
Safe Work Conditions	3/																		●		
Protection from Underemployment	3/					●													●	●	
Maternity Leave (not applicable for general reference)	6/																				
Childcare Services	3/																				
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION																					
Political participation reference	4/					●		●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●			
Guarantee of Equal Participation	3/							●		●	●	●		●		●	●	●			
Establishment of Affirmative Action Measures / Quotas	3/													●	●			●	●	●	
Call for Elections	4/									●	●	●		●		●		●			
Truth & Reconciliation Commissions	4/					●		●				●		●				●		●	●

1/ Women and girls's human rights are specifically mentioned / considered

2/ Establishment of Women's National Machinery

3/ Female and male different needs are mentioned or recognized, or women / girls are identified as part of the target population

4/ Participation and/or consideration of women and girls in these processes

5/ Largely applicable to women and girls

6/ Only applicable for gender-specific references

*Notes: The Peace Agreement Matrix shows the extent to which a particular category has been addressed or referred to in the peace agreements, either as a gender responsive provision or a general or non-gender provision. Source: UN Peacemaker Peace Agreement database; United States Institute for Peace's Peace Agreements digital collection (Papua New Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire).

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Annex 1: Sources and other notes, country by country:

1. **El Salvador (1992)**: In New York, there were no women representing the government, but two out of ten delegates of the FLMN were women: Ana Guadalupe Martínez and Maria Marta Valladares). Representatives of civil society had no direct place at the negotiating table (Chávez and Buchanan, 2008: 17). Chief mediator: Alvaro de Soto.

2. **Guatemala (1996):** Between 1991 and 1996, Luz Méndez participated in the peace negotiations as the only female member of the delegation of the *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity), contributing to the incorporation of unprecedented commitments for gender equity into the accords (Anderlini, 2004:24). Chief mediator: Boutros-Ghali.

3. **Northern Ireland (1998):** In Northern Ireland, the delegates to the peace talks were chose through public elections. Monica McWilliams and Pearl Sagar formed the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition and lobbied for the existing parties to include women in their candidate lists. When ignored, they decided to form their own political party and contest the elections, finishing as the ninth most popular party and securing two seats (out of 110) in the negotiatons (Fearon, 2002). Chief mediator: George Mitchell.

4. **Timor Leste (1999):** Chief mediator: Marti Ahtisaari.

5. **Sierra Leone (1999):** Adwoa Coleman representing the Organization for African Unity was one of the formal witnesses of the agreement, and civil society, including women's groups, had observer status. According to Mazurana and Carlson (2004: 21), "two women were involved in the Lomé process, one a member of the government delegation and the other a representative of the RUF. Although they were not chief negotiators, the final document reflected at least some gender-specific issues as a result of their participation." Chief mediator: Francis Okelo.

6. **Burundi (2000)**: The agreement stipulates that it was signed "in the presence of the representatives of Burundian civil society and women's organizations and Burundian religious leaders." At the first Arusha peace talks, there were 2 women out of a total of 126 delegates in the negotiating teams (Anderlini, 2000: 28). Chief mediator: Nyerere; Mandela.

7. **Papua New Guinea (2001)**: One of the fifteen signatories to the agreement was Mrs. Ruby Mirinka, representative of Bougainville Women Appreciation. Although the 52-strong Bougainvillean delegation included only two women (Garasu, 2002), women played an active and pivotal role through the late nineties (see Sirivi and Mavini, 2004).

8. **Afghanistan (2001)**: The Bonn negotiations were closed to observers. Chief mediator: Lakhdar Brahimi.

9. **Somalia (2002)**: The Eldoret peace process took place under the auspices of IGAD, and were mediated by Elijah Mwangale.

10. **Cote d'Ivoire (2003):** Chief mediator: Pierre Mazeaud.

11. **DRC - Sun City (2003):** Forty of the 340 delegates at the Sun City negotiations were women. In order to increase this number, UNIFEM and UNDP invited an additional forty women to participate as experts, but only forty were allowed to participate in formal negotiations, and only ten women were able to attend the follow-up meetings at the end of 2002. Although group members were selected for their expertise on the issues being discussed, their role was largely symbolic and limited to private meetings with delegation heads (Mpoumou, 2004: 121). Chief mediator: Ketumile Masire.

12. **Liberia (2003):** The Mano River Women's Peace Network was strongly involved in the peace negotiations. A delegation of eight women from the Liberia chapter of MARWOPNET, led by Mrs Ruth Sandro Perry and Mrs Theresa Leigh-Sherman, participated in the peace talks held in Akosombo (MARWOPNET, 2003: 2). Chief mediator: General Abdulsalami Abubakar.

13. **Sudan (2005) - Naivasha:** The SPLM had a few women among their delegates at Machakos and subsequent rounds of negotiation. However, they were often co-opted on short notice, ill-prepared, and ignored (Itto, 2006). At Naivasha, women's organizations were forced to present their papers with recommendations to the parties by pushing them under the closed doors of the negotiation room (Abusharaf, 2005: 44). Chief mediator: General Lazarus Sumbeiywo.

14. **Sudan (2006) - Abuja:** UNIFEM, Norway, and Sweden supported a delegation of more than thirty women, which participated in the talks under the umbrella of a Gender Equality Support Team. They were neither observers nor delegates, but technical advisors on content of the negotiations (Email communication with Nyaradzai Gumbonzvanda, April 14, 2009). Both UNIFEM and the AU had a Senior Gender Advisor tasked with mediation. The delegation of the government of Sudan had 2 women in their team, and the delegations of JEM and SLA had seven. Roughly 8 percent of delegates in the negotiating teams were female (Mbeo, 2006: 19). Chief mediator: Salim Ahmed Salim.

15. **Nepal (2006):** There was no chief mediator. The composition of the all-male negotiating teams is detailed in Upreti (2008: 9).

16. **Philippines (20007):** Chief mediator: H. E. Ambassador Relan I. Jenie.

17. **DRC (2008) – North Kivu**: Liberata Mulamula, representing the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region. Chief mediator: Abbe Apollinaire Malu Malu.

18. **DRC (2008) – South Kivu**: Same as above.

19. **Uganda (2008)**: Heidi Johansen representing Norway and Anna Sundstrom as EU representative for the Great Lakes region participated as formal witnesses through the various stages of the process. There were two women in the LRA negotiating team, and one in the delegation of the Government of Uganda (see BBC 2006; Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice Staff Blog, 2008). Chief mediator: Riek Machar; then Joachim Chissano.

20. **Kenya:** Graça Machal was one of three mediators, in a panel led by Kofi Annan. According to Antonia Potter (2008: 57), there were two lead women negotiators (Sally Kosgei and Martha Karua).

21. **Central African Republic:** Chief mediator**:** Omar Bongo Ondimba**.**

	Peace Processes Information with Sources				
	Peace Process	**Women Signatories**	**Women Mediators**	**Women as Observers and Witnesses**	**Women in Negotiating Teams**
1	Afghanistan (2001) – Bonn CPA	–	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role.php?p=11	–	**8%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role. php?p=11
2	Burundi (2000) – Arusha COH / CSF / CPA	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role.php?p=11	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role.php?p=11	–	**2%** UNIFEM 2000
3	Central African Republic (2008) - CPA	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker)	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker)	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker)	–
4	Cote d'Ivoire (2003) - CPA	**0%** United States Institute for Peace's Peace Agreements digital collection http://www.usip.org/library/pa.html	**0%** United States Institute for Peace's Peace Agreements digital collection http://www.usip.org/library/pa.html	–	–
5	DRC (2008) - Goma - North Kivu CSF	**2.4%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role.php?p=11	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role.php?p=11	–	–
6	DRC (2008) - Goma - South Kivu CSF	**4.8%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role.php?p=11	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role.php?p=11	–	–
7	DRC (2003) - Sun City CPA	–	**0%** United States Institute for Peace's Peace Agreements digital collection	–	**12%** United States Institute for Peace's Peace Agreements digital collection
8	Liberia (2003) – Accra COH / CSF / CPA	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role.php?p=11	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role.php?p=11	**17%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker)	–
9	Nepal (2006) - CPA	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role.php?p=11	–	**0% (Ob)** Upreti 2008	**0%** Upreti 2008
10	Darfur (2006) – Abuja CPA	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role.php?p=11	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role.php?p=11	**36% (Ob)** Mbeo, Mary (2006),	**8%** Mbeo, Mary (2006),
11	Papua New Guinea (2001) - Bougainville PAC	**7.1%** United States Institute for Peace's Peace Agreements digital collection http://www.usip.org/library/pa.html	**0%** United States Institute for Peace's Peace Agreements digital collection http://www.usip.org/library/pa.html	–	–

12	Phillipines (2007) - IAG	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role.php?p=11	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker) http://peacemaker.unlb.org/role.php?p=11	_	_
13	Sierra Leone (2000) - COH / CSF	**0%** Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) Peace Agreement dataset http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/UCDP/data_and__publications/datasets.htm	_	_	_
14	Somalia (2008) - COH / CSF	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker)	_	_	_
15	Uganda (2008) – Juba COH / CSF / IAG	**0%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker)	**0%** Sudan Tribune 2008 http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article26240	**20%** Official agreement doc (UN Peacemaker)	**12%** BBC 2006 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/5186494.stm

In case of Uganda, the number of women as witnesses is based on the maximum number of women participated as witnesses in a series of peace agreements signed in Feb/March 2008. In Burundi, women representative group participated in peace talks as observers; however, exact number is not available.