



Teaching Package for GSUM course on **GENDER AND MEDIATION**

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The **Global South Unit for Mediation (GSUM)** is a learning, research and training platform focused on international mediation. The Unit will promote the diffusion of knowledge and expertise among scholars, diplomats, governmental officials and non-governmental actors from the Global South. The GSUM is the result of a partnership between the Institute of International Relations of the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (IRI/PUC-Rio), the BRICS Policy Center, and the Royal Embassy of Norway in Brazil.

Teaching packages are comprehensive teacher's guides prepared by renowned specialists addressing important topics of the contemporary international mediation agenda. Each Teaching Package covers five lessons and aims to assist academics and professionals interested in teaching classes on the following topics:

- Conflict Resolution and mediation as a field of study and practice
- Actors and Processes of Mediation
- Mediation and the United Nations System
- Mediation and the Global South
- Gender and Mediation
- Elements and Reflections on Success, Failures, and Lessons Learned

This material was produced in cooperation with swisspeace. The opinions expressed herein are the sole responsibility of the author and does not necessarily reflect the position of the institutions involved.



About the Author

Julia Palmiano Federer holds a MA in International Affairs from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva. She is a PhD Candidate at the University of Basel. Her doctoral research analyses the role of mediators in norms diffusion, specifically in the contexts of the peace processes in Myanmar and the Philippines. Before joining swisspeace in 2013, she interned with the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Human Rights Watch and the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue. She has also worked as a research assistant for the Political Science Department of the University of British Columbia and as a project assistant for the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada. Julia works as a Program Officer in the Mediation program at swisspeace, where she is conducting her doctoral research in the framework of the Swiss National Science Foundation funded project, "Are mediators norm entrepreneurs?".



1. Course Description

Context

The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda emerged in 2000 with the passing of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325). This resolution represents a large-scale effort to integrate a gender perspective into different areas of peacebuilding. The WPS agenda encompasses women's political participation, women's involvement in security and peacekeeping, women's involvement in the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration of ex-combatants in conflict, women's participation in peace processes, and addressing sexual violence in armed conflict.

It specifically draws attention to the dearth of women's meaningful participation in peace processes and the lack of gender-sensitive clauses in peace agreements. The WPS agenda is particularly salient in the field of international mediation. As a highly popular conflict transformation tool that forms the core of many peacebuilding processes, the issue of who gets to participate in mediation processes is a crucial topic. The main actors that are included in mediation processes are the mediator, the main negotiating parties and those affected by the conflict. In the majority of mediation processes that have been conducted since the Cold War, the majority of actors around the peace table have been male (UN Women 2012).

The WPS agenda creates a nexus between the fields of the normative concept of gender and the practice of mediation. The WPS agenda in mediation is based on a normative argument based on gender equality and a pragmatic argument touting that the increased participation of women (as a key constituency) increases the effectiveness and sustainability of peace agreements.

Firstly, the concept of gender refers to the socially constructed differences between men and women and the uneven power dynamics between and among them. While gender refers to both men and women, the WPS agenda focuses on women. It is partly due to academic feminist interventions in security and international relations that disaggregate the experiences of men and women in conflict and peace and find that men dominate the discourse of both war-

making and peace-making. It is also due the strong advocacy from women's rights movements that push for equality between the sexes and recognition of women's specific roles in both conflict and peace.

Secondly, a key part of the practice of mediation is uncovering the contextual factors that increase the effectiveness, sustainability, and chances for 'successful' outcomes of peace agreements. The WPS agenda in mediation has evolved in the last 15 years since its inception from a wholly normative endeavour towards a more pragmatic, conflict transformation approach more in line with mediation logic. This approach posits that peace processes that include greater women's participation and more gender-sensitive peace agreements can lead to more effective and sustainable peace agreements. This is because women make up key constituencies as 50 per cent of a given population and possess unique knowledge of their communities and the conflict, given their specific experiences of conflict on account of their gender. This specific and unique knowledge has the potential to enrich the arguments of negotiators, resulting in an agreement that is more legitimate and implementable.

While a recent UN Women study of 31 major peace processes revealed that only 4 per cent of signatories, 2.4 per cent of chief mediators, 3.7 per cent of witnesses and 9 per cent of negotiators were women (UN Women 2012), the WPS agenda has promoted peace processes that feature specific entry points of women's involvement. The most prominent of these are: the high level negotiators and government representatives in the Philippines peace process between the Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front; Liberian women's mass action campaigns in Ghana during the peace talks with Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front; the formation of an all-women's political party across divided lines in the Northern Ireland peace process; and the formation of women-led parallel peace talks in Burundi during the Arusha talks.

The WPS agenda has become a powerful instrument in the policy and practice of mediation. The United Nations, regional organizations, states and non-governmental organizations that mandate mediators to engage in peace talks increasingly expect mediators to include gender considerations informed by the WPS agenda in their overall mediation strategies. This is evidenced by the United Nations Guidance for Effective Mediation and a host of other policy guidelines that set out specific strategies and parameters on including more women in

mediation processes or promote more gender-sensitive peace agreements.

Despite the normative and pragmatic pull of the WPS agenda, the question of how to incorporate gender into mediation processes remains subject to intense debate among practitioners and analysts, sometimes drawing a divide between those “doing” mediation and those supporting mediation processes from a distance. Promoting the WPS agenda in mediation processes is also bolstered by the overall trend of more inclusive and broader processes, moving away from the classically elite peace table. It is important to distinguish between the norm of inclusivity more broadly and the gender norms surrounding women’s participation and the gender sensitivity of peace agreements. Inclusivity refers to “the extent and manner in which the views and needs of conflict parties and other stakeholders are represented and integrated into the process and outcome of a mediation effort” (UN 2012). While the WPS agenda can be considered part of this push for mediation engagements to move towards inclusive dialogues involving larger segments of society, it calls for an arguably more specific notion of inclusivity. At times, the conceptual relationship between inclusivity, gender, women and civil society becomes conflated, both in policy and in practice.

Definition

Mediation can be defined as “a process whereby a third party assists two or more parties, with their consent, to prevent, manage or resolve a conflict by helping them to develop mutually acceptable agreements” (UN 2012). It is a form of peaceful dispute settlement as laid out by the UN Charter (Article 33).

Gender refers to the socially constructed differences between men and women and the unequal power relationships that result. It is an analytical construct that is attributed to feminist theorists such as Simone de Beauvoir and Judith Butler. Gender equality is understood as the state in which one’s gender does not obstruct access to rights or opportunities.

The WPS agenda is a normative framework that seeks gender equality in peacebuilding processes. It is rooted in UNSCR 1325 and its related resolutions 1820, 1888, 1889, and 1960. The legally binding Convention on the Elimination

of all Forms of Discrimination against Women and the political movement the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action also inform the WPS agenda. The course refers to the WPS agenda as the embodied nexus between mediation and gender.

Academic and policy literature

Mediation: The academic literature on mediation is rich and encompasses the actors, process and contextual factors that lead to effective or ineffective outcomes. These include process design questions regarding the inclusion of actors, the agenda topics discussed, or lessons learned from past peace processes (Mandell and Tomlin 1991; Grieg 2001; Beardsley 2008; Whitfield 2010; Nathan 2013; Lanz 2014). Academic literature on mediation also focuses on the contextual factors such as the ripeness of conflicts (Zartman 1985) or the behaviour of mediators (Bercovitch and Allison 2002; Bluman-Schroeder 2004) and other factors with an emphasis on the outcome of the process or agreement (Wall and Lynn 1993; Kleiboer 1996). The policy literature on mediation is wide-reaching and prescriptive in nature. Organizations that mandate mediators such as the UN, the OSCE, the AU and many others publish policy guidelines on process design and strategies. Non-governmental organizations and think tanks such as Conciliation Resources, swisspeace, the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, and the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies also publish widely on different aspects of mediation and mediation support, often with a focus on case studies.

Gender: The academic literature on gender is rich and far-reaching. As it is conceptual and theoretical in nature, its roots lie in feminist theory distinguishing between sex and gender (Simone de Beauvoir 1949; West and Zimmerman 1987; Butler 1990; Hartsock 1998; Enloe 2014) but with a range of pioneering and critical contributions in the field of security studies and peacebuilding.

Gender and Mediation: The policy literature on gender and mediation is largely informed by the WPS agenda. There is a wealth of policy reports that push for the greater participation of women in peace processes (Potter 2005; Anderlini 2007 and 2010; El-Bushra 2012) and the gender-sensitivity of peace agreements (Buchanan et al 2011). However, there is a gap on academic literature on gender

and mediation, with a few notable exceptions (Maoz 2009; Bell and O'Rourke 2010; Anderson 2010).

Course overview

The course will pay particular attention to the debate between a normative and pragmatic approach to mediation, focusing on the normative framework of gender and its relationship to mediation practice. It is relevant as the nexus between gender and mediation is normatively loaded and has important implications for mediation policy and practice. While promoting gender as a norm per se is difficult to question ethically, mediators and practitioners grapple daily with how to incorporate gender norms into their mediation strategies and process design. Mediators also face increasing pressure from their mandate givers to incorporate gender considerations, jump starting a debate on whether gender considerations such as promoting the participation of women and guaranteeing gender sensitive clauses in peace agreements should be done within the parameters of a mediation process. Questions regarding sequencing and alternatives to the mediation process become pertinent. These questions are relevant for both mediation policy and practice as gender norms become increasingly promoted in many peace process contexts around the world.

On the first day of the course, we will focus on mediation. We will introduce the “who, what, when and how” of mediation, referring to who engages in mediation and what actors are involved; what is discussed in mediation processes and the overarching goals of mediation; and when mediation is conducted in comparison to other forms of conflict resolution. We will also include a brief introduction to theories on ripeness and sequencing and an introduction to process design. We will focus on these main elements from an academic and conceptual perspective. We will then focus on what inclusivity means from a conflict resolution perspective, and examine how greater inclusivity in peace processes is an increasingly important trend in peace mediation. We will then introduce the concept of mediation as well as different mediation styles through an exercise and basic mediation role play, called *Directive vs. Facilitative Mediation*.

On the second day of the course, we will focus on gender. We will introduce the concept of gender and its roots in feminist theory and later, feminist interventions in international relations and security studies. We will then revisit the norm of inclusivity, this time from a gendered approach and examine how this differs from a conflict transformation approach. We will then introduce the concept of gender and how it relates to conflict, mediation and negotiation through a choice of three exercises: *What is Gender?*; *Drawing Role of Men and Women in Conflict*; and *Mapping Characteristics of Mediators*.

On the third day of the course, we will bring the two conceptual approaches of gender and mediation together and examine how they apply in policy and practice. We will do this through an introduction to the WPS Agenda in relation to women's participation in peace processes. We will examine how the WPS is manifested in concrete contexts and its surrounding debates. We will *examine and discuss four case studies* on four peace processes that feature women's participation via different entry points. The case studies on Guatemala, Northern Ireland, Burundi, and Aceh aim to provide insights and grounds for debate on how the WPS is implemented in different conflict contexts.

On the fourth day of the course, we will delve deeper into the main debate between normative and pragmatic approaches to mediation (and inclusive mediation processes) by examining two prominent gender norms: increasing women's participation in mediation processes and increasing the gender sensitivity of peace agreements. We will *engage in a class debate on the specific topic of gender quotas* to draw out the arguments on both sides of the debate.

On the fifth day of the course, we will circle back to the role of a mediator and explore whether a mediator should design an inclusive and gender-sensitive mediation process, and if so, how. We will examine the role of a mediator in relation to their mandate giver and how this impacts their ability to design a gender sensitive mediation process. Investigating the comparative case studies on the Philippines and Myanmar can shed some insights on these questions. We will then focus more closely on process design by engaging in a process design exercise, a choice between: *Developing a Conflict Transformation Process over Women's Rights* or *What a Gender Analysis is (or is not) in Conflict Analysis and Peacebuilding*.

2. Prior Knowledge Requirement

The course is designed so that the students do not have to be familiar with the practice of international mediation or gender or the academic literature on these topics. However, while the course aims to bring together two established fields of academia and practice, an academic background in political science and international relations will be beneficial but not essential. The main requirement is active and careful reading, especially on the foundational readings for both gender and mediation, before the start of the course.

3. Aims

The course has three main aims:

- To provide students with an understanding of the conceptual and practical nexus between gender and mediation
- To convey the ongoing academic debates and practical examples surrounding the implementation of the normative framework of gender in mediation practice
- To equip students with some skills in terms of debating about key issues, and assessing strategies around incorporating gender in mediation practice

4. Course Breakdown

Day 1: Definitions and Key Concepts: on Mediation

Video:

International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) Better Peace Tool:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pZUm6rluCl0>

Session 1

Conceptual Approaches to Mediation

Questions:

What is international peace mediation? How is mediation different from other forms of conflict resolution? Who are the main actors involved? What is the role of a mediator? What are the phases of mediation? What are the main goals of a mediation process? What are some examples of mediation processes?

Required Readings

Bercovitch, J., G. Schneider. 2000. "Who Mediates? The Political Economy of International Conflict Management." *Journal of Peace Research* 37, 2: 145–165.

Brahimi L., S. Ahmed. 2008. "In Pursuit of Peace: The Seven Deadly Sins of Mediation", Center on International Cooperation.

United Nations Guidance for Effective Mediation. 2012. New York: United Nations.

Additional Readings

Bercovitch, J., G. Schneider. 2000. "Who Mediates? The Political Economy of International Conflict Management." *Journal of Peace Research* 37, 2: 145–165.

Giessman, H., W. Oliver. 2011. "Seeking Compromise? Mediation Through the Eyes of the Conflict Parties." Berlin: Berghof Foundation.

Greig, MJ., PF Diehl. 2012. "International Mediation." Cambridge: Polity Press.

Svensson, I., M. Onken. 2015. "Global Trends of Peace Negotiations and Conflict Mediation", *Global Trends*.

Session 2

Inclusivity from a Mediation Perspective

Questions:

What is the meaning of inclusivity from a mediation and conflict resolution approach? What is the difference between the inclusion of women and the inclusion of other actors in mediation processes (e.g. religious leaders, minorities, or armed groups)

Required Readings

Lanz, D. 2011. "Who gets a seat at the table? A framework for understanding the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in peace negotiations." *International Negotiation* 16, 2: 275-295.

Paffenholz, T. 2014. "Civil Society and Peace Negotiations: Beyond the Inclusion-Exclusion Dichotomy." *Negotiation Journal* 30, 1: 69 – 91.

Additional Readings

Lanz, D., R. Gasser. 2013. "A Crowded Field: Competition and Coordination in

International Peace Mediation.” Mediation Arguments 2, Pretoria: Centre for Mediation in Africa University of Pretoria.

von Burg, C. 2015. “On Inclusivity: The Role of Norms in International Peace Mediation.” Essential Series. Bern: swisspeace.

Activity

Exercise: Directive or Facilitative Mediation

The goal of the exercise is to test out different types of directive/facilitative mediation and reflect on how far they are shaped by their gender. The simple role play introduces the concept of mediation and immediately infuses notions of gender. Participants assess their own mediation style (e.g. facilitative or directive) and conduct a role play in which two neighbours have a conflict about the noise level after 20:00 in the evening (Source and full instructions: Mason et al. 2015: “Gender and Mediation: An Exercise Handbook for Trainers.” CSS Mediation Resources, Zurich/Bern: Center for Security Studies and swisspeace: 62-63).

Day 2: Definitions and Key Concepts: on Gender

Session 1

Conceptual Approaches to Gender

Questions:

What is gender? How does the concept of gender relate to international relations and peacebuilding? How does the concept of gender relate to mediation processes?

Required Readings

Cohn, C. 2013. *Women and Wars: Contested Histories, Uncertain Futures*. Polity Press: Cambridge, Chapter 1 and 8.

Stern, M., M. Zalewski. 2009. "Feminist Fatigue(s): reflections on feminism and familiar fables of militarization", *Review of International Studies* 35, 12 (2009): 611 – 630.

Additional Readings

Enloe, C. 2014. "Bananas, Beaches, and Bases," thoroughly up-dated, revised edition. California: University of California Press.

Mouffe, C. 1992. "Feminism, Citizenship, and Radical Democratic Politics." In: *Feminists Theorize the Political*, eds. Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott, 369-384.

Tickner, JA., ed. L. Sjoberg. 2011. "Feminism and International Relations: Conversations about the Past, Present and Future." London: Routledge.

Session 2

Inclusivity from a Normative Approach

Questions:

What is the meaning of inclusivity from a gendered approach? What is the difference between the inclusion of women and the inclusion of other actors in mediation processes (e.g. religious leaders, minorities, or armed groups)

Required Readings

Nderitu, A., O'Neill, J. 2013. "Getting to the Point of Inclusion: Seven Myths Standing in the Way of Women Waging Peace." Washington, DC: The Institute for Inclusive Security.

Ramsey-Marshall, D. 2008. Book Review: "Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why it Matters." *International Journal on World Peace* 25, 1: 112-116.

Additional Readings

Anderlini, S. 2007. "Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why it Matters." Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Waller, MR., J. Rycenga. 2001. "Frontline Feminisms: Women, War, and Resistance." London: Routledge.

Activity

A choice of the following exercises:

Exercise: What is Gender?

The goal of the exercise is to challenge participants to see that gender awareness is socially and culturally constructed and is not biologically determined. It is a warm up exercise consisting of discussion around different questions regarding their own experiences with gender and identity. It is useful as an introductory exercise for those with little or basic knowledge of gender (Source and complete instructions found in: Mason et al. 2015: 36-37).

Exercise: Drawing Role of Women and Men in Conflict

The goal of the exercise is to visualize participants' perceptions of the role of women and men in conflict and peace in their own experience. Participants are asked to draw an image of the role men and women play in conflict (or peace) without detailed instruction. Participants debrief afterwards (Source and complete instructions found in: Mason et al. 2015: 48-49).

Exercise: Mapping Characteristics of Mediators

The goal of this exercise is to clarify and reflect on perceived characteristics of women and men mediators. Participants draw outlines of women and men respectively, titled "Mediator's Characteristics" and are asked to brainstorm beside the figures

what they see in their culture as typical characteristics of men and women in this context. Participants debrief afterwards (Source and complete instructions found in: Mason et al. 2015: 65-66).

Day 3: and Mediation: Policies and Practice

Session 1

The WPS Agenda and UNSCR 1325

Questions:

What is the WPS Agenda? Who is promoting it and how? How is it received and/or implemented in specific conflict contexts?

Required Readings

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, Women, Peace and Security, available from S/Res/1325 Adopted 31 October 2000.

Anderlini, S. 2010. "What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325." Washington, DC: International Civil Society Action Network.

Session 2

Women's Participation in Peace Processes: Roles and Entry Points

Questions:

What were the entry points of women's participation? Who promoted their participation? Who resisted it? What was the outcome of their participation?

Required Readings

Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence. 2012. New York: United Nations Women.

Potter, A. "We the Women: Why Conflict Mediation Is Not Just a Job for Men." Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

Activity

Discussion in Small Groups:

Ask participants to discuss Session 2 Questions in the context of four cases. See Annex 1 for background information in case studies: Guatemala, Northern Ireland, Burundi, and Aceh (Found in swisspeace, UN Women and Nyein Foundation. 2015. Training of Trainers Manual: Coaching for Myanmar Women Engaged in Peacemaking and Peacebuilding Processes).

Day 4: Gender and Mediation: A Normative or Pragmatic Approach?

Session 1

Increasing the Meaningful Participation of Women in Mediation Processes

Questions:

Should women's participation in peace processes be increased? Why or why not? If so, what are the entry points for their inclusion? What are mechanisms for their inclusion (e.g. quotas)? What impact does this have on the mediation process?

Required Readings

Maoz, I. 2009. "The Women and Peace Hypothesis? The Effect of Opponent Negotiators' Gender on the Evaluation of Compromise Solutions in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." *International Negotiation* 14: 519-536.

Palmiano Federer, J. 2016. "On Gender – The Role of Norms in International Peace Mediation." *Essential Series*, Bern: swisspeace.

Additional Readings

Anderson, MJ. 2010. "Transnational Feminisms and Norm Diffusion in Peace Processes: The Cases of Burundi and Northern Ireland." *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 4, 1: 1-21.

Hemüller, S., J. Palmiano Federer, M. Zeller. 2015. "The Role of Norms in International Peace Mediation." Bern: swisspeace.

Session 2

Increasing the Gender-Sensitivity of Peace Agreements.

Questions:

Should there be more gender-sensitive clauses in peace agreements? Why or why not? If so, how can they be included? What are the mechanisms for their inclusion? What impact does this have on the outcome of the mediation process and the implementation of the peace agreement?

Required Readings

Bell, C., C. O'Rourke. 2010. "Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper? The Impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 on Peace Processes and their Agreements." *International Comparative Law Quarterly* 59: 941-980.

Buchanan, C., A. Cooper, L. Low, C. Griggers, A. Potter-Prentice. 2012. "From Clause to Effect: Including Women's Rights and Gender in Peace Agreements." Geneva: The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

Additional Readings

Potter, A. 2011. "G Is for Gendered: Taking the Mystery Out of Gendering Peace Agreements." Geneva: The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

Reimann, C. Et al. 2013. „Exploring the Gender-Sensitivity of Peace Agreement Texts." Brussels: European Forum for International Mediation and Dialogue.

Activity

Class Debate on Gender Quotas and Peace Processes

Read presentation Buchanan, C. 2016. "Gender Quotas in Peace Processes" and split class into two groups. One group debates "for" and the other group debates "against" on the question "Should quotas be used to guarantee women's participation in peace processes?"

*An additional power point source regarding the discussion on "Gender Quotas in Peace Processes" may be requested by instructors directly to the GSUM team: gsum@bricspolicycenter.org

Day 5: The Role of a Mediator

Session 1

The Role of a Mediator: An Overview

Questions:

What is the role of a mediator? Who mandates them? What is their relationship to the negotiating parties?

Required Readings

Arnault, J. 2014. "Legitimacy and peace processes: International norms and local realities." Accord Series 25, London: Conciliation Resources.

Nathan, L. 1999. "'When Push Comes to Shove': The Failure of International Mediation in Africa Civil Wars." Track Two 8, 2: CCR, Cape Town.

Additional Readings

Mason et al. 2012. "Translating Mediation Guidance into Practice: Commentary on the UN Guidance for Effective Mediation by the Mediation Support Network." MSN Discussion Points 2: New York and Accra.

Moon, BK. 2009. "Report of the Secretary-General on Enhancing Mediation and its Support Activities." New York: United Nations.

Session 2

Comparative Case Study on Myanmar and the Philippines

Questions:

What was the participation of women in respective cases? What was the role of a mediator? How did women participate when there was no mediator? What worked? What did not work?

Required Readings

Transnational Institute. 2016. "No Women, No Peace: Gender Equality, Conflict and Peace in Myanmar." Myanmar Policy Briefing 18. TNI: Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

Busran-Lao, Y. 2014. "Philippines: women and inclusivity in the Mindanao peace process." Accord Series 25: London, Conciliation Resources.

Additional Readings

Alliance for Gender Inclusion in the Peace Process. 2015. "Women, Peace and Security Policymaking in Myanmar: Context Analysis and Recommendations." AGIPP: Yangon, Myanmar.

Arnado, MA. 2012. "Women's Involvement in Conflict Early Warning Systems: Moving from Rhetoric to Reality in Mindanao." Geneva: The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

Khen, SI., Nyo, MYH. 2014. "Looking at the Current Peace Process in Myanmar through a Gender Lens." Catalyzing Reflection, swisspeace and the Gender and Development Initiative.

Office of the Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process: The Women in the Bangsamoro Peace Process.

Session 3

The Role of a Mediator: Process Design

Questions:

How does a mediator design a process that increases the meaningful participation of women? How does a mediator prioritize?

Required Readings

Paffenholz, T. 2014. "Broadening participation in peace processes. Dilemmas & options for mediators." Mediation Practice Series, Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

Lanz, D., M. Siegfried. 2012. "Mediation Process Matrix." Bern: swisspeace.

Activity

A choice of the following exercises:

Exercise: Developing a Conflict Transformation Process over Women's Rights

The goal of the exercise is to design a conflict transformation initiative in an open context around the status of women and women's rights in a post Arab-spring context. It requires a text analysis and role play, followed by a debriefing (Source material for case study and complete instructions found in Mason et al. 2015: 120 – 121).

Exercise: What a Gender Analysis is (or is not) in Conflict Analysis and Peacebuilding

The goal of the exercise is to learn what a gender analysis does and does include in peacebuilding and conflict transformation. It uses a comparative table as a basis for discussion in small groups (Table and complete instructions found in Mason et al. 2015: 112-115).

5. Teaching Methods and Materials

On each day, conceptual inputs and presentations will be illustrated with "Activities": role plays, exercises, and case studies. The presence of additional readings will vary given the number of required readings. The exercises are mainly drawn from Mason et al. 2015. "Gender and Mediation: An Exercise Handbook for

Trainers.” CSS Mediation Resources, Zurich/Bern; Center for Security Studies and swisspeace. The course seeks to promote interactive learning and skill development. Active participation will be encouraged throughout the course.

6. Annex 1

Successful Entry Points for Women in Peace Processes

Guatemala: The 1996 Peace Agreements



Country Profile (BBC 2012):

Mountainous, heavily forested and dotted with Mayan ruins, lakes, volcanoes, orchids and exotic birds, Guatemala is one of the most beautiful countries in Central America, with mountains, forests dotted with Mayan ruins, and lakes and volcanoes. The Maya people, its indigenous population, make up about half of the population. Mayan languages are spoken alongside Spanish, which is the country's official tongue. Many Guatemalans are of mixed Amerindian-Hispanic origin.

Conflict Overview (BBC 2012):

In 1996, a 36-year long civil war between leftist, Mayan insurgents (the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unit) and the Government ended with the signing of peace agreements. Over the course of the civil war, more than 200 000 (most of them civilians) were killed or disappeared. Although the war has ended, society inequality, poverty, illiteracy, infant mortality, and organized crime and street gangs are still major issues within the country.

Women and the Peace Process in Guatemala:

In the process leading up to the 1996 peace agreements, women gained a successful entry point into the negotiations largely through the willingness of the third-party mediator, then UN Special Representative of the Secretary General, Jean Arnault. consulted actively with civil society groups and women's groups as part of his mandate. This ensured that women's demands were brought to the peace table and a large number of those got into the peace agreements concluded in 1996.

Another entry point were two women negotiators in the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Party and the government team. Luz Mendez, one of the female negotiators, would share important information and her experience at the peace table back to women's groups, and she would then feed information and requests back to the mediator. The entry point was strengthened by connections between strong women's groups, a negotiator and the mediator. There was a continuous flow of information and interaction.

Northern Ireland: The 1998 Good Friday Agreement



Northern Ireland Profile (BBC 2012):

Northern Ireland is a semi-autonomous part of the United Kingdom. It has a population of 1.7. Belfast is the capital of Northern Ireland. While the major language is English, most of its people belong to two different communities. The first is the mostly-Protestant descendants of Scottish and English settlers, and a mainly Catholic community. Politics also influence religious and cultural traditions. Unionists (mostly Protestant) want Northern Ireland to remain a part of the United Kingdom. Nationalists (mostly Roman Catholic) favour union with the Irish Republic. Northern Ireland manages many of its own affairs, including the education system.

Northern Ireland Conflict Profile (BBC 2012):

The conflict, with a particularly period that lasted for decades known as 'The Troubles,' began in the 1960s when the Catholic community stepped up a campaign for equal rights, as they felt they were being systematically discriminated by the unionist-dominated parliament. However, some unionists felt that Protestant dominance under threat. Tension spilled into violence and in 1972, the British government imposed direct rule. Violence increased, and paramilitary groups engaged in deadly violence that resulted in 3600 deaths

– mostly civilians. The 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement allowed Dublin to enter the debate about the conflict, and by the early 1990s, both London and Dublin began multi-party talks. Ceasefires and months of negotiations lead to the 1998 Good Friday Agreement.

Women and the Peace Process in Northern Ireland:

Women formed a political party to enter into the peace talks. Northern Irish women formed the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition across party lines to contest the elections. Winning one per cent of the vote, they gained two seats at the negotiating table, where they put forward an all-woman, cross-community team. (Conciliation Resources 2002). They not only won seats, but were able to bridge some of differences between two conflicted sides. They even negotiated the reintegration of political prisoners. The key aspect of their entry point and contribution was creating a strong women's movement across conflict lines.

Burundi: The 2000 Peace and Reconciliation Accords



Burundi Country Profile (BBC 2014):

Burundi is a landlocked country in the African Great Lakes region in southeast Africa, and sometimes considered part of Central Africa. It's capital is Bujumbura. Different ethnic groups, the Twa, Hutu and Tutsi have linked in Burundi for at least 500 years. It gained independence in 1962 after having been a German

and then Belgian colony since the beginning of the 20th century. Burundi is one of the poorest countries in the world, with half the population living below the poverty line. Coffee and tea are the country's main exports.

Burundi Conflict Profile (BBC 2014):

Tension between the usually-dominant Tutsi minority and Hutu majority that has plagued the country for many years was one of the key drivers of the conflict that sparked in 1994. After Melchior Ndaye, a Hutu elected in the country's first democratic elections in 1993, was assassinated, the country fell into years of violence in which an estimated 300 000 people, most of them civilians, were killed. The Burundi peace process unfolded in three phases, from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s to with three different mediators respectively: the late former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, the late former South African President Nelson Mandela, and then the South African Deputy President Jacob Zuma. A key turning point in the process was the signing of the Arusha Agreement in 2000.

Women and the Peace Process in Burundi:

With 19 conflicting parties, women were completely shut out of peace process, as they were literally shut out of the room and protested in corridors. Despite this, women's groups managed to get a meeting with the chief mediator Julius Nyerere and briefed him on their demands. Through the mediator, through him, they got an appointment with the leadership of the 19 conflicting parties and briefed them on their demands. This resulted in 7 women observers at the talks (primarily due to the will of the mediator). They also conducted a parallel All-Party Burundi Women's Peace Conference in July 2000 (supported by UNIFEM) while negotiations were taking place in Arusha. This meeting had 2 representatives from each of the 19 conflicting parties, plus the 7 women observers. They presented their agenda to Nelson Mandela who was then the chief mediator, and almost all items were included. The entry point was possible through a strong women's movement working across conflict lines, briefing the conflict parties directly, and having support of international organizations.

Aceh: The 2005 Aceh Agreement



Aceh Profile (BBC 2005):

Aceh is a province on the north-western tip of Sumatra, and has a higher percentage of Muslims than other parts of Indonesia. Many in Aceh trace the conflict drivers back to 1949 when the Dutch recognized Indonesian independence – Aceh became part of the Republic of Indonesia despite not having been formally incorporated into the Dutch colonies. The Indonesian Government used armed groups to annex the region, creating resentment among the local population. Despite a special status and certain concessions for religious and educational matters (e.g. Aceh was allowed to introduce Sharia law in 2001), many Acehnese continued to represent Indonesian rule. This was exacerbated by the regions rich oil and gas resources which were used by central government and the policy of transmigration in which many incoming Indonesians increased competition for jobs.

Conflict Profile (BBC 2005):

GAM rebels took up arms against the Indonesian government and only in 2005, a peace agreement was signed after 26 years of a bitter separatist campaign. The decades-long conflict left almost 15 000 people, mainly civilians, dead. The Aceh Peace Agreement was signed after six months of negotiations with mediator and former Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari. After rounds of negotiations and a collapsed deal in 2003, both sides resolved to come to an agreement in the wake of the tsunami that devastated the Indian Ocean in December 2004.

Women and the Peace Process in Aceh:

Women used parallel processes as an entry point. They held two Acehese Women's Conferences. Initially, no women were represented in the peace negotiations. After the two conferences, they brought their demands to the Government of Aceh and Agency for the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Aceh and Nias (following the 2004 tsunami). Five out of their 11 demands were included. There was a gender advisor who drew on these demands, got a gender policy for the recovery of Aceh including land distribution for widows and single women. Secondly, women also utilized a strong support network of women's groups in the region, e.g. the Sisters of Islam. Thirdly, Shadia Marbahan became the only female negotiator at the peace talks. She then garnered international support for greater inclusion of women in peace processes by speaking about the process at international conferences and various women's forums. Women's entry points into the process were possible through: strong women's movements, international support, parallel processes outside the peace table, the support of the Aceh government itself, regulations on women's economic empowerment, using CEDAW and Sharia law to get regulations passed.