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**FROM A CRITICAL MASS TO CRITICAL ACT(OR)S: THE SUBSTANTIVE
REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN PEACE PROCESSES**

BA thesis

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ABSTRACT

A growing awareness of the gender-specific experiences of women in war and post-war conditions have gradually introduced the term “substantive representation of women” to the attention of institutions and individuals concerned with peace and security, from whose agenda it had thus far been absent. Both scholars and policy-makers dealing with the issue of gender and security have reached a general agreement that peace processes should reflect women’s substantive representation, meaning that women’s interests should be included in official peace agreements.

The main purpose of this paper was to answer the question, what are the factors accounting for the substantive representation of women in peace. That was done through an in-depth analysis of the peace processes in El Salvador, Guatemala and Colombia, combining within-case process tracing with cross-case comparison. The occurrence of the substantive representation of women in peace processes was analysed focusing on three dimensions – location of representational activities, critical actors, and means of expressing SRW.

What emerged from the analysis are six factors accounting for more gender-sensitive peace agreements, substantively representing women’s interests: (1) inclusiveness of the peace process in terms of civil society and public involvement; (2) strength and autonomy of women’s organizations; (3) links between the informal and formal arenas of a peace process; channels for accessing the negotiation process; (4) co-operation between the critical actors in different representational arenas; (5) ability to create a coherent women’s agenda; (6) advocacy from the key stakeholders at the negotiating table.

There is further research required on several subsequent issues, including: how well the gender-specific provisions of final peace agreements reflected the diversity of women’s concerns and the extent to which these provisions have been implemented in post-conflict settings.

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INTRODUCTION

War and peace can be seen as gendered concepts themselves, being often represented within a dichotomous frame in which war is masculine and peace is feminine. That, however, is only one facet of the complex gendered dimensions present in war, peace and security notions. A growing awareness of the gender-specific experiences of women in war and post-war conditions has taken place both in academia and in practice, one of the most important landmarks being the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) adopted in October 2000. In light of UNSCR 1325, three general themes concerning women, peace and security have emerged: protection, participation, and insertion of a gender perspective. These three pillars, serving as a normative ideal, can be tied together with the concept of substantive representation of women (SRW).

Against this background, both scholars and policy-makers dealing with the issue of gender and security have reached a general agreement that peace processes should reflect women's substantive representation, meaning that women's interests should be included in official peace agreements. There is, however, less consensus about how this can be achieved effectively. Given the overall content of UNSCR 1325 and traditional theoretical approaches of SRW, the underlying assumption is that the more women participate in the formal peace process (descriptive representation), the more likely the peace agreement will refer to women's needs (substantive representation). A growing body of literature, however, suggests that women's inclusion is more complicated than a mere matter of presence, therefore the participation of women in peace negotiations does not automatically guarantee gender-sensitivity of resulting agreements (Ellerby 2016; Waylen 2014; Reimann et al. 2013). Given that context, one might rightfully ask, if women's presence at the peace table is not the most important factor accounting for the SRW, what are they?

The research question this paper aims to answer is: what are the factors accounting for women's substantive representation in peace processes in terms of their interests being represented in official peace accords? To elaborate on this question, this research paper uses a heuristic case study design for the purpose of developing general theoretical propositions regarding the factors accounting for the SRW in the context of peace processes. A method of comparative process tracing is applied to identify key factors

affecting how the pre-negotiation and negotiation phases of a peace process can be gendered and translated into peace agreements substantively representing women's interests. This is done through a within-case comparison of the peace processes in El Salvador, Guatemala and Colombia. The comparative study of the three cases relies on the conceptual framework of SRW presented by Celis et al. (2008). The process-focused framework moves further from a simple assumption that an increase in women's descriptive representation will automatically translate into an increase in the substantive representation of women and offers a more holistic approach of SRW. Reflecting from the analytical questions presented in the framework, three dimensions of the representational process are analysed in the El Salvadoran, Guatemalan and Colombian peace processes – representational arenas, critical actors and means of representation.

The three Latin American cases share many background characteristics in terms of gender roles in society, nature of the civil wars and women's involvement in them. Most importantly, the peace processes that ended civil wars in El Salvador, Guatemala and Colombia all illustrate cases in which women were present in formal peace negotiations. However, only the peace talks in Guatemala and Colombia resulted in gender-sensitive peace agreements¹ systematically representing women's interests and needs. This insight supports the idea that women's descriptive representation at the peace table does not assure the substantive representation of women's interests. Structured and focused comparison of the three cases can thus be used to identify factors associated with different outcomes.

The empirical body of the research draws on scholarly and policy literature on the peace processes in El Salvador, Guatemala and Colombia. Official peace agreements, reports, and statements by negotiating parties, but also existing case studies and books, are analysed to gain insight on the representational process examined and identify the patterns of actions and interactions accounting for the SRW.

The paper begins with a broader discussion on the concept of women's representation, gradually introducing Celis' et al. (2008) conceptual framework of SRW, which forms the structural basis for the analytical part of the thesis. The following sub-section puts

¹ The current study does not take into consideration to what extent have existing gender provisions actually been implemented.

the concept of SRW in the context of peace processes. The second chapter of the paper gives a detailed overview of the methodology used to analyse the selected cases. In the third part of the paper the pre-negotiation and negotiation phases of El Salvadoran, Guatemalan and Colombian peace processes are analysed, focusing on locations of representational activities, critical actors and means of expressing SRW. The results of the study are followed by a discussion and concluding remarks on the main findings and further research possibilities on the topic.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The key theoretical concept of this research paper is the substantive representation of women. This chapter begins with a general overview of the concept of political representation by outlining the difference between descriptively “standing” and substantively “acting” for the represented. Thereupon, the relationship between the two forms of representation is discussed in relation to critical mass theory and gender. After giving a brief overview of the criticism on the mainstream literature on women’s substantive representation, an alternative research agenda of SRW (Celis et al. 2008) is introduced, which forms the basis of the empirical analyses of the paper. In the second part of the chapter the concept of the substantive representation of women is explained in the context of peace processes. In doing so, the concepts of “negative” and “positive” peace, content of United Nations Resolution 1325, and the importance of gender-sensitive peace agreements are highlighted.

1.1. The descriptive and substantive representation of women

The seemingly rather straightforward concept of (political) representation has hidden subtleties. Hanna Pitkin’s *The Concept of Representation* (1967) is often considered as one of the most influential works on the topic, distinguishing between four dimensions of representation – formal, symbolic, descriptive, and substantive, the latter two being the most discussed in scholarly literature. Pitkin’s distinction between the representatives who are descriptively similar and therefore “stand for” those they represent, and the representatives who substantively “act for” the represented by promoting issues of concern to that group has in many ways shaped contemporary understandings of representation as such.

The line between “being” and “doing”, however, is often a blurred one. The majority of the recent literature on gender and political representation has attempted to explore the linkage between these two concepts of representation, frequently making appeal to the notion of “critical mass”², suggesting that higher levels of descriptive representation of

² Critical representation threshold is traditionally identified at levels ranging between 15 and 30 per cent (Beckwith 2007: 29).

women will result in better levels of substantive representation of women's interests (e.g. Norris and Lovenduski 2001; Studlar and McAllister 2002). The critical mass theory relies on the understanding that "the nature of group interactions depend upon size", implying that change in discourse and agenda within a larger group can be achieved as the minority asserts itself through increasing number of members (Norris and Lovenduski 2001: 2-3). To put it slightly differently, when the composition of a representational body shifts from skewed groups to tilted, or even balanced (Norris and Lovenduski 2001: 3), there will be a transformation in the institutional culture, behaviour of the members of the groups, and thematic focus of the matters to be acted upon.

The theory of a critical mass depends on the existence of underlying differences in the values and priorities of the groups concerned (Norris and Lovenduski 2001: 4). In relation to gender and representation it means that male and female representatives should differ in these regards. The theoretical standpoint that the increased presence of women offers possibilities for the articulation of women's perspectives is rather well-rooted in scholarly literature. It has resulted in various studies on women's legislative behaviour, exploring links between women in political office and policy outcomes related to both feminist and women's traditional interests, such as education, family issues, and healthcare (e.g. Saint-Germain 1989; Thomas 1994; Bratton 2005). The seemingly effortless causal relationship between numbers and outcomes has gained wide currency not only among academics, but also politicians, the media and international organisations as an argument for measures to bring more women into the political arena (Childs and Krook 2008: 725).

A growing number of contemporary scholars, however, find the critical mass model to be overly simplifying. Firstly, it is pointed out that the direct quantitative connection between women's descriptive and substantive representation assumes a certain homogeneity among women, therefore reinforcing essentialist notions of a fixed female identity and a certain set of universally shared interests (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008: 396). Furthermore, the traditional understanding of SRW suggests that only women should represent women, and downplays the potential role of men (Celis et al. 2008: 102). Moving further from the criticism regarding the essentialist nature of the approach it appears that the narrow focus on, do women represent women, more generally, tends

to underestimate the important issues of “why”, “how”, and “where” does representation of women take place (Childs and Krook 2008; Celis et al. 2008). Above all, there is a growing understanding that acting for women is not “universally or perpetually available to [neither female or male] political actors”, nor is it dependent solely on personal will (Beckwith 2002: 10), thus it is important to consider what might constitute conditions that are more conducive to SRW.

Strongly influenced by the critique mentioned in the previous paragraph, a new conceptual framework for theorising and analysing women’s substantive representation has been brought up, which does not presume that the SRW takes place only among a specific set of actors in certain locations, or requires a critical mass of women in formal representative positions, but rather explores the many ways in which different critical actors³ in various locations may seek to promote what they regard as women’s concerns (Celis et al. 2008). The framework presented by Celis et al. (2008) aims to analyse the SRW using four guiding questions:

- (1) Who claims to act for women?
- (2) Where does the SRW occur?
- (3) Why is the SRW attempted?
- (4) How is the SRW expressed?

According to Celis et al. (2008: 106) the substantive representation of women can be seen as a process of interest articulation during which a multitude of women’s interests and perspectives can be formulated and represented by various actors, both man and women, in several different locations. This approach does not deny the connection between the descriptive and substantive representation of women, however, it does shift the central research focus from the behaviour of a limited set of female representatives to the process of acting for women as a whole. The framework allows to work with SRW from the “inside” of the concept, analyse interactions between different actors and means of expressing SRW in relation to constraints set by contextual background. Essentially, it can be used to discover factors beyond the presence of female representatives that account for the substantive representation of women both inside and outside of parliamentary settings.

³ Term „critical actors“ refers to individuals or groups performing acts that serve to empower women or bring about women-friendly policy outcomes (Childs and Krook 2008: 734).

1.2. The substantive representation of women in the context of peace processes

As it can be seen from the selection of authors and their ideas presented in the previous chapter, the concept of the substantive representation of women is traditionally used in the comparative politics sub-field, namely while working on women's legislative behaviour. A growing awareness of the gender-specific experiences of women in war and post-war conditions have gradually introduced the term to the attention of institutions and individuals concerned with peace and security, from whose agenda it had hitherto been absent. To understand the gendered aspects of peace processes there is, however, a need for clarity about some of the key terms beyond the SRW itself.

1.2.1. The dynamics of peace processes

Timothy D. Sisk has described peace processes as a complex set of political and diplomatic steps that help to „gradually exchange war for peace“ by defining the nature of the post-war society and laying out a path how to get there (Sisk 2001: 787). Harold Saunders has identified four interconnected arenas in which peace processes take place: the official arena, the quasi-official arena, a public peace processes, and civil society (Saunders 2001: 486-488). Whereas, the official arena, often equivalent to the formal peace negotiations and government diplomacy, can be seen as the most critical and sensitive of all bargaining processes founding the way to peace (Wanis-St. John 2008: 1), the importance of the other three arenas and their practices cannot be underestimated.

As Elisabeth Porter has put it: “A peace settlement is not merely about ending a war, but also about establishing the conditions for a new *just* polity” (Porter 2003: 249, emphasis added). This insight suggests that peace processes should both involve and represent different groups that reflect the social make-up of the society. The questions of inclusion and exclusion in peace processes, however, are directly connected to the inter-relationships between the actors present in the above-mentioned arenas (Wanis-St. John 2008: 3). The delicate nature of formal peace negotiations has traditionally resulted in systematic exclusion of participants who are not the principal parties (can veto or sign the agreement) to the conflict, there is, however, an emerging consensus among both

scholars and practitioners that effective peacebuilding as such should aim for public participation and civil society involvement (Wanis-St. John 2008: 4). In that sense, “negotiations to agreement” do not operate only in formal settings.

This insight appears to be particularly important when analysing the relations between descriptive and substantive representation of women in the context of peace processes. Formal peace talks held in the official arena are traditionally seen as male-dominated elite events, in which the exclusion of women can be explained due to two main factors. Firstly, women occupy fewer positions within the “peace-making pipeline”, in political parties, the state and powerful non-state organizations, therefore there are just fewer women present in the groups from which negotiators and mediators are selected (Anderlini 2007: 58-61, cited in Ellerby 2016). Secondly, there is a rather persistent belief among policymakers that peace negotiations are not the right venue for discussing women’s issues and peace accords are “gender neutral” (Anderlini 2007: 61-62, cited in Ellerby 2016). Contradictory, women are, in general, notably active in more informal arenas of peace processes, participating in protests, inter-group dialogues, and other activities related to the empowerment of citizens (Porter 2003: 246). Thus, the occurrence of the substantive representation of women in peace processes should indeed be studied focusing on interactions between different actors in relation to constraints set by contextual settings.

1.2.2. Gendered understandings of peace and security

Undoubtedly, both men and women are deeply affected by war, yet it is important to acknowledge that the experiences of the two groups differ significantly (e.g. Cockburn 2013; Porter 2003). At the highest formal institutional level this idea is reflected in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) and its six follow-up resolutions⁴. UNSCR 1325 both recognizes the unique impact of armed conflict on women and stresses the need to mainstream a gender perspective into all peacekeeping

⁴ The seven resolutions (UNSCR 1325, UNSCR 1820, UNSCR 1888, UNSCR 1889, UNSCR 1960, UNSCR 2106, UNSCR 2122) are collectively referred as the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. See: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/wps.shtml>.

operations. Furthermore, it calls for women's active involvement in all stages of the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. (UNSCR 1325 2000: 1-2, preamble)

To shortly elaborate on the distinct security concerns that women face in conflict settings, problems of gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, but also the poor condition of refugee camps and settlements are the first ones to arise (Porter 2003: 249, see also UNSCR 1235 2000: 3, paragraphs 10-12). However, to gain a deeper understanding how women's experiences in conflict and post-conflict settings differ from the ones of men, we should return to Sisk's idea of "exchanging war for peace" (see sub-section 1.2.1.).

The most common distinction used to define the nature of peace is the one of Johan Galtung's (1964: 3), where he differentiated between "negative peace" and "positive peace". Negative peace as such refers to the mere absence of violence, positive peace, on the other hand, stands for a stable social equilibrium in which relationships are restored and rights and freedoms of the members of society fulfilled (Galtung 1964: 2). Interestingly, it appears that the perceptions of both, but especially the latter one, can vary significantly between women and men (Moosa et al. 2013: 456).

Research carried out in five countries with a different stage and type of conflict revealed that whereas men tended to "associate peace with the absence of formal conflict and insecurity at community, regional, and national levels", women's understanding of peace started at the level of family and community needs, such as peace within the household, education for children, and the attainment of individual rights and freedoms. (Moosa et al. 2013: 457). Thus, it can be said that men prioritise negative peace over positive one, while women do the opposite. In this context, women's perspective and concerns do not indicate feminist essentialism, but rather highlight that women tend to prioritize issues related to their role as a prime caretaker (Porter 2003: 249). This insight suggests that when the voices of women are not heard in peace processes, women are more likely to feel an absence of peace, even when formal agreements have been reached (Moosa et al. 2013: 458).

1.2.3. Peace processes and the representation of women's interests

As discussed above, both women's experiences in conflict situations and their expectations to the post-conflict reality are different from the ones of men. In that sense, comprehensive peace cannot be achieved without substantively representing the interests of women. This idea is outlined in UNSCR 1325 (2000) paragraph 8 which:

“Calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective...” and take into consideration “the special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction...”

In other words, peace processes should reflect women's substantive representation, meaning that women's gender-specific interests should be included in official peace agreements. That being said, it is important to note that negotiated peace agreements that systematically follow gender-sensitive considerations cannot be seen as a guarantee that all women's concerns will be actually addressed in post-conflict settings (Bell and O'Rourke 2010: 948-949). However, the importance of peace agreements should not be underestimated. A peace agreement can be seen as a road-map that defines the goals of the peace process by outlining the priorities for a broad range of matters, from institutional reforms to socio-economic development, for local parties but also for international organizations and funders (Bell and O'Rourke: 947). Furthermore, Bell and O'Rourke (2010: 947) stress that issues not singled out and defined in the actual text of the peace agreement are difficult to address in the post-agreement phase. Thus, the inclusion of women's interests in official peace accords is not only the most direct indicator of SRW, but also an important starting point in achieving further recognition of women's concerns.

As the theoretical considerations discussed above have shown, the current scholarly literature of the substantive representation of women in peace processes has mainly dealt with the questions, what should be done, and why, therefore focusing on needs and outcomes. Whereas the question, how does the SRW occur, has remained relatively understudied and constrained by somewhat premature assumptions. It is commonly

believed that precisely the continuing lack of women holding a formal position⁵ in official peace negotiations has negative consequences for the inclusion⁶ of women's gender-specific interests in peace agreements and other post-conflict development agendas (e.g. Porter 2003; Villellas Ariño 2010; Moosa et al. 2013). The general reasoning thus being analogical to the formerly discussed critical mass theory (see sub-section 1.1.).

The participation of women in formal peace panels is definitely an important aspect of moving towards more gender-considerate peacebuilding. However, similarly to the broader gender and politics debate, it remains questionable that a mere presence of women in official positions is enough to represent women's concerns. A growing number of scholars have suggested that an increase in women's descriptive representation in peace negotiations will not automatically translate into higher levels of substantive representation of women's interest resulting in gender-sensitive peace agreements (e.g. Waylen 2014; Ellerby 2016). In doing so, the authors have highlighted the importance of the institutional design of peace processes that shapes actors' strategies (Waylen 2014: 496) and the issues of access and advocacy, which are not always concurrent with the presence of female representatives (Ellerby 2016: 11-12). However, there remains still a lot to be discovered regarding the exact factors and conditions that account for the SRW.

Furthermore, given the fact that peace processes operate simultaneously, both in official and non-official arenas, and women are traditionally active in community level, informal peacebuilding (see sub-section 1.2.1.), it appears to be crucial to study the occurrence of the substantive representation of women in peace processes in a more holistic manner, focusing on the SRW as a process itself, and therefore discover the interactions between the potential critical actors in different arenas, analyse their motivations and means of expressing the interests of women.

⁵ A review conducted by UN Women, analysing a sample of 31 major peace processes between 1992 and 2011, 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 (Castillo Diaz and Tordjman 2012: 3).

⁶ An analysis of 664 agreements produced between 1990 and 2000 showed that 73 (11 per cent) of the agreements included at least one reference to women. An analysis of 504 agreements reached in the period after the adoption of resolution 1325 until 1 January 2015 showed that 138 (27 per cent) included at least one reference to women. (UN Security Council 2015: 5)

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1. Research design

The research paper uses a heuristic case study design for the purpose of developing general theoretical propositions regarding the factors accounting for SRW in the context of peace processes, whereas the outcome variable of SRW is narrowed to gender-sensitive peace agreements systematically representing women's interests and needs.

A method of comparative process tracing (CPT) (George and Bennett 2005: 178-179, Ch. 10⁷; Bengtsson and Ruonavaara 2017) is applied to identify key factors affecting how the peace processes were gendered and translated into peace agreements substantively representing women's interests. Process-tracing as such aims to identify causal chain and mechanisms behind complex social phenomena and is found to be an indispensable tool for theory building (George and Bennett 2010: 207), being therefore an appropriate methodological approach for the current research. Comparative process tracing is essentially a two-step method combining within-case analysis with cross-case comparison (George and Bennett 2005: 179). Following the methodological framework of CPT proposed by Bengtsson and Ruonavaara (2017), the steps applied are the following:

- (1) for each studied case the process leading from the initial conditions A to the outcome of interest B is reconstructed and analysed in terms of ideal-type social mechanisms⁸;
- (2) the processes are compared by making use of the identified mechanisms and ideal-type periodization.

To assure the meaningfulness of the cross-case comparison, the within-case analyses should be, at least to a certain extent, theoretically laden (Bengtsson and Ruonavaara 2017: 51). Or as George and Bennett (2005: 86) have put it: "the proper focusing and structuring of a comparison requires a fine-tuned set of general questions" asked of each

⁷ George and Bennett (2005) do not use the term „comaparative process tracing“, but refer to the approach as „process-tracing method“.

⁸ Social mechanisms are herby defined as causal patterns of actions and interactions leading to the analysed outcome (Bengtsson and Ruonavaara 2017: 53). In ideal-type social mechanisms empirical observations are abstracted to guarantee cross-case portability and comparability of the mechanisms (Bengtsson and Ruonavaara 2017: 54).

case. Hence the conceptual framework of the SRW presented by Celis et al. (2008) is used as a binding theoretical element. Following the analytical questions presented in the framework, the occurrence of the substantive representation of women in peace processes is analysed focusing on three dimensions – location of representational activities, critical actors, and means of expressing SRW. The fourth dimension – motivations behind the SRW – is treated as a general background for the cases, implying that the substantive representation of women was attempted to represent women’s interests, whether feminist concerns, which aim to contest discrimination and inequality, or practical issues emerged from the concrete conditions of women’s lives (for more on the distinction of women’s interests, see Molyneux 1985; Celis et al. 2008). A systematic overview of the research strategy is presented below.

<u>Conceptual framework (Celis et al. 2008)</u>	<u>General questions asked of each case</u>
(1) Who claims to act for women?	→ Who were the critical actors acting for women?
(2) Where does the SRW occur?	→ In which arenas of the peace process did the SRW occur?
(3) How is the SRW expressed?	→ Which actions were taken to represent the interests of women?
(4) Why is the SRW attempted?	→ Serves as a background for the cases.

Another essential element in the comparative step of CPT is a theoretically informed model of periodization (Bengtsson and Ruonavaara 2017: 57). The sequence of phases can be used as a “yardstick for comparison”, helping to highlight the empirical similarities and differences between the cases and focus the investigation (Bengtsson and Ruonavaara 2017: 58).

A peace process can be described in terms of three main phases – pre-negotiation, negotiation and implementation, whereas each of those phases can be pursued within both formal and informal arenas of a peace process (Mason and Siegfried 2007: 2). Since the aim of this paper is to identify factors accounting for SRW in terms of women’s interests being represented in official peace agreements and it does not take into consideration to what extent have existing gender provisions actually been implemented, only the first two phases of a peace process are analysed. The pre-

negotiation phase, often referred to as “the talks about talks”, aims to build up trust between the conflict parties and set the framework for potential negotiations in terms of issues to be discussed, participation and overall aim (Mason and Siegfried 2007: 2, 4), having therefore a significant impact on later stages. The negotiation phase aims at working through the issues of the conflict and then signing a peace agreement (Mason and Siegfried 2007: 2), most critical activities thus taking place in the official arena. The pre-negotiation and negotiation stages of a peace process are strongly interrelated, actions taken and interactions made in the former influencing the dynamics and results of the latter phase, hence the process of “acting for women” will be traced throughout both phases.

2.2. Analytical considerations

As mentioned above, the within-case analysis of the substantive representation of women in peace processes focuses on three dimensions of the representational process – arenas in which SRW was attempted, critical actors and means of expressing SRW. It is important to note that contextual settings as such do not form a neutral backdrop for SRW, but often constitute actors and their behaviours (Celis et al. 2008: 105), therefore the three components analysed are strongly interconnected. Essentially, this approach aims to look inside of the “black box” of a peace process, following both formal and informal practices affecting the outcomes of a peace process in gendered ways.

Each of the analytical dimensions will be studied in a rather open-ended and eclectic manner, allowing the relevant actors, sites and means of representation to surface over the course of the research process. However, to further improve the subsequent “structured and focused” comparison, a few theory-guided distinctions are made. Firstly, the potential sites of SRW are identified as the four arenas of a peace process differentiated by Saunders (2001: 486-488): the official arena, the quasi-official arena, a public peace processes, and civil society. Secondly, a broad categorization of the main actors present in each of the arenas is made. A more detailed overview of the analytical “focal points” can be found in Table 1.

Table 1. The main representational arenas and actors in a peace process

Representational arena	Main actors
The official arena is equivalent to the formal peace panels and brings together the negotiating parties and third-party officials.	Delegates of the negotiating parties Mediators and members of mediating teams Observers Witnesses Technical advisors and experts
The quasi-official arena can be seen as a front or coalition formed by unofficial groups closely related to the official process, who often consult with the officials, proposing them ideas and compromises.	Members of working groups Members of a parallel movement or forum
A public peace process is the arena of sustained dialogue between a larger body of non-officials, usually bringing together the representative citizens from the conflicting parties, who try to address the "human dimension" of the conflict.	Members of a parallel movement or forum Citizens from the conflicting parties
The civil society is an arena comprised of networks of relationships between civilians. Broadly speaking, it is an arena of people-to-people diplomacy, where using civic engagement – from individual volunteerism to organizational involvement – fragments of peace are built.	Civil society organizations Loosely organized civilians

Sources: Saunders 2001; Castillo Diaz and Tordjman 2012

2.3. Case selection

The peace processes of El Salvador, Guatemala and Colombia are analysed in this paper. The case selection follows the logic of the cases being “similar enough to make it possible to compare them systematically and different enough to make such a comparison meaningful” (Bengtsson and Ruonavaara 2017: 56).

The three Latin American cases share many background characteristics in terms of the patriarchal structure of society, nature of the civil wars and women’s involvement in them (see sub-section 3.1.). Most importantly, the peace processes that ended civil wars in El Salvador, Guatemala and Colombia all illustrate cases in which women were present in both formal peace negotiations and informal settings, however, only the peace talks in Guatemala and Colombia resulted in gender-sensitive peace agreements

systematically representing women's interests and needs. This insight supports the idea that women's descriptive representation at the peace table does not assure the substantive representation of women's interests. Structured and focused comparison of the three cases can thus be used to identify factors associated with different outcomes by outlining the similarities between the Guatemalan and Colombian cases, simultaneously contrasting them to the differences of the El Salvadoran case.

The author is aware that the peace negotiations in El Salvador, Guatemala and Colombia took place during different time periods – final peace agreements were signed respectively in 1992, 1996 and 2016 (UN Peacemaker), which affects to which extent the idea of the insertion of a gender perspective into peace processes had been recognized internationally. For example, even though El Salvadoran and Guatemalan peace accords were signed only four years apart, it is believed that the inclusion of women's interests into Guatemalan peace agreement was partially supported by the influence of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, held in 1995 (Castillo Diaz and Tordjman 2012: 8). However, even if external factors may favour the inclusion of a gender perspective, the representation of women's interest is essentially an internal process. Thus, the main factors accounting for the representation of women's interests in peace agreements can be identified focusing on the inner dynamics of a peace process, which can be affected by, but are not dependent on external trends.

2.4. Data

The research of the chosen cases relies both on primary and secondary textual data, such as official peace agreements, reports and statements made by the parties involved in the peace processes, but also existing scholarly literature, such as books and case studies.

3. THE SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN EL SALVADORAN, GUATEMALAN AND COLOMBIAN PEACE PROCESSES

Latin America, often described as one of the most violent regions in the world, has witnessed both civil wars and political unrest in recent decades. Consequently, it is also an important region in terms of conflict resolution and peace-building. (Moser and Clark 2001: 29) Furthermore, both the experiences of conflict and endeavours of peace in Latin American countries have had visibly gendered nature.

In this chapter the process of acting for women is analysed in the context of El Salvadoran, Guatemalan and Colombian peace processes. Firstly, a brief overview of the cases is given, focusing on the gender roles in the society, nature of the civil wars and its gendered dimensions, women's presence in formal peace processes, and gender-sensitivity of the final peace accords. Then the process of acting for women is traced in each of the cases, both in pre-negotiation and negotiation phases of the peace processes. Finally, the identified social mechanisms are compared and general theoretical propositions regarding the factors accounting for the substantive representation of women are made.

3.1. A brief overview of the cases

The civil wars in El Salvador, Guatemala and Colombia, fought between the government forces and left-wing guerrilla groups, were long and overwhelmingly violent, lasting respectively for 12, 36 and more than 50 years. The underlying causes of each of those civil wars are complex and multifold, rooted in historic conditions of poverty, social exclusion, inequality, and political repression (Cordero 2007). In all three countries, however, the experiences of armed conflict and subsequent peace processes are infused with gender dimensions – sometimes obvious and sometimes more hidden.

The gender patterns in Latin American societies, in general, can be described in terms of a patriarchal model (Chant 2002: 548). In all of those countries, men are traditionally the primary breadwinners and pillars of authority. Women, on the other hand, are seen

as mothers and housewives, dependent on men and therefore possessing limited autonomy. (Chant 2002: 548-549) Accordingly, men's domain is described as the public realm of the street, whereas women's sphere is the secluded world of the house (Chant 2002: 548). Those gender norms have been relatively persistent, although, from the late 20th century, there have been more and more signs of erosion of the traditional gendered divisions (Safa 1990: 355). Similar patterns were also present in the shifting context of war and peace, the above-mentioned gender roles and relations being reinforced in some situations and challenged in others.

Women, in many ways, bore the brunt of the violence of the El Salvadoran, Guatemalan and Colombian civil wars. They were subjected to targeted attacks, including mass rape, forced impregnation, torture, and other forms of sexual violence by the armed actors (Chang et al. 2015: 54; Bouvier 2016: 8-9) and disproportionately affected by forced displacement (Cordero 2007; Bouvier 2016: 8). At the same time, women were also secondary victims as the relatives of disappeared and deceased male family members, in many cases leaving them as heads of households in extremely difficult economic conditions (Chang et al. 2015: 54). However, the diversity of roles that women played in those three civil wars goes beyond being solely civilian victims. Illustratively speaking, women did not only *experience* the war, but often *made* it. It is estimated that in El Salvador 1/3 of the 15,000 combatants were female, while in Guatemala women comprised approximately 15 per cent of all soldiers (Cordero 2007). In Colombia, about 40 per cent of the members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and between one-quarter and one-third of the combatants of the National Liberation Army (ELN) were women (Bouvier 2016: 4).

To some extent the gendered nature of the three Latin American conflicts was also mirrored in the following peace processes. The El Salvadoran, Guatemalan and Colombian⁹ peace processes all illustrate rather unique cases in which women were present at the formal peace negotiations. In El Salvador female officials constituted 25% of the participants at the peace table (Reimann et al. 2013: 17). In Guatemala, on the other hand, the official peace negotiation delegations included only two women out of

⁹ Colombia has experienced numerous peace processes, some of which resulted in the demobilization or disarmament of some of the armed groups (e.g. the negotiations between 1990-1994), the current paper focuses on the events at and around the peace talks that were launched in late 2012 between the Colombian government and FARC to bring an end to the Colombian conflict.

16 representatives in total (12.5%) (Chang et al. 2015: 57). The Colombian case stands out with its innovative strategies for the inclusion of women. In the Colombian peace process women participated as negotiators, gender advisors, and experts, making up one-third of peace table participants, additionally the Colombian process had a specific gender subcommittee (UN Women).

In all three peace negotiations women were thus descriptively represented, that within or nearby the critical mass threshold, however, in terms of the substantive representation of women, the three cases differ significantly. Between 1994 and 1996, twelve thematic agreements were signed between the Government and the The Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG), most of them reflecting comprehensive gender equality considerations. With respect to women's interests, provisions were inserted on land access, an end to discrimination against indigenous women, support for women's rights and equality within the household, credit and development assistance, equal rights for working women, greater access to education, and increased opportunities for women to serve in the armed forces (Chang 2015: 68). The peace agreements signed in Colombia in 2014 and 2016 follow a similar gender-sensitive approach, systematically recognizing the equal rights between men and women, but also the special needs of the latter group (see *Acuerdo Final...* 2016). The peace accords that ended the civil war in El Salvador, on the opposite, can be considered to be gender-blind (Reimann et al. 2013: 17) and do not differentiate between the needs and interests of men and women.

What emerges from those three cases is an important puzzle: when does women's descriptive representation during peace processes translate into their substantive representation in peace agreements? And if women's presence at the peace table is not the most important factor accounting for the SRW, what are they?

3.2. The pre-negotiation phase

In this section the structure of the initial processes, both formal and informal, that formed the precursor for the official peace negotiations is explored and analysed,

focusing on the presence and efficacy of different actors seeking to promote what they regard as women's concerns.

3.2.1. El Salvador

A process of dialogue between the El Salvadoran government and the The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) was initiated in 1984, but it was not until 1990 that both parties agreed to start United Nations (UN) brokered formal peace negotiations (López et al. 2015: 9). The pre-negotiation phase was not always a smooth path, however, it did significantly contribute to the shape of the formal negotiations and final peace agreements.

The “talks about talks” did take place mainly in the official arena and were rather exclusive. During this stage of the peace processes the leadership of the conflicting parties held several dialogue sessions, but there was no negotiation agenda as such (López et al. 2015: 9). The meetings held between 1984 and 1989 were technically public events, often accompanied by mass demonstrations outside the meeting venues, however, the discussion as such took place only among the official representatives of the conflicting parties. The topics discussed were general and political in nature, reflecting the ideological standpoints of the parties (López et al. 2015: 9). Gender-related issues or women's interests were never part of the dialogue.

As briefly mentioned above, the pre-negotiation phase was relatively elite-centred, however, to some extent it did operate in other, less formal, arenas. Civil society organizations initially intervened the process with spontaneous demonstrations around the meeting venues of the conflicting parties, but organized themselves in more coherent manner in later stages of the peace process (López et al. 2015: 13). One the most important actors that arose in the civil society arena was the Permanent Committee of the National Debate (CPDN), formed in 1988 (López et al. 2015: 14). The Committee consisted of 83 civil society entities, *including* women's groups (López et al. 2015: 14), each of which hoped to promote the idea of negotiated peace and influence the resulting peace accords. The civil society organizations were occasionally informally consulted by the officials, but in the end, it were the members of the

government and the FMLN that made the decisions, the former group thus not carrying a remarkable role as a deliberating actor (López et al. 2015: 14).

Interestingly, the women's groups present in the CPDN never mobilized as actors representing the needs and interests of women as such. Patricia Hipsher notes that most El Salvadoran women's organizations in the 1980's and early 90's did not conceive of themselves as organizations focusing on gender-specific needs of women, but rather as political groups that sought broad and mainly class-based interests (Hipsher 2001: 135). The women's organizations, traditionally founded by or emerged out of political parties, were constrained by their revolutionary roots and ties to leftist political movements and it was not until 1992 or 1993 that the majority of Salvadoran feminist civil society groups had become autonomous units (Hipsher 2001: 146). In that sense women were present in the informal arenas, but never as actors consistently acting *for* women.

It appears that there were, however, times when some individuals inside the women's groups or loosely organized civilians raised the question of the special needs and rights of women, but those claims, not being the priorities, remained unaddressed by the actors in higher positions (Luciak 2001: 14-15; Hipsher 2001: 145). As such, women were discouraged from pursuing interests that did not directly contribute to the more universal objectives of the revolutionary struggle. Lacking publicity, support and ability to produce a unified set of demands, the efforts to act on behalf of women as a social group remained without effect.

In general, the pre-negotiation phase of the El Salvadoran peace process did not yield many results in terms of developing a specific agenda or a framework for potential negotiations. The talks about talks did, however, show that there is a possibility for a negotiated solution. Furthermore, it highlighted the role of the conflicting parties as the main decision-makers and therefore defined the exclusive and political nature of the following stages.

3.2.2. Guatemala

The pre-negotiation phase of the Guatemalan peace process stands out as remarkably inclusive and open to public participation. The first initiative for a negotiated solution

was taken in August 1987, when Central American governments, at the Esquipulas II meeting, agreed a framework to promote peace in the region. A few months later the Commission on National Reconciliation (CNR) was appointed by the Guatemalan government to oversee implementation of the Esquipulas agreement. Its membership included a representative from the Catholic bishops, the government, political parties, and a prominent members of civil society (Nakaya 2003: 274). One of the first official steps towards a negotiated peace settlement was taken in 1989, when a CNR sponsored “Grand National Dialogue” was held between the Guatemalan government and representatives of 47 civil society organizations to identify and promote consensus on the major topics of concern to peace-making (Alvarez 2002: 45). The National Dialogue excluded the URNG and was boycotted by the military and several right-wing political parties (Alvarez 2002: 45), therefore not resulting in any substantive outcomes. However, it provided the first formal opportunity for civil society to express their diverse perspectives about the war and set the stage for the involvement of the public, transforming the closed characteristics of the potential negotiations.

Women’s organizations were not represented at the National Dialogue, in part because a history of discrimination and traditional gender relations in society meant their voices were not widely acknowledged by those with established authority (Alvarez 2002: 45). However, within civil society itself, women’s organizations had been notably active in respect of their efforts to promote peace. Throughout the Guatemalan conflict, the Catholic Church supported women and indigenous groups in rural areas through community development and public campaigns for negotiated settlements (Nakaya 2003: 464). The support of the Catholic Church also provided a strategic entry point for women to organize “mothers’ movements”, the Mutual Support Group and the National Coordinating Committee of Guatemalan Wives being the most prominent ones. These groups held public marches and protests that gathered thousands of people opposing the repressive regime and fighting for justice. By the late 1980’s, Guatemalan refugee women also began to organize in Mexico (Nakaya 2003: 464). The women’s organizations in Guatemala were visible, yet often isolated, therefore having a minimal access to more formal arenas.

The next breakthrough in the pre-negotiation phase of the Guatemalan peace process came in 1990, when the CNR held talks with the URNG in Norway, under the auspices

of the Lutheran World Federation (Alvarez 2002: 46). The secret negotiations resulted in the signing of the Oslo Accord, committing the conflicting parties to a political solution to the civil war. One of the main provisions of the Oslo Accord was to call for dialogue between the URNG and different sectors of society to move towards a firm and lasting peace (Alvarez 2002: 46). This came out of the series of five meetings, the Oslo Consultations, held between the URNG with each of the five sectoral groupings following on from the Oslo Accord: political parties, business sector, religious groups, unions and popular organizations, and academics, cooperatives and small businesses (Alvarez 2002: 41). The meetings were chaired by a CNR representative and observed by an UN delegate. Women's organizations were yet again excluded from the Consultations, however, they managed to provide themselves a limited access through their associations with other sectors, which can be seen as the first emerging link with more official decision-making arenas.

The Oslo Consultations paved the way for official negotiations between the government and the URNG, starting in 1991. A lot of the issues identified through these meetings were later incorporated into the formal negotiating agenda and eventually helped to shape the peace agreements reached (Alvarez 2002: 47), but first and foremost the inclusive processes of the pre-negotiation phase laid the groundwork for the participatory nature of the subsequent negotiations.

3.2.3. Colombia

The already second series of negotiations between the Colombian government and the FARC collapsed in 2002 and were followed by eight years of high-intensity war (Herbolzheimer 2016: 2). A new opening for a negotiated agreement came in 2010, when the newly elected president Juan Manuel Santos assumed office, promising that he held the keys to peace and would use them when the moment was propitious (Bouvier 2016: 19). This promise was followed by a year-and-a half of quiet confidence-building measures and six months of preliminary confidential talks between the government representatives and FARC delegates.

The exploratory talks resulted in the August 2012 General Agreement for the Termination of the Conflict, which highlighted that the purpose of the peace talks between the government and the FARC was first and foremost “to put an end to the conflict as an essential condition for the construction of stable and lasting peace”, and stated that the implementation phase of the peace process would be the one involving society at large (*General Agreement...* 2012: 1). As the content of the Global Agreement reflects, the Colombian peace process was initially treated mainly as an elite and exclusive event. The talks about talks, taking place behind closed doors, were not open to wider civil society or public input, and the human dimension of the conflict remained unaddressed at that stage.

However, even if the main decision-making arena was accessible only to the conflicting parties, the idea of a negotiated peace agreement was not only supported but also promoted by several other actors in less formal settings. What is remarkable about the Colombian case, is the fact that ever since the breakdown of the 1999-2002 peace negotiations local women’s organizations had been the most notable peace activists in the country (Rojas 2004: 25). In spite of the limited space for public discussion, women’s organizations had been continuously insisting on the need to find political solutions and to prepare the ground for inclusive future negotiations. They worked in rural areas to address the growing violence and organized both regional and national marches to keep their demands for peace and justice in the public eye (Bouvier 2016: 18). At the regional level, several women’s groups negotiated local-level ceasefires that held for several months in a limited area (Bouvier 2016: 18). Through these types of actions partnerships were slowly emerging between government entities and women’s civil society groups (Rojas 2004: 25).

In their fight for peace these organizations also addressed the gender-specific interests and needs of women. Claims were made for gender equality, effective policies on women’s rights, insertion of a gender perspective in future political reforms, and ensuring the direct participation of women and women’s organisations in the local and national dialogue processes and negotiations of the social and armed conflict (Rojas 2004: 29). In doing so, women’s groups increasingly sought to create global alliances and engage international support in their struggle.

The pre-negotiation phase of the Colombian peace process shows that the process of making a transition from war to peace is essentially a public concern. Nevertheless, the final decisions are often made by governments and armed groups' representatives, the actors making the most impact in society at large remaining excluded from the formal decision-making arenas. The activism of civil society groups does, however, create important partnerships and alliances, which may arise again in the later stages of a peace process.

3.3. The negotiation phase

In this section the evolution of multiparty negotiations is analysed. While tracing the process leading to the signing of peace agreements, the presence (or absence) and impact of the actors representing women's interests is highlighted.

3.3.1. El Salvador

Similarly to the pre-negotiation phase, the official peace negotiations in El Salvador were exclusive and elite-dominated, the main actors being the government, FMLN and the United Nations. The official negotiations started in 1990, after the FMLN's military offensive of 1989, which failed to bring about any substantial change (López et al. 2015: 10). The United Nations took on the role as the mediator in the negotiations, appointing Álvaro de Soto as the delegate, who would be directly involved in mediating between the El Salvadoran government and the opposition forces. The parties jointly agreed to hold the official negotiation meetings behind closed doors, with the de Soto as the sole official spokesperson. (López et al. 2015: 10)

The agenda for each round of the negotiations was defined by the conflicting parties and refined with the UN mediator (López et al. 2015: 11), the matters under discussion being primarily concerned with the balance of political power, but also security and judicial reforms. The actors present in the quasi-official arena and civil society, such as political parties and social organizations, held a limited consultative role. As the negotiations moved forward, the agenda broadened in its scope and other sensitive

issues, such as human rights and constitutional reforms, were put on the table. However, the human rights concerns were treated in a universal manner, with no insertion of a gender perspective.

It is clear that the main interest of the negotiating parties was not to establish an inclusive social dialogue, but reach a political agreement. This perspective was also shared by the female officials, who were part of the FMLN delegation. Based on the interviews conducted with the female commanders, who participated in the negotiations, Iija Luciak has pointed out that some of the female representatives did support women's rights, but did not bring them up since it was not supported by the dynamics of the negotiations, while others considered the feminist movement "extremist and radical" and not part of FMLN's overall objectives (Luciak 2001: 39). Thus, the gender-specific interests of women were simply never discussed during the negotiations.

As the peace negotiations did essentially operate only in the official arena between a limited set of actors, none of whom mobilized on behalf of women, SRW as a process never occurred in that phase of the El Salvadoran peace process. That silence is reflected in the six sets of agreements signed, which do address a relatively wide range of issues, such as transfers of land; the size and powers of the armed forces; the creation of a new civilian police force; and reform of the electoral and judicial systems, but do not represent women's gender-specific interests.

3.3.2. Guatemala

In April 1991, with the signing of the Mexico Accord the Guatemalan government and the URNG agreed to start official peace negotiations. Although influenced by the civil society inputs from the pre-negotiation phase, the initial negotiating agenda and process had no formal role for civil society groups (Alvarez 2002: 48). The early years of peace talks showed little success, the establishment groupings were gripped by internal struggles over the issues of reform and ideologically divided positions. Simultaneously, civil society organizations, including women's groups, were protesting their exclusion from the negotiations. (Alvarez 2002: 48)

In May 1993, the leader of the government negotiating team broke off the peace talks (Alvarez 2002: 48). Soon after, when the then-incumbent President Serrano attempted to suspend the Constitution, civil society organizations across the political spectrum quickly mobilized a broad multi-sectoral National Consensus Forum to prevent the coup and fight for democracy. In June, the Congress elected the popular organizations' nominee, Ramiro de León Carpio, as interim president. (Alvarez 2002: 49) This experience led to conditions that changed the dynamics of the peace negotiations. In 1994, official talks between the government and the URNG – mediated by the UN and supported by the Group of Friends, comprising the governments of Colombia, Mexico, Norway, Spain, the United States, and Venezuela – resumed again. *The Framework Accord for the Resumption of Negotiations* (1994) mandated the creation of a Civil Society Assembly (ASC) as a consultative body, which became the main representational arena for the actors representing women's interests.

The ASC comprised 10 delegates from each of the 11 social sectors invited to participate (Alvarez 2002: 50). Among the eleven sectors was also a separate sectoral grouping for women's organizations, giving the Guatemalan women their first ever opportunity to work together on gender issues and women's rights at a national level. The Women's Sector was initially not considered to be a part of the ASC, however, women's organizations had become even more visible and coherently organized since the pre-negotiation phase and a coalition of women's groups managed to fight for the inclusion of a representational platform specifically for women (Chang et al. 2015: 61). The final version of the Women's Sector was composed of 32 organizations, representing a diverse cross-section of society, including urban and rural women, academics, human rights activists, feminists, members of trade unions, and indigenous women (Chang et al. 2015: 62).

The ASC as a whole was mandated to discuss the substantive issues addressed in the bilateral negotiations and to formulate consensus positions on five topics from the Mexico Accord: (1) strengthening civil society and the function of the army in a democratic society; (2) the identity and rights of indigenous people; (3) constitutional reform and the electoral regime; (4) the resettlement of those displaced by the conflict; (5) socioeconomic conditions and the agrarian situation (Alvarez 2002: 49). Each sector, however, had its own organizational structure for internal discussion to define

priorities and formulate specific proposals. Within this framework the priority of the Women's Sector was promoting equality and improving the status of women.

Being surrounded mainly by male-dominated organizations from other sectors, the Women's Sector was initially rather isolated within the ASC (Alvarez 2002: 51). Furthermore, it was fragmented from the inside, which limited the sharing of common interests, collective action, and goal setting (Chang et al. 2015: 62). Yet, within the year the women's organizations managed to create strategic alliances with each other and also with representatives of other sectors, shape a distinctive women's agenda, and learn the mechanisms to be effective in the ASC. In doing so, they were able to introduce provisions in the consensus positions that addressed directly or were sensitive to gender issues.

However, since any ASC recommendations or guidelines would be considered by the official negotiators, but were non-binding to them, and the Assembly had no veto power nor a seat at the peace table, advocacy from the principal parties was crucial for making the voices of the organizations heard. The formal peace negotiation delegations were comprised of 16 representatives from the Guatemalan government, URNG and UN, among them two women, Luz Méndez, who was a URNG delegate on the political and diplomatic commission, and Raquel Zelaya, who was a negotiator on behalf of the Guatemalan government (Chang et al. 2015: 57). The former became the main advocate for women's rights at the peace table. Méndez stated: "I put a task on myself and that was to work in order to have the gender issues included into the peace accords" (Chang et al. 2015: 57-58). Throughout the negotiations Méndez worked with the Women's Sector of the ASC, giving them an actual voice. Additional advocacy was provided by the UN mediator Jean Arnault, who also supported the discussion of women's issues during the peace negotiations (Castillo Diaz and Tordjman 2012: 2).

From active, but often isolated members of civil society, women's organizations became a force of change in the Guatemalan peace process. By using the ASC as a vehicle to influence the formal negotiation process and creating meaningful alliances with other actors, including some of the key stakeholders, sharing their views, women's groups helped to ensure that the language and content of the signed peace accords represented women's interests and needs.

3.3.3. Colombia

The formal peace negotiations between the Colombian government and the FARC began in October 2012. The inaugural session was held in Oslo, after which the negotiations moved to Havana. The peace negotiation agenda was framed around five substantive issues – rural development, political participation, illicit crops, victims and conflict termination (Herbolzheimer 2016: 2). The peace negotiations started off as an elite and male-dominated event. At the peace table launched in Norway men occupied all of the seats, except one held by a Norwegian moderator. Similar patterns continued in Havana, where each side was permitted up to ten negotiators, including five plenipotentiaries, and a team of up to 30 total members, out of whom all of the plenipotentiaries and all but one of the negotiators on the FARC side were men (Bouvier 2016: 19). Gender issues as such were not initially discussed at the peace table.

Women's organizations, however, continued to work hard to make their voices to be heard. They participated in various civil society conferences, public meetings, and regional working groups organized by the Peace Commissions of the House and Senate in Colombia and the United Nations System (Bouvier 2016: 20). A pivotal moment arrived in October 2013, when the main women's groups organized a Women's Summit in Bogota, which eventually allowed them to gain access to the negotiating agenda. The Summit had the backing of the UN Women and the United Nations System in Colombia, as well as key embassies and development partners present in the country (Bouvier 2016: 20). At the summit, around 450 representatives of women's organizations came together to express their perspectives about the peace process (Bouvier 2016: 21). The network of women's organizations gathered in Bogota made a statement in which they: expressed their full support to the negotiations; demanded that women be included at the peace table; and that women's needs, interests, and experiences of conflict be considered during the talks (*Statement by the National Women's Network* 2013).

The persistent engagement of Colombian women and their international allies had an impact, and in November 2013, the Colombian government appointed two women as plenipotentiary negotiators, soon after the FARC also secured a greater participation of

women in their delegation, and women were also appointed to several technical commissions and advisory positions (Bouvier 2016: 20). The overall inclusiveness of the negotiations was further improved in June 2014, when both sides announced a Declaration of Principles outlining their commitment to ensure victims' rights to truth, justice, and reparations. Between August and December 2014 five groups of 12 victims, chosen by the UN to represent the diversity of victimization, were invited to Havana to meet with the peace table participants (Herbolzheimer 2016: 4). The majority of the victims on these delegations were women (Bouvier 2016: 22). The inclusion of female victims who had experienced gender-based violence in the context of the civil war gave voice to an issue that had not been addressed previously in the negotiations and highlighted the need for an even more gender-sensitive approach.

Within the first two years of negotiations women had assured their presence at and on the sides of the peace table. However, their gender-specific interests still remained unnoticed in the context of the negotiation agenda. A real breakthrough was achieved in June 2014, when, after a continuous pressure from women's organizations, the Colombian government and the FARC agreed to create a Gender Subcommittee tasked with reviewing all documents issued as part of the peace process and ensuring that they contained gender-sensitive provisions. The subcommittee was installed in September and was composed of a number of women from the conflicting parties and three international experts (Bouvier 2016: 21). Men from both delegations occasionally also participated in its deliberations (Herbolzheimer 2016: 6). The Gender Subcommittee was not only a technical commission reviewing the agreements, but also an important vehicle by which to deepen co-operation between different actors standing for women's rights. For example, between December 2014 and March 2015 the subcommittee invited three delegations of civil society organizations – comprising 18 people in total – to collectively work on several delicate gender issues, such as sexual violence and women's political participation, later addressed in the agreements (Bouvier 2016: 21).

The Gender Subcommittee had no decision-making authority nor guarantees that its recommendations will be accepted. However, due to its direct links to the delegates of the negotiating parties, advocacy provided by various international actors, and support from the civil society organizations, it managed to ensure inclusion, social equality, and the signing of peace accords that represent gender-specific interests of women.

3.4. Comparison of the cases and conclusions

A brief, but solid overview of the comparison of the El Salvadoran, Guatemalan and Colombian peace processes in terms of the substantive representation of women can be found in Table 2.

As it can be seen from the table, in Guatemala and Colombia, the issue of women's gender-specific interests was rather systematically addressed already in the pre-negotiation phase of the peace processes. In both cases the substantive representation of women took place initially in the civil society arena, the main actors acting on behalf of women being local women's organizations. The women's organizations in both countries were internally coherent and notably active in their actions of promoting both peace and women's rights. In El Salvador, on the other hand, women's groups stood for broad and mainly class-based interests, actors raising women's gender-specific concerns being only a few individual members of the organizations, not being explicit and lacking support, these attempts to draw attention to gender issues remained without effect. However, even in Guatemala and Colombia where women's organizations were clear about their demands, they often remained isolated and could not introduce their ideas to the main decision-makers. Nevertheless, the visibility and activeness of not only women's organizations, but civil society at large established first links between the informal and formal arenas of the peace processes.

None of the three peace processes addressed women's gender-specific interests in the early stages of the official peace negotiations. In El Salvador, where the peace process remained an exclusive, elite-dominated event, this silence was permanent and women's issues were never discussed at the peace table. In Guatemala and Colombia the dynamics of the peace negotiations changed in time and the process became more inclusive. This, in conjunction with continuous pressure from the women's organizations and their strategic allies, created a window of opportunity for a substantial change.

In both cases, the turning point was the moment when the critical actors gained access, whether indirect or direct, to the official negotiation process. The Guatemalan and Colombian cases illustrate that the channels for accessing the formal arenas of a peace process can vary considerably – in Guatemala the main vehicle to influence the

negotiations was the Civil Society Assembly, a consultative body operating in the quasi-official arena, in Colombia, on the other hand, the access was granted through the Gender Subcommittee, an institution created within the official arena. Making use of those platforms, women were able to create a coherent women's agenda, outlining their demands and priorities, which should be addressed during the negotiations. Furthermore, they were used to deepen the co-operation between the critical actors present in different arenas of the peace processes.

It is, however, important to note that neither the ASC nor the Gender Subcommittee held real decision-making power, thus support from the principal parties at the negotiation table became crucial to translate their demands into written provisions of the peace agreements. In Guatemala, the advocacy was mainly provided by a single female representative at the negotiating table. In Colombia, on the other hand, the majority of the members of the Gender Subcommittee were directly connected to the negotiating parties – the FARC and the Colombian government. It is noteworthy about both cases, that also men often supported women and their agenda.

Table 2. The substantive representation of women in El Salvadoran, Guatemalan and Colombian peace processes

Peace process Phase	Indicators	El Salvador	Guatemala	Colombia
Pre-negotiation phase	Representational arenas	Civil society No links with formal arenas	Civil society, public arena Emerging links with formal arenas	Civil society, public arena Emerging links with formal arenas
	Critical actors	Individual members of women's organizations	Women's organizations The Catholic Church	Women's organizations
	Means of expressing SRW	Occasional statements made on behalf of women No formal claims or agenda Low visibility	Formal claims to be part of the negotiations Participation in public debates and mass demonstrations	Formal claims to be part of the negotiations Participation in public debates and mass demonstrations

			High visibility	High visibility
Negotiation phase	Representational arenas	-	Civil society Quasi-official arena Official arena Strong links between the arenas	Civil society A public peace process Quasi-official arena Official arena Strong links between the arenas
	Critical actors	-	Women's organizations Members of working groups Delegates of the negotiating parties Mediator Co-operation between the actors	Women's organizations Members of a parallel forum Delegates of the negotiating parties Gender experts Gender sub-committee International partners (e.g. UN Women) Co-operation between the actors
	Means of expressing SRW	-	Participation in public protests and debates Formation of a women's agenda Advocacy from some of the principal parties	Participation in public debates and forums Formation of a women's agenda Advocacy from some of the principal parties Creation of new gender-specific platforms and institutions during the negotiations

Moving up the ladder of abstraction, what emerges from the analysis of the three cases are six factors accounting for more gender-sensitive peace agreements, substantively representing women's interests (see Figure 1):

- (1) inclusiveness of the peace process in terms of civil society and public involvement;
- (2) strength and autonomy of women's organizations;
- (3) links between the informal and formal arenas of a peace process; channels for accessing the negotiation process;
- (4) co-operation between the critical actors in different representational arenas;
- (5) ability to create a coherent women's agenda;
- (6) advocacy from the key stakeholders at the negotiating table.

The analysis of the negotiations to agreement in El Salvador, Guatemala and Colombia shows that the substantive representation of women's interest in peace processes is indeed a matter of inclusion. The notion of inclusion, however, should not be understood merely in terms of having women present at the peace table, but in a more general manner, focusing on the aspects of public participation and civil society involvement. Consequently, the representation of women's concerns is not about creating an apparent change in the formal representational arena or a passive procedure of receiving signals from below; rather, it is a dynamic and performative process in which the representatives both in formal and informal arenas have an active role to play.

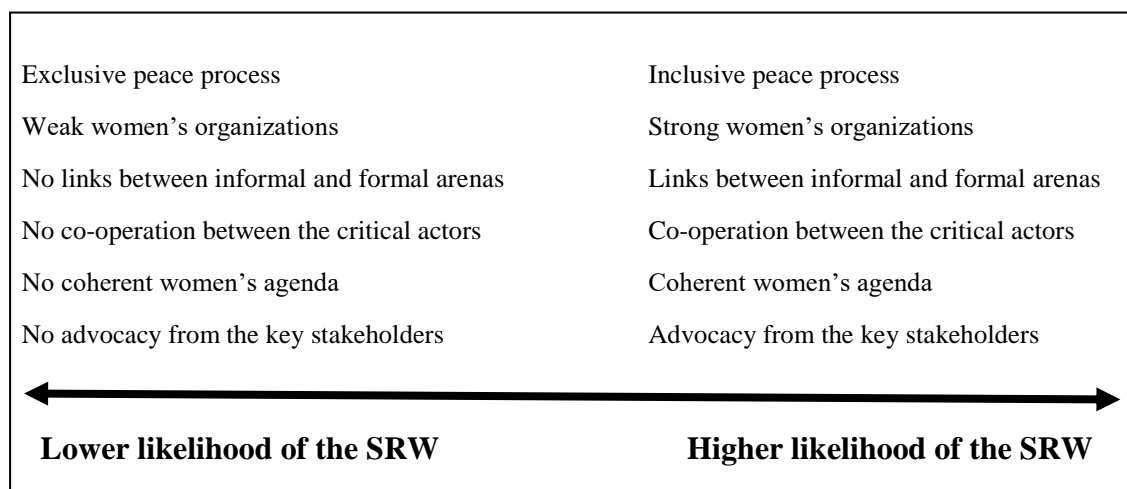


Figure 1. The substantive representation of women in peace processes

SUMMARY

A growing awareness of the gender-specific experiences of women in war and post-war conditions have gradually introduced the term “substantive representation of women” to the attention of institutions and individuals concerned with peace and security, from whose agenda it had thus far been absent. Both scholars and policy-makers dealing with the issue of gender and security have reached a general agreement that peace processes should reflect women’s substantive representation, meaning that women’s interests should be included in official peace agreements. There is, however, less consensus about how this can be achieved effectively.

The main purpose of this paper was to answer the question, what are the factors accounting for the substantive representation of women in peace processes in terms of their interests being represented in official peace accords. That was done through an in-depth analysis of the peace processes in El Salvador, Guatemala and Colombia, combining within-case process tracing with cross-case comparison. The occurrence of the substantive representation of women in peace processes was analysed focusing on three dimensions – location of representational activities, critical actors, and means of expressing SRW.

What emerged from the analysis of the three cases are six factors accounting for more gender-sensitive peace agreements, substantively representing women’s interests:

- (1) inclusiveness of the peace process in terms of civil society and public involvement;
- (2) strength and autonomy of women’s organizations;
- (3) links between the informal and formal arenas of a peace process; channels for accessing the negotiation process;
- (4) co-operation between the critical actors in different representational arenas;
- (5) ability to create a coherent women’s agenda;
- (6) advocacy from the key stakeholders at the negotiating table.

Whereas, positive tendencies associated to each of the factors increase the likelihood of the substantive representation of women (see Figure 1, page 37).

In general, the main findings of this paper indicate that the substantive representation of women's interest in peace processes is indeed a matter of inclusion. The notion of inclusion, however, should not be understood merely in terms of having female officials present at the peace table, but in a more general manner, focusing on the aspects of public participation, civil society involvement, and links between the actors in different arenas. The common theoretical proposition that precisely the low number of women holding a formal position in peace negotiations has negative consequences for the inclusion of women's gender-specific interests in peace agreements is too narrow to fully reflect the complex dynamics of the process of representation in the given context. Essentially, the substantive representation of women in peace processes is not a question of a critical mass, but critical actors and acts.

Understanding what are the factors accounting for the representation of women's interests and needs in peace processes and resulting agreements is one of the many steps towards more gender-sensitive peacebuilding as such. There is further research required on several subsequent issues, including: how well the gender-specific provisions of final peace agreements reflected the diversity of women's concerns and the extent to which these provisions have been implemented in post-conflict settings.

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KRIITILISEST MASSIST KRIITILISTE TEGUDE JA TEGUTSEJATENI: NAISTE SUBSTANTIIVNE ESINDATUS RAHUPROTSSESSIDES

Elina Libek

Resümee

Viimastel aastatel on nii rahu ja julgeoleku valdkonnas tegutsevad teoreetikud kui praktikud hakanud üha enam tähelepanu pöörama naiste soospetsiifilistele vajadustele konfliktilahenduse ja konfliktijärgse ülesehituse protsessides. Üheks olulisemaks miiliviks on siinkohal ÜRO Julgeolekunõukogu poolt 2000. aastal vastu võetud Resolutsioon 1325, mis seab fookusesse kolm tegevussuunda: naiste kaitse, naiste kaasamine rahuprotsessidesse ja sooperspektiiviga arvestamine kõigis kriisiohjeoperatsioonides. Antud suundumuste valguses on termin “naiste substantiivne esindatus” saanud oluliseks osaks valdkondlikust diskussioonist.

Rahuprotsesside kontekstis viitab naiste substantiivne esindatus naiste vajadustega arvestamisele kogu rahuprotsessi vältel ning nende huvide kajastamisele ametlikes rahulepetes. Siiani on enim kajastust leidnud arusaam, et naiste soospetsiifiliste huvide vähene esindatus rahulepetes on tingitud eelkõige sellest, et naised on läbirääkimiste laua taga alaesindatud. Antud käsitluse keskmes on otsene side naiste kirjeldava ja nende huvide sisulise esindatuse vahel, peegeldades paljuski poliitilise esindatuse valdkonnas domineerivat kriitilise massi teooriat. Üha enam teoreetikuid leiab aga, et antud lähenemine on liialt lihtsustav ning naiste huvide esindatus ei ole sõltuv pelgalt naiste kohalolust rahuläbirääkimiste ametlike delegatsioonide kosseisus.

Käesoleva uurimistöö eesmärgiks oli otsida vastust küsimusele, mis on need faktorid, mis mõjutavad naiste substantiivset esindatust rahuprotsessides? Uurimisküsimusele vastamiseks teostati võrdlev juhtumiuuring, mille raames analüüsiti sooaspekte El Salvadori, Guatemala ja Colombia rahuprotsessides. Juhtumite analüüsimisel seati fookusesse naiste huvide olulisemad esindajad, rahuprotsessi areenid, kus naiste huvide küsimus tõstatati, ning naiste huvide substantiivse esindamise peamised väljundid.

Analüüsi tulemusena kerkis esile kuus faktorit, mis mõjutavad naiste substantiivse esindatuse esinemist rahuprotsessides:

- (1) rahuprotsessi avatus kodanikuühiskonnale ja laiemale üldsusele;

- (2) naisorganisatsioonide autonoomsus ja nähtavus;
- (3) pidepunktid rahuprotsessi formaalsete ja mitteformaalsete areenide vahel – ligipääsukanalid;
- (4) naiste huvide esindajate omavaheline koostöö;
- (5) sidusa naiste agenda loomise võimekus;
- (6) toetus rahuläbirääkimiste olulisemate osapoolte poolt.

Kusjuures positiivsed suundumused iga ülalnimetatud faktori lõikes soodustavad naiste huvide esindatust rahuprotsessis ning nende kajastamist rahulepetes.

Uurimistöö olulisemad leiud kinnitavad, et naiste huvide esindatuse küsimus rahuprotsesside kontekstis on seotud kaasatuse põhimõttega. Ometigi ei tohiks kaasatust siinkohal mõista kui naiste füüsilist kohalolekut formaalses rahuläbirääkimiste raamistikus, vaid kui rahuprotsessi avatust erinevatele osapooltele laiemas plaanis. Naiste substantiivne esindatus rahuprotsessides on mitmetahuline ja paljuski reflektiivne protsess, mis hõlmab nii rahuprotsessi ametlikke kui vähem ametlikke osapooli, olles seeläbi niisiis kriitilise tähtsusega tegutsejate ja tegude, mitte kriitilise massi küsimus.

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