

Activity I – Introducing Peace Negotiations and Agreements (Suggested Minimum Time (SMT): 30 minutes)

- Divide participants into pairs to discuss their personal experiences with peace negotiations and agreements.
- Pose the following: At a personal level, what does peace mean to you? How have you been affected by negotiations, mediation, or implementation of a peace accord?

Activity II – Providing a Framework: Identifying Key Components/Actors in Peace Negotiations Processes (SMT: 60 minutes)

- Conduct a PowerPoint presentation on the various stages/actors involved in peace negotiations.
- Provide examples of negotiations from other conflict areas.
- Facilitate a debriefing so that participants understand elements of the process and how women are affected by and participate in negotiations.

Activity III – Presenting Case Studies: Evidence of Women’s Contributions (SMT: 75 minutes)

- Divide participants into small groups and assign each group an Inclusive Security research publication to read on women’s roles in negotiations.
- Ask participants to summarize and present the background of the conflict, key findings about women’s roles, and recommendations for encouraging women’s participation.
- Following group presentations, facilitate a debriefing on common themes.

Activity IV – Sharing Global Perspectives: Inspiring Stories of Women’s Contributions (SMT: 30 minutes)

- Show participants several clips of interviews with women peace builders sharing their efforts to promote women’s participation in negotiation processes in conflict-affected areas not represented at the workshop.
- Facilitate a large group discussion of the participants’ observations.

Activity V – Mapping Negotiation Entry Points (SMT: 80 minutes)

- Provide examples of negotiation structures and how women have been able to enter and/or affect these structures.
- Lead participants in a mapping of a structure of negotiations, building on the previous examples.
- Facilitate a broad discussion of the key entry points for women and for furthering women’s priorities.

Activity VI – Exploring the Opportunities and Challenges (SMT: 60 minutes)

- Divide participants into small groups. Ask them to list opportunities and challenges for women’s participation in negotiation processes in their context.
- Facilitate a debriefing. (Each group lists opportunities and challenges, adding to the collective list, but not repeating already mentioned items, until all comments are recorded.)

Activity VII – Integrating Women: A Simulation of a Preparatory Conference for Negotiations in Parlisia (SMT: 100 minutes)

- Divide participants into small groups and assign specific negotiation roles listed in the simulation.
- Allow each group to perform the mock-preparatory conference to create a structure for formal negotiations and a list of key priorities.
- Ask each group to present its structure and key priorities.
- Facilitate a debriefing about the simulated preparatory conference.

Activity VIII – Promoting Women’s Inclusion in Your Context (SMT: 100 minutes)

- Present the Darfur case as an example of a structure to promote women’s inclusion in negotiations.
- Divide participants into small groups. Ask each group to design a structure that will best incorporate women and their key priorities.
- Ask each small group to present its recommendations to the larger group.
- Facilitate a debriefing on common findings and strategies to implement the recommended structures.

Peace Negotiations and Agreements



Slide 1: What Are Peace Negotiations and Agreements?

Long-term negotiation efforts are commonly known as “peace processes.” The terms “agreement” and “accord” refer to a formal commitment between hostile parties to end a war by resolving protracted conflicts and providing a new vision for group and state relations at local, regional, national, and international levels. Peace accords often open the way to international assistance in the form of peacekeeping and peace support operations.

Key Stages in Negotiations

- Pre-negotiations
- Negotiations
- Post-negotiations implementation

Slide 2: Key Stages in Negotiations

Few peace processes progress in an orderly manner. Typically, there are fits and starts and times of advancement, followed by stagnation or even breakdown. In general, however, there are three phases:

- **Pre-negotiations**
- **Negotiations**
- **Post-negotiations implementation**

Stage One: Pre-Negotiations

- “Breaking the ice”
- Planning and logistics

Slide 3: Pre-Negotiations

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- **“Breaking the ice”:** In many cases, before formal negotiations take place in public, a series of private or secret talks may occur. This allows parties to break the ice, explore options for making peace, convey their concerns, and build understanding.
- **Planning and logistics:** Typically, some of the following issues are discussed: locations of talks, security for each party, participants, time frame, mediators and their roles and responsibilities, observers and their responsibilities, goals, and confidence-building measures.

Stage Two: Negotiations

- Official or “track one”
- Back-channel talks and shuttle diplomacy
- Unofficial or “track two”
- Multi-track

Slide 4: Negotiations

There are various negotiation processes parties can utilize, including:

- **Official or “track one”:** These are bilateral or multilateral negotiations among adversaries involving the leadership or their official representatives, from both or all sides, often mediated by a third party. The only parties that were signatories to the 1995 Dayton Peace Talks that ended the Bosnian war were the presidents of **Bosnia**, **Croatia**, and **Serbia**. Their delegations included only a handful of trusted advisers. Officials from the US Department of State mediated the talks, with direct support from President Clinton.
- **Back-channel talks and shuttle diplomacy:** These terms involve conveying messages through intermediaries (third-party facilitators or mediators) until obstacles are redressed and space is created to begin new face-to-face talks or to resume stalled negotiations. This is often used when parties do not want to officially recognize one another but are interested in

Stage Two: Negotiations

- Official or “track one”
- Back-channel talks and shuttle diplomacy
- Unofficial or “track two”
- Multi-track

Slide 4: Negotiations (continued)

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negotiating. The term “shuttle diplomacy” emerged to describe former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger’s behind-the-scenes discussions in the **Middle East** to end the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. Kissinger traveled between regional capitals multiple times to deliver messages, since the parties refused to meet directly.

- **Unofficial or “track two”:** Track two efforts do not replace official track one activities but ideally precede and complement them. They are often led by non-state actors and involve a wider range of parties with an interest in promoting negotiations. Throughout the 1990s, Norwegian academics with contacts in both communities initiated and facilitated the Oslo Peace Process involving representatives from **Israel** and **Palestine**.
- **Multi-track:** This refers to the involvement of a variety of actors engaging in peacemaking activities at different levels of society – ranging from the track one actors to local, national, or international groups from civil society and other sectors. The process is founded upon the principle that the greater the range of actors involved, the wider the sense of ownership and the greater the pressure to resolve a conflict and attain sustainable results. In Northern **Ireland**, civil society forums that included academics, media, religious organizations, and women’s groups promoted wider societal involvement in the peace process.

Stage Three: Post-Negotiations Implementation

- Confidence-building measures
- Implementation plans and timelines

Slide 5: Post-Negotiations Implementation

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The signing of a peace accord is the symbolic start of a post-conflict phase; often, major challenges arise during implementation. According to the World Bank, more than 40% of internal conflicts erupt in violence within five years of the signing of the peace agreement.

- **Confidence-building measures:** Efforts to build confidence offer tangible proof of commitment to implementation that is key to preventing a resurgence of violence. In **Guatemala**, a human rights accord was among the first documents to be signed in 1994. According to opposition groups, the government began implementing aspects of the accord almost immediately after its signing, fostering a more positive environment.
- **Implementation plans and timelines:** A clear plan and timeline for implementing agreements is a critical component of a sustainable agreement. Benchmarks attached to timelines keep parties on track, as do monitors of the agreement.

Monitors of Agreements

- International community
- National and foreign governments
- Peacekeeping missions
- Regional and local organizations
- Civil society and communities

Slide 6: Monitors of Agreements

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Parties to the conflict and civil society must be made aware of the significant challenges that implementation brings and consider establishing indicators for assessing progress. The public at large must be educated about the agreement to cultivate ownership and investment in its implementation.

- **International community:** International organizations may assist in monitoring cease-fires as a first step. Although the term peacekeeping is not mentioned in the UN Charter, extended peacekeeping operations have become a standard feature of UN work in conflict-affected countries. They involve military operations to ensure the implementation of peace agreements as well as programs that lay the broader foundation for sustained peace.

Peacekeeping operations are mandated under either Chapter VI or Chapter VII of the UN Charter. A Chapter VI mandate permits a UN role in the “pacific” settlement of disputes; peace missions deployed under this mandate include fact-finding and observer missions. Deployment under a Chapter VII mandate allows the use of UN force to enforce peace.

- **National and foreign governments:** These also often serve as guarantors of agreements, encouraging post-conflict reconstruction with foreign assistance as a peace dividend. For example, the **United States** invested over \$13 billion in aid to the countries of Western Europe devastated by WWII. The “Marshall Plan,” named after the US Secretary of State George Marshall, helped rebuild the infrastructure and economic foundation of 16 countries, including Germany and Italy, US enemies during the war. The plan had remarkable results; after only four years (1948 to 1952) the economies of all participating

Monitors of Agreements

- International community
- National and foreign governments
- Peacekeeping missions
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- Civil society and communities

Slide 6: Monitors of Agreements (continued)

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countries far exceeded prewar levels. In addition, the Marshall Plan seeded the elements of European integration, leading to an unprecedented era of peace, democracy, and prosperity in today's European Union.

- **Peacekeeping missions:** They are full-fledged semi-permanent organizations with many professionals and associated troops that monitor compliance, create a buffer zone between warring parties, and, depending on their mandate, assist in the implementation of peace agreements. In **Ethiopia** and **Eritrea**, the African Union (AU) proposed establishment of a peacekeeping mission with a mandate to “monitor the cessation of hostilities...and ensure the observance of the security commitments agreed by the two parties.”
- **Regional and local organizations:** Regional and local actors can also be involved in monitoring. Following the signing of the 1998 Lincoln Agreement to end the **Bougainville** conflict, the Peace Monitoring Group was established. It included military and civilians from countries in the Pacific region (**Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, and Vanuatu**). Its mandate included monitoring the cease-fire, serving as a link to the general population, and assisting implementation of the peace agreement.
- **Civil society and communities:** Their involvement in monitoring increases the investment of the public in the agreement and promotes accountability of parties to the public. In Naga, **India**, a cease-fire between the government and the National Socialist Council of Nagalim has held since 1997 partly because civil society organizations officially monitor compliance. Naga women's organizations complement the work of non-governmental cease-fire monitors. Drawing on their traditional role as peacemakers, women mediate when tensions rise among local factions.

Who is Involved in Negotiations?

- Parties to the conflict
- Mediators and facilitators
- Technical advisers and observers

Slide 7: Who is Involved in Negotiations?

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In general there are two categories of people involved: those who are actual stakeholders or parties to the conflict, and those who mediate and facilitate the process.

- **Parties to the conflict:** Parties typically include government officials, representatives of resistance groups, and, only occasionally, civil society leaders. The groups that have taken up arms are thought to be the central stakeholders; therefore, they are most represented at peace talks. This makes it hard to push successfully for an inclusive process.
- **Mediators and facilitators:** The United Nations and/or regional inter-governmental organizations often act as mediators in peace negotiations. In most cases where the UN is involved, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) or the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General takes on the task of mediation and diplomacy. The SRSG can play a pivotal role in mediating, engaging in shuttle diplomacy between actors, and conveying messages on behalf of the UN.

Third-parties, such as the European Union, often sponsor negotiations, fund the process, and provide venues for meetings. At times they also play prominent roles as mediators. For example, the Government of **Southern Sudan** hosted the Juba Peace talks of 2006 between the government of **Uganda** and the Lord's Resistance Army; a UN special envoy assisted the Southern Sudanese Vice President with mediation.

- **Technical advisers and observers:** Key stakeholders also include technical support, such as gender advisers, and official observers who may be representatives of other governments, civil society leaders, parliamentarians, NGO officials, religious and traditional leaders, or members

Who Is Involved in Negotiations?

- Parties to the conflict
- Mediators and facilitators
- Technical advisers and observers

Slide 7: Who is Involved in Negotiations? (continued)

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of other affected groups. Observers are often representatives of the governments who are the biggest donors. The AU established a gender desk at the **Darfur** peace talks in Abuja, **Nigeria** to press for women's involvement in the peace negotiations and to ensure the text of the peace agreement was gender-sensitive and reflected women's priorities. The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) provided technical support to the AU's efforts through personnel, training, and advocacy.

Who Creates the Negotiation Table?

- United Nations
- Regional organizations
- Third-party governments
- Third-party civil society organizations

Slide 8: Who Creates the Negotiation Table?

A host of actors are typically responsible for encouraging parties to negotiate and providing logistical support, expertise, and funds for negotiations.

- **United Nations:** The UN is a key mediator and convener of negotiations, either taking the lead or offering support to mediating governments. In **El Salvador**, the UN convened parties and encouraged the process, while in peace negotiations for Northern **Uganda**, the UN supported the mediation by the Government of **Southern Sudan**.
- **Regional organizations:** The AU, Organization of American States (OAS), and other regional organizations encourage negotiations. For more than a decade, the OAS Secretariat has funded negotiations to stabilize **Haiti**. Similarly, in 1996, in **Sierra Leone**, the Commonwealth Secretariat was involved alongside the UN and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in supporting negotiations.

Who Creates the Negotiation Table?

- United Nations
- Regional organizations
- Third-party governments
- Third-party civil society organizations

Slide 8: Who Creates the Negotiation Table? (continued)

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- **Third-party governments:** When the 2002 peace talks started in **Sri Lanka** between the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the Norwegian government sponsored and facilitated the process and pushed to create a gender subcommittee.
- **Third-party civil society organizations:** These actors can also provide venues and bring parties together. The lay community of Sant' Egidio, associated with the Catholic Church, successfully mediated talks between the government of **Mozambique** and the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana for two years.

Why are Women Typically Excluded?

- Rare leadership roles within armed groups
- Lack of political power and affiliation
- Illiteracy and social mores
- Logistics

Slide 9: Why are Women Typically Excluded?

Women remain largely excluded from formal negotiations despite their attempts to participate and despite international policies that explicitly call for women's involvement.

- **Rare leadership roles within armed groups:** Negotiations are launched to stop violent conflict and often solely focus on armed actors. While academics and practitioners lament the exclusion of women and civil society from peace processes, seats at the peace table are most often given only to those who have taken up arms, and women rarely are more than 20% of combatants.

Why are Women Typically Excluded?

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Slide 9: Why are Women Typically Excluded? (continued)

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- **Lack of political power and affiliation:** Women often have no political affiliation, a challenge when negotiating teams are organized along political party lines. Women do not often have the political power to successfully demand representation in negotiation structures.
- **Illiteracy and social mores:** Higher rates of illiteracy among women are used to disqualify them, as are religious or cultural practices that discriminate against women's equal participation.
- **Logistics:** Simple logistical arrangements can impede women's participation. For example, issues of childcare or family support for participants are not taken into consideration as the structures for negotiations are proposed. Similarly, women are often the last ones invited and are provided minimal financial and logistical support, leaving them with numerous obstacles from arranging visas and flights to finding childcare and financing for travel and accommodations.

Women Overcoming Obstacles

- **Somalia**
 - Women formed the “Sixth Clan”
- **Sudan**
 - Women created a Gender Expert Support Team
- **Northern Ireland**
 - Women established a political party

Slide 10: Women Overcoming Obstacles

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In conflict areas worldwide, women have developed and adopted strategies to overcome these hurdles.

- **Somalia:** Women were initially excluded from the peace negotiations in **Kenya** in 2004, which only gathered representatives from five leading ethnic clans. In response, married women leveraged their dual-clan affiliation and formed a sixth clan in order to be included in negotiations. As a result of their persistence, approximately 150 women attended the talks and Asha Hagi Elmi signed a peace accord on behalf of the clan. The accord included a 25% quota for women in government.
- **Sudan:** Women were excluded from the first six rounds of the peace process in Darfur. Extensive lobbying and pressure by women in partnership with the Canadian envoy to the talks and UNIFEM resulted in a Gender Expert Support Team—a diverse group of Sudanese women that served as neutral technical advisers to the seventh round of negotiations. As a result, women influenced the Abuja negotiations and more of their priorities were reflected in the 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement.
- **Northern Ireland:** Only political parties with significant electoral support were invited to participate in negotiations. Having been told they would not be able to participate as civil society representatives, Catholic and Protestant women joined forces to form the Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition, the first women’s political party. Their primary platform was to bring women’s concerns to the negotiations process and to ensure an inclusive peace accord. The party was one of the ten political parties popularly elected to participate in the Good Friday negotiations, which brought an end to the “Troubles” in Northern **Ireland**.

How Do Women Contribute?

- Convening and catalyzing
- Highlighting women's priorities and needs
- Enhancing the process
 - Consultative
 - Inclusive
 - Trustworthy
- Creating safe space at the local level



Slide 11: How Do Women Contribute?

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Women contribute to peace negotiation in a number of ways.

- **Convening and catalyzing:** Women's actions have in many cases catalyzed peace talks. In the Middle East, prior to the Oslo peace process, Israeli and Palestinian women protested and advocated jointly. Through the Jerusalem Link Group, the coordinating body of two independent women's centers (the Israeli Bat Shalom and the Palestinian Jerusalem Center for Women), women were often the first to publicize viable solutions to core issues. They were among the first groups to promote the idea of Jerusalem as the shared capital of two states. Following the collapse of the Oslo process in 2000, the Jerusalem Link continued to press for a return to negotiations. Today, leaders in the Jerusalem Link are leaders in the Palestinian Israeli International Women's Commission for a Just and Sustainable Peace. The Commission advocates for the inclusion of more women in negotiations and inclusive, transparent negotiation.
- **Highlighting women's priorities and needs:** It is extremely difficult to measure the difference that women make in peace negotiations, given the limited number of women that have participated in such processes to date. But observation indicates that their participation has been effective in highlighting and addressing issues of particular concern to women. In the **Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)**, the formation of a women's caucus in the national parliament allowed women to influence the Sun City talks by sensitizing men to the impact of the conflict on the lives of women and children. Their involvement led to the formation of a Ministry of Gender and Family and the recognition of sexual violence as a crime in the country's new constitution.

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Slide 11: How Do Women Contribute? (continued)

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- **Enhancing the process:** Where women have been involved in formal peace negotiations, the talks have been consultative, inclusive, and trustworthy.
 - **Consultative:** In many cases, women peacemakers emerge from community-based movements and civil society. Because of their strong ties to their constituents, they initiate consultative processes to hear opinions and share their own positions. This provides a critical channel through which the public can be informed and supportive of the peace process. During the 1999 **Burundi** peace process, women informed people at the grassroots level of the issues being addressed, sought their opinions, and lobbied the international community to gain access to the talks. They did so with support from UNIFEM and international NGOs such as International Alert and Search for Common Ground.
 - **Inclusive:** Women peacemakers tend to be more willing to talk to all sides in a conflict. In part because of their own experience with marginalization, women understand the need to reach out and hear the voices of all concerned. In Northern **Ireland**, the political message of promoting human rights, inclusion, and equality was the key platform for the NIWC. During the talks, NIWC representatives sought full reintegration of decommissioned fighters into their economically marginalized communities.

How Do Women Contribute?

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Slide 11: How Do Women Contribute? (continued)

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- **Trustworthy:** Recent qualitative studies on the role of women in post-conflict **Rwanda** and **Cambodia** indicate that in conflict-afflicted societies women are more trusted than men to be honest and incorruptible. Analysis of women officials in the *panchayats* (local councils) of **India** finds female representatives less corrupt than their male counterparts. A World Bank study on “Corruption and Women in Government” cites literature that suggests that women have a higher standard of ethical behavior and concern for common good. Their research shows that in many post-conflict countries, higher levels of women in government correlate with lower levels of corruption.
- **Creating safe space at the local level:** Grassroots and local conflict resolution efforts of women are among the least documented and most under-appreciated aspects of their peace work. During the wars in **Liberia** and **Sierra Leone**, women in the Mano River Women’s Peace Network were active in opening political dialogue between the governments in the Mano River region and negotiated with militias to spare villages. In 2003, these women were awarded the UN Prize for Human Rights to honor their contribution to peace building.

International Policies Supporting Women's Participation

- The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
 - "to participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government...take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations."
- The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action
 - "the full participation [of women] in decision-making, conflict prevention and resolution and all other peace initiatives [is] essential to the realization of lasting peace."

Slide 12: International Policies Supporting Women's Participation

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- **The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW):** Article 8 calls on state parties to "take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations."
- **The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action:** This states that "the full participation [of women] in decision-making, conflict prevention and resolution and all other peace initiatives [is] essential to the realization of lasting peace." Recommendation E.1 demands that states "increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels."

More International Policies Supporting Women's Participation

- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
 - "measures that support local women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreement"
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820
 - "Urges the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys to invite women to participate in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and post-conflict peace building, and encourage all parties to such talks to facilitate the equal and full participation of women at decision-making levels."
- Key Actors
 - UNIFEM
 - NGOs

Slide 13: International Policies Supporting Women's Participation *continued*

- **United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325:** Adopted in 2000, UNSCR 1325 mandates that all actors adopt "measures that support local women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreement." Point 8.b. of the resolution "[c]alls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including... b. Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements." Additionally, point 15 seeks to ensure that "Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultations with local and international women's groups."

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- **Key Actors**
 - UNIFEM
 - NGOs

Slide 13: International Policies Supporting Women's Participation (continued)

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Specifically, the resolution mandates inclusion of women as mediators and negotiators. All actors (states, international, and non-state) are required to adopt a gender perspective in negotiations, focusing on women's concerns in rehabilitation, reintegration, and post-conflict reconstruction. The resolution calls for support of local women's peace initiatives and indigenous conflict resolution processes. It specifically asks for the involvement of women in implementing peace agreements.

- **United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820:** Adopted in 2008, UNSCR 1820 stresses that systematic sexual violence targeting civilians greatly exacerbates conflict and presents serious obstacles to the restoration of peace and security. It builds upon UNSCR 1325 in that it "[u]rges the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys to invite women to participate in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and post-conflict peacebuilding, and encourages all parties to such talks to facilitate the equal and full participation of women at decision-making levels."
- **Key Actors:**
 - **UNIFEM:** This agency plays a leading role in promoting the implementation of UNSCR 1325 by advocating at international forums and by supporting women's efforts to enter peace processes around the world. The Department of Economic and Social Affairs' Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women plays a key role in advancing the implementation of UNSCR 1325 within the UN.

More International Policies Supporting Women's Participation

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- Key Actors
 - UNFEM
 - NGOs

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Slide 13: International Policies Supporting Women's Participation (continued)

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- **NGOs:** Non-governmental organizations like Search for Common Ground, the Carter Center, International Alert, and the African Center for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) provide training and ongoing support to women's groups to participate in peace processes. For example, between 2002 and 2004, International Alert held consultations to assess the impact of women's political participation in countries emerging from conflict in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. Representatives of civil society, parliamentarians, and provincial governors from **Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda**, and the **DRC**, along with International Alert staff, developed recommendations around women's participation and factors facilitating women's participation in political and economic reconstruction in the region.

Strategies to Promote Inclusion: Pre-Negotiations

- Mobilize communities to support peace negotiations
- Develop coalitions and alliances across conflict lines
- Advocate for multi-track negotiations
- Open “track two” or back-channel talks
- Publicize CEDAW and UNSCR 1325
- Reach out to the international community

Slide 14: Strategies to Promote Inclusion: Pre-Negotiations

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- Mobilize people in the community to raise awareness of and support for peace negotiations.
- Develop alliances among women in civil society, government, media, and parties to the conflict, and create an action plan to ensure that gender perspectives and women’s rights issues are included in all areas of the talks.
- Advocate for multi-track peace processes that include civil society and women, drawing on examples from other countries to demonstrate the effectiveness of this strategy.
- Open track two or “back-channel” talks, drawing on the network of women activists across conflict lines.
- Publicize and demand compliance with CEDAW and UNSCR 1325 as international laws that call for women’s inclusion in peace processes and decision making.
- Reach out to the international community and mediators, including representatives from the UN Department of Political Affairs, citing Resolution 1325 as a commitment that must be honored.

Strategies to Promote Inclusion: Negotiations and Post-Agreement

- Develop common agendas highlighting women's priorities
- Join political parties
- Cultivate allies and supporters
- Monitor compliance and implementation through civil participation
- Ensure sustained public interest

Slide 15: Strategies to Promote Inclusion: Negotiations and Post-Agreement

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- Develop a common agenda, highlighting issues critical to women that must be included in negotiations.
- Strategize to join political parties involved in the negotiations so as to promote women's agendas from within the structures. If parties are unwilling, consider alternatives, such as creating a civil society dialogue, asking for the support of respected national and international institutions and leaders, or creating a new women's political party.
- Seek allies and supporters of women's participation among national figures (men and women) such as politicians, religious leaders, media, and business personalities.
- Develop programs to ensure monitoring, compliance, and implementation of the agreements, and promote civil participation in these processes.
- Make sure that public mobilization does not end with the signing of the agreement.

*Keep your friends close,
and your enemies closer.*

~Sun-tzu

Chinese general & military strategist (~400 BC)

Slide 16: Sun-tzu Quote

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Chinese general & military strategist (~400 BC)

ACTIVITY I: Introducing Peace Negotiations and Agreements**Objective:**

Share personal experiences of peace negotiations and agreements

Methodology:

- Pair discussions
- Brainstorming

Materials:

- Flip charts
- Markers

Room set-up:

Divided into sections for pairs

Suggested minimum time:

30 minutes

Activity steps:

1. Divide participants into pairs. (5 minutes)
2. Pose the following questions for pairs to discuss: What does peace mean to you? How have you personally been affected by negotiations, mediation, or implementation of a peace accord? (20 minutes)
3. Facilitate entire group debriefing. (5 minutes)

Sample debriefing questions:

1. Why are negotiations so critical to the establishment of sustainable peace?
2. Do you believe women bring something unique to the negotiating table?

Lesson modifications/trainer tips:

- Ask participants to identify negotiations that occur in daily life and have them identify elements of successful negotiations based on their experiences (e.g., at the market, with spouse, with children, etc.).

ACTIVITY II: Providing a Framework: Identifying Key Components/Actors in Peace Negotiations Processes**Objectives:**

Introduce the various components and actors involved in negotiations

Provide a framework to analyze peace negotiations and agreements in participants' local contexts

Emphasize women's participation as critical to the success of negotiations and peace agreements

Methodology:

- PowerPoint presentation
- Large group discussion

Materials:

- Laptop and projector
- Screen
- PowerPoint presentation

Room set-up:

Lecture style

Suggested minimum time:

60 minutes

Activity steps:

1. Deliver PowerPoint presentation explaining the various stages and actors involved in negotiations and peace agreement implementation on the local, national, and international levels. Share examples of peace negotiations from other conflict areas. (45 minutes)
2. Following presentation, ask for questions and comments on the material. (15 minutes)

Sample debriefing questions:

1. Why is women's participation in negotiations and peace agreement implementation critical for sustained peace and stability?
2. What are some ways to integrate gender perspectives into peace negotiations and agreements?

Lesson modifications/trainer tips:

- Print PowerPoint presentations and hand out to participants.
- If not equipped with PowerPoint, use flip charts or a projector.

ACTIVITY III: Presenting Case Studies: Evidence of Women's Contributions**Objective:**

Attain understanding of women's contributions to peace negotiations and agreements in specific contexts

Methodology:

- Small group discussions
- Entire group debriefing

Materials:

- Case study executive summaries
- Strategies for Policymakers
- Flip charts
- Markers

Room set-up:

Divided into sections for small groups of three to five participants

Suggested minimum time:

75 minutes

Activity steps:

1. Divide participants into small groups and assign each group either an executive summary of an Inclusive Security case study on negotiations (Colombia, India) or section of Negotiations in Strategies for Policymakers (Guatemala, Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland). [See www.huntalternatives.org for materials to be printed, copied, and distributed to participants.] (5 minutes)
2. Ask small groups to develop short presentations of the case studies covering the following topics: background of the conflict; key findings about women's role in the negotiations; and recommendations for encouraging women's participation. (40 minutes)
3. Ask each small group to present for five to seven minutes to the larger group. Depending upon the number of participants, have multiple small groups present the same case study with a focus on one or more of the different topics listed above. Following the presentations on each study, facilitate a short debriefing on major themes. (30 minutes)

Sample debriefing questions:

1. What difference did it make that women were involved in formal and informal negotiations?
2. What mechanisms aided the participation of women?
3. How did women overcome specific obstacles to their participation?

ACTIVITY IV: Sharing Global Perspectives: Inspiring Stories of Women's Contributions**Objectives:**

Attain understanding of women's contributions to peace negotiations and agreements

Appreciate ways women peace builders have participated in peace negotiations

Methodology:

- Video presentation
- Entire group debriefing

Materials:

- TV
- DVD played on a laptop

Room set-up:

Lecture style

Suggested minimum time:

30 minutes

Activity steps:

1. Show the entire group several video clips of interviews with women peace builders sharing their experiences of peace negotiations in conflict-affected areas not represented at the workshop. Video clips should be approximately three to five minutes each. Reference the biographical information provided for each woman [see Appendix A]. (20 minutes)
2. Facilitate an entire group debriefing of participants' observations. (10 minutes)

Sample debriefing questions:

1. What were some of the commonalities and/or differences you observed in the women peace builders' stories?
2. How do these commonalities/differences compare to your own experiences?
3. How can you adapt the women peace builders' strategies to further promote women's participation in peace negotiations in your context?

Lesson modifications/trainer tips:

- Ideally, a women peace builder with a background in peace negotiations from a conflict-affected area not represented at the workshop will attend the training session to share her personal experiences with participants.

ACTIVITY V: Mapping Negotiation Entry Points

Objectives:

Understand specific mechanisms women have used to influence negotiations

Identify and promote useful negotiations structures

Methodology:

- Small group discussions

Materials:

- Handouts of negotiation examples [Appendices B and C]
- Flip charts
- Markers

Room set-up:

Divided into sections for small groups of three to five participants

Suggested minimum time:

80 minutes

Activity steps:

1. Present and hand out examples [see Appendix B for Guatemala and Appendix C for Sri Lanka examples] of how women have influenced negotiations via specific mechanisms. Consult Strategies for Policymakers on Guatemala and Sri Lanka for background on each negotiation example. (30 minutes)
2. Lead participants in mapping a negotiations structure in their context. (30 minutes)
3. Facilitate a debriefing on the key mechanisms illustrated by the maps for influencing women's participation in the negotiations and increasing inclusion of women's priorities. (20 minutes)

Sample debriefing questions:

1. Which stakeholders have the ability to influence the process and push for greater inclusiveness?
2. Which stakeholder is responsible for coordinating civil society's participation in the negotiations?

ACTIVITY VI: Exploring the Opportunities and Challenges

Objective:

Identify opportunities and challenges associated with women's participation in peace negotiations

Methodology:

- Analytical tool (in small groups)
- Entire group debriefing

Materials:

- Flip chart
- Markers

Room set-up:

Divided into sections for small groups of three to five participants

Suggested minimum time:

60 minutes

Activity steps:

1. Ask participants to list actors and describe structures for informal and formal negotiations in their context. (15 minutes)
2. Explain the exercise to participants. (5 minutes)
3. Split participants into small groups and ask each group to analyze:
 - opportunities for increasing women's participation in negotiations (e.g., women's perspectives heard at negotiations table)
 - challenges women face in increasing their participation in negotiations (e.g., security concerns) (30 minutes)
4. Facilitate a debriefing with the entire group. Each small group will contribute opportunities and challenges, adding to the collective list, until all comments have been made and recorded on a flip chart. (10 minutes)

Sample debriefing questions:

1. Are women in your community advocating for increased participation in peace negotiations and agreements? If not, what would motivate them to do so?
2. How can women address the identified risks of participating in peace negotiations?

ACTIVITY VII: Integrating Women: A Simulation of a Preparatory Conference for Negotiations in Parlisia**Objectives:**

Introduce various actors involved in negotiations

Identify key components of a successful negotiation

Emphasize women's participation as critical in formal and informal negotiations

Methodology:

- Simulation
- Small group discussions

Materials:

- Handouts of case study [Appendix D]

Room set-up:

Divided into sections for small groups of three to five participants

Suggested minimum time:

100 minutes

Activity steps:

1. Divide participants into small groups and hand out the simulation description. Assign each group member a role to play in the simulated preparatory conference [see Appendix D]. (10 minutes)
2. Ask participants to follow directions as they play their assigned roles. Remind the person playing the UN facilitator that the group will need to present a proposed structure as well as a list of key priorities for formal negotiations. (60 minutes)
3. Each small group briefly presents its structure to the larger group. (20 minutes total)
4. Facilitate a debriefing. (10 minutes)

Sample debriefing questions:

1. What were the major challenges faced by the various negotiators?
2. What were some of the obstacles women faced in this simulation?
3. What are some strategies women might use to increase their influence in the negotiations and ensure their interests are considered?

Lesson modifications/trainer tips:

- To practice messaging skills and to build confidence, have groups present to a mock United Nations panel. Have the role-play include tough follow-up questions from the panel. The panel might consist entirely of trainers or a mix of trainers and participants.

ACTIVITY VIII: Promoting Women's Inclusion in Your Context**Objectives:**

Analyze current peace processes through a gender lens

Identify mechanisms for:

- increasing women's participation in current negotiations (or)
- creating alternate structures for women's involvement

Methodology:

- Small group discussions
- Entire group debriefing

Materials:

- Flip charts
- Markers

Room set-up:

Divided into sections for small groups of three to five participants

Suggested minimum time:

100 minutes

Activity steps:

1. Present the Darfur case as an example of promoting women's inclusion in negotiations [see Appendix E]. (20 minutes)
2. Divide participants into small groups to design a structure that increases women's participation in negotiations. If groups completed Activities V and VI, reference relevant information from those activities. (40 minutes)
3. Ask each group to present its proposed structure. (30 minutes)
4. Facilitate a debriefing on shared findings, and, possibly, continue to discuss strategies to implement the recommended structures. (10 minutes)

Sample debriefing questions:

1. Who is responsible for deciding who participates in negotiations in your context?
2. What role can donors play in advancing women's participation in negotiations?
3. How can you garner the support of men for the inclusion of women in proposed structures?

Lesson modifications/trainer tips:

- This activity suits participants interested in the advocacy for and the influencing of current negotiations. It may not be relevant for all groups, but it is an essential first step for groups interested in organizing to advance women's participation.

Monica McWilliams

Conflict Background: Northern Ireland

- “The Troubles” refers to the period from the civil rights marches in the late 1960s to the 1998 Belfast Agreement. In these 30 years, over 3,500 people were killed.
- This period was the culmination of the Irish struggle for independence from Great Britain, which was settled with the partition of the island in 1921 into the Catholic Republic of Ireland and the northern provinces, mostly Protestant and under British control.
- In 1995, a two-track decommissioning and negotiation process gained momentum. Multi-party talks mediated by US Senator George Mitchell began in the spring of 1996.
- The Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition (NIWC) was one of ten political parties elected to send representatives to the negotiations.
- Long before the negotiations were officially on the table, the women of Northern Ireland had begun working together toward peace.

Biographical Information

- Beginning in the 1960s, Monica was active in the civil rights and women’s rights movements and worked with both Catholics and Protestants throughout The Troubles.
- Monica was a founding member of the Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition, a cross-community party that focuses on inclusion, human rights, and equality.
- It is the only political party in the world that was founded by women and has elected representatives.
- Monica led the NIWC in the multi-party negotiations that culminated in the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998.
- She served as a representative in the new Northern Ireland Assembly from 1998 until 2003.
- She is currently the chief commissioner for human rights in Northern Ireland.
- As a professor of women’s studies and social policy at the University of Ulster, she compared the risk of assassinations following peace talks with the fact that 50% of domestic violence deaths take place after the victim has left the relationship.

Luz Méndez

Conflict Background: Guatemala

- A 36-year struggle in Guatemala between the government, right-wing paramilitary groups, and left-wing insurgents left 200,000 people dead and 50,000 missing.
- Underpinning this brutal conflict were deep-rooted historical grievances about unfair land distribution, the marginalization of indigenous people, and restrictions on political organizations.
- A UN-moderated peace accord was signed in 1996, ending the civil war between the Guatemalan government and the rebel army, Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unit.
- The peace process went beyond an arrangement between armed groups, allowing civil society actors to advance their concerns on issues of social justice, political power sharing, and the rule of law in a parallel dialogue called the Assembly of Civil Society. Women participated directly in the peace negotiations and in the Assembly of Civil Society.
- A truth commission established that the indigenous population was targeted during the war and that government forces committed 93% of total abuses.
- Post-conflict levels of violence (lynchings, extrajudicial killings, assassinations, and kidnappings) remain high and there is still need for training police on gender and public security responsibilities.

Peace Negotiations and Agreements

Appendix A (continued)

Biographical Information

- Luz Méndez, president of the Advisory Board to the National Union of Guatemalan Women, works for implementation of the peace accords, particularly of gender equality provisions. She was formerly general coordinator of the National Union, which promotes women's rights and gender-equitable political participation.
- Between 1991 and 1996, Luz participated in the peace negotiations as the only female member of the delegation of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity, contributing to the incorporation of unprecedented commitments for gender equity in the accords.
- In 2004, she was elected to represent the women's movement in the national commission overseeing implementation of the peace accords.
- A member of the advisory council of the Global Fund for Women, Luz has contributed to women's inclusion and leadership in conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction in a number of countries. In 2000, she was a member of UNIFEM's gender experts' team at the Burundi peace talks.
- She has also served as a consultant at trainings with high-level Iraqi, Israeli, Palestinian, and Colombian peace builders seeking to have a stronger voice in peace processes.
- She holds a master's degree in public administration from Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Betty Bigombe

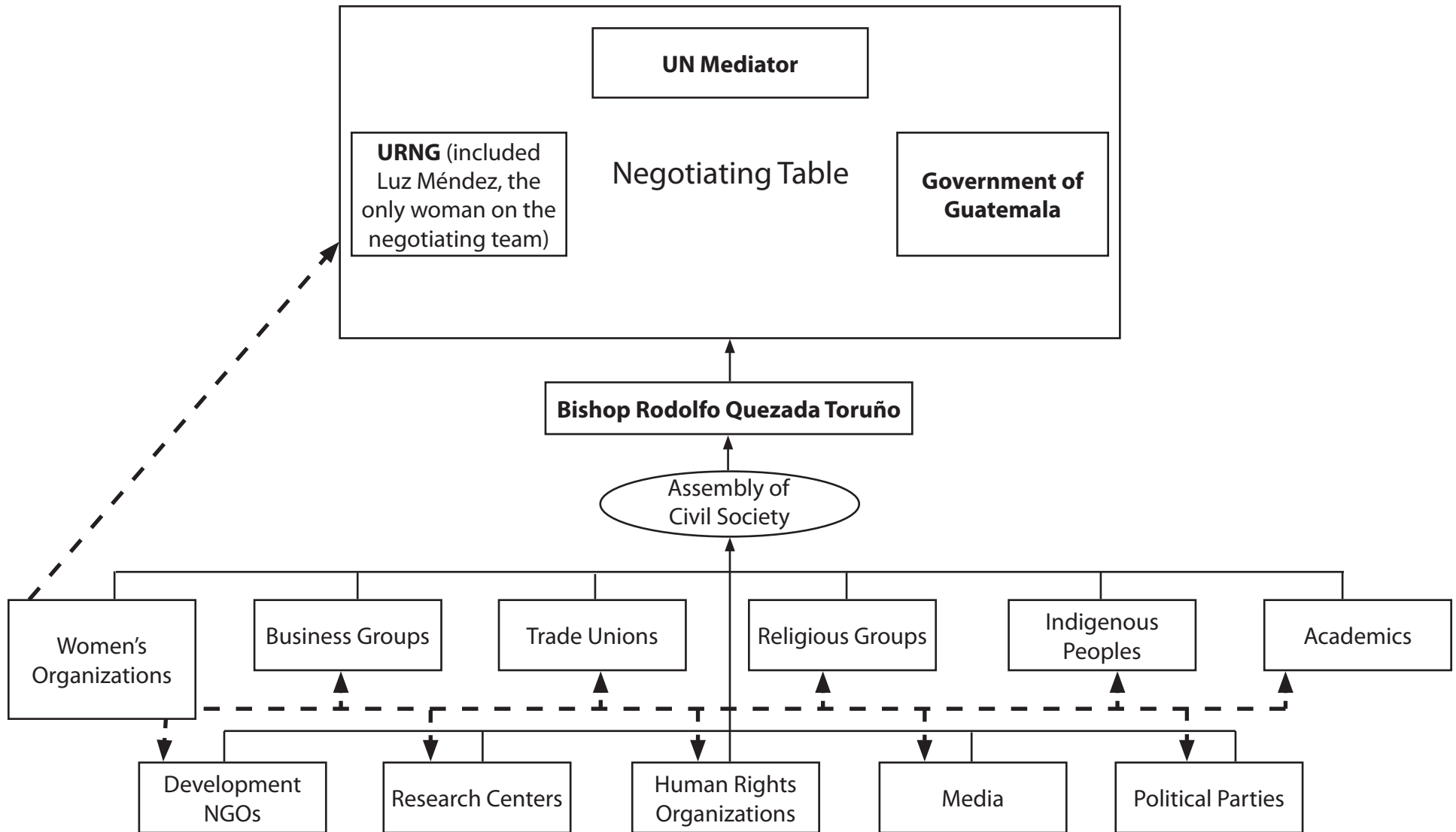
Conflict Background: Uganda

- Civil war in Northern Uganda began in 1986 when the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) attempted to topple President Yoweri Museveni.
- The LRA started a campaign of violence against the civilian population in the region. It abducted and trained as many as 70,000 children as fighters.
- At the height of displacement, approximately 1.8 million internally displaced persons resided in the camps in Northern Uganda.
- Severe malnutrition, disease, land mines, and violence have led to death and suffering over the past two decades and restricted opportunities for economic development.
- Peace talks, mediated by the Government of Southern Sudan, began in 2006 but were halted in 2008 when LRA leader Joseph Kony refused to sign the final peace agreement.
- Women at the negotiation table were critical to the incorporation of social issues, such as health and education, as well as a victims' fund, into the negotiated agreement. They also advocated for the inclusion of women's priorities into clauses on disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration.

Biographical Information

- Betty Bigombe has been involved in peace negotiations to end the Lord's Resistance Army insurgency since the early 1990s. She has been chief mediator between the LRA and the government of Uganda since 2004.
- Betty was appointed minister to the parliament in 1986. In 1988, she was selected as Minister of State for Pacification of North and Northeastern Uganda and tasked with seeking a peaceful means to end the war.
- Following the failure of military interventions, Betty initiated contact with rebel leader Joseph Kony in May 1992, starting the "Bigombe talks." In 1994 she was named "Uganda's Woman of the Year" for her efforts to end the violence.
- Betty left government service in 1996 and obtained a master's degree in public administration from Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.
- She joined the World Bank in 1997 as a senior social scientist at the newly created Post-Conflict Unit and also worked with the Social Protection and Human Development Units.
- She has co-authored several articles on post-conflict peace building and the impact of conflict on women and children.
- She is currently a senior fellow at the US Institute of Peace in Washington, DC.

Peace Negotiations in Guatemala

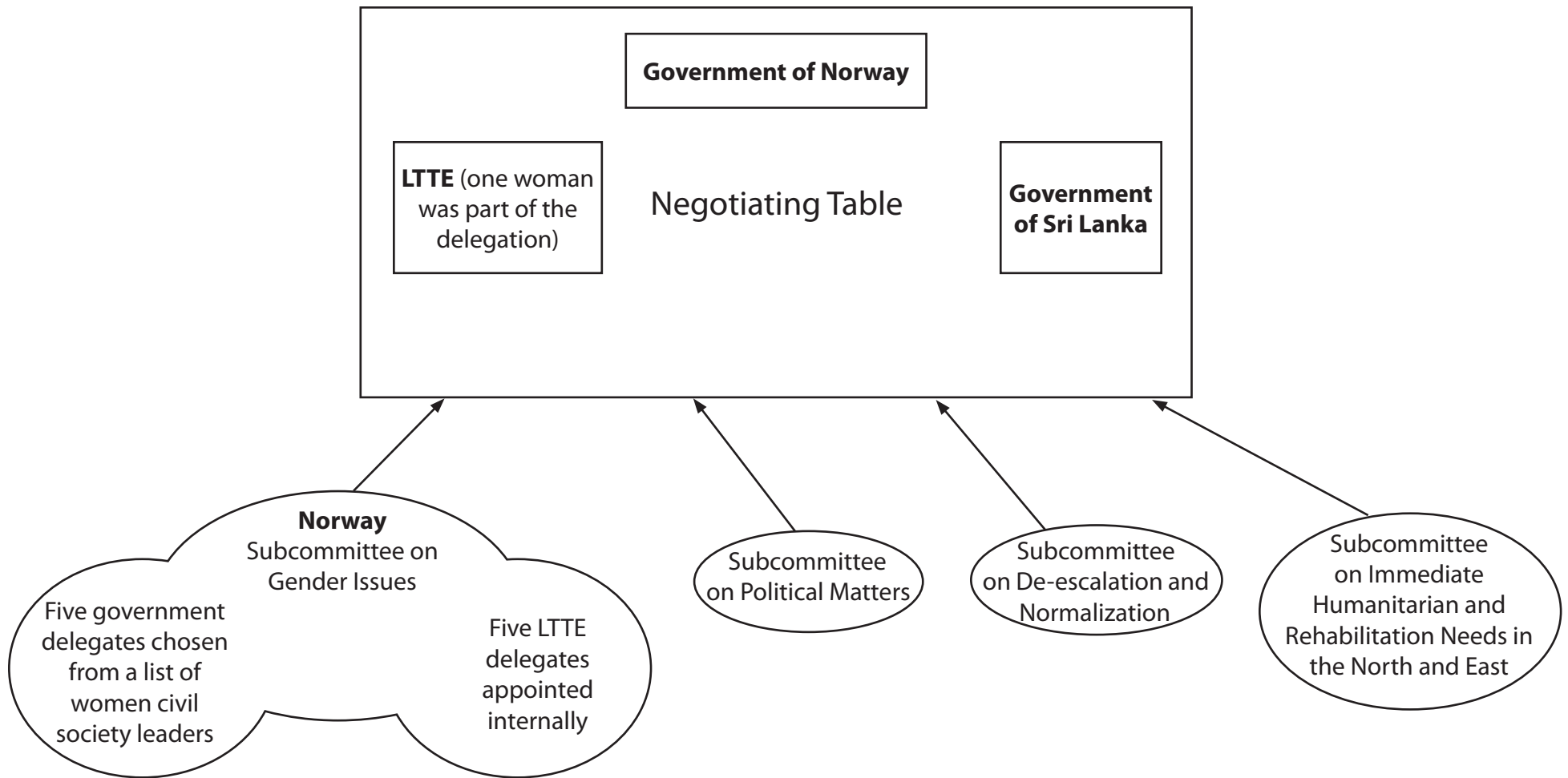


URNG = Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity

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Dotted lines indicate informal collaboration and coordination among women in different clusters.

Peace Negotiations in Sri Lanka



LTTE = Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

Simulation: Preparatory Conference for Negotiations in Parlisia

Welcome to Parlisia, a country of 20 million people that has been entrenched in civil war for nearly 20 years. Parlisia is composed of three main ethnic groups: the Kaan, Dobandu, and Naru. The current conflict began when members of the Kaan-led National Liberation Front of Parlisia (NLFP) staged a coup and ousted the long-time president, a member of the Dobandu. The NLFP has since controlled the government and has faced serious opposition by Dobandu and Naru rebel groups. Fighting has largely occurred along ethnic lines, with rebel groups fighting to gain political power and control the wealth of natural resources in the southern and western portions of the country.

Last August, Naru rebel leaders and government officials signed a cease-fire agreement and initiated peace negotiations. Last month, Dobandu rebels also signed a cease-fire agreement after facing significant pressure from civil society groups and the international community. While the break in violence generated hope for negotiations toward a permanent solution, dialogue has failed to resolve the major political issues or involve key stakeholders, such as women or refugees.

The negotiations have largely taken place at the elite level. To date, they have included only commanders of the rebel factions, key government officials, and United Nations (UN) mediators. Civil society has not been included in formal or informal processes, leading the UN to call for a conference to address issues of process and the substance of upcoming negotiations.

Women's groups have been instrumental in protecting communities during the war through informal mediation between state and non-state actors, yet they continue to be excluded from formal peace talks. Only one woman has been included in the government delegation. The government has not acknowledged the efforts of women's groups and other civil society actors in working for peace, nor have their contributions or suggestions been included in any negotiations.

The following representatives are involved in a preparatory conference, chaired by the UN Facilitator from the Peacebuilding Commission:

1. UN Facilitator from the Peacebuilding Commission
2. Senior Official of the Government (Kaan)
3. Dobandu Rebel Leader
4. Naru Rebel Leader
5. Parlisia's Women's Coalition Representative
6. International Peace Organization Representative

UN Facilitator from the Peacebuilding Commission

Over the last year, you have managed to convene several sessions and have come fairly close to an agreement. Your deadline is nearing; the UN Secretary-General wants a report of the negotiations framework very soon. You are quite satisfied with how the warring factions have respected the cease-fire agreements, but you have not been able to convince them of the need for a more inclusive process. Thus, you have convened this conference with representatives of local and international peace organizations.

While you are eager for and open to the inclusion of women, your primary task is to secure a framework for successful negotiations. You are the consummate diplomat and understand the need to stick to international resolutions, such as Security Council Resolution 1325. You do believe that a broad inclusive process, with women being one of many groups represented, is the key to a legitimate and sustainable peace agreement.

You need to produce a document that would clarify, in specific bullet point form:

- The structure for negotiations (who would participate and how)
- A list of key priorities (what items are on the agenda for formal negotiations)

Senior Official of the Government (Kaan)

There recently was a change of political leadership in the government and a more moderate group that wants to end the war is currently in charge. You are part of that more moderate group and are actually looking for international community support to further marginalize the former leaders, especially military commanders. You are genuinely concerned for the future of your country and want to find a way to move toward peace.

As you approach negotiations, you are very skeptical of civil society and aim to marginalize its presence. You are annoyed with the UN's insistence on inviting women and refugee groups to the gathering and are absolutely determined to keep their participation superficial. Your resistance is a matter of principle—you led this country during these difficult times and feel you have the right and ability to continue to do so in the future, without help from civil society.

You also know many of your colleagues have substantial financial assets that they want to protect and use to help rebuild their country. Perhaps some of these assets were not gathered through the most legitimate ways.

You do want to ensure that some of the main leaders of the rebel group are brought to justice.

Dobandu Rebel Leader

You and your colleagues have been involved in a war for over ten years, fighting for the rights of the Dobandu, but many have grown tired of conflict. Additionally, one of your major financial supporters (a neighboring country) recently had a change in leadership and its formal support may end soon.

You understand the need to negotiate a final agreement and are willing to compromise, as long as the international community can provide guarantees for a fair judicial process. While you have used “populist” rhetoric to advocate for Dobandu priorities previously, you are ambivalent about civil society requests to participate in negotiations. You are new to the negotiations, and, therefore, believe civil society participation might help, as long as international priorities align with your interests.

You feel that government forces have been the primary perpetrators of violence and the Dobandu the primary victims. For you to put down your weapons and trust in a peaceful future for your country, you want to ensure that some of the major government and military leaders will be held accountable for their crimes and tried in the legal system.

You also have concerns about security and want to ensure that Dobandu receive positions in the new military.

Naru Rebel Leader

You believe that the Naru have been unfairly persecuted and have suffered during a war they did not initiate. The government and Dobandu have repeatedly targeted your community for being supportive of the other side, resulting in large numbers of the Naru population being forced to flee the country. You realize that your group's future depends on your ability to advocate for refugee rights (including the right of return). You appreciate the UN's insistence that you attend this conference and want attendees to recognize the need to include refugee issues in the negotiations.

You do want to see the main leaders among the Kaan and the Dobandu brought to court and their pillaging of resources stopped. While your chief aim is to promote refugee returns to pre-violence locations, you will not support any deal that does not specifically address the concerns of victims and include some form of reparations. Having experienced both sides' abuses over the years, you also will not sign any agreement that does not provide for ongoing international monitoring of the process for years to come. Thus, your additional goal is to define an exact framework for implementation and monitoring of a possible peace accord.

Parlisia's Women's Coalition Representative

Women have been the primary victims of the war, and international human rights organizations have documented their plight. While women have largely been ignored in the initial stages of the negotiations, they have been organizing at the grassroots level, making small inroads toward gaining a voice in the process. Through national and regional organizations and networks, women's groups continue to shape the informal peace process and have begun to raise awareness of the negotiating power of women.

You have managed to force your way into the conference but cannot vote. Your strategy is to ensure that civil society, especially women's groups, is included in negotiations, both in terms of process and substance. You are advocating for your formal inclusion and full participation in the talks and see this conference as a springboard for a more consultative process. You also would like to ensure that the negotiations structure and framework reflect the realities that war (and peace) have for women.

You do not like any of the armed actors and believe that the country erupted into war because there was no inclusive political process to address the legitimate grievances of other sectors of society. You detest their attempts to ignore you and feel strongly you have every right to be there. You appreciate the help of international organizations, but feel they do not understand local culture and are unable to support you in what you need.

International Peace Organization Representative

You represent an international non-governmental organization working to ensure consultative and inclusive peace processes globally. You have experience with security issues but have never participated in an actual negotiations process. The UN invited you to provide technical and material support to the civil society groups attending this conference, but it is obvious that, first and foremost, you have to advocate for a negotiations structure that will ensure civil society's ongoing participation in negotiations.

You do not have a formal vote in the process, but have been encouraged by the UN and other agencies to ensure that women's concerns are addressed in the reconciliation process. You are focusing your advocacy on prioritizing long-term peace over short-term justice, possibly at the expense of addressing some of the concerns that the international human rights organizations are stressing. You are trying to "sell" civil society participation, especially women's involvement, as beneficial to the parties.

You face challenges on both sides. On one hand, women's groups themselves feel it is their right to participate, but they are not able (and are even resistant) to articulate their message in policy terms. They also are not fully accepting of your offer to assist them. On the other hand, you believe the warring parties do not see value in women's participation and are actually suspicious of women's intentions. Your goal is to bridge this divide.

Inclusive Negotiating Structures: Models for Darfur

Darfurian women leaders who participated in the Inclusive Security consultation in Khartoum, September 8-10, 2007, created the following three models as options for including women and/or a gender perspective in Darfur peace processes.

- Dotted lines represent influence but not a seat at the table
- Gender and Civil Society Focal Points would be individuals advising the mediators

