The Urgency of Woman Inclusion in Peace Negotiation

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Abstract: In 2000, the United Nations passed the UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325. It affirms the need of women leadership and participation in peace process and security. It is a root of the gender and peacekeeping work for the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the promotion of women's and children's right in international sphere. However, facts show that "out of 31 major peace processes conducted since 1992, only 4% of signatories to peace agreements were women, 2,4% of chief mediators were women, 3,7% of witnesses or observers to peace negotiations were women, and 9% of negotiation team members were women." It means that in some peace negotiations women have been included, yet still under-represented. By using library research, this essay discusses the presence and the participation of women in peace negotiations. I believe that women play a significant role in peace negotiation as they have their own approach and the ability to survive and empower. Nonetheless, this essay has to admit that even though women inclusion and participation in peace negotiation is essential, it is not a panacea to the conflict resolution as peace is not only the responsibility of woman but all humankind regardless of their gender.

1 INTRODUCTION

In 2000, the United Nations passed the UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 (United Nation Security Council (UNSC), 2000). It affirms the need for women leadership and participation in a peace process and security (United Nation Security Council (UNSC), 2000) explicitly. It is also a root of the gender and peacekeeping work for the Department of Peace Keeping Operations (DPKO) (United Nation Security Council (UNSC), 2000). UN Women Deputy Executive Director, John Hendra, added that this resolution is also an attempt of women's and children's right promotion in international peace and security. (Hendra, 2013)

However, facts show that "out of 31 major peace processes conducted since 1992, only 4% of signatories to peace agreements were women, 2.4 % of chief mediators were women, 3.7% of witnesses or observers to peace negotiations were women (BMZ Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development), and 9% of negotiation team members were women". It means that in some peace negotiations women have been included, yet still under-represented.
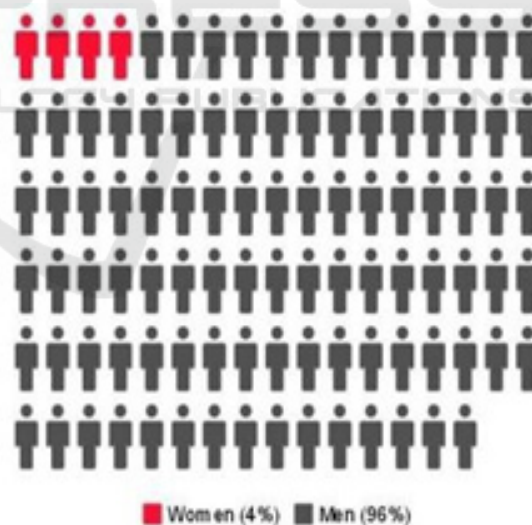
Figure 1. Women as participants in peace negotiations 1992-2011

This essay is going to discuss the woman, peace, and security specifically the presence and participation of women in peace negotiations. I believe that women can play a significant role in peace negotiation. Their presence is important because

first, it will equalize the masculinity approach by having a feminine approach in the peace negotiation. Second, it will endure the agreement or sustain the peace after the peace negotiation. Nonetheless, this essay has to admit that even though women inclusion and participation in peace negotiation is essential, it is not a panacea for the whole conflict resolution. Peace is not the responsibility of women themselves but also all humankind regardless of their gender.

This essay is going to be divided into three parts. First, an overview of the definition of peace negotiation and peace process. Second, a brief assessment standard of the 'success' itself. Third, the argumentation on why women inclusion in the peace negotiation is essential to the success of such process.

2 PEACE PROCESS AND PEACE NEGOTIATIONS: THE OVERVIEW

According to UN Women, peace negotiation means to bring the problems to the peace table to be discussed and negotiated on how the solution or the agreement should be best achieved and implemented (UN Woman, 2010) Peace negotiation is a part of peace process. There are three different tracks of peace negotiations in a whole peace process (UN Woman, 2014). Each track does not only differentiate the level of peace negotiation but also the people who determine the decision making itself (UN Woman, 2014).

Track 1 is the highest level of negotiation that encompasses the political, economic, and military aspect of the peace process (UN Woman, 2014). It involves representative like diplomats, government, or opposition leaders, high-level military officials and actors who have access to the major financial resources to support the decisions (UN Woman, 2014). Track 1 discusses the decision such as "deployments of military forces to deter war, the use of economic sanctions, and post-conflict constitutional reform" (UN Woman, 2014).

Track 2 is "the civil society-level discussion involving critical engagement with government policy and formal security frameworks" (UN Woman, 2014). It includes activities such as organizing a protest, lobbying government, and submitting policy brief (UN Woman, 2014). The involved parties can be the "civil society groups, non-government organizations (NGO), religious

networks, academic, and businesses" (UN Woman, 2014).

Track 3 is "the ground level activities responding to the direct impact of violent conflict on the local population" (UN Woman, 2014). For example, organizing the accessibility of food, water, and medication. The involving actors are mostly people within the conflict zone or people with personal attached to the conflict zone (UN Woman, 2014). According to UN Woman, people in track three are significantly excluded from policy spaces or specifically in track 1 (UN Woman, 2014).

This essay encourages the women inclusion in all tracks of peace negotiations. Either in track one as the highest level of peace negotiation, in track two as the medium level, or in track three as the ground level of peace negotiations. The more women being included, the more contribution that can be given to reach the success of the peace negotiation and process.

Source: https://www.interpeace.org
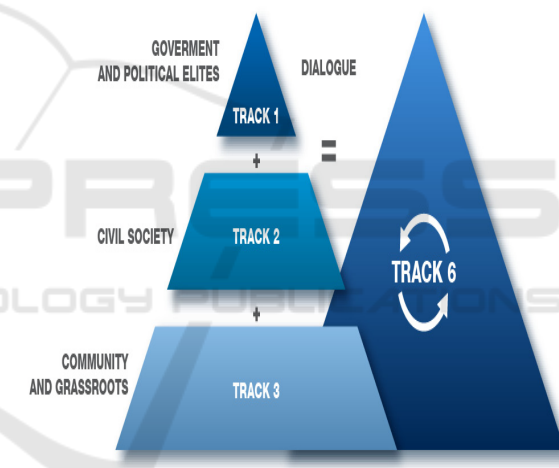
Figure 2. Diagram of negotiation tracks

3 THE ASSESSMENT STANDARD OF THE SUCCESS

Success is a value judgment and it is relative. Thus, this essay set the assessment standard of the 'success' of peace negotiation to guide the argument or as the orientation goal on how woman inclusion in peace negotiation can contribute to this success. They are first, the achieving of an agreement that ends the violence and resolving the conflict. Ending the violence is clearly crucial. It does not mean it only ends the suffering caused by the violence, but

also it supports the conducive environment to the conflict resolution process and the implementation of the agreement. Ending violence also means to stop the sexual harassment to women and children. It is an important aspect that should be included in a peace agreement that calls for ending the conflict. Specifically, the peace agreement in a conflict zone where mass rape is utilized as the weapon of war like Darfur (UN Woman, 2014).

Figure 3. Protest against sexual violence in Darfur

Second, the political will to move forward to hold the peacebuilding after the peace agreement. It is not going to be easy as it does not only require all conflicting parties to politically will to move forwards peacefully, but also it takes full commitment to doing the peace building. To urge the political will, it requires a lot of negotiations, incentive and also punishment if necessary. It will not be discussed any further on what attempts that can be done to promote the political will. However, it is important to highlight it. Peacebuilding itself means, "to foster social, economic, and political institutions and attitudes that will prevent conflicts from turning violent" (Doyle & Sambanis in Jenkins, 2013). It is an attempt undertaken to establish the foundation of peace and providing the

tools to do so and it is not merely the absence of war (Doyle & Sambanis in Jenkins, 2013). In addition, it encompasses the three dimensions of it; the stability maintenance, the restoration of the state's function and capacity, and the capacity building of the society to manage the conflict and socioeconomic development (Barnet, 2007).

In regards to women inclusion, there should be also a commitment to fulfil the UNSCR 1325 as the goals in addition to the peace itself. "Courage must be found by international leaders to prevent conflicts and focus on their root causes – without this, implementing SCR1325 is out of reach. Many of these conflicts are marked by gender-based violence – often facilitated by an unchecked flow of small arms and a culture of impunity" (Byanyima, 2015).

Last is the peace sustainability with full respect to human rights and a vision of prevention. This last key point of success is the last resort of the first and the second points earlier. The whole success will be achieved only in order. The success of the third depends on the success of the second and the second depends on the success of the first. This assessment standard aims to achieve success that covers both the negative peace (the absence of violence) and the positive peace (the prevention from returning to conflict and the sustainability of peace) (Galtung, 1985). It also admits that the success of the peace negotiation is a long process. The women inclusion will not be a panacea for the whole conflict resolution. It will not also shorten the long process of success. However, this essay argues that woman inclusion in peace negotiation is essential in contributing to the success of such process.

4 WHY IS WOMEN INCLUSION ESSENTIAL?

I believe that it is crucial to include the woman in peace negotiation because first, women' approach is needed. It will equalize the number of men on the peace negotiation table and the masculinity approach. The hope is no gender should feel intimidated when talking about peace and resolution conflict, and the result will be comprehensive as the results consider the gender approaches.

As I said in the introduction, facts show that women in peace negotiation are under-represented. It is also a fact that international politics is a man's world (Tickner, 1992). Women are considered incapable of understanding the military and policy. "Women are not…going to understand (missile) throw –weights or what is happening in Afghanistan

or what is happening in human rights…some women will, but most women…would rather read the human interest stuff of what happened" (Tickner, 1992). Such statement is not true. Many capable women understand and are educated on military and policymaking.

Source: www.weforum.org

Figure 4. Under represented woman in peace negotiation

Besides, even if women have been already stigmatized as someone who does not comprehend weapon and strategy, it does not mean that women can be neglected in the peace negotiation at all. They have their role to balance the masculinity (e.g., toughness, courage, power, independence, and physical strength) (Tickner, 1992) in the peace negotiation. For instance, in Syria, women are struggling against the violence there. They use their political rights by doing "nonviolent protest, distributing and monitoring humanitarian aid, establishing safe space for women and children, documenting human rights of violation, securing local-level ceasefires and release of prisoners, setting up democratic local elections, raising awareness about civil peace, developing plans for a future democratic & pluralistic state, and gathering in parallel to the negotiations to demand broader inclusion" (Williams, 2014).

Source: https://www.newsdeeply.com

Figure 5. Syrian woman protest, voicing their voice

Such example tells that even though women are not directly included in peace negotiations, yet they still struggle and will to contribute to the success of the peace process as a whole on their (femininity) own way. Thus, this inclusion is crucial as it plays an essential role in the success of the peace negotiations and peace process as a whole.

Woman approach is also needed hand in hand with man's approach not only for the negotiation result but also for the peace process. For example is trauma healing for the victims. As we know that woman is the most significant victims of conflicts or wars. They are the victims of sexual violence, physical destruction (losing home and family), pregnancy complication caused by war, and post-conflict trauma. In 1992, there have been more than 20000 women being raped in Bosnia (UNICEF, 1996). In 2009, there were 15000 women had been raped throughout Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) Red Cross has reported that there are 10 countries including Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and the DRC, with the highest rate of maternal deaths caused by war either war at the present day or in the past (The Institute of Inclusive Security).

From such cases, most of it is entirely personal and private case. These issues will be a lot easier when discussed with other women. It does not mean man cannot approach or understand this but in some cases, we should also consider the faith, culture of the victims. In majority Muslims zone, for instance, the Muslim woman usually more comfort to discuss with the other woman as that how Islam shapes them fundamentally. In additional, if we take the example of maternal deaths and pregnancy complication, only

women that can feel this as they are also the mother. We can have a male gynecologist, but we will never have a pregnant male. The same as the raped case where the victims on the conflict zone most of the time are women. Logically, if we are the victims, then it will be easier to talk to the women as we are in the same gender. Women are also close to children as they are mothers too. This will be an added value when approaching children victims. Besides, woman approach is now more needed because in some terrorism cases, women and children are not only the victims but also the doer (terrorist). Thus this approach is not only essential to cure but also to prevent the conflict.

"We [need to] get men involved, men who are currently in power, and start partnering with them (women) on this issue and getting them to make conscious efforts. We need to have men understand these statistics, understand the why" (Abdoulah in Sandberg, 2013, in Galer, 2015).

At the same time, Abdoulah also called on women to advocate for themselves. "Why do we think we have to be perfect or we have to have it all or we have to have done it to go for it? That's one obstacle we put in our way. Another is that we believe with our whole heart, mind and soul that we'll do a good job and get recognized, and we don't negotiate well enough for what the job is worth, asking for what we think we deserve in that role, and asking for the promotions" (Abdoulah in Sandberg, 2013, in Galer, 2015).

Second, women inclusion is important because it will endure the agreement or sustain the peace after the peace negotiation. The Report of Security General on Women, Peace, and Security 2015 reported that "new evidence, added through research commissioned for the study, demonstrates clearly that the inclusion of women led to more sustainable peace and enhanced prevention efforts" (UN Security Council, 2015). It has been researched that women inclusion in peace negotiations can endure the peace agreement for at least 15 years with the possibility percentage of 35% (The Institute of Inclusive Security).

I think this is plausible because a woman has the endurance to survive and empower. Not that man cannot, but I think because of patriarchy that has been rooted for ages, there is this sense of belonging among women that they should be free, independent; thus they should empower each other. And 'thanks to' patriarchy, women mostly have the endurance to struggle and to survive as they are taught and feel that (at least) their family need them; their husbands

especially their children need their wives and mothers.

Rwanda (since 1994) shows the example that by giving a chance to women to contribute, Rwanda has succeeded rebuilt their country. Aside from Rwandan refugees, the country itself is now healing and rising with the perseverance and endurance of the women there. After the genocides, the country was left with 70% of females (Hunt, 2014). Most of the males died because of the genocide, and male perpetrators escaped to other countries. This condition moved the Rwandan women to step up in order to survive; not only to survive as an individual but also as a nation. They were hand in hand supporting each other including taking care of orphaned children, organizing support groups for widows, rebuilding ruined buildings, cultivating lands, and establishing business (The Institute of Inclusive Security). In addition, today, Rwanda has the highest percentage of women appointed to parliament in the world, estimated at 64% (Strochlic, 2014). It is followed by Bosnia (53%), Cuba (49%), Seychelles (44%), Sweden (44%) (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2016 in Warner, 2016).

Interestingly, many leaders of the Rwandan government were raised by single mothers in the pre-genocide refugee camps in the past (Hunt, 2014). Therefore, they are working hard to sustain the peace and maintain the stability as they do not want the violence happens again to their fellow generations.

Source: https://www.inclusivesecurity.org

Figure 5. "How women rebuild Rwanda"

In contrast to Rwanda, Bosnia' neglected the women inclusion. After the bloodshed in 1995 when nearly 8000 of unarmed Muslim men and boys were killed, the international community failed to intervene to stop the tragedy (The Institute of Inclusive Security). The US Policymakers admitted that ethnicity rivalry was inevitable (The Institute of Inclusive Security). Bosnia-Herzegovina at that time was lack of attachment between the people within. However, what makes even worst, during the peace negotiation there is no single woman presented on the peace table. Swanee Hunt, the former US Ambassador to Austria (1993 to 1997) in her book writes: (The Institute of Inclusive Security)

"…[M]ost women leaders in Bosnia were virtually unknown to the international community...When [the US-led] team drew up the guest list for the Dayton negotiations, and they failed to consult with grass-roots organizers. Instead, the United States invited to the peace table those who had waged war. Those who had waged the peace were excluded. "

Source: https://www.inclusivesecurity.org

Figure 6. Bosnian Women reclaimed peace

Rwanda and Bosnia have highlighted that woman inclusion in peace negotiation or peace process as a whole are essential. In Rwanda, we learn how

women's endurance and the power to empower significantly contributed to the peace process. Women not only built the peace but also rebuilt the country itself. On the other hand, we are also shown how Bosnia-Herzegovina (The Institute of Inclusive Security) neglected the voice of women. Instead, it resulted in the Dayton Accord that though it ended the war, yet it created the separation or division of territory in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some people will think that this will happen regardless of women participation. We never know unless we try. Moreover, as Bosnia never give that chance to a woman, then we never know whether the result will change or not.

The condition of Rwanda and Bosnia were indeed quite different. In Rwanda, the condition was more a peace process after the conflict ended. Meanwhile, in Bosnia, the condition was more a peace negotiation to end the war. However, those examples show how women inclusion creates another ending. One is united and integrated like Rwanda. One is not only the territory is separated, but also the people within are not "attached" to each other regarding the sense of brotherhood as a nation, like Bosnia (The Institute of Inclusive Security). Rwanda tries to achieve not only the negative peace (ending the conflict) but also the positive peace (sustainable peace moving forward to develop the whole nation). Meanwhile, Bosnia has reached the negative peace (ending the conflict by separation), but not the positive peace. Even though this inclusivity of women was not the only key, it played a significant role in every peace process.

Source: www.npr.org

Figure 7. Rwanda is the number 1 country for women in power.

5 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, woman inclusion in peace negotiation and the peace process is crucial. It may not be the panacea to the conflict in which in this case the end of the conflict or the sustainable peace. However, giving them a chance to voice out their opinion and make a contribution during peace negotiation and process is a must. No gender should be left behind. The reasons are first, to balance the masculinity thoughts by having a feminine approach. Hopefully, it will lead to a comprehensive decision and solutions. Second, it will endure the agreement or sustain the peace after the peace negotiation. The women inclusion does not mean it promotes the women's right above the other gender. It is an attempt to equalize the representation and aspiration in the peace negotiation and the peace process as a whole. With the woman inclusion, it is expected that both negative and positive peace can be achieved and sustain. It will eliminate not only the violence (conflict) on the surface (negative peace) but also the conflict in the grass root and sustainable peace (positive peace).

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