

**Women and Peace Processes:  
An Examination of the Implications of the Peace Process for Women's Political, Social  
and Economic Status in Guatemala**

Master Thesis

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## **Abstract**

The 1996 Guatemalan Peace Accords were the result of a long Peace Process that marked the end of a 36-year lasting civil war. These Accords aimed to end violent conflict and reconstruct the country. The majority of individuals involved in this Peace Process were male, but a range of women managed to take part in the Peace Process through both formal and informal channels. This thesis focusses on this formal women's involvement, where two women were placed on the negotiating teams and a range of women's organizations formed part of the civil society structure within the Peace Process. Women in Guatemala's pre-conflict society faced significant barriers to the full exercise of their rights. Openings into the Peace Processes therefore provided women with opportunities to influence the outcome and thereby improve the status of women overall in Guatemalan society.

In recent decades, there has been increasing scholarly attention to the lack of women's involvement in peace processes, focussing mainly on ways to overcome this lack of involvement. Although further scholarly attention has been set on peace processes as a way for women to advance their status in society, empirical evidence regarding this line of reasoning is often lacking. This thesis aims to fill this gap by undertaking a literature based qualitative research in the form of a within-case study. Various indicators on the status of women in Guatemalan society are compared across time to determine if women's involvement in the Guatemalan Peace Process has impacted the Peace Agreement and following policies, and in turn has led to changes in the status of the general population of women throughout Guatemalan society.

This research demonstrates that through formal involvement in the Guatemalan Peace Process the status of women has not improved as much as envisioned, but still progress has been made. The findings of this thesis indicate that women in such processes cannot be expected to raise certain topics on the basis of their gender. Furthermore, it demonstrates that women's participation in peace processes could lead to social transformation, but that the nature and features of such an involvement are limiting or strengthening to the eventual results in terms of women's status in society. This establishes the need to thoroughly analyse how the nature and features of their involvement can be deployed to maximize the effect of women's inclusion in peace processes as a way to establish societies with a higher degree of gender equality.

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## Chapter 1. Introduction

“If peace is to succeed and be sustained, women must be involved in the process of building it.” —*Kaufman & Williams, 2010: 130*

Historically, fighting wars has been seen as men’s business. It is mostly those involved in fighting who are part of the peace processes leading to peace agreements; men. The role of women in ending conflicts through peace process has been marginal so far. As Taylor (2015: 3) shows, “less than 3% of signatories to peace agreements in the modern era were women, and only 18 out of 300 peace agreements addressed any aspect of women’s rights and concerns”.<sup>1</sup> UN-Women research similarly reports that of 14 cases with available information since 2000, only 8% involved females in negotiating teams, and only 8% of signatories were female (Beteta, Russo, & Ziebell, 2010: 1).

In recent decades, there has been increased attention to the absence of women in peace processes. While scholars have concentrated on this underrepresentation, there is a limited amount of scholarly work that looks at the effective impact that women have on peace processes. Arguably, this gap exists precisely because of the limited involvement of women (Taylor, 2015: 4). This in turn complicates the assessment of the relationship between the inclusion of women in peace processes and the influence that this has on improving or sustaining the status of the general population of women in society in the long term.

While many scholars argue that a more inclusive peace process will lead to a more stable peace (see, amongst others, Bouta, Frerks, & Bannon, 2004; Kaufman & Williams, 2010; Klot, 2007; Papagianni, 2009), there is no clear indication of what effect increased female participation in peace processes has on the position of the general population of women in society in the long run, for example, in terms of their role in society at large. The involvement of women in peace processes as a means to improve their status in society and achieve greater gender equality, and in turn a more equal post-conflict society, is often assumed (Destrooper, 2014: 2-3) but has not been supported by a wide range of empirical evidence. For while the inclusion of women in peace processes has so far been marginal (Taylor, 2015), once women

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<sup>1</sup> She obtained these data from United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security*. S/2011/598, 29 September 2011; S/2012/732, 2 October 2012; S/2013/525, 4 September 2013; and S/2014/693, 23 September 2014. See also, Christine Bell and Catherine O’Rourke, *Women and Peace Agreements 1325 Dataset*, Distributed by University of Ulster, Transitional Justice Institute, 2010.

seize the opportunity to partake in such processes, they can theoretically use it as a moment to intervene and make a clean start by attempting to influence the outcome of such processes, and in turn change their status in society (Bouta & al., 2004; Kaufman & Williams, 2010; Klot, 2007).

### *Objective and Research Question*

This research aims to fill this empirical gap by looking into the effect that the inclusion of women in peace processes has on the eventual position of the general female population within society. The expectation here is that there should be some impact, whether positive or negative. If women's participation in peace processes indeed supports social transformation, this can be used as a way to bridge the gender gap in different sectors of the post-conflict society.

This research will look at a specific case, namely the Peace Process and its aftermath in Guatemala during the period of 1996 until 2016. In the 36 years between 1960 and 1996 civil war plagued Guatemala, resulting in the longest internal conflict in Latin America (Armon, Sieder, & Wilson, 1997). The 1996 Peace Agreements were the finalization of an extensive Peace Process that had women contributing to formal and civil society-led negotiations (Nakaya, 2003: 463). Since then, the government of Guatemala and a range of local NGOs have been trying to implement the resulting Peace Accords (Kleiman-Moran, 2016).

Women's involvement in the Guatemalan Peace Process itself was not a smooth sail. Two women managed to become part of both sides of the negotiating teams, and a range of women's groups became part of the civil society groups involved in consulting the official parties. Regardless of the difficulty for women to be included in the Peace Process, there were expectations that such an involvement would bring some meaningful changes not only to the women involved, but also to the status of the general female population in Guatemala. Still, there is little known on whether women's involvement in the Peace Processes has indeed benefited Guatemalan women in terms of their general status within society in the post-process period. The research question that this thesis will aim to answer therefore is: *"To what extent has women's inclusion in the Guatemalan Peace Processes affected the status of the general population of women in Guatemala when comparing pre- and post-process periods?"*

### *Defining Peace Processes*

Peace processes are "the informal and formal mechanisms through which wars are brought to an end and transitions to a new post-war order are managed and regulated"

(McGuinness, 2007: 63). 'Peace processes' in this thesis refers to the whole process of negotiating peace, starting when war is still ongoing and continuing onto the signing of a peace agreement. After this, the implementation phase starts. It is through such peace processes that society and governmental institutions are (re)shaped and (re)structured after conflict has ended (Anderlini, 2000: 5).

Within peace processes, a distinction is made between Track One and Track Two processes. Track One typically refers to formal intergovernmental processes undertaken by diplomats, government officials, and heads of states, with the aim to achieve a legally binding agreement. Track Two processes are the informal processes that take place outside of state institutions (Diamond & McDonald, 1996: 1).

Track One and Two peace processes are interrelated processes. Informal meetings through Track Two can help to build trust between parties involved in unofficial ways, create alternative ways of negotiating, introduce topics in an informal matter (Hottinger, 2005: 58), and can supplement Track One negotiations by making sure secondary actors on both sides of the conflict support the peace process (Wanis-St. John & Kew, 2008: 19).

Often, informal structures serve as the main mechanisms for women to take part in the peace process (McGuinness, 2007: 75). Even though women can make a difference through informal processes, for example by raising general awareness to topics of importance to them, their participation in such processes also has its negative aspects. By too narrowly focusing on informal processes, women might not seize opportunities to take part in formal processes. Furthermore, expressions of satisfaction with taking part in informal processes may be perceived as expressions of content with this secondary role (McGuinness, 2007: 76).

Women often lack in Track One negotiations because such negotiations take place between government officials, heads of states, and other officials holding high offices; positions not regularly occupied by women (McGuinness, 2007: 75). In Guatemala, women managed to become part of the Track One negotiations through international pressures, the way they managed to organize, and the personal qualities of the two women that were part of the respective negotiating teams. How women managed to create a space for their involvement will be more thoroughly explained in chapter 3.

This thesis is concerned with formal peace processes, as it focusses on the official involvement of women on the negotiating teams and in the official civil society structure. Women's inclusion plays an important role here, because this is where the definite and conclusive peace agreements are created (Shepherd, 2015: 59).



This thesis uses the concepts ‘inclusion’ and ‘participation’ interchangeably. Here, these concepts refer to “taking part in an official peace-making or constitution making process within a formal inclusion modality” (Paffenholz, Ross, Dixon, Schluchter, & True, 2016: 12).

### *Methods of Research*

The purpose of this thesis is to show the relationship between women’s inclusion in the Guatemalan Peace Process and a (possible) change in the status of women overall in society, to demonstrate if Guatemalan women benefited from female involvement in the Peace Process. It does not intend to identify a direct causal relationship between women’s inclusion and changes in societal status, as it is not just peace processes that have an effect on the general status of women in a society. Other factors at play include cultural factors (Giuliano, 2015), international pressures to promote gender equality such as UNSCR 1325, and changing assumptions about gender roles (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004).

This research instead attempts to see how women influenced the Peace Agreements and whether and how the following societal changes, if present, can be attributed to their involvement. Therefore, the nature, process, and impact of women being included in peace process will be characterized, linking this to specific passages in the Peace Accords and policies resulting from these accords. Then, a comparison will be made between the societal status of women before and after the Peace Processes of 1996. This will be researched by means of a range of indicators, that will be set out in the next section.

This research employs a qualitative and descriptive approach to develop an analysis and interpretation of changes in different variables relating to the position of women in society. The data is collected from both scholarly articles and official government documents. The records of the negotiations between the Guatemalan Government and the *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* (URNG) are not publicly accessible due to the “trust and seriousness” (UCDP, 1994, para. V) surrounding the negotiations. It is thus not possible to exactly know what the contribution of each individual woman was. Therefore, a range of interviews with some of the women involved in the Guatemalan Peace Process conducted by other journalists and international NGO practitioners will be consulted to get a better grasp of specific individual contributions to the Peace Process.

### *Why Guatemala?*

Peace processes are difficult to study because they often take place in a sphere of secrecy and mostly involve a small number of individuals. Furthermore, each process takes place under

particular circumstances, making generalizations of outcomes difficult (Taylor, 2015). Therefore, an in-depth qualitative research in the form of within-case research would be the best method to study such processes. Although a single-case study will not allow for the generalization of potential outcomes, it can be employed to generate preliminary theories that can be verified when testing it against other cases (Mills, Durepos & Wiebe, 2010).

Of the limited cases for which women have been part of Track One peace processes (Taylor, 2015: 15), Guatemala allows us to research the impact of women's inclusion. Reasons for this include that it is a case for which a formal peace agreement has been signed, on which there is publicly accessible data, and where the various groups involved can be identified. Furthermore, the agreement has been finalized some time ago, so that the long term change in general status of women in society can be explored. A long term view on the current issue is necessary because the implementation and materialization of changes resulting from the Peace Agreements take time to unfold.

Various case studies have looked into the Guatemalan Peace Process (for example, for a general overview of the Peace Process see: Jonas, 2000). Amongst others, Taylor (2015) looks at how two women were involved in the process, but does not link this to resulting changes within Guatemalan society. Then there are authors that look at the development of various aspects related to societal position over time (see, amongst others Barrios-Klee & Méndez, 2010: on violence against women; Destrooper, 2014: on women's advocacy groups; Poppema, 2009: on education). These studies do not link such changes to the Peace Process and female involvement therein. This research aims to fill this empirical gap.

### *Key Variables*

In order to examine change and continuity in the status of women in Guatemalan society, it should be explained what this thesis considers such a status to be comprised of. A person's status within society is the place that an individual holds in the social hierarchy of a given country or culture (Lindemann, 2007: 54). The general position of women in society is difficult to assess because it could be based on many different and interrelated indicators (Marshall, Roberts, Burgoyne, Swift, & Routh, 1995: 3), including objective ones such as "age, gender, ethnicity, education, status on the labour market and income" and subjective aspects such as the assets that a person holds relative to others (Lindemann, 2007: 55). Different authors focus on different variables, including labour-force participation (Marshall et al., 1995), education (Poppema, 2009), political participation (Santa Cruz, 2016; Barrios-Klee & Méndez, 2010), ethnicity (Lindemann, 2007), literacy (Dorius & Firebaugh: 2010), wages earned (Ñopo &

Gonzales, 2008), and violence against women (Barrios-Klee & Méndez, 2010; Cosgrove & Lee, 2015). This research is limited to analysing objective variables, as subjective data would require field work, which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

These different variables can roughly be divided into three interrelated categories making up a person's status within society, namely political, social, and economic status. This thesis follows this categorization, as this would broadly cover all aspects related to a person's general status in society.

These categories are then comprised of a range of interrelated tangible indicators that give a deeper analysis of aspects relating to societal status. For political status, these variables include the political participation of Guatemalan women and the presence of women's advocacy groups. For social status, the educational opportunities for women and patterns of violence against women will be analysed. Finally, for economic status, this research will look at women in the labour force, and the gender wage gap. Due to length constraints it is beyond the scope of this research to look into more possible indicators. The indicators mentioned here cover political, social, and economical aspects and thus allow for a consideration of diverse range of aspects that, when combined, provide for a relative broad picture of the position of women within Guatemalan society.

Although the indicators form separate categories, they are all interrelated. The wages that women earn and their participation in the labour force is, at least partly, dependent on the education that they obtain (Doyle & Skinner, 2016: 266; Pampel & Tanaka, 1986: 616). Similarly, it is hard for women to obtain a position within politics, without education (Hillygus, 2005: 25). Women's advocacy groups show women's activism and influence gender norms within society (Destrooper, 2014: 4), while changed gender norms might then influence the other variables through new perspectives on them. Finally, although the relationship between gender inequality and gender-based violence is a complex one, the latter is often said to be more prevalent in societies where women occupy a secondary role (WHO, 2009: 3).

### *Significance of Research*

In addition to filling the empirical gap related to the idea that Peace Processes can be used as a way for women to improve the general status of women in society, the significance of this research lays in the discrepancy between the general average gender gap and the gender gap in peace processes. The Global Gender Gap Report 2017 shows that the progress on closing the average gender gap worldwide in 2017 stood at 68%. This means that an average gap of 32% should be overcome to reach universal gender equality (World Economic Forum, 2017: vii).

When comparing this to the 3% of female signatories to peace agreements (Taylor, 2015: 3), and 8% of the negotiation teams and signatories of peace agreements being female (Beteta, Russo, & Ziebell, 2010: 1) it becomes clear that women's underrepresentation in peace process is bigger than women's average underrepresentation in most other categories, underlining the significance of this study and the relevance of the proposed research question.

### *Structure of Thesis*

The structure of this research is as follows. In Chapter 2, the Literature Review will start by explaining why a feminist perspective is important when examining peace processes, set out arguments from existing literature in favour of expanding women's inclusion in such processes, and explain how different authors consider women's inclusion in peace processes as a way to improve the status of the general population of women in post-conflict society. It will then lay out different views and findings about women in peace processes that show the gap between normative views and reality, and outline the theoretical position that this research takes regarding the existing literature.

Then, in Chapter 3, the nature, process, and impact of women that were included in the Guatemalan Peace Process will be illustrated by explaining how a space for women's inclusion in the Peace Process was created, showing the women that were involved, and explaining which channels were used by the women involved. Chapter 4 shows the pressures that women involved exerted to include certain aspects into the Peace Agreements, and the policies that were created in the aftermath of the Peace Process. Then, it analyses the pre- and post-conflict stance on the previously mentioned variables to indicate whether the general status of Guatemalan women in society has changed since the Peace Process. Also, it will set out some factors that restricted progress in a number of fields. Finally, in Chapter 5, conclusions will be drawn from these changes, if present, and the linkage between the nature and features of women's involvement and such changes will be explored. Finally, the implications that the outcomes of this research have for peace processes more generally will be set out and avenues for further research will be identified.

This thesis demonstrates that women's participation in peace processes could lead to social transformation, but that the nature and features of such an involvement are limiting or strengthening to the eventual results in terms of women's status in society.

## Chapter 2. Literature Review

### *Introduction*

This chapter will start by explaining the need for a feminist perspective when examining issues of conflict and peace. It will then briefly go over the existing feminist works on women in conflict and peace processes, highlighting the most influential ideas and works so far. It then goes on to argue that simply including women in peace processes is not sufficient, as women cannot be said to constitute one homogenous group. After that, this chapter turns to explaining how existing literature sees the potential of peace processes to rebuild a society and create a more substantial role for women in post-conflict societies. Finally, it highlights the empirical gaps in the existing literature, showing the contribution of this research.

### *The Need for a Feminist Perspective*

Armed conflict has a different effect on men and women (Reardon, 1993: 42), for example because women fall victim to sexual violence (Arostegui, 2013: 535) or experience reduced access to resources (Plümper & Neumayer, 2006: 724). A gender perspective is needed to explain these differences, not only with regard to issues of war and peace but also when examining attempts to end conflicts: peace processes (Kolb & Coolidge, 1991). A feminist perspective is important because other IR paradigms miss a gender-dimension when explaining issues related to peace and conflict (Enloe, 2014). The realist paradigm generally uses security concepts without paying attention to gender issues, in this way reinforcing a masculine approach to peace and conflict and ignoring the gender dimension of such issues (Hudson, 2005: 156). Secondly, the liberal paradigm integrates women into a universal category of humankind that is built on masculine assumptions without questioning these, so that underlying gender-unequal epistemological premises are taken for granted (Hudson, 2005: 159; Tickner, 1992: 81). Within the Marxist school of thought, the focus on class divisions conceals the gendered division of labour and power (Tickner, 1992: 89). Hansen (2000: 306) shows that the Copenhagen School similarly fails to include a gender perspective when examining security issues, and that the notion of ‘speech acts’ should be expanded to create space for a gender-based security analysis.

### *Feminist Works on War and Peace*

Initial feminist works on women in peace processes have focussed on the absence of women in such processes (Sharoni, 2017). Works here include those by Anderlini (2007), Kolb and Coolidge (1991), and Stamato (1992). Different feminists draw ideas from different strands of feminism, although such perspectives are not mutually exclusive (Lorber, 1997). The main difference among feminists in debates concerning the role of women in peace processes has to do with the way one looks at women as a group. Some authors see men and women as fixed categories with specific characteristics, where men are seen as fighters and women as peace-loving caretakers (Hunt & Posa, 2001; Steans, 2006). Others challenge these views, stating that such depictions constitute stereotypes that prevent challenging the current underrepresentation of women in peace processes (Otto, 2006; Shepherd, 2013; Sjoberg, 2013; Stamato, 1992; Steans, 2006; Taylor, 2015).

Different authors put forward various arguments as to why women's involvement in peace processes should be expanded. A range of these writings mainly assert that women's inclusion in peace processes is a matter of justice, because they should have an equal right to be involved in such processes as men do (Saarinen, 2013; Shepherd, 2015). Other authors argue that increased women's inclusion in peace processes would lead to a more inclusive peace process, in turn resulting in a more inclusive and thus more stable peace agreement (Beteta, Russo, & Ziebell, 2010: 4; Dolgopol, 2006: 260). There are also feminists that argue that women's inclusion would provide these women with ways to deal with their specific needs and wants resulting from the different manners in which they experience conflict (Arostegui, 2013: 535; McGuinness, 2007: 65; Plümper & Neumayer, 2006: 724; Stamato, 1992: 376). Finally, some authors highlight the need to increase the number of women in peace processes because women would possess unique inherent characteristics that make them especially suitable for developing novel propositions that men would not be able to come up with, resulting from their unique life experiences (Benderly, 2000; Fearon, 1999; Hunt & Posa, 2001; Reardon, 1993).

So although for different reasons, feminists broadly agree on the need to increase women's involvement in peace processes. This thesis recognizes that women's involvement in peace processes is important and necessary. However, women's inclusion should not be on the basis of women exhibiting specific inherent characteristics, or because they develop novel propositions that men would not think of, such a generalization of women leads to stereotyping (Shepherd, 2013). Portraying women as one group means ignoring differences among women (Hudson, 2005: 157). Therefore, this thesis contends that women should not be seen as a homogenous category. There are other factors at play next to gender that determine the outlook

of women on matters related to conflict and peace (Taylor, 2015: 291) as individuals are affected by more factors than gender, including race, individual experiences, class, and religion (Hudson, 2005: 158). When including women in peace processes, they can therefore not be expected to raise specific topics based solely on the fact that they are women. Rather, women's inclusion should be seen as a matter of justice, because they make up half of the world population, and as a way to ensure wide support for peace agreements as the result of an inclusive process.

### *Women's Inclusion in Peace Processes Leading to Change*

More recently, feminist writings have increasingly focussed on the opportunities that peace processes provide for women to improve the status of the female population within a society. Women's participation in such processes is seen as a way to establish a post-conflict society in which women can play a greater role (see, amongst others, Bouta & al., 2004; Kaufman & Williams, 2010; Klot, 2007). A peace processes establishes the groundwork for rebuilding a society and can form the starting point of societal transformations (Klot, 2007: 2; Dolgopol, 2006: 260). It is through such processes that new constitutions are drafted, governmental institutions are created, and new policies are initiated (Dogopol, 2006: 259). Taking part in peace processes can serve as a way for women to influence these practices, and bring up and safeguard matters associated with gender equality, improving the status of all women in these societies in the long term (Dolgopol, 2006).

In the political realm, inclusion of women in peace process can help help them to assert pressure onto the parties involved to commit to policies and quotas to increase the number of women in positions that carry political significance (Anderlini, 2000: 6; Dogopol, 2006: 260). Increased interaction between women and principal political actors involved in peace processes can furthermore increase the chances of these women to be part of the post-conflict political domain (Bouta & al., 2004: 56). Furthermore, periods of political change, such as present after peace processes, can disrupt existing ideas and habits concerning gender roles (Marcus, Harper, Brodbeck, & Pager, 2015: 5), making it possible to challenge prevailing gender norms that confine women in their attempts to fully exercise their rights.

A problematic aspect with this body of literature is that most of these works are written by practitioners, women's rights defenders, actors from civil society, or individuals who work with international bodies like the UN (Saarinen, 2013: 33). In general, therefore, these works focus mainly on operationalization and practical recommendations to include women in peace processes. The result is that such works are merely advocacy studies containing a political

agenda rather than scientific studies. Such works are not necessarily completely objective as they assume that women's inclusion itself is enough to ensure a gender-sensitive outcome without critically analysing the effective impact that women have had on peace processes, - agreements, and resulting policies (Saarinen, 2013: 26). Such works therefore often lack empirical testing of these claims, or only do so very limitedly.

### *The Results of Women's Inclusion in Peace Processes*

This research sees the theoretical potential that peace processes provide in improving the status of women within a post-conflict society, as described by a range of different authors (see, amongst others, Bouta & al., 2004; Kaufman & Williams, 2010; Klot, 2007). It does see a problem with such normative views, because empirical backing is missing. When it comes to empirical evidence, a few case studies into post-conflict societies and the position of women therein have been undertaken, although they show some major weaknesses.

Dolgopol (2006) describes the Arusha Peace Agreement. In the Burundian Peace Process leading up to this agreement, the international community aimed to ensure participation of women in this process (Dolgopol, 2006: 262). In the period after the Peace Process was finalized, a range of positive developments for women did materialize. However, the overall status of women in Burundi remains one marked by a high degree of gender discrimination (Dolgopol, 2006: 266), showing that women's inclusion might not necessarily lead to an improvement of their general status in society.

However, the problem with this case study is that women were not involved in the Peace Process from the beginning on, but were only involved in the final stage, and "even then were not considered to be true parties to the negotiations" (Dolgopol, 2006: 263). This makes adequately linking their involvement to changes in the Burundian post-conflict society problematic. Therefore, this points to the need to more thoroughly examine if it indeed was the contribution of women to the Peace Process that has resulted into changes, or that other factors were responsible.

Shepherd (2015), in a more comprehensive study, looks at the impact that women have had on the Peace Process in Liberia. She argues that women played an important role at the peace table in Liberia, especially through the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace movement that helped to end the Second Liberian Civil war (p. 63). She claims that women's involvement was vital leading up to "to national, rights-based reform" (p. 63) and sees a "direct link between female empowerment and the political and social development of an entire nation" (p. 64).



However, the changes in the status of women in Liberian society are not as significant as these quotes by Shepherd may suggest. Although a female president was elected in 2006, and re-elected in 2011, men still occupy the majority of governmental positions (Garnett, 2012: 73). Despite the creation of quota to increase the amount of women in Liberian politics, women still face significant barriers to participation (Garnett, 2012: 75). The overall gender gap in the country amounts to 0.669 and in 2017 the country ranked 107<sup>th</sup> out of 160 countries worldwide in terms of gender equality (World Economic Forum, 2017: 11).

Although Shepherd (2015) claims the Liberian case to be a “striking example of the direct link between female empowerment and the political and social development of an entire nation” (p. 64), the empirical evidence she uses is rather weak. She mainly heralds national reforms and the election of a women as president as culminating points due to women’s involvement, instead of looking at the improvement of the status of women in the country more broadly. Women’s involvement might thus not have had such positive effects as Shepherd suggests, and a more critical analysis of the effects of women’s inclusion on eventual changes in society is needed.

These studies of the practical outcome of women’s involvement in peace processes show that the normative views concerning women’s inclusion in peace processes and resulting status changes held by a range of scholars (Bouta & al., 2004; Kaufman & Williams, 2010; Klot, 2007) might not necessarily be true in reality or that, at the very least, further research into such claims is needed.

### *Deviating Perspectives on Women’s Inclusion in Peace Processes*

So far, this thesis has shown that a wide range of authors agree that women’s involvement in peace processes is important and necessary, but that empirical gaps remain. However, not everyone agrees with this normative line of reasoning. Some people fear the ‘sinking’ of a peace process by including women, as this would lead to having to take gender-related issues into account. In her research, Taylor (2015: pp. 146-148) quotes a variety of individuals that feared that attention for gender-related subjects would make the agenda of the talks too broad so that the focus would no longer be on securing a rapid peace. Bell and O’Rourke (2010) indicate that an agenda that becomes too broad could potentially negatively impact the speed in which the peace process is undertaken.

The problem with this line of reasoning is that it overlooks the importance of gender in creating a stable post-conflict society. Considering the importance of an inclusive process to achieve a stable and lasting peace (Beteta, Russo, & Ziebell, 2010: 4; Dolgopoul, 2006: 260),

achieving a rapid peace agreement should not be used as a rationale to narrow the scope of aspects to be considered during a peace process. Furthermore, women in peace processes do not exclusively focus on gender-related issues (Kaufman & Williams, 2010: 116), making such fears unfounded.

Further opposition to pressures to for women's involvement in peace processes has its roots in different concerns. Individuals including international mediators Arnault (2006: 24) and Martin (African Union & Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2013: pp. 81-82) do not oppose the inclusion of women in peace processes per se, but do question the way this is done in certain processes. They warn against the danger of externally imposing a Western agenda that would result in a lack of local ownership of the peace process at hand. International pressures would then not necessarily lead to outcomes that improve the situation for women in a country because foreign (Western) norms are forced onto societies, without paying attention to local needs, wants, and customs. This is not to say that women should not be included in peace processes, but that local ownership as to such inclusion is necessary. Acknowledging differences among women means that women in different parts of the world might have different needs and interests (Hudson, 2005: 157). Therefore, local women should be provided with ways to be involved in the peace process that enable them to influence the process and its outcomes in ways that matter to them. In the end it is the domestic society that is responsible for the promotion and institutionalization of gender parity (Nakaya, 2003: 471), not that of international actors.

### *Conclusion*

Thus, further building on existing literature on women, peace and conflict, this research posits that there indeed may be a theoretical potential for improving the general status of women in society through their involvement in peace processes because of the potential for structural reforms provided by such processes. However, the current literature exhibits some clear empirical gaps as to proving this. This research aims to fill this gap by looking at the involvement of women in the Guatemalan Peace Process, the resulting Agreement, policies flowing from this agreement, and changes in the position of the general female Guatemalan population.

While doing so, this thesis acknowledges that it is not enough to simply add women to a peace process. A gender-sensitive approach to women's involvement in peace processes encompasses more than to simply 'add women and stir' (Chang, Allam, Warren, Bhatia, & Turkington, 2015; Hudson, 2005). The inclusion of women into peace processes is not an end

in itself; it is their influence on the processes and its outcomes. The effective nature and features of women's involvement in peace processes are of importance, as one cannot simply assume that adding women to a peace process leads to an outcome that benefits women in the post-conflict society. Furthermore, differences between and among women should not be disregarded, meaning that one should look further than just gender when examining the contributions of women to peace processes. Finally, women should be given space to bring up issues that are of relevance to them so that local ownership is ensured.

### Chapter 3. The Guatemalan Peace Process

#### *Introduction*

This chapter looks at the Peace Process in Guatemala and the role of women therein. It starts by giving a brief overview of the different agreements resulting from the Peace Process. Secondly, as women's inclusion in the Guatemalan Peace Process was not something self-evident, an explanation as to how a space for women's involvement was created will be given. Finally, this chapter will turn to the women that have been involved in the Peace Process and show the nature of their contributions.

A more detailed discussion of the history and course of the Guatemalan Civil War and the Peace Process is beyond the scope of this thesis. For more specific information, see, amongst others: Jonas, 1991; 2000; and Woodward, 1999.

#### *The Guatemalan Peace Accords*

The Guatemalan Peace Process was comprised of a wide range of issues and took place under the auspices of the UN (Taylor, 2015). Between 1994 and 1996, the Guatemalan Government and the *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* (URNG) signed a number of accords that were set up in an attempt to eliminate the root causes leading up to the civil conflict (Rosenthal, 2001). These agreements were preceded by negotiations that had started in 1990 and took place over a long period of time.

The umbrella agreement, signed in October 1996, set out an elaborate time schedule as to the implementation of the different commitments (Rosenthal, 2001: 56). In total, the Peace Accords are comprised of 11 different accords.

Year	Name of agreement	Summary
1994	Agreement on the Establishment of 1994 the "Commission to Clarify Past Human Rights Violations and Acts of Violence that have Caused the Guatemalan Population to Suffer	"Defines a process for investigating human rights abuses taking place between the beginning of the war and the signing of the final peace agreement, and for producing recommendations that contribute to national reconciliation".

1994	Agreement on the Resettlement of Population Groups Uprooted by the Armed Conflict	“The government will facilitate the safe return of internally displaced persons, promote the return of land abandoned by uprooted populations, [...] and create a reintegration plan”.
1994	Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights	URNG and government promise to uphold and protect human rights.
1995	Agreement on the Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples	Provided commitments as to the protection of the rights of indigenous peoples, put an end to discrimination against them, set out in four chapters.
1996	Agreement on Socio-economic Aspects and Agrarian Situation	“contains four chapters” dealing with broadening “civic participation at all levels of sub-government [...]”, “economic growth [...]”, “rural development [...]”
1996	Agreement on the Strengthening of Civilian Power	“contains a comprehensive package of provisions relating to the strengthening of democratic government covering the legislature, executive and judiciary”.
1996	Agreement on a Definitive Ceasefire	“sets out a 60-day timetable for the separation and assembly of forces, and for UNRG disarmament and demobilization”.
1996	Agreement on Constitutional Reforms and Electoral Regime	Detailed suggestions for constitutional reforms. “The proposals focus mainly on the recognition of the identity and rights of indigenous peoples and the mandate and structure of the country’s security forces”
1996	Agreement on the Basis of Legal Integration of URNG	Sets out a program to reintegrate URNG members into society.
1996	Agreement on the Implementation, Compliance and Verification Timetable	Sets out a timetable for the implementation of all accords established since 1994.

1996	The Agreement on a Firm and Lasting Peace	“triggers implementation of all the previous agreements and binds them into a comprehensive nationwide agenda for peace”
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*Table 1: list of the Guatemalan Peace Agreements<sup>2</sup>*

### *Creating a Space for Women’s Involvement*

The inclusion of women into the Guatemalan Peace Process was not something self-evident. Until the 1990s, women in Guatemala were not particularly active in the country’s politics (Chang et al., 2015: 59). Limited female political engagement combined with the patriarchal nature that characterized the country and the idea that conflict and peace negotiations are a men’s business (Berger, 2006: 197) meant that women were not straight-out involved in the Peace Process. While a range of talks called the ‘Oslo Talks’ in 1990 opened up the dialogue between the URNG and five sectors of civil society, women’s groups were not incorporated in these talks (Ellerby, 2010: 188).

From the mid-1990s on, women throughout Guatemala began to organize as a response to the hardships they had to endure during the war. They demanded “justice and knowledge on the whereabouts of their family and friends, rights for refugees and the displaced, indigenous rights, land reforms, access to services, and socio-economic equality, as well as subsequently to advance gender equality” (Chang et al., 2015: 59). Women’s organizations in the country started to grow, claiming their spot in the creation of a stable post-conflict society through the Peace Process. Furthermore, international pressures to include a gender dimension into the Peace Process meant that the government felt pressured to pay more attention to women and gender (Chang et al., 2015: pp. 60-61). According to one of the women that was formally involved in the Peace Process, this international pressure was further strengthened by means of a range of UN Security Council resolutions called the ‘Beijing Platform for Action’ that served as a “a source of strength and inspiration” (Karam, 2000: 20), because women felt supported to stand up for their rights and interests.

### *Women Involved in the Peace Process*

At the background of the Peace Processes, the Assembly of Civil Society (*Asamblea de la Sociedad Civil*, ASC) was created in the beginning of 1994 with the aim to open up the Peace Process to include civil society perspectives. The ASC included a range of sectors of society

<sup>2</sup> Adapted from Costello et al., 1997: 86, as discussed in Kleiman-Moran, 2016: 8

that consulted the official parties in the negotiations by bringing proposals from civil society to the table (Montenegro, 2002). Initially, it was thought that women's issues would automatically be addressed through the other groups of which women formed part. However, after pressures from a coalition of women's organizations, the parties to the Peace Process agreed to set up a sector within the ASC that would specifically address women's wants and needs (Carrillo & Chinchilla, 2010:146). The creation of the Women's Sector signalled a critical moment for women's inclusion as it established new ways for women to impact the Peace Process (Chang et al., 2015: 60).

The Women's Sector consisted of representatives from thirty women's organizations, and eight individuals that were unaffiliated to any organization. Women in the Women's Sector had different backgrounds and ideologies, including "indigenous, mestizas, middle class, working class, religious, academic, feminists, and nonfeminists" (Berger, 2006: 202). The Sector aimed to find consensus among its members and promoted diversity (Berger, 2006: 202).

The Peace Process itself presented the first real opportunity for women as a collective to take part in high-level political meetings in Guatemala. At first, women in the Women's Sector mainly debated issues in non-gender related fields, but they increasingly focussed on specific women's interests (Destrooper, 2014: 88). By doing so, they were able to bring new topics and perceptions onto the agenda. URNG Comendante Lola, as cited in Luciak (2001: 55-56), stated that "the Women's Sector, practically the only one with a permanent presence in the Assembly of Civil Society, influenced [...] the coordination and the content of some of the accords". This resulted in specific mentioning of women's rights in a number of the agreements (Luciak, 2001: 55).

The original negotiations did not contain a specific agreement relating to women- or gender issues (Jonas, 2000: 86). However, throughout the negotiation process, specific provisions regarding women issues were included into the separate accords. Attention for a gender perspective regarding the creation of new public policy and women's rights grew (Jonas, 2000: 86). The consideration of gender issues came about as the result of the broad range of issues that were included in the peace talks, international involvement (including in the form of UN mediation), pressures exerted by the Women's Sector through the ASC, and the involvement of women on the negotiating teams.

On the side of the URNG, one woman, Luz Méndez Gutierrez, was involved in the peace talks. Raquel Zelaya Rosales, one of the key delegates on the side of the government, similarly was the only female involved in her team (Taylor, 2015: 166). Méndez was included because of her understanding of communications and the political knowledge. She felt that her

role was to be the voice for women afflicted by conflict. Zelaya was made part of the Peace Process because of her political network and knowledge of economical matters (Taylor, 2015: 24).

A number of other women played a role in the Process as well, in different roles and during different times. These included Teresa Bolaños, member of the National Commission of Reconciliation (Comisión Nacional de Reconciliación) between 1991 and 1993; Arlena Cifuentes, advisor to the mediator in 1991; Aracely Conde, advisor to the Government Peace Commission (Comisión de Paz del Gobierno) in 1992; Rosa María Wantland, Margarita Hurtado, Judith Erazo and Olga Pérez, advisors to the delegation of the URNG in 1996 (Barrios-Klee & Méndez, 2010: 15).

### *Nature of Female Contributions*

As the Women's Sector was comprised of different women's advocacy groups with different backgrounds that all had diverging objectives, they were able to form coalitions on a broad range of issues (IPTI, 2017: 1). The Women's Sector was highly vocal in promoting the inclusion of women's rights in the Peace Accords (Taylor, 2015: 81), through efficient coalition building and effective strategies to transfer ideas (IPTI, 2017: 1).

The Women's Sector produced an extensive list of demands to advance the rights of women, including "the incorporation of a gender focus in development programs and programs for the resettlement of uprooted populations; the creation of legislation recognizing sexual harassment and domestic violence as punishable crimes; measures favouring the expansion of women's citizenship and political participation; special protections of indigenous rights; and increasing women's access to land, credit, housing, and education" (Carrillo & Chinchilla, 2010: 146).

During the negotiations between the Guatemalan government and the URNG, the Women's Sector would come up with recommendations to include gender provisions into the Accords. These recommendations were delivered to the ASC through official channels. The ASC would discuss such proposals and pass them on into the official Track One negotiations in the form of compromised proposals. This meant that compromises had to be made at all stages, and that not all of the topics and issues raised by the Women's Sector made it into the eventual Peace Agreements (Berger, 2006: 202). If such a proposal made it to the negotiating table, it carried with it a certain weight as it had the backing of the Women's Sector. Georgina Navarro, who took part in the Women's Sector, stated that "[...] the contributions [...] [of the Women's Sector] gave theoretical support and valid arguments to the proposals that later



sustained them at the negotiating table, with the other political parties and the other sectors” (Carrillo & Chinchilla, 2010: 146). Simultaneously, on an unofficial base, Luz Mendez used her position in the process as a way to advocate for the proposals put forward by the Women’s Sector (IPTI, 2017: 6-7).

In interviews,<sup>3</sup> both Luz Méndez Gutierrez and Raquel Zelaya Rosales stress that they were not made part of the negotiating teams *because*, but *despite* being women (Taylor, 2015: pp. 191-196). Both women said to have been included on the basis of their experience and knowhow, not on the basis of their gender. Luz Méndez Gutierrez initially felt that she was more of a consultant than a decision maker, but eventually came to see herself as a defender of women’s rights at the table (Taylor, 2015: 192). Raquel Zelaya Rosales mainly concentrated on economic- rather than gender-related issues. She focused on female economic empowerment to create economic opportunities for Guatemalan women (Taylor, 2015: 203), although this was not her only focus (Taylor, 2015: 166). In these interviews, both women stress that their ‘being a woman’ impacted the contributions they made to the negotiation process. However, their different backgrounds with Luz Méndez Gutierrez being a political activist and Raquel Zelaya Rosales an economist, made that they also advocated for different issues to be addressed.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter has shown how women managed to find their place within the Guatemalan Peace Process and showed the channels through which they managed to influence the process. It is not just their gender that influenced the way that the women involved behaved during the Peace Process, but other personal experiences are also of importance. Similarly, as a result of the diversity in backgrounds and ideologies of the women in the Women’s Sector, the ideas and interests put forward during the Peace Process extended across a wide range of issues (Berger, 2006: 202). This affirms that women should not be portrayed as one homogenous group with a single interest, and that other factors than gender also influence the issues that they will raise during peace negotiations. This points to the need to empirically assess the effective contributions of women to peace processes and the resulting effects of such an involvement.

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<sup>3</sup> As it was not practically possible to conduct interviews due to a limited amount of time available, this research relies on interviews conducted by other scholars or practitioners. For more information, see: Taylor, 2015.

## **Chapter 4. Change and Continuity in Women's Status in Guatemalan Society**

### *Introduction*

Before the civil conflict in Guatemala, women in the country faced difficulties in fully enjoying their rights. Barriers included rigid patriarchal relations and high levels of illiteracy among women (Montenegro, 2002: 3). Women were repressed and their position was one within “clearly demarcated social and political boundaries of inequality” (Harms, 2011: 114). The Guatemalan Peace Process could theoretically serve as an opportunity for women to improve their general status in society, through the possibility for social transformation that peace processes provide (Bouta & al., 2004; Kaufman & Williams, 2010; Klot, 2007).

In the following section, a number of key variables on the status of the general population of women in Guatemala will be explored. These variables include political, social, and economic variables, namely political participation of Guatemalan women; the presence of women's advocacy groups; educational opportunities for women; violence against women; women in the labour force; and the gender wage gap.

This chapter will demonstrate the pressures exerted by women involved in an aim to impact the Peace Accords. Specific sections of these Accords will be highlighted, and policies that were initiated after the Peace Process was finalized will be outlined. Furthermore, this chapter will look at the effect of such policies on the progress that has been made regarding the status of the general population of Guatemalan women. It will do so by looking at data and statistics concerning these political, social, and economic variables. In doing so, this chapter shows whether women's involvement in the Guatemalan Peace Process has had an impact on shaping the post-conflict status of Guatemalan women.

### *Getting Women into Guatemalan Politics*

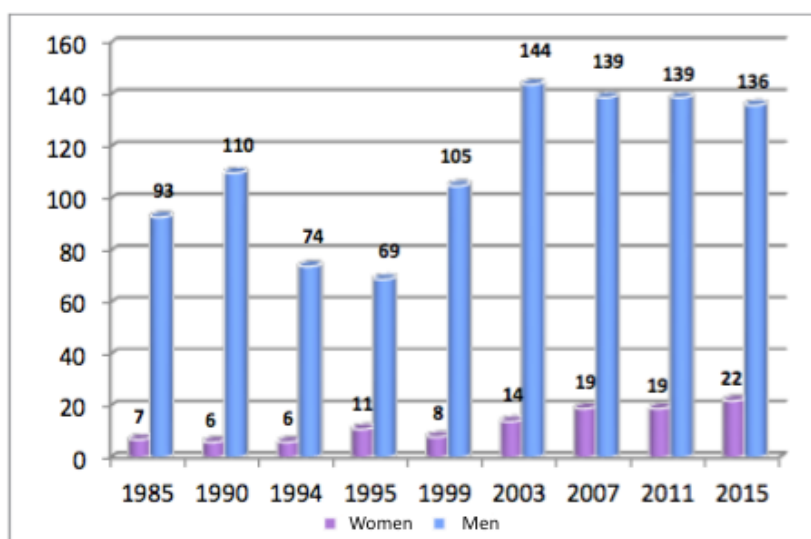
In order to have an effective impact on the creation of laws and policies, women should participate in a broad range of political offices (Montenegro, 2002: 2). Increasing female participation in Guatemalan politics was one of the top priorities of the Women's Sector during the Guatemalan Peace Process (Luna et al., n.d.: 12). All these efforts have resulted in increased awareness for the need to have more women in Guatemalan politics and a more gender-balanced representation within politics (Barrios-Klee & Méndez, 2010: 70).

The Peace Accords specifically referred to female participation in politics and clearly aimed to increase female political participation. The ‘Agreement on Social and Economic Aspects and Agrarian Situation’ (Gobierno de Guatemala & URNG, 1996b) guaranteed women

the right to organize, encouraged their participation in government plans and policies, and aimed to eliminate discrimination against women in terms of political participation (article 13(f-g)). Furthermore, the ‘Agreement on the Strengthening of Civilian Power’ (Gobierno de Guatemala & URNG, 1996a) encouraged, amongst others, the signing parties to take measures to “ensure that organizations of political and social character adopt specific policies tending to encourage and favour women’s participation as part of the process of strengthening civilian power” (Gobierno de Guatemala & URNG, 1996a, chap. 6, art. 59b).

After the finalization of the Peace Accords, a range of initiatives meant to promote such participation have been initiated, including trainings to raise gender awareness and to advance leadership skills (Ogrodnik & Borzutzky, 2011: 58). The 2001 ‘National Policy of Promotion and Development of the Guatemalan Women’ (PNPDMG) saw increasing the participation of women in all levels of public office as one of its four main goals (Ruano & Zambrano, 2006: 11). Furthermore, the Women’s Sector of the ASC lobbied extensively to get the president to appoint women as governors, resulting in the appointment of six women for this position in 2002 (Montenegro, 2002: 2-3). Less positively, a suggested reform of the law on elections and political parties within Guatemala that would have included electoral gender quotas has not been realized (Carrillo & Chinchilla, 2010: 150).

As to the statistics regarding women in Guatemalan politics, Graph 1 shows the great discrepancy between men and women elected into office in the legislative branch of government in Guatemala. Although the number of women is increasing over time, this is a very slow and little significant growth. Of the 1.121 seats that were available during three decades, only 9,99%, or 112 seats, were filled by women. In 2010, only 12% of the legislative branch was female, making it one of the lowest levels in Latin-America in terms of political representation of women. Between 1986 and 2016, only 82 women have been assigned the post of legislator (Santa Cruz, 2016).



Graph 1: Number of men and women elected into office in the legislative branch <sup>4</sup>

For representation in the Guatemalan congress, in 2016 only 24 out of 158, or 15%, of the seats in congress were occupied by female delegates (NDI, 2017). The number of women that get elected into government is relatively low, with in 2017 only 12.7% of the seats in the parliament filled by women (Community of Democracies, 2017: 5). The same goes for the number of female ministers and vice ministers. Table 2 and 3 show that although these percentages fluctuate over time, there is a huge gap between male and female representation.

Period	Females	Males	Percentage
1991-1996	7	34	17,1%
1996-2000	2	24	7,7%
2008-2012	1	42	2,3%
2012-2016	3	12	20%

Table 2: Number of female ministers during different presidencies<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Information adapted from Santa Cruz (2016: 39).

<sup>5</sup> Information adapted from NDI (2012: 24). Data on the period between 2000 and 2008 was not accessible.

Period	Females	Males	Percentage
<b>1991-1996</b>	7	48	12,7%
<b>1996-2000</b>	9	20	31%
<b>2008-2012</b>	19	99	16,1%
<b>2012-2016</b>	12	33	26,7%

*Table 3: Number of female vice-ministers during different presidencies<sup>6</sup>*

In some other fields progress is visible. In the 2007 elections more indigenous women were involved than in earlier elections. Some of them aimed for political office, whereas others were elected to congress or as mayors. Furthermore, female candidates tried to promote women's concerns and candidates within their parties (Carrillo & Chinchilla, 2010: 150). Also, the number of female mayors grew from 1,2% in 1995 to 2,4% in 2003 (Ogrodnik & Borzutzky, 2011: 58).

While the Peace Process has opened up new spaces for the political participation of women in Guatemala, the country still knows a high degree of political marginalization of women in elected positions and high offices in state organs. Obstacles that women face include the need for a higher level of education and experience than their male counterparts (Carrillo & Chinchilla, 2010: 150), high levels of illiteracy among women, and the highly exclusionary and patriarchal nature of the Guatemalan society. Furthermore, for some elected positions, such as the Presidency of the Republic, it is commonly believed that women are not a suitable candidate, or that women do not want to occupy these positions (Montenegro, 2002). This shows that the policies initiated after the Peace Agreements might have resulted in some improvement as to the political participation of Guatemalan women, but that there still is a long way to go before they fully take advantage of the same political opportunities as men.

### *The Development of Women's Advocacy Groups*

Women's organizations are 'those organizations which aim to improve the situation of women, have a degree of autonomy from other political or social organizations, and are visible social actors' (Destrooper, 2014: 14). Although such groups might have different objectives and purposes, they share the larger goal of improving the status of women, making them an important voice of women throughout society (Destrooper, 2014: 16). In pre-conflict

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

Guatemala, there were no specific all-women groups that advocated women's issues. Despite participation of a number of women in guerrilla activities, there was no concrete attention for women's issues by revolutionary leaders. Around 1986, when the military handed back the governing power to civilian rule, all-women's groups started to appear, that became more active from 1996 on (Destrooper, 2014: pp. 46-54).

Women's organizations were initially involved in the Peace Process in a vague and fragmented manner, and pre-determined implementation strategies for their demands were lacking (Destrooper, 2014: 88). This limited their initial influence on the topics to be discussed. As the Peace Process progressed, a number of these women's organizations were formally involved in the Peace Process through participation in the Women's Sector. They played a role in shaping the agenda of the ASC, pushing for the inclusion of specific women's issues onto the agenda (Destrooper, 2014: 116).

In one of the Peace Accords, both parties to the Agreements agreed to commit themselves to "eliminating all forms of discrimination, factual or legal, against women, and to make it easier [to get] access to land, housing, [and] credit and to participate in development projects. A gender perspective will be incorporated in the policies, programs and activities of the global development strategy" (Gobierno de Guatemala & URNG, 1994, chap. 3, art. 8). The amount of women's associations and organizations grew after the finalization of the Peace Process. This promoted increasing attention to women's rights and a better awareness of inequalities between men and women (Destrooper, 2014: 59).

After the conflict, special governmental structures were created in order to advance the rights of women, including "the *Foro de la Mujer* (Forum for women), the *Secretaría Presidencial de la Mujer* (presidential secretary for women, SEPREM) and the *Defensoría de la Mujer Indígena* (agency for indigenous women, DEMI)" (Destrooper, 2014: 89). Additionally, specific policies to advance women's rights were initiated, including the 'National policy of Promotion and Development of the Guatemalan Women' (PNPDMG) and the 'Plan of Fairness of Opportunities, 2001-2006', meant to fulfil commitments regarding women's rights coming from international human rights pledges and the Peace Agreements (Ruano & Zambrano, 2006: 43). However, the government under Arzú, who governed the country from 1996 till 2000, tried to hinder the functioning of women's associations through different means, including "delay tactics, bureaucratic politics and intimidation" (Destrooper, 2014: 89).

Despite a growth in the number of women's advocacy groups, they are generally lacking a shared identity and do not share the same central objectives, resulting in fragmentation

between them. The women's groups mainly identify themselves in opposition to 'the other', instead of creating one united women's front. The women's movement in its entirety remains shattered, a clearly articulated viewpoint on crucial issues is missing, and the movement remains underdeveloped (Destrooper, 2014: 117).

Although fragmentation and impediments to the full functioning of women's advocacy groups exist, their overall number has increased since the Peace Process has been finalized, making them a stronger voice for women's concerns throughout Guatemalan society.

### *Educational Opportunities for Women*

The restructuring of the educational system after a civil war is important in restructuring society as a whole (Poppema, 2009: 838). Access to education has a serious impact on the opportunities that women are faced with later in their lives (Roberts, 2012: 1). In pre-conflict times, education was declared to be compulsory by the Guatemalan government. In practice, however, education was largely limited to cities and bigger villages, and educational investments were small. The Guatemalan educational system was seen as one of the most unequal systems in Latin America since the 1950s (Poppema, 2009: 383). The number of people receiving education was amongst the lowest in Latin America, with girls at even lower levels than boys (Poppema, 2009: 387).

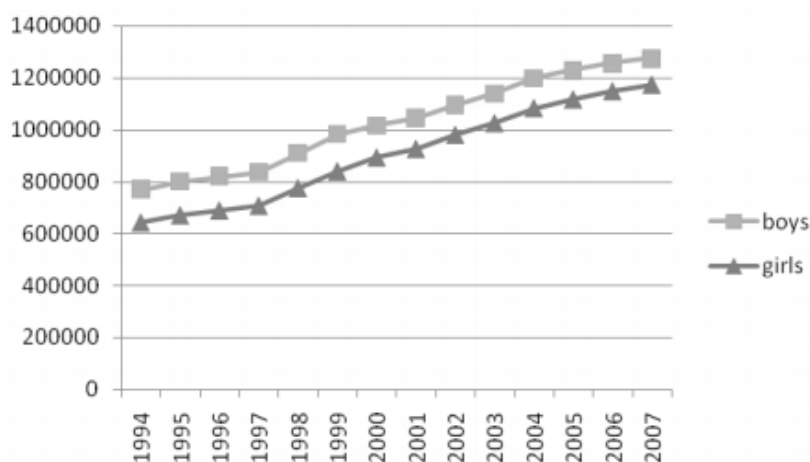
The list of demands produced by the Women's Sector during the Peace Process included, amongst others, educational reform (Luna, Gódines, Escobedo, Moran, & Marroquín, n.d.: 8; Moran, 2016). Women's organizations were vocal in expressing the need to improve education for girls, and came up with proposals to include a gender dimension into matters relating to education (Barrios-Klee & Méndez, 2010: 60).

The 'Agreement on the Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples' acknowledged the importance of a well-functioning educational system for the development of a country, and committed the government to combat discrimination of indigenous peoples within education (Gobierno de Guatemala & URNG, 1995, chap. 3(G)). Furthermore, the 'Agreement on the Social and Economic Aspects and Agrarian Situation' recognized the fundamental role of education for the "economic, cultural, social and political development" of the country (Gobierno de Guatemala & URNG, 1996b: article 21). It also committed the government to increase public spending on education and ensure that men and women would have equal opportunities concerning education and training.

Through a participatory process, women's organizations that pushed for reforms actively participated in such reforms (Barrios-Klee & Méndez, 2010: 60). After the war, a

number of policies were initiated that were specifically designed to improve access to education for girls, increase the number of girls attending school, and improve their performance (Chamarbadwala & Morán, 2010: 18). Among these is the Girls' Programme, that advocates better access and more continuance for girls in primary education, and supports quality education with attention for gender issues (Martinic, 2003: 14). Other measures included the instalment of two commissions that should restructure the overall educational system; the Parity Commission for Educational Reform (COPARE) and the Consultative Commission for Educational Reform (CCRE). The former was to formulate a program for such reforms, whereas the latter should supervise the putting into practice of the plans (Poppema, 2009: 388). As the Guatemalan government changed the direction of the educational reforms in 2004, the effectiveness of such policies declined (Barrios-Klee & Méndez, 2010: 61). Instead of focussing on achieving gender equality, the focus was now on achieving more efficiency. This resulted in a less participatory reform process, with less space for gender issues.

The number of girls receiving education has increased since the war has ended (Chamarbadwala & Morán, 2010: 6). This is visible in graph 2, that shows enrolment of boys and girls in primary education (Burley, 2009: 38).



Graph 2: Initial primary school enrolment of boys and girls, 1994-2007<sup>7</sup>

Despite an increase in enrolment figures among girls, Guatemala still faces a large gender gap in terms of schooling (Camou & Maubrigades, 2017: 225). The percentage of boys receiving education is significantly higher than that of girls, as also visible in graph 2 (Burley, 2009: 38). Furthermore, due to limited opportunities for women on the labour market, they are

<sup>7</sup> Information obtained from Burley (2009: 38). Shows initial enrolment: that does not mean that education is finished in the same numbers.



often required to have a higher level of education than men to perform similar jobs (Ñopo & Gonzales, 2008: 10).

Another issue associated with access to education are levels of illiteracy (Burley, 2009: 3). Illiteracy rates among women in Guatemala are higher than among men (Vásquez, 2011: 110). However, female rates of illiteracy have declined since the end of the conflict. While in 1990, 46,8% of Guatemalan women was illiterate, this declined to 42,7% in 1995, 38,9% in 2000, and 35,4% in 2005 (Martinic, 2003: 25).

Although progress in girls receiving education and reducing illiteracy has been made, there is still a gender gap in terms of schooling. The situation for women regarding access to education in Guatemala might have improved since ending the conflict, as long as boys and girls are not faced with equal access to schooling room for improvement remains.

### *Violence Against Women in Guatemala*

The term gender-based violence is used to refer to acts causing “physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts” (Russo & Pirlott, 2006: 181). During the war, Guatemala experienced high levels of gender-based violence, especially because sexual violence was used as a weapon of war (Duffy, 2017: 424; Cosgrove & Lee, 2015: 316). The high prevalence of violence against women was often seen as one of the biggest societal problems within the country (Barrios-Klee & Méndez, 2010: 79). Women’s groups were highly vocal in expressing the need to address gender-based violence during the Peace Process (Godoy-Paiz, 2008: 35). Women’s groups such as Grupo Guatemalteca de Mujeres, Tierra Viva, the National Coordinator of Guatemalan Widows (CONAVIGUA), and the No Violence Against Women Network have raised awareness regarding the need to reduce and eliminate violence against women in Guatemala (Godoy-Paiz, 2008: 33).

The Guatemalan Peace Agreements hardly addressed violence against women (Barrios-Klee & Méndez, 2010: 77). The ‘Agreement on the Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples’ contained a specific section on the rights of indigenous women, meant to more adequately protect these women against sexual harassment and discrimination (Gobierno de Guatemala & URNG, 1995: chap. 2(B), art. 1). Other than that, the Peace Accords did not contain any references to measures to combat violence against women

Nevertheless, the Guatemalan government did initiate various policies aimed at protecting women against violence. Among these policies are the ‘Plan for Achieving Equity of Opportunities’ and the ‘National Plan for the Prevention and Eradication of Violence in the Family and Violence Against Women Act’ that both include the specific aim of protecting

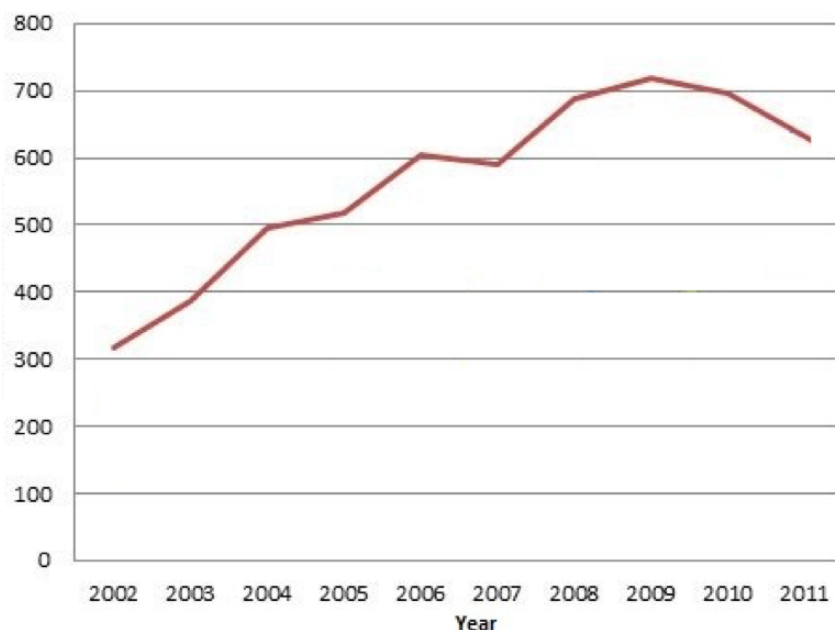
women from violence. The Guatemalan government attempts to fulfil these commitments through several governmental bodies, such as the Presidential Secretariat for Women (Ogrodnik & Borzutzky, 2011: 61).

In 1996, a law meant to protect women from domestic violence was approved, which was heralded as a triumph for Guatemalan women. Subsequent laws, such as the 'Law for the Dignification and Integral Promotion of Women' from 1999 built further on this initial law (Godoy-Paiz, 2008: pp. 36-37). In 2008, a law against gender-based killings was created, followed by a specialized court to prosecute crimes related to gender-based violence in 2012 (Guinan, 2015). Another clear step forward was the appointment of Claudia Paz y Paz as the first female attorney general of the country in 2010. She focussed greatly on combatting and punishing gender-based violence (Cosgrove & Lee, 2015: 318).

Estimates of the numbers concerning violence against women in Guatemala differ because of the high rate of underreporting, different ways of collecting information, and the absence of a standardized or centralized data collection system (Musalo, Pellegrin, & Roberts, 2010: pp. 175-176). However, there is consensus that the rates of such violence are increasing since the conflict has ended (Musalo et al., 2010: 178).

Even though Guatemala is no longer experiencing conflict, the number of incidences of sexual violence is as high as those of countries in war (Barrios-Klee & Méndez, 2010: 80). In 2015, reports of sexual or physical assault against women, gender-related killings, and domestic violence against women remained among the highest worldwide (The Advocates, 2015, 2).

Furthermore, the country ranks third when it comes to killing women worldwide (Cosgrove & Lee, 2015: 313). Numbers from the Guatemalan National Police, although not necessarily completely correct due to the above described difficulties, indicate that violent deaths of women and girls have increased every year between 1999 (179 reported cases) and 2008 (678 reported cases) (Musalo et al., 2010: 178). Graph 3 shows a similar image, with an increase in murders of women on the basis of their gender since 2002.



*Graph 3: The number of gender-based murders of women in Guatemala between 2002 and 2011<sup>8</sup>*

So although the Peace Accords did not specifically address violence against women, subsequently launched initiatives did. This shows the importance of the pressure exerted by women to increase attention to the issue. Some authors even go as far as to argue that without these efforts, the laws that are currently in place would not ever be proposed (Godoy-Paiz, 2008: 33). But numbers of sexual violence and gender-based murders remain particularly high, which indicates that the status of Guatemalan women in terms of violence against them has not improved.

#### *Women in the Guatemalan Labour Force*

Women participation in the labour force has a substantial impact on their status, as working allows them to earn a wage and take care of themselves and their families (Parrado, 2015). The Women's Sector strongly articulated the need for the recognition of the role that women play in the Guatemalan economy, and pushed for specific commitments in the agreements including: "the recognition of the role of women in the economy, the economic value of domestic work, [and] women's right to organize, to access credit and property" (Moran, 2016). The Peace Agreements indeed included specific references to women within the Guatemalan workforce and economy. The 'Agreement on the Social and Economic Aspects and Agrarian Situation' recognized the significance of women in the promotion of social and

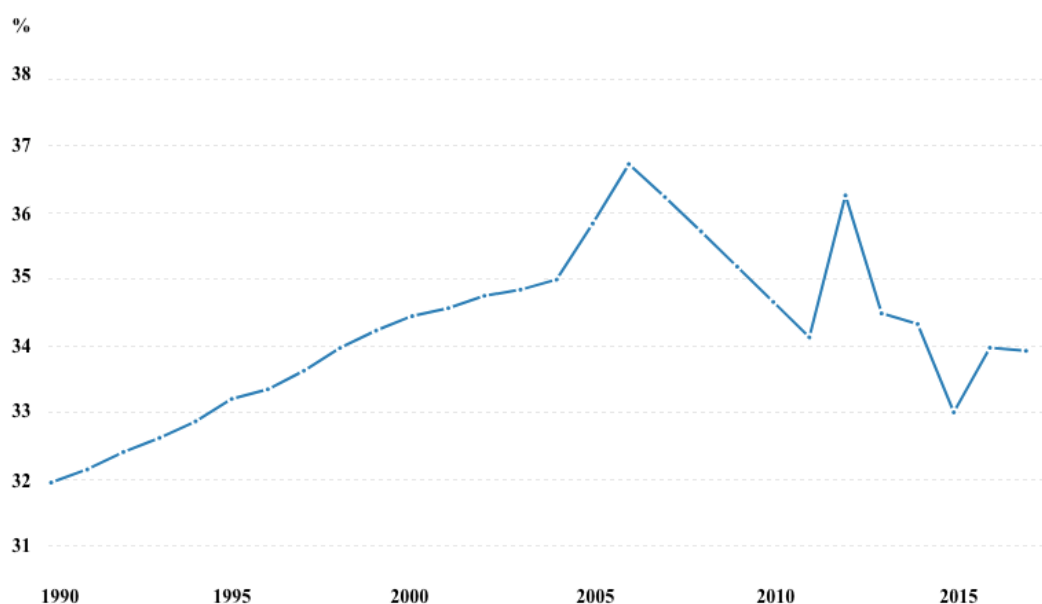
<sup>8</sup> Information adapted from Fox, 2012.

economic development and aimed to promote female participation in the social and economical sphere. It stressed the need for eradication of discrimination against women in the workforce, and acknowledged equal rights for men and women within, amongst others, the workplace (Gobierno de Guatemala & URNG, 1996b: articles 11-13).

Among the policies resulting from the Agreements were coordinated efforts between ‘The National Office for Women’s Affairs’ and the government to adopt changes in 37 areas including the rights of working women, and proposals to achieve equal rights for men and women in the workplace (UN, 2004: 5). Furthermore, within the ‘Promotion and Defence of Labour Rights of Working Youth and Women Project’ (2001-2006), the Guatemalan government worked with the UN to develop trainings regarding gender equality and labour rights. Another development was the creation of the ‘Department for the Advancement and Training of Working Women’, which forms part of the Guatemalan Ministry of Labour and Social Security (UN, 2004: 10). Furthermore, the National Office for Women’s Affairs executed a number of projects, including one to support reforms in working conditions for women in 2002, and one to propose to amend the Labour Code relating to women in 2003 (UN, 2004: 11).

Historically, Guatemala knows significant differences in labour participation between the genders (Pagán, 2002: 429). During the last decades, female labour participation slightly increased. Between 1989 and 1990, only 32% of the labour force was comprised of women. As visible in graph 4, this number rose, reaching 33,6% in 1996, 34,5% in 2000, 35% in 2004, and an all-time high of 36,7% in 2006. After this, numbers have been fluctuating, and in 2017, the female labour force participation amounted to 33,9% (The World Bank, 2017).

When comparing the number of women in the working force to that of men, Guatemalan women have not taken part in the working force in the same numbers as men have (Sunderland, 2002: 45-46). Currently, the country ranks 126th out of 144 countries in terms of women’s labour force participation (World Economic Forum, 2017: 166).



Graph 4: Labour force, female (as a percentage of the total labour force)<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, women do not hold high positions as frequently as men do. In 2010, only 16% of Guatemalan companies were led by a female manager, which is lower than the average in other Latin American countries (LO/FTF Council's Analytical Unit, 2015: 11). The female share of employment in senior and middle management as a percentage ranged from 35,6% in 2012, to 39,2% in 2016 (see table 4) (Index Mundi, 2017). For firms with female participation in ownership, even less data was available. In this category, 28,4% of firms knew female participation in ownership in 2006, whereas in 2010 this number had increased to 44,2% (Index Mundi, 2017).

Year	Percentage
2012	35,6
2013	29,4
2014	35,4
2015	34,6
2016	39,2

Table 4: Female share of employment in senior and middle management (%)<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Information obtained from The World Bank (2017). Labour force consists of people from age 15, supplying labour to produce goods and services, in a specific timeframe.

<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, data from before 2012 were not accessible for this category.

Traditional images of women having to stay at home to perform domestic have worked as barriers to the participation of Guatemalan women in the labour force work (Ruano & Zambrano, 2006: 7). Another limiting factor for full female participation is the reluctance of the economic elite in the country to honour their commitments resulting from the Peace Agreements (Barrios-Klee & Méndez, 2010: 98). Also, the country does not have laws to specifically promote hiring women within any sector of the country's economy (World Economic Forum, 2017: 167).

So although women are increasingly part of the labour force, their participation still lags behind that of men in the country. As a result of policies initiated after the Peace Process, progress has been made as to women working in Guatemala, although there is still clear room for improvement.

### *The Guatemalan Gender Wage Gap*

If women would earn the same wages as men would, the poverty rate among women would be decreased and working women would be better able to support their families (McGinn & Oh, 2017: 84). The Women's Sector advocated the need for equality between men and women in the Guatemalan economy, also in terms of payment (Sunderland, 2002: 57) and asserted the right of women to fair payment for the work they do (Luna et al., n.d.: 10).

The Peace Agreements contained elements dealing with worker's rights and the role of women therein. The 1996 'Agreement on Social and Economic Aspects and Agrarian Reform' acknowledged that reducing discrimination against women would benefit the Guatemalan economy and social development of the country (Sunderland, 2002: 58). It obligated the government to craft and adjust national legislation to reduce inequality. Specific commitments included "guaranteeing the right of women to work" and "revising labour legislation to guarantee equality of rights and opportunities between men and women" (Gobierno de Guatemala & URNG, 1996b: article 13(H)), implying that men and women have equal rights when it comes to remuneration for the work they do.

One of the initiatives to fulfil these commitments is a proposed reform from the 'The National Office for Women's Affairs', that aimed to make changes in 37 areas, including equality of payment (UN, 2004: 5). Furthermore, the 'Program of Economic and Social Reactivation 2004-2005' incorporated gender equity (Ruano & Zambrano, 2006: 11). However, the Guatemalan government has not been taking meaningful steps to ensure equal pay between men and women. Although the government initiated a law in 1990 that provides for equivalent

pay for work done under equal circumstances, there is no agency to ensure equal pay and corresponding legislation has not been passed (Chen, 2011: 69).

The gender wage gap in Guatemala has substantially decreased between 1990 and 2000 (Camou & Maubrigades, 2017: 228). In the period between 2000 and 2006, the gender wage gap also declined, from 28% to 18%. However, this decreasing gender wage gap is the result of a decrease of monthly wages for men (Ñopo & Gonzales, 2008: 7) and can therefore not be attributed to policies initiated as a result of female involvement in the Peace Process. Wages for women have namely remained approximately the same, making the balance somewhat less unequal. Despite this, Guatemala still knows a large gender wage gap. In 2002, the gap was among the highest in the Latin-American region (Ñopo & Gonzales, 2008: 4).

To a large degree higher wages for males can be attributed to similar gaps in education (Ñopo & Gonzales, 2008: 6). Men have more educational opportunities, so well paid jobs are better accessible for them. Women in Guatemala are often employed in jobs where wages are generally lower; in agriculture, retail services, industries, and the service sector (LO/FTF Council's Analytical Unit, 2015: 11). Therefore, the Peace Process and resulting policies have not necessarily positively impacted the gender wage gap.

### *Conclusion*

The previous section has given an overview of different issues that women involved in the Peace Process have brought up, specific passages of the Peace Agreements containing commitments of the government to improve the situation for women, and resulting policies. It has also shown that despite such efforts, the Peace Process and resulting policies have not resulted in progress for women in all explored categories. Although educational opportunities have improved, the number of women's advocacy groups has grown, women partake in the Guatemalan economy in larger numbers, and a number of laws and policies have been passed to combat violence against women, room for improvement remains. Women do not regularly take part in politics, do not face equal economic opportunities, and there is a high rate of violence against women.

So when examining whether women's involvement in the Guatemalan Peace Process has had an impact on shaping the post-conflict status of Guatemalan women, this chapter has demonstrated some mixed results.

## Chapter 5. Conclusions

### *Introduction*

As noted in the beginning of this thesis, a critical mass of comprehensive independent empirical research to determine the effective impact that women's inclusion in peace processes has on changes resulting therefrom has been lacking so far. This research contributed to filling this gap by aiming to answer the question of whether women's inclusion in the Peace Process leading up to the 1996 Peace Agreements in Guatemala has led to an improvement of the status of the general population of Guatemalan women within society. Perhaps the most appropriate way to evaluate such change and continuity is to compare the demands that women made during the process to what has been accomplished.

This final chapter will start by summarizing the arguments that have been made throughout this thesis. It will then touch upon the linkage between the nature and features of women's involvement in the Peace Process and the limitations of the impact of such an involvement. Finally, it will indicate the implications that this has for peace processes more broadly and identify avenues for further research. By doing so, this thesis demonstrates that the nature and features of women's involvement in a peace process have a large impact on the results of such involvement, establishing the need to thoroughly analyse how these factors can be deployed to maximize the effect of women's inclusion.

### *Has the Status of Women in Guatemala Improved?*

As a consequence of the activism shown by a wide range of women and women's organizations, rights of women have improved in a legal and institutional sense. The Peace Process has been vital in creating spaces for women to participate in different sectors of society. Opportunities to advance dialogue between women's organizations and the government were build. Women have seized this opportunity, and pressured for the inclusion of certain issues into the Peace Agreements.

This is reflected in the creation of laws, governmental politics, and institutions with the objective to implement the commitments set out in the Peace Accord. This demonstrates the attempt to eliminate gender-based discrimination and improve the overall status of women in Guatemala. The status of women has improved overtime in a range of categories, visible in the improved access to education, higher female presence on the labour market, and the creation of new women's advocacy groups. However, when comparing their status to that of men,



inequalities between the two genders remain. This is illustrated by the lack of political presence of women, the high degree of violence against women, and the persisting gender wage gap.

The problem is that although formal gender equality was achieved and many policies were initiated with the aim of improving the situation for women, the government has been reluctant in the implementation of various laws and policies, there is a high degree of institutional weakness, and there has been opposition from the elite to change current customs (Barrios-Klee & Méndez, 2010: 98). Traditional and cultural practices that put women at a disadvantage, combined with discriminatory customs and institutional bias have restrained the improvement of the position of women in the country (Montenegro, 2002: 3).

Although room for improvement remains, the involvement of women as a sector with particular concerns and direct representation in the Peace Process should be seen as a breakthrough in the attempt to advance the status of Guatemalan women. The most important result of the women's inclusion in the Guatemalan Peace Process has been an increased awareness of gender inequalities throughout the country. Although not all demands have been met and implementation of policies has been weak, it still deserves to be recognized as a key moment in which women had a decisive influence on the agenda of the Peace Accords, pressured for the creation of specific laws and policies, and created vital spaces for social and political participation. Luz Méndez, herself involved in the Peace Process in a formal manner, stated: "I am convinced, based on my own participation in the peace negotiations in Guatemala (1991-1996), that, had it not been for the presence and capacity of influence of women, commitments related to the situation of women would not have been incorporated in the peace agreements" (Riera, 2015: 3).

#### *Linkage between Nature and Features of Women's Involvement and Limitations*

Although the limitations of the impact of women's involvement on changes in the status of women can partly be traced back to weak implementation of commitments and policies, the nature and features of their involvement have also impacted these limitations.

Firstly, the consultative nature of the contributions of the ASC made that the Guatemalan government was not obliged to listen to or act upon the recommendations made by the Women's Sector through the ASC (Berger, 2006: 202). Progress might thus have been larger had there been official procedures for how the negotiating parties were to treat the proposals made by the Women's Sector and the ASC. Secondly, women's involvement in the Guatemalan Peace Process was characterized by a large international support for the inclusion of gender-sensitive aspects (Dolgopoulou, 2006: 262; Chang et al., 2015: pp. 60-61; Karam, 2000:

20). This points to the importance of such pressures in the creation of a negotiating process that allows for the consideration of gender-related issues. With such international pressures, local ownership persists should be ensured. The limited progress in a number of fields shows that current international instruments employed to increase women's participation, such as UN SC 1325, might not suffice and that further steps need to be taken by the international community to ensure that women's inclusion in peace processes leads to the best results possible.

Thirdly, women were involved in the Peace Process in small numbers. Both negotiating teams only included one female negotiator (Taylor, 2015: 166). Expanding the number of women involved might have widened their impact, as they would have been able to work together to put pressures on the parties in the Process to include issues of importance to them into the Agreements. Finally, the Peace Process was characterized by a wide scope of issues to be addressed. On the one hand, one could argue that this enabled the various women involved to address a wide range of issues of importance to them. On the other hand, however, an overly wide agenda could also result in fragmentation, limiting the power that women could collectively exert onto the process. In the case of Guatemala, it seems that the former is true, as the Women's Sector has been able to reach compromises and build coalitions on a broad range of issues (IPTI, 2017: 1).

#### *Implications for Peace Processes More Broadly*

These links between the nature and impact of involvement and the limitations thereof point to a number of implications for peace processes in a broader sense. If one wants to maximize the effective impact of women's involvement in such processes on peace accords and resulting societal changes, pre-determined channels for their involvement should be established, in addition to pre-set obligations as to how their ideas and pressures will be managed. Furthermore, through international pressures should be exerted to make sure that women worldwide get the chance to participate in all processes that influence their lives, including peace processes.

The Guatemalan example furthermore shows that it is not enough to simply include women in Peace Processes. The implementation phase following the initiation of policies resulting from such processes is of importance to ensure that an agreement indeed has the intended effect on the post-conflict society. This implies that binding obligations and a more comprehensive plan for implementation of agreements in post-conflict states would be beneficial.

Issues to be raised during a peace process are mostly determined by the parties involved, although within a certain mandate (Taylor, 2015: 284). The scope of the negotiations and the issues under consideration then determine whether there is space for the consideration of gender-issues. This points to the need to have a framework that is responsive to gender-concerns. Furthermore, the Guatemalan case demonstrates that the formal involvement of civil society within a peace process increased attention to women's rights and concerns, showing the importance of civil society involvement, also in terms of ensuring local ownership and a broad support for resulting agreements.

The lack of women in Track One negotiations should be overcome so that they can make a bigger impact on peace processes that are still to come. As women often do not occupy those positions that negotiators are drawn from, the best method to increase the number of women in peace processes seems to be supporting an increase of women in high-positions throughout governments and civil society (Taylor, 2015: 289).

### *Avenues for Further Research*

Although this thesis has attempted to show that women's inclusion in peace processes is important, clear empirical gaps remain. First and foremost, the problem has been the difficulty of linking the changes in the previously mentioned indicators to the involvement of women in the Peace Process. Future research into this topic is clearly needed to identify all factors influencing the outcomes of peace processes, so that the causal relationship between women's involvement in peace processes and their eventual position in society can be established comprehensively.

The way gender and gender roles change dynamically might also have an impact on the way women are able to influence peace processes. If expectations of the roles that women are supposed to fulfil change, this could open up opportunities for them to be involved in more areas of public life, including possibly peace processes

The number of women included in peace processes in itself is not a conclusive way to ensure that gender-related topics are incorporated into peace agreements (Otto, 2006), nor an appropriate way to ensure gender-sensitive outcomes. There can be no guarantee that women will raise gender-sensitive issues when involved in the peace process, just like it cannot be expected that men will raise certain subjects. But although women participation in peace negotiations does not automatically mean that issues of gender equality will be discussed, their absence will only decrease the likelihood of such issues being addressed further (Kaufman & Williams, 2010: 116).

A switch should be made from questioning why women should be included in peace processes by reason of them doing things differently than men do, to the idea that women deserve to be part of such processes. They constitute half of the world's population and excluding them results in an exclusionary process, which lays the groundwork for an exclusionary post-conflict situation. Women's inclusion does not guarantee specific outcomes, and different processes will have separate results. This calls for a more comprehensive awareness of the way gender and gender roles dynamically change, specifically in situations of peace and conflict and peace processes.

Women's participation in peace processes could lead to social transformation, although the nature and features of such an involvement are limiting or strengthening to the eventual results in terms of improvements in women's status in society.

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