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PUSHING OPEN THE DOORS OF INCLUSION

Examining the Connections between Women's Movements/Groups Cohesion
in Civil Resistance and Securing Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations



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Abstract

Two decades after the adoption of the UNSCR 1325 calling for women's equal participation in peace negotiations, a troubling gap still exists between the aspirations of global commitments and the reality of peace processes. Minimal attention has also gone into explaining how women's movements can secure access to the peace negotiation table. This study contributes to the discourse by examining how women's movements can foster inclusion in peace negotiations via civil resistance. It seeks to answer the research question – "*Why does civil resistance by women's movements foster inclusion in formal peace negotiations in some cases and not in others?*" I theorize that women's movements that are cohesive enough in civil resistance can build leverage towards facilitating inclusion in formal peace negotiations. Using the method of a structured focused comparison of women's civil resistance in Colombia and Mozambique, I test this theoretical argument. Empirical findings reveal moderate support for the hypothesis that high levels of women's movements cohesion in civil resistance foster inclusion in formal peace negotiations. Findings also reveal the critical role of international/regional actors in supporting women's civil resistance and inclusion as a linear process as well as other factors that call for more research on the topic.

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List of Abbreviations

AMUDHF	Associação de Mulheres na Divulgação dos Direitos Humanos (Association of Women in the Promotion of Human Rights)
BBC NEWS	British Broadcasting Corporation News
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
MOVFEMME Organization)	Movimento das jovens feministas de Moçambique (Mozambican Feminists
NAFESA	Núcleo das Associações Femininas da Zambézia (Nucleus of Academic Women)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NOWA	Non-Warring Actors in Peace-making
OPHENTA	Associação Moçambicana das Mulheres (The Mozambican Association of Women and Girls Support)
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSCR 1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
UN WOMEN	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
V-DEM	Varieties of Democracy

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1. INTRODUCTION

Promoting women's inclusion in peace negotiations has been identified as a critical challenge in peacebuilding. In January 2014, the women's movement in Syria mobilized and developed a strategy to end the conflict in Syria yet it was solely conflicting parties that were participants to the peace negotiations (Ruane, 2016). Women were excluded from the entirety of the peace negotiation process. Conversely, in South Sudan, after a longstanding civil war, women groups were recognized as critical actors in shaping the peace process and participated effectively in the peace negotiations. The cases of Syria and South Sudan have engendered multiple debates regarding women's participation in elitist peace negotiations. While some favour including women on the basis of building legitimacy and durability of the peace accord, critics are averse to broadening participation given the divergent interests at the conflict table.

Previous research has also noted an increasing trend in marginalizing women's groups from peace negotiations despite the adoption of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and a plethora of other resolutions enjoining state parties to facilitate women's inclusion in all peace processes (Tickner, 2001; Stone, 2014; Shair-Rosenfield & Wood, 2017). Even with the growing relevance of women's inclusion in peace processes, little effort has gone into explaining inclusion itself i.e., how women can gain access to the negotiation table where they have been excluded. Scholarly attempts at explaining inclusion have focused on how "civil society can gain leverage through civil resistance thereby enhancing their chances of inclusion at the negotiation table" (Nilsson and Svensson 2023). There is no study that treats women's movements as a separate group or qualitatively seeks to assess if and how they can secure access to the peace negotiation table.

This study seeks to address the research gap regarding how women's movements in civil society can secure access to formal peace negotiations with specific focus on track one/elitist negotiations. It examines how women's movements can foster inclusion via civil resistance in building momentum to push open the doors of inclusion in peace negotiations. Particularly, it seeks to answer the research question – *Why does civil resistance by women's movements foster inclusion in formal peace negotiations in some cases and not in others?* The relevance of considering this topic is germane for the following reasons: First, the rise in armed conflict and militarization in recent times calls for concerted action especially by civil society women's movements that constitute a part of the community negatively impacted by conflict to begin to explore nonviolent

strategies to push for peace and lend their voices to end armed conflict. Second, securing access to the negotiation table connotes having the ability to make contributions to decision-making that could impact post-conflict institution-building and ensure durable peace structures.

This research builds on previous theories on the potency of civil resistance in challenging autocratic regimes/exclusionary practices as espoused by Chenoweth and Cunningham (2013) as well as how nonviolent resistance can be utilized as a strategy for inclusion in peace processes (Nilsson and Svensson 2023). I develop my hypothesis from an acknowledgment of the organizational mediation theory of protest regarding the importance of group cohesiveness in nonviolent campaigns as germane to sustaining coordination and continued engagement (Pearlman 2011). I theorize that women's movements that are cohesive enough in civil resistance can build leverage towards facilitating inclusion at the peace negotiation table. This theoretical premise engenders a concrete hypothesis that women's movements have greater chances of securing inclusion in formal peace negotiations in conflict contexts where women's movements cohesion in civil resistance is higher. Indicators for assessing cohesion stem from effective mobilization of women's movements, existence of a collective mandate, harmonized interest to work collectively, the existence of a mechanism for addressing internal dissensions within the movement, and sustained engagement over time.

Using the cases of women's civil resistance in Colombia and Mozambique, I undertake a qualitative study and a structured focused comparison between both women's movements in each country to examine the connections between women's movements cohesion in civil resistance and inclusion in formal peace negotiations. While both cases share similarities on certain factors, they differ in terms of the dependent variable, women's inclusion in formal peace negotiations. In Colombia, the women's movement gained a seat at the peace negotiations leading to the peace agreement in 2016 whereas in Mozambique, the women's movement was not included in the negotiations leading to the 2019 Peace Agreement. In examining the connections between the independent and dependent variable, I consider a time period from 2000 to 2016 for Colombia; and a time period of 1991 to 2019 for Mozambique. I argue on the importance of considering this time period to critically examine cohesion in women's movements civil resistance from their inception phase in the political space until inclusion/non-inclusion in the peace negotiations. I also rely on primary data sources particularly interviews from women's organizations within the

women's movement in both countries that participated in the peace process in both countries and a host of secondary sources.

Empirical findings reveal moderate support for the hypothesis indicating that high levels of cohesion in women's movements civil resistance fosters women's inclusion in formal peace negotiations. I find that in Colombia, cohesion was high in women's civil resistance as opposed to Mozambique. Thus, where cohesion in women's movements civil resistance is limited, it reduces the propensity for securing inclusion in formal peace negotiations. Empirical findings also attest to the critical role of international/regional actors in supporting women's movements cohesion in civil resistance as well as exposure of women's movements to the gendered normative framework. Additionally, findings depict inclusion in formal peace negotiations as a linear process. I utilize the concept women's movements and groups interchangeably.

This paper begins by considering the contributions of previous literature on the inclusion discourse and identifies the research gap regarding this issue. Chapter three discusses the theoretical framework and hypothesis tested. Chapter four outlines the research design and operationalizes the variables tested. Chapters five and six detail the empirical findings from the cases examined while chapter seven outlines the comparative analysis, alternative explanations and limitations to the study. Finally, I conclude and summarize the main findings and policy implications emanating from the study as well as consider areas for future research in relation to this topic.

2. PREVIOUS LITERATURE

In this chapter, I provide an overview of previous research in the field of broadening inclusion/participation of civil society groups in formal peace negotiations, the need to consider women's movements separately from civil society and the importance of women in formal peace negotiations. I conclude by identifying the research gap.

2.1 Broadening Inclusion – Civil Society Participation in Formal Peace Negotiations

Previous literature has noted the growing practice of inclusive peace processes (Paffenholz 2015, 4). While civil society has been considered as an important actor in formal peace processes, several belligerents still advocate for the exclusion of civil society groups during formal peace negotiations (Paffenholz 2014; Belloni 2001; Fisher 1997; Orjuela 2003; Aall 2007; Saunders 1999). Previous research has also noted the gains of civil society participation in fostering the durability of peace (Nilsson 2012), building legitimacy for peace negotiations (Nilsson 2012; Paffenholz 2014), addressing the root causes of conflict (Paffenholz 2015), obtaining public buy-in and providing a platform for the participation of 'hardliner constituencies' (Paffenholz 2015; Lanz 2011; Nilsson 2012). On the other hand, broadening inclusion has been alleged to weaken peace negotiations by limiting opportunities to arriving at a settlement given the divergent interests at the conflict table (Paffenholz 2014; Wanis-St. John and Kew 2008; Zartman 2008).

In recent times, there has been increased attention by scholars on the impact of civil resistance in contributing to the aftermath of conflict and peace processes. Stephan and Chenoweth (2008), Chenoweth and Cunningham (2013) and Schock (2005; 2013) and have noted the impact of civil resistance in shaping peace processes and ousting autocratic regimes. In a recent study, Nilsson and Svensson (2023, 2) examine "whether armed conflicts that see civil society-led initiatives are more likely to be followed by civil society involvement at the formal peace talks". They argue that civil society actors through leverage can increase their chances of securing a seat at the negotiation table. Their findings show a correlation between civil resistance and the likelihood of inclusion in formal peace negotiations. Particularly of importance, Nilsson and Svensson (2023) note the opportunities for civil society actors during conflict which can impact upon recognition by warring factions thus shaping predictors for inclusion. In their research, they subsume women's movements/groups into the broader group of civil society. In the following section, I discuss the

need to consider women's movements distinctively as well as the existent research gap within the 'inclusion' narrative.

2.2 Civil Society Groups, Inclusive or Distinctive from Women's Movements?

In her article, Paffenholz (2010) states the need to consider women's movements separately from civil society. Dominant civil society groups may claim to represent women's interests without visible representation of women's groups. Women may also be included 'to make up numbers' of negotiation teams and delegations without due consideration to their representative interests. Construing women's groups from the broader civil society is also essential to enable peace agreements capture specific needs of women in post-conflict contexts. This is also important in cases of intersectionality given that divergent women within communities have divergent needs (Paffenholz 2010). Furthermore, Zanker (2013) and Paffenholz (2010) note that men hold the majority of positions in civil society organizations leaving women's groups with limited spaces to be heard. Thus, Paffenholz (2010) notes that to build recognition and a visible space for women groups, even though they may be considered more broadly as a part of civil society, it is important for their identity to be separately recognized and reflected within the broader frame of civil society.

2.3 The Importance of Women in Formal Peace Negotiations

Various scholars have also attested to the gendered nature of war and the intersections between gender, armed conflict and peace (Bjarnegard et al 2015; Aggestam and Holmgren 2022; Mckeeon 2004; Kumalo and Roddy-Mullineaux 2019). Research findings from previous studies reveal that "societies that tend to be more gender equitable are more peaceful than less gender-equitable societies" (Bjarnegard et al 2015, 8). Yet, peace processes aiming to bring an end to conflict frequently take place behind closed doors excluding women (Barnes 2002; Nilsson 2012; Stone 2014). Building inclusive and sustainable peace structures in societies affected by conflict requires recognition of the operational gendered power dynamics within conflict/post-conflict contexts as well as existent gender roles and expectations (International Alert 2004; El Bushra and Lopez

1993, 19). Women tend to amplify gendered perspectives/norms regarding institutional building which may not be conceived by other peace actors (Aggestam and Holmgren 2022). According to O'Reilly (2015) and Davies et al (2017), this does not imply that men or other actors are unable to raise these issues but women are better poised to share their lived experiences regarding the differential impacts of conflict and the effects of stereotypical cultures. Nilsson (2012, 20) also notes that “by opening peace processes especially negotiations to a wider range of actors including women, the peace process can gain broader public legitimacy and durability”. In particular, when women are included in decision-making involving peace institutions, it is more likely crises will be resolved” (O'Reilly 2005, 20). However, Bodan (2006) notes the danger of applying the simplistic dichotomy of perceiving men as conflict drivers and women as peace agents as varied studies also document the role of women in “supporting terrorist organizations” (Bodan 2006, 20). Nevertheless, interviews conducted across several countries in Africa indicate that women are usually the first to challenge terrorism within their contexts (Bennoune, 2013).

2.4 Identifying the Research Gap

Previous research has mostly focused on the inclusion of non-warring parties during peace processes. Of particular importance is the research undertaken by Paffenholz (2010; 2014), Nilsson (2012), and Nilsson and Svensson (2023) which examine more broadly the drivers and impact of civil society inclusion in formal peace negotiations. These scholars provide a formidable base to ground discussions regarding the inclusionary debate. Inclusion is also seen as a means to building legitimacy and local ownership to forestall a reversion to conflict.

Furthermore, previous research by Chenoweth and Cunningham (2013) also focus on examining nonviolent action in conflict. Their research suggests the efficacy of nonviolent resistance by civilians in shaping the course and aftermath of conflict. However, previous research fails to explain the causes of inclusion and the relationship between nonviolent action and the inclusion of non-warring actors at the peace negotiation table or how the efforts of women’s movements/groups can facilitate inclusion at the negotiation table. There is also a gap in relation to explaining the success of women’s civil resistance in certain contexts in actualizing inclusion at the peace negotiation table and non-success in others. Nilsson and Svensson (2023) provide the first

quantitative study examining civil resistance by civil society and inclusion during peace negotiations. However, their study treats women as a part of the broader group of civil society without detailing women's civil resistance separately and how this fosters inclusion in elitist negotiations. There is also need for a qualitative study that goes into depth in examining the causal chain of inclusion. Given that women tend to be marginalized even within civil society, I argue on the importance of a separate study delineating the connections between women's nonviolent action and securing inclusion at the peace negotiation table.

Furthermore, I argue that in order to understand the causes of women's inclusion in formal peace negotiations, an in-depth qualitative study is required to critically examine the connections between nonviolent action by women's movements and securing inclusion in elitist peace negotiations. This is particularly important given the plethora of case studies that focus on women's peacebuilding efforts and attest to women's marginalization in peacemaking. As noted by Krause et al (2018, 25), "the general participation of civil society groups in peace negotiations does not imply that women's groups receive access to representation at the peace negotiation table". A qualitative study using select cases will contribute to the discourse on women's movements' nonviolent action and inclusion in formal peace negotiations.

Lastly, Nilsson and Svensson (2023) call for more research to broaden the field after their quantitative study. Building on their findings, I consider it important to undertake a qualitative study to ascertain under what conditions civil resistance by women's movements can foster inclusion at the negotiation table. A theoretical approach focusing on the nature of the civil resistance can assist in explaining the connections to inclusion in formal peace negotiations. It is important to note that I utilize civil resistance and nonviolent action interchangeably. I also utilize women's movements and groups interchangeably.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Having presented the findings of previous research, this section discusses the theoretical argument. I begin by discussing the foundations of the theoretical framework and rationale for the theory. Thereafter, I proceed to conceptualizing women's movements, women's groups cohesion in civil resistance, and inclusion in formal peace negotiations. Lastly, I present my hypothesis and causal process.

This research builds on previous theories on nonviolent action espoused by Chenoweth and Cunningham (2013) and Nilsson and Svensson (2023) on how nonviolent resistance can be successful in ousting autocratic regimes and utilized as a strategy to foster inclusion in peace processes respectively. This paper also builds on the organizational mediation theory of protest regarding the importance of group cohesiveness in nonviolent campaigns as germane to sustaining coordination and continued engagement (Pearlman 2011). While this theory is framed to encapsulate civil society more broadly, I consider its applicability from the sole perspective of women's movements.

In considering the rationale for theoretical application, peacemaking within conflict/post-conflict contexts are usually characterized by exclusive male-dominant structures that oust women's participation (Nilsson and Svensson 2020). These structures tend to limit inclusion to solely armed combatants and their representatives. With varying scholarly literature establishing connections between civil society participation, more specifically women's inclusion, in peace negotiations and the durability of peace (Paffenholz 2010; Krause et al 2018), it becomes pertinent to examine mechanisms that can foster inclusion in peace negotiations as little is known about this in research.

3.1 Conceptualizing Women's Movements/Groups

Paffenholz et al. (2016, 14) describe women's groups as "organized groups/organizations interacting in the public sphere whose objectives, interests, and ideologies focus on gender and women's issues". Nilsson and Svensson (2020) also define women's groups as organizations that profile themselves as women's organizations and are driven by women and work for women's rights and inclusion. Women's movements constitute a coalition of women's groups championing

women’s cause (Paffenholz et al. 2016). Women’s movements/groups usually connote women in civil society. Both definitions by Paffenholz et al. (2016) and Nilsson and Svensson (2020) emphasize the existence of divergent groups with a mandate driven by women and focused on women’s rights/issues. I also construe women’s groups and movements as the same given that both concepts depict a collection of women’s groups focused on women’s issues. As such, both concepts are used interchangeably.

It is also important to distinguish between women delegations in peace negotiations and women’s groups. Women may form a part of representative delegations for rebel groups or government (Paffenholz et al, 2016). In this sense, although there may be a tendency to construe them as women at the negotiation table, they tend to represent the interest of their nominating body i.e., government or rebel group. For instance, during the 1995 peace negotiations in Guatemala, Luz Mendez was the only select female representative for the rebel delegation, *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* (URNG). Even though she collaborated with women civil society groups that did not secure access to the negotiation table, her presence at the table was as a member of the government delegation (UN Women, 2012). This situation may also be common in the case of select women representatives who constitute a part of the mediating or negotiating team for international organizations. Krause et al (2018) notes this distinction in their article which categorizes women’s groups as ‘local’ women civil society within a particular context.

Concept	Definition
Women’s Movements	A coalition of women’s organizations that profile themselves as such with a mandate driven by women which involves undertaking campaigns and working for women’s issues, rights and/or inclusion.

Table 1: Conceptualizing Women’s Movements (Paffenholz 2016; Nilsson and Svensson 2020).

3.2 Conceptualizing Women’s Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance

Chenoweth and Cunningham (2013) and Schock (2005) define civil resistance as the use of nonviolent tactics such as protests, noncooperation, boycotts, and demonstrations by civil society actors or others that do not involve physical harm to the opposition. Civil resistance can also mean nonviolent resistance, nonviolent struggle, strategic nonviolence and nonviolent action (Chenoweth and Cunningham 2013; Albert Einstein Institution 2022). Scholars like Schock (2005) and Nepstad (2011) further note that civil resistance can produce several mechanisms for change including changing the attitudes of political opponents to make voluntary concessions, force opponents to negotiate and compromise their stance.

Chenoweth and Cunningham (2013) further outline certain essential characteristics of nonviolent action. First, there is a moral, philosophical or principled commitment to avoid arms. Second, there is mass participation which connotes mobilizing diverse members with shared grievances. For instance, Abbs (2020, 281) stresses the importance of “mobilization and drawing support away from the government”. Third, there is sustained engagement over a period of time as opposed to a one-off event such as one day demonstration or protest. Most actors who utilize nonviolent action are civilians however instances exist in which rebel groups may employ nonviolent action to actualize a particular political objective.

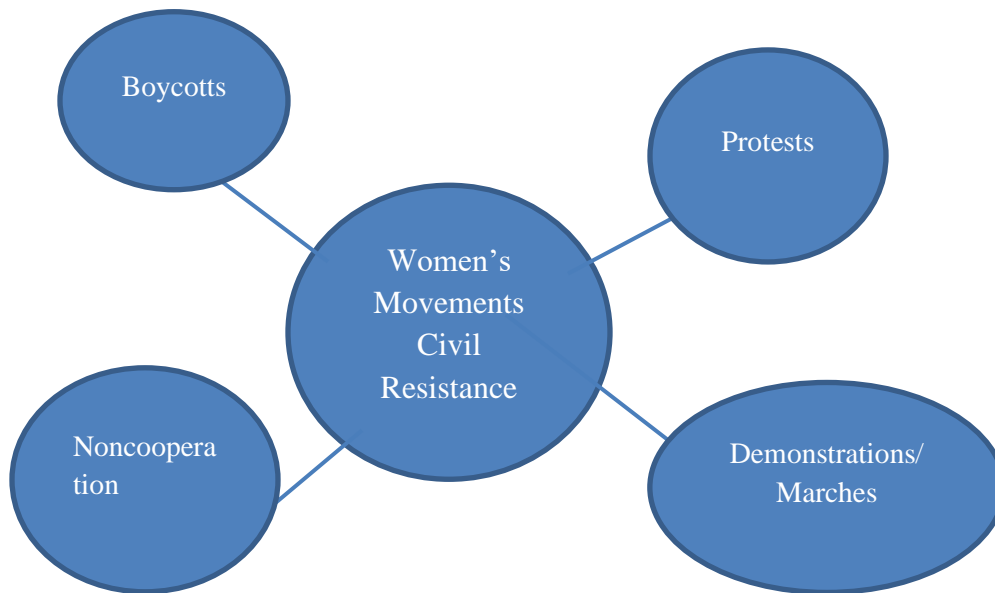


Figure 1: Women’s Movements Civil Resistance/Nonviolent tactics.

Women’s civil resistance implies women’s adoption of nonviolent methods in pursuit of a particular objective(s) without physical harm or violence against the opponent (Codur and King 2015). Pearlman (2011) notes that nonviolent action requires coordination and harmonized interests to be effective and sustain the engagement: “Where, by contrast, a movement becomes fragmented, factional competition of divergent interests arises making authority structures and group bondedness very weak leading to disintegration” (Pearlman 2011, 2). However, when nonviolent action is cohesive, the movement manifests the organizational power for effective mobilization with diverse participation, harmonized interests and mechanisms for containing internal dissensions that can lead to group polarization, as well as a collective purpose for sustained engagement (Pearlman 2011). In line with the argument by Pearlman (2011), cohesion in women’s groups’ nonviolent action is critical to facilitating sustained engagement of the movement to foster the chances of inclusion at the peace negotiation table.

Nilsson and Svensson (2023) also acknowledge the potency of nonviolent action in advancing women’s interests especially in cases where conflicting parties constrain participation to push for inclusion in the face of disempowerment and exclusion.

Concept	Definition of Women’s Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance
Women’s Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance	Capacity for women’s movements to effectively mobilize with diverse participation and a collective mandate, harmonize divergent interests, contain internal dissensions that can lead to group polarization, and maintain the collective purpose for sustained engagement while undertaking nonviolent action.

Table 2: Conceptualizing Women’s Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance (based on Chenoweth and Cunningham 2013; Pearlman 2011).

3.3 Conceptualizing Leverage

Formal peace negotiations involving elites are in many cases restricted to solely conflicting parties and mediators given that government parties may perceive broader inclusion as “sending a signal of lack of representativeness within said governments” (Nilsson and Svensson 2023, 4). For rebel groups, opening the formal peace talks to other parties aside from belligerents may entail ceding their political power and aspirations of being the valid representatives of segments of society (Nilsson and Svensson, 2023). Faced with these constraints, women’s movements may adopt nonviolent action to build recognition of their presence and influence to the warring factions, international community and society (Nilsson and Svensson, 2023). In several post-conflict societies, women’s movements have played a key role in mobilizing during conflict times to pressure combatants to shun violence and seek alternatives to war. Women have led street demonstrations and protests during wartime to stress the impacts of armed conflict especially on women, their children and families. Yet, it is not unusual for conflicting parties to commence peace processes and negotiations by excluding women’s groups disregarding their contributions in times of conflict.

Several authors like Paffenholz (2016) have documented how women organized to undertake nonviolent action within conflicting contexts and have leveraged on societal recognition and broad membership affiliation to international actors to draw attention to structural exclusionary practices as well as nudge political actors towards inclusive peacemaking (Hallward, Masullo and Mouly 2017). Through nonviolent action, women’s groups create pressure against conflicting parties by influencing public opinion, subsequently pressuring conflicting parties to open up the negotiation process. Thus, women’s civil resistance can build leverage by creating costs for political leadership by putting them in a negative light (Nilsson and Svensson 2023, 9).

Kirgis (2014, 70) conceptualizes leverage as “the ability to compel a counterparty to accept a set of unfavourable terms or conferring power to actualize a set of goals on your terms”. Kirgis (2014) equates leverage to the application of ‘power methods’ or influence to force an opposing party to succumb to the proposing party’s interests. Ackerman and Duvall (2000) note the importance of leverage in the success of nonviolent campaigns via applying nonviolent tactics that may weaken and splinter the opposition (Ackerman and Duvall 2000, 50). As noted by Ackerman and Duvall (2000, 52), “even the most despotic government cannot stand except for the consent of the

governed”. When governments are put in bad light and their legitimacy is questioned by portraying their discriminatory and exclusionary antics, this creates pressure for conflicting parties to open the negotiation table (Finnegan and Hackley 2008, 10). In this paper, I conceptualize leverage as the power or influence to force an opposing party (in this case warring parties) to succumb to the proposing party’s (women’s groups) interests due to pressures from the social recognition of women’s groups nonviolent action and their grievances.

Concept	Definition of Leverage
Leverage	Leverage is defined as the power or influence to force an opposing party (warring parties) to succumb to the proposing party’s (women’s movements) interests due to pressures from the social recognition of women’s groups nonviolent action and grievances, and their membership affiliation to external networks.

Table 3: Conceptualizing leverage (Kirgis 2014; Ackerman and Duvall 2000).

3.4 Conceptualizing Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations

The concept of inclusion has been subject to multiple meanings given that there is no standardized definition of the term. Dumasy (2018, 4) defines inclusion as “the extent and manner in which the views and needs of parties to a conflict and other stakeholders are represented, heard and integrated into a peace process”. This implies opening up the peace process in a way to accommodate a broader spectrum of society. That way elitist perspectives avoid drowning out the peace negotiations (Dumasy 2018). Paffenholz and Ross (2015) also conceptualize inclusion as “the involvement of women and civil society actors in a peace process”. Both women and civil society are considered as the ‘good society’ that is reliably pro-peace and pro-democratic, and therefore an essential supporting component within peace processes (Paffenholz and Ross 2015; Anderlini 2004; Paffenholz 2015; Nilsson 2012). Both authors utilize ‘inclusion’ and ‘participation’ interchangeably in their literature. Furthermore, Paffenholz (2016) also notes that women’s inclusion in formal peace negotiations refer to their participation within an official peacemaking

capacity at the negotiation table. The critical element is women’s involvement in direct negotiations with conflicting parties and/or their representatives.

Paffenholz (2016, 10) also conceptualizes formal peace negotiations as “formal discussions between conflicting parties (that may include a mediator or other third parties) in which warring factions with divergent interests try to reach an agreement or settlement. This may also be termed ‘official or track one’ negotiations between adversaries involving government or leadership from all sides in a conflict and/or their official representatives (Anderlini, 2004). In practice, inclusion at the negotiation table for women civil society representatives may imply the participation of women’s groups as observers and/or signatories during peace negotiations aside from inclusion as full participants.

It is important to note that women in civil society rarely take on mediation roles except if they have been officially nominated by conflicting parties as a part of their delegation or they have been appointed by international organizations to be a part of the mediation or delegation team, for instance, in negotiations between the Government of Philippines and Moro, the representative of a women civil society group was appointed to be a part of the government delegation and she acted as a mediator in the peace talks. Even though she was originally from civil society, her mandate at the negotiation table was as a representative of the government (UN Women 2012). This paper conceptualizes inclusion in formal peace negotiations as the visible presence of women’s groups in civil society as full participants in the negotiations between conflicting parties at the peace negotiation table. In other words, not just token representation but meaningful involvement of women in formal peace negotiations.

Concept	Definition of Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations
Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations	Presence of women’s groups in civil society as full participants in discussions at the peace negotiation table between conflicting parties (that may include a mediator or other third parties) in which warring factions with divergent interests try to reach an agreement or settlement.

Table 4: Conceptualizing Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations (UN Women 2012; Paffenholz, 2016).

3.5 Argument and Causal Mechanism

In line with previous research and theories espoused by Chenoweth and Cunningham (2013) and Nilsson and Svensson (2023), this thesis' main argument focuses on how women's civil resistance can foster increased chances of securing inclusion at the peace negotiation table. In this regard, I argue that it is the extent of group cohesiveness in women's nonviolent action that sustains the engagement and determines whether inclusion will be actualized or not. More specifically, with women's movements politically excluded from peace negotiations, they have by necessity and choice employed strategic nonviolent action in pursuing their agenda. Women's nonviolent action is expected to have an impact on fostering inclusion where there is evidence of group cohesion amongst members undertaking the nonviolent action. Group cohesion implies effective mobilization despite constituent membership drawn from varied organizations, harmonized interests with a focus on the collective mandate/objective, a mechanism for addressing internal dissensions as well as sustained engagement of the movement over time.

More specifically, I argue that women's groups cohesion in civil resistance increases their leverage i.e., influence stemming from increased recognition and awareness of their agenda both nationally and internationally, drawing sympathy to their cause and influencing public opinion. As noted by Stephan and Chenoweth (2008), leverage becomes evident from increased recognition of grievances translating into enhancing domestic and international support for the movement. Thus, cohesiveness within women's movements acts as an enabler to strengthen affinity, bondedness and focus on the collective goal. The focus on collective purpose and solidarity in women's civil resistance presents a united front eliciting increased consciousness and attraction to their cause. This will in turn mount pressure on negotiating parties to reconsider their exclusionary position 'fearing' negative aspersions. As noted by Ackerman and Duvall (2000, 52), "even the most despotic government cannot stand except for the consent of the governed". When governments are put in bad light and their legitimacy is questioned by portraying their discriminatory/exclusionary antics, this creates pressure for conflicting parties to open the negotiation table (Finnegan and Hackley 2008, 10).

I argue that this causal mechanism applies given previous research on the effectiveness of nonviolent action in facilitating the onset of peace negotiations (Celestino and Gleditsch 2013) and curtailing unjust practices by regime leadership through a disconnect from the regime's source of

power – ‘popular support from the governed’ (Chenoweth et al. 2017). Furthermore, research has attested to the potentials existent in collective mobilization of women and how this has occasioned more gender-inclusive structures (Tripp et al 2009). As such, the connections between women’s groups cohesion in civil resistance and leveraging the effects of this mobilization to build momentum, influence public opinion and apply pressure has the propensity for changing the ‘exclusionary narrative’ propelling conflicting or negotiating parties to open up the negotiation talks.

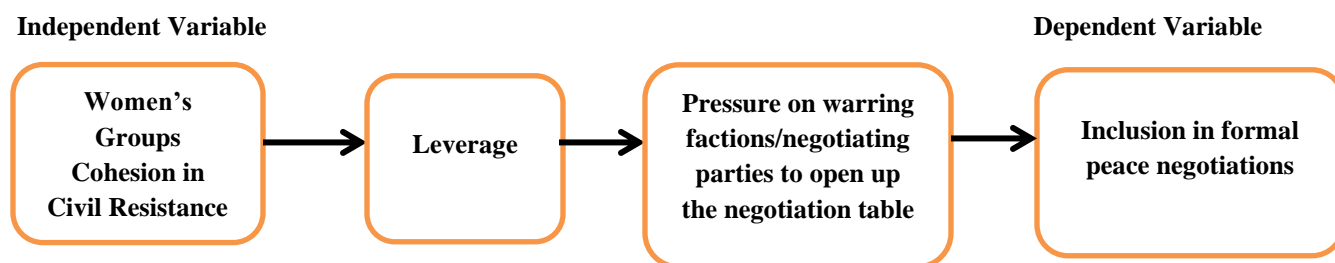


Figure 2: Causal Process

On the contrary, absence of or minimal cohesion will foster internal dissensions shifting the focus from the collective vision and impacting negatively on leverage and sustained engagement. Thus, the result is polarization given the existence of divergent interests and a lack of commitment to the collective vision and subsequently disintegration from failure to sustain the agenda. Furthermore, with the group focused on internal issues, limited pressure is mounted on warring factions for inclusion. It is this sustained engagement and continuous pressure that is required to push open the doors of inclusion.

Deriving from this argument, I will test the following hypothesis:

H1: Women’s movements have greater chances of securing inclusion in formal peace negotiations if women’s movements cohesion in civil resistance is higher.

H0: Women’s movements cohesion in civil resistance has no effect on securing inclusion in formal peace negotiations.

Lastly, it is important to note that women's group cohesion in civil resistance is not the only factor that explains the variation in the dependent variable. Rather, this constitutes one explanation may account for this variation and contributes to this particular outcome. In the analysis, I will also consider the fact that women's civil resistance does not occur in isolation. Diverse membership of the movement and subsequent recognition from regional /international actors may also be of importance.

4. RESEARCH DESIGN

Seawright and Gerring (2008) note the benefits of qualitative research in providing clearer perspectives for the phenomenon under study as well as in examining changes over time. For this research, I adopt a qualitative comparative approach for in-depth study of the variables of interest as well as observe the connections between the causal mechanism and the variables of interest. I begin by motivating the rationale for the methodological choice of a structured focused comparison and justifying the case selection. I discuss the time period that I focus on and data sources, the operationalization of my variables and theoretical concepts, as well as ethical issues arising from the study. I finalize by detailing the structure of the analysis for the empirics and latter sections of this paper.

4.1 Method of Structured, Focused Comparison

To test my hypothesis empirically, I employ the method of a structured focused comparison. The methodology is ‘structured’ because I develop and ask some general questions that reflect the research objective and theoretical focus of inquiry in all cases under study to standardize data collection (George and Bennett 2005, 70). The study is ‘focused’ because it centers on an evaluation of certain aspects of the cases examined with the research objective in mind over a time period (George and Bennett 2005, 70). George and Bennett (2005, 71) attest to the benefits of this method in “enabling an in-depth study of a particular phenomenon in a comparable manner to contribute to the theory about the phenomenon and cumulative development of knowledge”. For the purposes of this study, I adopt a structured focused comparison for two reasons: First, to explain the variation in the dependent variable i.e., inclusion in formal peace negotiations between countries as it relates to the independent variable i.e., women’s movements cohesion in civil resistance. A comparative study is needed to be able to critically examine both cases to generalize my findings to the broader population of cases. Second, data on women’s inclusion in formal peace negotiations is very limited thus a qualitative approach and structured focused comparison bridges this gap. Furthermore, examining cohesion in women’s movements in nonviolent action is a complex phenomenon, as such, using a structured focused comparative approach will allow for a detailed study of the independent variable as it relates to the dependent variable. George and

Bennett (2005, 71) also attest to the usefulness of this method in “formulating explanatory ideas that can be generalized to other cases”.

4.2. Case Selection: The Most Similar Case Design

Choosing cases that are representative of a broader population constitute challenges given that a truly representative case is not easy to identify and “chosen cases must achieve variation on relevant dimensions” (Seawright and Gerring 2008, 294). Thus, in the absence of a ‘formal treatment’ as with randomized approaches, selected cases run the risk of selection bias when there is no methodological justification for the choice of cases leading to the tendency for misrepresentative results (Seawright and Gerring, 2008, 295). I adopt the most similar case selection technique also known as the ‘Mills Method of Difference’ for this study. In this technique, the chosen pair of cases is similar in many respects and confounding variables except for the independent variable of interest or explanatory variable and outcome (Seawright and Gerring 2008, 304; Gerring 2007). Where cases are selected on the dependent variable, it is essential to identify the specific contrasts on that variable making it an interesting outcome to explain. Collier and Mahoney (1994, 68) term this as the ‘contrast space’ which assists in defining “the appropriate frame of comparison for evaluating explanations”. King et al. (1994) also argue that methodological techniques which adopt a ‘no-variance’ case in the dependent variable create a problem deciphering causative factors in matched cases. Furthermore, Collier and Mahoney (1994) note the need for the causal mechanism explaining the connections between the independent and dependent variable in select cases to be similar to avoid selection bias.

Taking into consideration the above, I consider two reasons for my case selection. First, given that this research is explanatory (i.e., hypothesis-testing) as it seeks to explain the variation in the dependent variable, cases that are characterized by the presence and absence of women’s formal inclusion during formal negotiations are selected. Second, I adopt cases that are as similar as possible regarding other alternative explanations (i.e., confounding variables except for the explanatory variable) to explain the outcome. I have also selected cases where it seems plausible that the same causality is applicable.

Women's Civil Resistance in Colombia and Mozambique as case studies

The rise in women's civil resistance stems from historic traditions of resistance from the colonial era and national liberation movements that thrust women into new roles beyond motherhood and wifely duties (Tripp et al 2009, 25). Worsened by rising incidents of conflict, women became more active in the political space building concerted action for peace, challenging exclusion in peace processes and changing the 'docile' narrative (Tripp et al 2009, 26). The cases of women's movements' civil resistance in Colombia and Mozambique provide a good basis for comparative analysis as they share a number of historical, political and social factors that can be kept constant except for the variation in the dependent variable. The unit of analysis is women's movements within the select countries.

Mujeres por la Paz, the Colombian women's movement was established in 2000 and composed of about fifty women's organizations that were visible in peace marches, boycotts and protests in Colombia (Phelan and True 2022). *Forum Mulher*, a network of feminist organizations in Mozambique established in 1991 and composed of over thirty women's organizations was notable for championing campaigns and street protests in Mozambique (Tripp et al. 2009). I argue that the selection and focus on these two cases from the broader population of cases are important to test the suggested hypothesis. While women's civil resistance in Colombia actualized inclusion in formal peace negotiations, women's civil resistance did not lead to the inclusion of women's groups during formal peace negotiations in Mozambique. Both cases share certain similarities - First, both countries have experienced a history of longstanding conflict particularly civil wars motivated by tensions over government which ended through a peace agreement. Second, both countries have been categorized as semi-democracies as evidenced by the V-Dem dataset¹ (V-Dem Institute 2022). This categorization also exists in previous years. Third, both countries face gender inequality and women's marginalization in the political space.

Importantly, I have tried to control for some key factors. Both countries display similar political climate legitimizing women in civil society in the political space². Additionally, the era of the

¹ The Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) dataset produces the largest global dataset on democracy with over 30 million data points for 202 countries from 1789 to 2021. VDEM measures attributes of democracy using several indicators including human rights protection, civil society presence, free press, rule of law, corruption, checks and balances in government, civil liberties, etc.

² Both cases record existent legislations promoting women's involvement in government and in the political space however women's marginalization is still evident despite the presence of gender-friendly legislations.

2000s witnessed an influence of gendered normative frameworks stemming from the enactment of the UNSCR 1325 and other resolutions focused on promoting the women, peace and security agenda globally. Both cases have developed existent local policies stemming from the UNSCR 1325 in promoting implementation of the women, peace and security agenda. Furthermore, both cases display UN involvement during negotiations. I also control for disposition of conflicting parties as well as external support by international/regional actors for women’s civil resistance within the select countries.

Cases	Colombia (Mujeres por la Paz)	Mozambique (Forum Mulher)
X1 Women’s groups cohesion in civil resistance	???	???
X2 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political climate (legislations legitimizing women in civil society in the political space) • Influence of gendered normative framework and UN involvement in negotiations • Disposition of warring/conflicting parties • External support from international/regional actors. 	YES	YES
Y	YES	NO

Inclusion in formal peace negotiations		
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Table 5: Most Similar Case Research Design (Gerring 2007; George and Bennett 2005).

It is important to also draw attention to certain gaps associated with this study. A qualitative case study may not control for all potential confounders that may exist between select cases. However, Gerring (2007, 135) suggests that “if a study is broad enough to include notable confounders, the average difference between the cases should provide a good estimate of the causal effect”. I discuss the limitations to this study in more detail in the sections on alternative explanations and potential bias.

4.3 Internal Validity and External Validity

Kellstedt and Whitten (2018, 114) describe internal validity as “the extent to which the measure utilized in the study accurately represents the theoretical concepts it is supposed to measure”. Gerring (2007, 195) also describes internal validity as the “validity of inferences about the relationship between the independent and dependent variable”. For the purposes of this study, I utilize measurables (indicators) that encapsulate the concept of women’s movements cohesion and formal inclusion in peace negotiations in both cases. Cases are also drawn from similar contexts with similar conceptualization of inclusion and women’s movements cohesion in nonviolent action minimizing the risk of multiple connotations further strengthening internal validity. However, scholars like Gerring (2007), King et al (1994) and Seawright and Gerring (2008) have noted the trade-offs associated with internal and external validity in research. Achieving external validity or generalizability is harder in case studies as certain characteristics of the select cases pose challenges to generalize the findings across all contexts. In other words, “it is difficult to represent a larger population of cases – in all ways relevant to the descriptive or causal claims of a study with a sample of a few cases” (Gerring 2007, 221).

For the purposes of this study, can the analysis of two cases of women’s groups cohesion in nonviolent action in Latin America and Africa be reproduced in other contexts in a manner that promises similar results? I draw my sample from semi-democratic countries that have experienced

longstanding conflicts, and which have extant provisions legitimizing civil society presence and women's participation in the political space.

4.4 Scope Conditions

As a measure to ensure comparability of select cases, certain scope conditions that limit generalizability of the theoretical application should exist. Gauquelin (2021, 402) suggests that “every theoretical proposition will also always be subject to contradicting evidence thus a systematic way to evaluating theory is identifying specific conditions under which the theoretical proposition may apply”. By doing so, the risk of systematic falsification decreases and the development of cumulative knowledge become possible”. Regarding the present study, I identify certain scope conditions that may limit the generalizability of the theoretical statement and suggested hypothesis.

The first scope condition is the regime type existent in a particular country. Thus, this theory may not apply to autocratic or totalitarian regimes. As mentioned earlier, cases are selected from semi-democratic countries with extant legislation legitimizing civil society and women's participation in the political space. By extension this theoretical framework will also apply in highly democratic contexts. Authoritarian regimes tend to enact repressive policies that limit freedom of assembly and press. In many cases, authoritarian regimes criminalize associations that run contrary to ‘acceptable behaviour and standards’. Furthermore, autocratic regimes usually control media limiting what organizations may publicize as news. Finally, my findings may only extend to women's movements as opposed to other civil society groups. International and regional statues have prioritized the recognition of women's welfare as critical to sustainable development as such women's contributions in the political space tends to attract some measure of sympathy from external actors to women's cause.

4.5 Time Period and Data Sources

The time period for capturing women's movements cohesion in civil resistance and inclusion in formal peace negotiations is divided into distinct periods of focus. First, given that this study seeks to examine women's movements cohesion in civil resistance, it is important to consider cohesion in women's civil resistance from a long-term perspective particularly from the emergence of women's movements in the political sphere during conflict times in addition to their role from the commencement of the peace process. Thus, I scrutinize how women's groups began organizing during conflict, the onset of the peace process, up until the conclusion of negotiations in both Colombia and Mozambique. I consider a time period of 2000 to 2016 for Colombia whereas in Mozambique, I consider a time period of 1991 to 2019. While the warring parties in Mozambique reached a peace agreement in 1992, I have chosen to focus on the peace process leading up to the peace accord in 2019 to facilitate a suitable comparison with Colombia who reached an accord in 2016. Despite the change in the gender norms from the 1990s, the Mozambique women's movement did not include inclusion as a collective agenda of the movement in 1991. Additionally, focusing on the aforementioned time period will enable some measure of process tracing to assess causal change over a clear time sequence given the complexities associated with deciphering group cohesion. It will also provide clarifications regarding the situational dynamics during conflict, the onset of peace negotiations and afterwards for in-depth analysis.

Second, regarding the time period for inclusion in formal peace negotiations, I focus on the onset of negotiations up until the conclusion of peace negotiations in the two cases. I rely on the Non-Warring Actors in Peacemaking (NOWA) Dataset which documents the period of negotiations for both cases from 1998 to 2019 (Nilsson and Svensson 2023). The NOWA dataset contains a detailed observation of negotiations in Africa and Latin American countries and allows a sequenced scrutiny of the role of women's groups during formal peace negotiations. In addition, I review the respective peace agreements i.e. The 2016 Comprehensive Colombian Peace Agreement and the 2019 National Peace and Reconciliation Agreement, Mozambique as these agreements document some information on the peace negotiations. The focus on this time period is crucial to ascertaining inclusion or non-inclusion in formal peace negotiations.

In terms of source material, this thesis will utilize different categories of sources in order to test the suggested hypothesis. First, this paper relies on primary sources in the form of peace agreements and other local statutes, datasets and interviews with women groups in Colombia and Mozambique. Hoglund and Oberg (2011) underscore the importance of in-depth interviews in demystifying the complexities of conflict-ridden societies as well as enabling a deeper understanding of the trajectory of war time to peace time in peace processes. In-depth interviews are particularly useful in following a process especially in peace negotiations (Hoglund and Oberg 2011, 130). “While interviews as a source cannot stand on its own, and must be utilized in combination with other sources, in-depth interviews can suggest valid causal inferences when relied on in addition to previous research” (Hoglund and Oberg 2011, 131). For the purposes of this study, I utilize interviews to obtain ‘localized’ perspectives of actors that were part of events which transpired during the designated time period to better examine the connections between my variables of interest. I triangulate this information with secondary sources including publications/reports from non-governmental organizations, women’s groups meeting reports, summit reports, social media reports from women’s groups, newspaper reports, academic journals and other academic literature.

It is important to note that with interviews there are dangers of potential bias that may arise especially from purposive sampling and snowballing. However, “interviewing individuals identified from different sources increases the propensity for obtaining credible data” (Powner 2015, 149). Furthermore, triangulation with secondary sources also mitigates the risk associated with potential bias. I conduct a total of six interviews with three member organizations of the Colombia women’s movement, two member organizations of the Mozambique women’s movement and one representative of UN Women, Mozambique.

Regarding the extent of comparability of sources across cases, there is limited information on women’s involvement in the peace process for Mozambique as secondary sources contain minimal information on women’s groups mobilization as opposed to Colombia with robust data detailing the level of organization during war time and peace negotiations. Furthermore, the documentation of most sources like workshop/meeting reports in Spanish and Portuguese pose language barriers and delays in translation. Nevertheless, both primary and secondary sources provide useful information to base this research.

4.6 Operationalization of Variables

In order to test the suggested hypothesis and theoretical arguments of this paper, the conceptual definitions of women's movements cohesion in civil resistance, leverage and inclusion in formal peace negotiations will be translated into operational definitions and observable indicators to ascertain the presence or absence of the dependent variable as well as the extent of the degree of cohesion in women's movements' civil resistance. Furthermore, given that the method of structured, focused comparison is employed in this paper, a set of general questions guiding the empirical analysis is essential.

Operationalizing the Independent Variable - Women's Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance

Indicators for women's movements cohesion in civil resistance are guided by the main attributes in the conceptualization of the variable which include: effective mobilization of women's groups with diverse participation, existence of a collective goal or mandate, harmonized interest to work collectively to attain specified objectives depicting team bondedness, the existence of a mechanism for addressing internal dissensions within the group, and sustained engagement over time. In this case, women's movements cohesion in civil resistance is not operationalized as a dichotomous variable but as a continuous one in order to measure the degree of cohesion as well as employ a more nuanced approach to facilitating deeper understanding. I rely on a variety of primary and secondary sources of data including interviews, datasets, NGO meeting reports, CSO reports, social media reports, newspaper reports, reports by international organizations, academic books and journals. The indicators for the degree of the independent variable stem from the theoretical assumption of group cohesiveness in civil resistance which emphasizes cohesiveness as germane to fostering collective purpose, harmonization and sustained engagement. Furthermore, these indicators explain the observable traits of cohesiveness as suggested by Pearlman (2011) and Chenoweth and Cunningham (2013).

Women's Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance

Components	Questions	Indicators
<p>A. Effective mobilization with diverse participation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why did women's groups mobilize? • How did women's groups organize? • What was the strategy for organizing? • What groups were involved in the mobilizing – was it broad-based? • Where were group members located – at the state level or grassroots? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of coalition inception documents detailing membership e.g., organizational briefs, memorandum of understanding, etc. • Existence of group presence – online or offline presence.
<p>B. Existence of a collective goal/mandate</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did the group have an overarching mandate, goal or objective? If so, what was it? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence or absence of coalition mandate.
<p>C. Harmonized interest to work collectively to attain specified goals/objectives</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What were the roles of organizing actors in the movement? • Was there an intention to work collaboratively? If so, what was the motivation for collaboration in the nonviolent action? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of coalition meeting reports or other group promoting activities e.g., summits. • Availability of joint proposals on agreed mandates.
<p>D. Existence of a mechanism for addressing internal dissensions</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Were there issues regarding mobilization and coordination? If so, how was this managed? • Were there issues that arose in the course of the nonviolent action? How was this addressed? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal mechanisms for conflict resolution. • Presence or absence of internal conflicts.

<p>E. Sustained engagement over time</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When did women’s movements begin protests or other nonviolent action? • Did women organize during the war? If so, what role did they play during conflict times? • What sustained the momentum for the movement? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of nonviolent action undertaken during war time and other periods prior to inclusion/non-inclusion in negotiations. • Existence of other actions undertaken by women groups during war time and peace negotiations.
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Table 6: Indicators for Women’s Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance.

Operationalizing Inclusion in formal peace negotiations

The dependent variable is analyzed as a dichotomous variable in this paper:

Y1 – Inclusion of women’s groups during formal peace negotiations i.e. at the negotiation table as a full participant;

Y0 - Absence of women’s groups as full participants at the negotiation table.

In order to operationalize the dependent variable, the observable implications of formal inclusion at the negotiation table will be considered. In other words, I inquire as to whether there was presence or absence of women’s groups at the peace negotiation table and if so, what role did women’s groups play during the negotiations? For a case to be assigned $Y = 1$, the women’s movement must have been present at any of the negotiation sessions in the capacity of a full participant during the peace negotiations. Again, a case is assigned $Y = 0$ where there is no visible presence of women’s groups as full participants at the negotiation table. Thus, as mentioned in the section on theoretical framework, even if the women’s groups have been admitted in formal consultation sessions with conflicting parties or engaged in some other way outside the negotiation table, the case will be assigned as $Y = 0$ as the focus of this paper is on the visible presence of women’s groups at the negotiation table with conflicting parties.

The indicators to assess the value of the dependent variable derive from theoretical conceptualizations of women's inclusion in formal peace negotiations by scholars like Paffenholz (2016), Nilsson and Svensson (2023) and international organizations like the United Nations who have consistently tracked women's representation in elite peace processes. As mentioned in the previous section, it is rare for women's groups to take on a mediator role during peace negotiations except when appointed as part of the delegation of either of the conflicting parties. As seen in Table 7, the A indicator is answered by an affirmative or negative answer while the B indicator seeks to describe the role of women's groups in the course of the peace negotiations. I rely on the NOWA dataset which documents the presence or absence of women groups during the negotiations but have also substantiated this information with other secondary sources.

It is important to note that in practice, women's visible presence at the negotiation table is devoid of the categorizations employed in this paper. Most international organizations like UN Women evidence women's presence at the negotiation table as the visible presence of women during peace negotiations regardless of if they are representing civil society or are part of the government delegation. However, scholars like Paffenholz (2016) employ a categorization to capture the representation of women's groups from broader spectrums of society. Furthermore, it is dangerous to assume that women representing the interests of government are acting in the interests of women's groups in society as in many cases; appointing delegations like government adopt tokenistic representation and handpick female participants in peace negotiations without due considerations as to their role or effectiveness in the negotiation process.

Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations		
Component	Indicators	Questions
Presence of women's groups in civil society as full participants in discussions at the peace negotiation table.	A. Presence or absence of women's groups at the negotiation table	Were women's movements present at the peace negotiations?
	B. Visibility during peace negotiations as a full participant;	If present at the negotiation table, what role did women's movements play during the peace negotiations?

Table 7: Indicators for Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations.

Operationalizing leverage as a causal mechanism

Indicators for leverage are guided by Kirgis' conceptualization of leverage as "application of 'power methods' to force an opposing party to succumb to the proposing party's interests. As such, women's groups leverage connotes the presence of power or influence stemming from societal recognition, and broad membership affiliation to international actors or society to draw attention to structural exclusionary practices as well as nudge political actors towards inclusive peacemaking (Hallward, Masullo and Mouly, 2017). As such, I rely on NGO reports, newspapers and articles as well as social media pages to operationalize leverage. I triangulate this with academic journals to ensure source corroboration and avoid biased reporting.

Leverage		
Components	Indicator	Questions
Societal Recognition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition by conflicting parties • News articles detailing group activities • Group visibility or social media presence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did women’s groups build recognition in the public space? • What strategy was utilized to project women’s groups mandate or grievance?
Affiliation with other international or regional actors/networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support from international agencies • Cooperation with other peacebuilding actors • Existence of joint peace activity implemented with affiliatory networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did international or regional actors play any role during the civil resistance? If so, what role did they play? • Are there group members with affiliations or membership to other regional or international networks?

Table 8: Indicators for Leverage.

4.7 Ethical Challenges

A cardinal principle of research stipulates that researchers must do no harm to study participants “whose experiences are sought to be explored and understood” (Hoglund and Oberg 2011). This study was conducted taking into consideration the volatility of conflict/post-conflict contexts as well as the risks associated with women’s activists within such contexts. Women’s groups engaged in civil resistance usually suffer from deliberate targeting to harm or repression by the state. Chenoweth et al. (2017) suggest that state repression may take several forms including

surveillance, harassment, unlawful arrests and torture. Given the reliance on primary sources of data in the form of interviews from women's movements that undertook nonviolent action in the various cases as well as international actors that played a role in the movement, this study was conducted in a way to avoid putting study participants in any form of risk or danger. Study participants were given an informed consent form detailing potential risks and their freedom to decline participation in the interviews. Confidentiality and anonymity were observed as the study avoided the mention/documentation of personal details of study participants in the form of names and contact information to guarantee their security.

Furthermore, with research focused on events of civil resistance, there is a risk of questions triggering trauma. Brouneus (2011) notes that a recollection of certain violent events may put study participants at a risk of traumatization or psychological harm. To mitigate this risk, research questions that were asked were in form of open-ended or general questions avoiding sensitive topics or details. The study elicited questions centered on modalities for mobilization/organization, the collective mandate and other characteristics of the movements. Data from the process was also stored in an encrypted folder with no identifying information from study participants except for the details of participating organizations in the nonviolent action. Furthermore, data was stored in a way to prevent any traces to study participants.

It is important to note that while interviews provide high validity in terms of enabling a critical evaluation of variables as well as demystifying the complexities within the context to ascertain how the processes and concepts interrelate, there is a risk that responses may be tainted by personal bias and inaccuracies associated with lapse in time given the time period of conflict up until the time of data collection for the current study. However, I mitigate this risk by triangulating with secondary sources as a mechanism to verify responses from study participants.

4.8 Structural Analysis

Regarding the presentation of the data, each case will be asked the same set of research questions indicated above to collate the empirical information as well as adhere to the specifications of the structured, focused comparison geared towards actualizing the research objective. I begin by providing contextual information in relation to the civil war, peace process and women's civil resistance in both cases. Afterwards, I outline information on both women's movements cohesion

in civil resistance, leverage and inclusion in formal peace negotiations in the cases of Colombia and Mozambique in line with the indicators developed to operationalize the independent variable, dependent variable and causal mechanism.

The sections regarding presentation of the findings on the independent variable is structured along the indicators that depict the manifestation of women's movements cohesion in civil resistance. I apply a similar strategy for the dependent variable and causal mechanism. Thereafter, I tabulate the summary for the empirical findings for each case.

Following from the presentation of the empirical findings, I undertake a brief analysis of each case to ascertain if a connection exists between women's movements cohesion in civil resistance and inclusion in formal peace negotiation. This aspect is important to ascertain other issues or dynamics that may be present in explaining the dependent variable to ensure a clearer perspective as well as establish confidence in the theorized relationship. Thereafter, the discussion centers on a between-case analysis comparing the empirical findings between cases in relation to the independent variable and the dependent variable. This aspect of the analysis seeks to examine the extent to which the degree of women's movements cohesion and inclusion in formal peace negotiations for each case rank as against each other in relation to the theorized relationship. Furthermore, the outcome of the ranking will be juxtaposed with the theory's predicted outcome to ascertain the extent to which the suggested hypothesis is supported or not.

The final section of the analysis focuses on alternative explanations that go beyond the theorized relationship. In other words, I examine what other explanations can account for the outcome and if this holds true for the purposes of this study. I further note additional observations, evaluate the limitations to the theoretical framework, research design and empirical analysis. Thereafter, this paper draws some conclusions recapitulating the main observations as well as suggesting the focus for future research.

5. CASE ONE - COLOMBIA

5.1 Background – The Civil War, Peace Process and Emergence of the Women’s Movement in Colombia.

Colombia ranks as the fourth largest economy in Latin America with its GDP mainly from petroleum exports. However, wealth is poorly distributed with a high inequality ratio amongst citizens (Colombia Reports 2021). The Colombian armed conflict arose because of claims by the people of political exclusion, economic and social inequalities. Certain disgruntled citizens organized into left-wing guerrillas seeking to overthrow the government on claims of fighting for the rights of the poor, one of which was *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas* (FARC) formed in 1966.

In the 1980s, FARC launched a political wing, the Patriotic Union but after doing well in the elections, its members were targeted by other right-wing elements leading to heightened tensions between the Government and FARC. Meanwhile, FARC increasingly financed its campaign through illegal drug trade, kidnapping and extortion. In combination, the group perpetuated acts of one-sided violence against civilians who did not support their cause. By the 1990s, armed conflict between FARC and the Colombian government escalated leading to a longstanding civil war with a death toll surpassing 220,000 and 5.5 million persons displaced (Bouvier 2016). An Oxfam report documented over 2000 cases of sexual violence against women (OXFAM 2009). On the other hand, women also constituted armed combatants in FARC making up about 40% of the group. Notable in the late 1980s were two women’s organizations - Red Nacional de Mujeres and the Association of Indigenous, Afro-Colombian, and Peasant Women of Colombia who organized a one-day peace march calling for an end to the civil war (Bouvier 2016).

In the years from 1990-1994, the Colombian government commenced negotiations and signed peace accords with several guerrillas, but excluding FARC. Previous attempts at negotiations with FARC led by President Patrana in 1998 failed (Bouvier 2016). Conflict continued despite the negotiations. In these negotiations, women were absent. All negotiators, witnesses to the negotiations well as signatories were men (Bouvier 2016). In 2000, the Women’s movements noticing the existent opportunities for visibility in the peace process mobilized under the coalition - *Mujeres por la Paz* (Women for Peace) and began clamouring for an inclusive peace process. In 2004, negotiations resumed, however, both the government and FARC failed to agree on any

terms. Peace talks were held but these excluded women. In 2010, President Juan Manuel Santos was democratically elected as president and negotiations with FARC again resumed in 2012. The negotiations spanned from 2012 to 2016 and resulted in the 2016 Comprehensive Colombian Peace Agreement.

5.2 The Colombian Women's Movement – Assessing Women's Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance:

In the following sub-sections, I delineate the empirical evidence which examines women's movements cohesion in civil resistance using the operational indicators highlighted in the research design.

Effective Mobilization with diverse participation:

The women's movement for peace in Colombia began to gain traction in the 1990s within the framework of the design of the new constitution of 1991 recognizing women's participation in the political space and freedom of assembly (Oion-Encina 2020). Prior to the formation of the coalition in 2000, member organizations had been active in the civil war supporting victims of armed conflict by undertaking several advocacy campaigns against sexual violence in war and providing shelters to victims of the armed conflict/sexual violence.

In 2000, realizing the existent opportunities in joint advocacy, about 50 women organizations comprising *Red Nacional de Mujeres* (National Network of Women of Colombia), Women for Peace, Collective Thought and Action, *Iniciativa de Mujeres Colombianas por la Paz* (Colombian Women's Initiative for Peace), Black and Indigenous Women of Colombia, Corporacion Humanas (Human Corporation), National Women's Afro-Colombian Organization, The Popular Women's Organization, *Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres* (The Peaceful Route of Women), Women's House Corporation, the Women Network Assisting Women Victims of Armed Conflict, amongst others mobilized under a coalition to form the Women's movement - *Mujeres por la Paz* in Colombia (Oion-Encina 2020; Cespedes-Baez and Ruiz 2018). With the enactment of the UNSCR 1325 in October 2000, the women's movement gathered momentum publicizing its efforts to end the war and expanding its membership. Women's organizations with local offices at community level were encouraged to join the movement to advance the visibility and interests of women especially at the

grassroots (Phelan and True 2022). Member organizations were also tasked with reaching specific stakeholders that could push forward the collective agenda of the coalition. Given their reputation in gender matters and promoting the welfare of women, the Peaceful Route of Women and National Network of Women of Colombia were nominated as the core groups to provide oversight for the movement. The *Red Nacional de Mujeres representative*³ also indicates that mobilization was broad-based comprising national level and grassroots women's organization to circumvent marginalization of grassroots organizations. Prior to the onset of negotiations in 2012, the women's movement undertook a peace march in Bogota calling for all conflicting parties to end the war. Oion-Encina (2020, 335) also documents a peace march undertaken by some women's organizations against the war in Uraba, Antioquia in 2013.

The *Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres* representative noted that coalition membership was open for all women's organizations that wanted to be involved in the peace process⁴. Given the emphasis on an inclusive process for all women, a memorandum of understanding between all constituent members was signed detailing composite coalition membership, objectives of the movement, and designated contact information⁵. Furthermore, *Red Nacional de Mujeres* was tasked to create a Facebook page⁶ to give online visibility to the movement and facilitate communications in cases where potential women organizations wanted to be drafted into membership. The Women's movement further agreed to convene a National Women's Summit (*Cumbre Nacional de Mujeres y Paz*) to popularize their focus as well as undertake a peace protest to draw attention to the need to involve women in the peace process (Winstanley 2018).

Existence of a collective goal or mandate

Several sources point towards the existence of a collective goal adopted by the women's movement (Phelan and True 2022; Bouvier 2016; Cespedes-Baez and Ruiz 2017). Sensing that the negotiations between the Government and FARC in 2012 presented another opportunity to address existent structural inequalities, the women's movement convened a National Women's Summit for Peace in 2013 to strategize and outline their focus. Prior to the summit, regional clusters of the women's movement were organizing in various regions and feeding back information on the

³ Interview with anonymous representative of Red Nacional de Mujeres, via zoom, April 7, 2023.

⁴ Interview with anonymous representative of *Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres*, via zoom, April 10, 2023.

⁵ *ibid*

⁶ *ibid*; Facebook page of the coalition is still active on

http://www.facebook.com/Cumbremujeresypaz/?locale=es_LA

outcome of their deliberations to the two nominated core groups providing oversight to the movement (Pallares and Cardona 2014). Oion-Encina (2020) suggests that the summit provided a space for coordination and mobilizing women's groups for dialogue to specify their interests in relation to the peace process as well as outline events that could engender support for the movement. Having been excluded in the first round of negotiations between conflicting parties that began in October 2012 despite playing a role in calling for peace during war time, the women's movement sought to push the narrative that women's inclusion was germane to the ongoing negotiations given the negative impacts of the civil war on women. Pallares and Cardona (2014, 16) suggest that the movement embodied a collective objective that read "demand the active participation of women in the construction of peace at the negotiation talks between the National Government and FARC". It was also agreed that member organizations raise pertinent issues affecting women that could be deliberated at the women's summit and harmonized into proposals to be presented to conflicting parties" (Pallares and Cardona 2014, 16). The Women's movement also adopted a unanimous slogan that read thus – "There cannot be peace while there is oppression and women are excluded from full development" (Mujeres por la paz 2012).

It is important to mention the existence of various interests that were present at the time of mobilization. The Black and Indigenous Women of Colombia noted the need for a focus on minority women given the impact of the civil war on certain minority groups in the country. The Victims Organization also wanted a focus on the elimination of sexual violence and women's vulnerability in conflict. However, data sources depict a harmonization of objectives with the collective goal focused on gaining entry to the negotiation process. Other interests were summarized as 'specific objectives' and included as an addendum to the collective mandate (Mujeres por la Paz 2012).

Harmonized interest to work collectively to attain specified objectives

Interview sources⁷ and meeting reports⁸ lean towards an intention to work collaboratively despite the divergent thematic focus areas of constituent member organizations. Member organizations agreed on a collective mandate and weekly meetings were decided to strategize on set objectives (Corporacion Humanas et al. 2015). The women's movement also convened several roundtable events and public hearings to discuss crimes against women during war time to push their visibility/agenda in the public space.

It is important to mention that most women's organizations had a history of working together given their individual thematic focus on promoting women's rights in Colombia. Many were also at the forefront in championing advocacy against sexual violence in the wake of the civil war (Oion-Encina 2020). Prior to the National Women's Summit in 2013, the women's movement convened several workshops in different regions of Colombia affected by the conflict. Women drew up joint proposals highlighting an eight-point agenda centered on women's participation and leadership in peace processes; security of women in humanitarian crisis; justice in gender matters; and processes of recovery with a gender perspective (Oion-Encina 2020). The regional meeting reports collated by Red Nacional de Mujeres were presented in the women's summit convened in 2013. The Women's Summit, jointly convened by member organizations in the women's movement was attended by over 500 women and other stakeholders from government, the academia, neighbouring countries, regional women's organizations and UN actors (Oion-Encina 2020). Data sources also reveal that about 800 proposals were developed after the summit. While evidence points to various issues included in the joint communiqué/proposal by the movement, gaining entry into the peace negotiations remained a central objective to have a say in constructing peace as well as realizing agenda items in the developed proposals (Corporacion Humanas et al. 2015).

⁷ Interview with *anonymous representatives of Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres and Red Nacional de Mujeres*, via zoom, April 7 and 10, 2023.

⁸ Coalition meeting reports from Corporacion Humanas and Red Nacional de Mujeres indicate harmonized interest towards gaining entry to the peace table as well as collaborative efforts in gender justice and eliminating sexual violence.

Existence of a mechanism for addressing internal dissensions and sustained engagement over time

With the formation of movements comes diversity and complexities associated with coordination creating a tendency for internal conflicts. Despite the existence of a collective objective and an agreement to collaborative working, this did not prevent the movement from experiencing challenges (Phelan and True 2022). First, the presence of power dynamics associated with ‘bigger’ organizations trying to take the spotlight by entrenching their decisions as the ‘norm’ was prevalent. There were also tensions arising from divergent perceptions of undertaking advocacy. However, contrary to expectations that tensions would constitute a nuisance by polarizing group efforts, empirical findings indicate that member organizations embraced their diversity (Corporacion Humanas et al. 2015; Phelan and True 2022). Diversity in focus areas of member organizations was construed as beneficial for enriching debates given the differential ideas within the movement. Furthermore, meeting notes from Red Nacional de Mujeres (2012) suggest the creation of an internal and external conflict resolution mechanism for addressing conflicts between member organizations. Red Nacional de Mujeres and Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres were designated as mediatory parties for minor internal conflicts. Serious matters were referred to a skilled external mediator specified in the memorandum of understanding. Thus “member organizations learnt to live with their differences by focusing on the collective goal and partnering with each other in recognized areas of strength” (Mujeres por la Paz 2012).

Oion-Encina (2020) further indicates a sustained engagement by the women’s movement from the time of inception in 2000 until conclusion of the peace agreement in 2016. The women’s movement organized a peace march to Putumayo, Colombia on 25th November 2003 calling for an end to the conflict (Oion-Encina 2020, 336). Prior to the onset of negotiations in 2012, the women’s movement undertook a peace march in Bogota calling for all conflicting parties to end the war. With the onset of negotiations excluding women in 2012, the women’s movement mobilized and articulated their disapproval with the Colombian government’s course of action. In December 2012, the Women’s movement convened a meeting in Bogota, Colombia expressing support for a negotiated solution to the armed conflict but demanding women’s participation in the peace negotiations (Encuentro Nacional de Mujeres por la Paz 2012). It was agreed to boycott an event hosted by the Government and FARC inviting the women’s movement to provide their perspectives on integrating gender in agricultural rural reform. Women demanded a place at the table rather than eliciting their perspectives from consultations ((Encuentro Nacional de Mujeres

por la Paz 2012). On 8th March 2013, using the platform of the International Women’s Day (IWD), women’s groups mobilized in the streets of Bogota carrying placards and calling on the government to recognize women’s right to participation in the peace process. The IWD protest was strategic to project their dissatisfaction with the exclusionary tactics of negotiating parties. In November 2013, another public demonstration was organized and undertaken by the movement requesting their inclusion in the dialogues in Havana. More than 8,000 women marched in Bogota towards the presidential palace with signs reading “I am a woman and peace is mine” pressuring the government to listen to their demands (Nacion 2013; Cespedes-Baez and Ruiz 2018). In addition, sources suggest periodic engagements of member organizations in form of monthly coordination meetings, joint workshops, and summits until 2016 depicting some measure of sustained engagement (Corporacion Humanas et al. 2015).

Based on the above information, empirical findings depict a high level of cohesion in women’s movements civil resistance in Colombia. I outline my observations in the table below.

Women's Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance

Components	Indicators
A. Effective mobilization with diverse participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of coalition inception documents detailing membership e.g., organizational briefs/profile, memorandum of understanding, etc (Yes – including organizational profile and MoU) • Existence of group presence – online (Yes)
B. Existence of a collective goal/mandate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of coalition mandate (Yes – with inclusion in the peace negotiations as an objective)
C. Harmonized interest to work collectively to attain specified goals/objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of coalition meeting reports (Yes – Weekly/Monthly Coordination Meetings) • Existence of other group promoting activities e.g., summits (Yes – Presence of 3 Women summits) • Availability of joint proposals on agreed mandate/Objectives (Yes) – High unified interest
D. Existence of a mechanism for addressing internal dissensions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal mechanisms for conflict resolution (Yes – external mechanisms also present) • Presence of internal conflicts (Yes but internal conflicts resolved. No escalation recorded)
E. Sustained engagement over time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of nonviolent action undertaken during war time and other periods prior to inclusion/non-inclusion in negotiations (Yes – several protests/marches, boycott) • Existence of other actions organized and undertaken by women groups during war time and negotiations (Yes – joint workshops)

Table 9: Summary Indicators for Women's Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance – Colombia

5.3. Assessing Leverage

Since women were not included at the onset of the negotiations with conflicting parties, the women's movements began organizing "parallel meetings and events to discuss the points in the agenda being debated by the parties in Havana as a means of raising women's demands and making their exclusion visible" (Cespedes-Baez and Ruiz 2018, 16). Coupled with this, various peace marches/demonstrations and boycotts undertaken by the movement put the movement in the limelight. The women's movement claimed for their recognition having been at the forefront of calling conflicting parties to seek alternatives to war (Cespedes-Baez and Ruiz 2018). Some member organizations in the women's movement like Red Nacional de Mujeres and Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres had been in the public space since the late 1980s championing advocacy on combating sexual violence and promoting women's rights building a reputation over time. As such, consolidating organizational efforts via joint advocacy magnified visibility of the women's movement. Furthermore, news reports from Reuters (2016), Paarlberg-Kvam (2016) and BBC Monitoring Americas (2013) seem to indicate some measure of societal recognition and influence of the women's movement stemming from their activities in calling for an end to the war. A BBC News and Reuters article reported that "the women's peace movement played a key role in the Havana negotiations – both in the talks' preparatory years and in their execution softening the ground for a negotiated solution" (BBC News 2016; Reuters 2016). Extended invitations by the government to the forum on agricultural reform also indicate recognition of the women's movement. Furthermore, the impact of the war on Colombian women was a fact that was difficult to deny especially with incidences of sexual violence. Protests and marches calling for an end to war were considered as a 'right measure' in drawing the attention of conflicting/negotiating parties to women's plight (Cespedes-Baez and Ruiz 2018). Women had also lost children and husbands in the war and wanted to be involved in the efforts to end conflict, thus, it was difficult not to recognize their call for inclusion (Bouvier 2016). Once negotiations commenced in 2012, women lost no time in intensifying advocacy for a seat at the negotiation table.

The movement also utilized broadcast media i.e., radio and television to publicize a number of events like the regional workshops, women summits, public hearings and parallel round table meetings alongside social media campaigns on twitter and Facebook⁹. Sources also indicate the

⁹ Interview with anonymous representative of Corporacion Humanas, via zoom, April 12, 2023.

presence of women media associations and media practitioners in the movement that utilized their media platforms to counter the sexist portrayal of women and propagate women's agenda on inclusion in the peace negotiations (Bouvier 2016).

Again, some member organizations like Red Nacional de Mujeres, Corporacion Humanas and Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres had previous connections with international actors/development organizations, for instance, Red Nacional de Mujeres was a member of the UN Women Monitoring Group for the Implementation of CEDAW in Colombia tasked with monitoring Colombia's implementation status on CEDAW and producing shadow reports for periodic feedback to the United Nations. Corporacion Humanas' projects on women's rights protection was also funded by UN Women, European Union, USAID, NORAD and UNDP (Corporacion Humanas 2013) as such member organizations in the movement leveraged the connections and affiliations with international and regional women's networks to popularize their agenda as well as pressure conflicting parties to open up the negotiation table.

It is important to mention the role played by international and regional organizations at this stage. UN Women was actively involved in supporting efforts of the women's movement in securing inclusion in the peace talks Havana (Cespedes-Baez and Ruiz 2018). Thus, UN Women provided logistic and financial support for monthly coordination meetings as well as other regional meetings of grassroots member organizations convened in the local communities. Furthermore, UN Women provided technical assistance in building capacity on the rudiments of negotiation and also funded the travel of representatives from the women's movement that attended the peace talks in Havana (Cespedes-Baez and Ruiz 2018). The Women's movement also leveraged the other technical support from UN Women, European Union, NORAD, the Global Alliance of Regional Women's Mediators Network in convening the National Women Summits held in Bogota in 2013 and 2016 that brought together diverse stakeholders including the representatives of conflicting parties. The summits were widely publicized in Colombia especially with diverse representation from women's groups in Liberia, Australia, and other countries in attendance standing in solidarity with the Colombian women's movement.

Overall, empirical findings indicate high influence of the women's movement stemming from societal recognition as indicated by media reports and affiliation with international actors/regional networks.

Leverage	
Component	Indicator
Societal Recognition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition by conflicting parties: yes – with a high influence • News articles detailing group activities: yes • Group visibility or social media presence: yes
Affiliation with other international or regional actors/networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support from international agencies: yes – UN actors, USAID, other donor agencies, etc • Cooperation with other peacebuilding actors: yes – regional actors and women’s networks from other countries • Existence of joint peace activity implemented with affiliatory networks: yes e.g., women’s summits, workshops and coordination meetings to strategize on their efforts.

Table 10: Summary Indicators for Leverage – Colombia

5.4 Assessing Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations

When peace talks between the Colombian government and FARC began in August 2012, there was no visible representation of women in the negotiation delegations for the Colombian government and FARC. Representatives from the women's movement were also absent. Prior to this period, other peace agreements with FARC¹⁰ reflected an absence of women in civil society from negotiations (UCDP 2023a). Cespedes-Baez and Ruiz (2018) suggest that the conception of war as an act of men reinforced deep-seated perspectives of masculine subjectivity disdaining women's capabilities as contributors to peace.

However, facing national and international pressure, in April 2013, FARC appointed Judith Simanca-Herrera to their team. In November 2013, the government appointed a woman to be part of its chief negotiating team. Following persistent advocacy from the women's movement, the government established the Gender Sub-Commission in September 2014. At the time of establishment of the Sub-Commission, both the government and FARC had already progressed in the peace talks. The objective of the Sub-Commission was to review previous agreement to ascertain the gender gaps. Representatives from the women's movement were invited to participate in the Sub-Commission. The Sub-Commission had representatives from government, FARC, civil society and other groups with the chief woman negotiator from FARC and the government leading their respective team. However, there was a lack of value placed on the Sub-Commission as it was not assigned specific meeting times and spaces. Furthermore, the work undertaken was in large part due to the personal commitment of the women involved who often met outside of their programmed work frequently early in the morning (Winstanley 2018, 1-3). Male delegation heads mostly took decisions leaving women with limited spaces to voice their concerns. Women were relegated to drafting documents, and undertaking tasks involving logistics and administration (Winstanley 2018, 4).

The Women's movement continued its advocacy from the outside clamouring for inclusion into the peace talks with belligerents. The advocacy from the outside by the movement enabled the Sub-Commission keep a gender perspective and women's rights at the center of its deliberations

¹⁰ There were several peace agreements with FARC leading to the final peace agreement reached on 24th November 2016 in Havana, Cuba. Previous agreements were partial agreements revolving around the creation of a Truth Commission, peace process agreement outlining a focal agenda for proposed talks; a land reform agreement, etc.

(Winstanley 2018). Sources indicate that persistent pressure applied by the women's movement and international actors yielded success with an invitation from negotiating parties for representatives of the women's movement to join the peace talks in the later part of 2014 and 2015 in Havana, Cuba (Phelan and True 2022). The NOWA dataset which details the process of negotiations from 2012 also indicate inclusion of women's groups at the peace table in peace talks from late 2014 to 2015. Sources also indicate that women's movements were active participants as they went to the peace table bearing a compilation of joint proposals on five key areas endorsed at the National Women's Summits. Corporacion Humanas and Red Nacional de Mujeres were a part of the representative delegation at Havana whose contributions to the discussions at the peace talks were notable for ensuring that most agreed points at the summit was reflected in the final peace accord of 2016 (Winstanley 2018; Phelan and True 2022). In evaluating the 2016 Colombian Peace Agreement, Phelan and True (2022) suggest the inclusion of strong gender provisions especially in relation to stipulating a clause for no-amnesty for sexual violence crimes. The 2016 Peace Agreement has also been internationally applauded for its gender inclusive provisions and utilized as a model document for gendered peace agreements for several peace accords (Phelan and True 2022).

Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations	
Component	Indicators
Presence of women’s groups in civil society as full participants at the peace negotiation table.	A. Presence or absence of women’s groups at the negotiation table – Yes (Presence) .
	B. Visibility during peace negotiations as a full participant – Yes (with influence over deliberations and inputs to the final text of the peace accord) .
PROCESS OF INCLUSION (2012 to 2016)	
<pre> graph LR A((Invitations /engagements in consultative forums)) --> B((Participation in Gender Sub-Commission)) B --> C((Inclusion in formal peace negotiations with conflicting parties)) </pre>	

Table 11: Summary Indicators for Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations – Colombia

6. CASE TWO - MOZAMBIQUE

6.1 Background – The Civil War, Peace Process and Emergence of the Women’s Movement in Mozambique.

Despite having one of the fastest growing economies in Sub-Saharan Africa, Mozambique has been plagued by longstanding conflict, high poverty ratios and extremely low levels of human capital (Heritage Foundation 2023). The civil war which began in 1977 was fought over government power between the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) and the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO). After years of Portuguese colonial rule, nationalist groups united in FRELIMO to fight for independence and established itself as the government and sole legal political party. The group enjoyed popular support from citizens in the early days up until the introduction of unfavourable policies and unpopular programs (UCDP 2023b).

Mozambique’s independence also threatened white apartheid regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia who assisted in the creation of a counter-revolutionary force leveraging on the unpopular support of FRELIMO. In November 1976, the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) announced its establishment as a military group set to wage war against the government. In early 1977, Mozambique was thrown into a brutal civil war between FRELIMO and RENAMO killing over one million people and leaving over five million displaced (UCDP 2023b). RENAMO concentrated its attacks on destroying public facilities including mass murders of civilians, particularly women and children in rural communities. Both FRELIMO and RENAMO also conscripted child soldiers and civilian women into their armed groups. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees noted the high incidences of sexual violence against women with over 6,000 cases (Human Rights Watch 2016).

Attempts at negotiations between FRELIMO and RENAMO began during the 1980s however this proved abortive. With the rise in global and regional development in the 1990s, there existed strong pressure on conflicting parties to reach a negotiated settlement. Direct peace talks began in July 1990. This was also the period the women’s movement began mobilizing to undertake protests and peace marches urging warring parties to shun violence. During the following years, periodic negotiations followed leading to the Acord Geral de Paz (1992 Peace Agreement) signed in October 1992. While the accord provided for a ceasefire, demobilization and the conversion of RENAMO to an opposition political party, tensions resumed in 2013 with RENAMO alleging a

contravention of the terms of the accord by FRELIMO leading to renewed violence. Negotiations kickstarted again in 2013 leading to the National Peace and Reconciliation Agreement signed in August 2019 putting an end to the FRELIMO-RENAMO conflict (UCDP 2023b).

6.2 The Mozambique Women’s Movement – Assessing Women’s Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance.

In the following sub-sections, I delineate the empirical evidence which examines women’s movements cohesion in civil resistance using the operational indicators highlighted in the research design.

Effective Mobilization with diverse participation

From the late 1980s, the feminist movement in Mozambique began gaining traction particularly after Mozambique’s second constitution in 1990 legitimized the right to association (Casimiro and Andrade 2010, 137-150). Sequel to this, women had been visible in the Mozambican society and fought alongside their male counterparts during the revolution against colonial rule. FRELIMO promoted women’s inclusion in the army as combatants noting that “the participation of women in the armed struggle would advance the revolutionary process towards a society free from oppression” (Arnfred 1988, 8). However, with independence came the enactment of unfavourable policies by FRELIMO and a divergent focus from women. The outbreak of the civil war further impacted women negatively especially with rising incidents of sexual violence/displacement. While FRELIMO and RENAMO fighting forces recorded the conscription of female combatants, the negative impact of conflict on women was evident. The lack of commitment by the government to address the existent effects of conflict on women propelled the emergence of the feminist movement with a collective will to challenge all forms of oppression against women. Furthermore, women utilized the changes in gender ideologies that took place during the armed struggle to renegotiate relationships and gender roles in the domestic sphere (Casimiro 2003).

In 1991, over thirty women’s organizations mobilized to establish *Forum Mulher* (Women for Peace) to champion the fight against women’s oppression and propagate women’s rights (Casimiro 2003). While previous women’s movements were existent, Forum Mulher was notable given its focus on peace and development as well as constituent’s members’ active role in calling for an end

to the Mozambican civil war. Among the constituent members were OPHENTA, NAFEZA, AMUDHF, Women's Rural Mutual Help Association, Mozambican Association for Entrepreneur and Executive Women and MOVFEMME. Participation in Forum Mulher was broad-based with membership drawn from grassroots women's organizations, national women's groups in civil society, and research institutions focused on gender. The movement also built ties across ethnic and religious lines with its head office at Maputo and state offices domiciled in member organizations' offices. Hitherto, OPHENTA and AMUDHF had been notable for championing peace campaigns in 1990 calling for an end to the conflict. Both organizations also championed the agenda for women's participation in decision-making and peace negotiations given their role in propagating women's rights, rehabilitating female combatants and providing psychosocial support to displaced women impacted by the conflict (Tripp et al. 2009). Other women organizations were focused on promoting women's rights, supporting economic initiatives for female farmers at the grassroots, promoting literacy levels given the 70% illiteracy level amongst women (post-independence).

In early 1992, Forum Mulher led a protest march to the Mozambican parliament building with women dressed in black, carrying white scarfs and holding placards calling for an end to the civil war (Tripp et al 2009). Sources also indicate peace protests undertaken by Forum Mulher in 2014 after the resurgence of the FRELIMO-RENAMO conflict advocating for peace (Africa Confidential 2015). Women also converged at the national and regional level to strategize on issues affecting them. The movement also created a website detailing its activities, programs, constituent members and procedures for recruitment.

Existence of a collective goal or mandate

Forum Mulher's initial objectives focused on the formation of a comprehensive network to advocate for an end to the Mozambican civil war, aid promotion of information exchange amongst women's groups and build the capacity of constituent member organizations on gender issues alongside influencing decision-making bodies on gender matters (Casimiro 2020). Nothing suggests the express delineation of women's participation in the peace process as a part of the mandate in the formative years.

In late 2013, certain member organizations suggested that the objectives of Forum Mulher be expanded to include women's participation in decision-making processes especially

peacemaking/peace negotiations. This was in the aftermath of women's exclusion from the peace negotiations leading to the 1992 Peace Agreement and the absence of a gendered component in the 1992 agreement specifically addressing the welfare of women and integrating women in state institutions (Casimiro 2020). However, there were varied opinions among constituent member organizations in Forum Mulher regarding women's participation in decision-making peace structures. Three notable women's organizations, OPHENTA, AMUDHF and NAFEZA championed the cause of adopting women's representation in peace negotiations as a crucial part of the movement's objective. These organizations had also outlined improving women's representation in all decision-making platforms at the national, state and local level as a component of their organizational focus (AMUDHF 2022; NAFEZA 2022) prior to joining Forum Mulher. However, there were divided perspectives on women's participation in decision-making/peace negotiations given the underlying reasons - First, the low literacy level posed a challenge especially in relation to experience on governance matters.

Second, the portrayal of women as equal partners during the colonial era by FRELIMO heavily influenced the post-colonial era with many women conceiving the emancipation of women as something offered by FRELIMO thus fueling mixed ideologies regarding women's active participation in male-dominated spaces like peace negotiations. Lastly, while there was a portrayal of a 'gender-friendly' society, gender relations did not change after the colonial era/civil war even with the enactment of local legislations promoting women's rights by the government. Existent gender practices still exacerbated women's marginalization from male-dominated arenas like peace negotiations thus the presence of policy did not effectually translate to practice (Casimiro 2020). Even though the women's movement agreed on strengthening collective efforts to ending the Mozambican war, especially with renewed violence between FRELIMO and RENAMO from 2013, the collective vision of Forum Mulher was divided from 2013 given the mixed perspectives regarding women's representation in peace negotiations/structures.

Harmonized interest to work collectively to attain specified goals/objectives

One women's representative from OPHENTA¹¹ suggested minimal collaborative activities given the existent divergent thematic focus and interests of constituent members. While women's groups were able to agree on certain specific objectives regarding ending the longstanding civil war, there were dissenting opinions regarding advancing the agenda of women's participation in peace negotiations. The effect of this was collaboration in peace marches, rallies and protests advocating an end to the civil war as well as other areas perceived to be instrumental to strengthening capacity; however, ideologies relating to women's participation in peace negotiations were considered by many women as 'extreme feminist perspectives' that ran contrary to the values of women's place in the traditional Mozambican society¹². Most women's groups particularly from rural communities felt including the agenda for women's representation in the peace negotiations would equate a gender battle creating more tensions for women. Sources also reveal administrative challenges in relation to financing periodic meetings and activities as the women's movement relied on the "rotating voluntary contributions of members which proved insufficient for undertaking most activities" (Casimiro 2020, 150). The peace march in 2015 calling for an end to renewed violence was funded by individual member organizations even though the campaign was undertaken under the umbrella of Forum Mulher¹³.

It is important to mention that from the 2000s, international organizations like UN Women and the Royal Norwegian Embassy played a critical role in supporting capacity development programs for Forum Mulher targeted towards propagating the women, peace and security agenda. The platform for collaborative learning brought women groups together however finding common ground for certain issues like women's participation in elitist negotiations still constituted a challenge.

¹¹ Interview with anonymous representative of OPHENTA, via zoom, April 15, 2023.

¹² Interview with anonymous representative of NAFEZA, via zoom, April 16, 2023.

¹³ *ibid*

Existence of a mechanism for addressing internal dissensions and sustained engagement over time

With the formation of Forum Mulher, there were tensions existent at the time of inception. The Women's representative from OPHENTA noted the absence of a strong binding framework for the movement given the presence of divergent ideological perspectives amongst constituent organizations¹⁴. This impacted negatively on decision-making. Power tussles and competition were also prevalent between notable women's organizations that played a role during the civil war in advocating for peace versus less popular women's organizations¹⁵.

Furthermore, a close examination of member organizations in the women's movement revealed differential levels of competencies/exposure. While women's organizations like OPHENTA, NAFEZA and AMUDHF constituted a more radical group of educated feminists, rural-based organizations like the Women's Rural Mutual Help Association mostly constituted peasant women farmers/entrepreneurs who adopted a more conservative focus. These existent dynamics contributed to tensions in decision-making amongst member organizations. The representative from UN Women¹⁶ and OPHENTA suggest the absence of an internal mechanism for conflict resolution in Forum Mulher. 'Senior members' of the movement undertook an informal approach to mediate over issues that may arise between members. Thus, the informal nature of mediating issues influenced the choice of disagreeing parties to accept or not to accept decisions reached.

It is important to mention the role of international organizations like UN Women in supporting efforts at mitigating tensions utilizing the platform of capacity development programs. It was believed that collaborative platforms would reduce tensions associated with group dynamics however this seemed to not have yielded much result in Forum Mulher given the deeply-entrenched ideological differences.

Furthermore, while sources indicate engagement by the women's movement in advocating for an end to the war, nonviolent actions focused on common goals regarding ending the civil war and eliminating sexual violence, for instance, the protest march undertaken by Forum Mulher in early 2014 calling for conflicting parties to shun violence and embrace peace (Casimiro 2020). On 8th March 2015, the women's movement also demonstrated in Beira and sang for peace (Chingono

¹⁴ Interview with anonymous representative of OPHENTA, via zoom, April 15, 2023.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Interview with anonymous representative of UN Women Mozambique, via zoom, April 29, 2023.

2015). Women also played a role in the period leading to the 1994 elections by organizing a peace rally in Maputo advocating that competing parties not make threatening statements and appealing to ex-combatants to not disrupt the elections (Tripp et al. 2009). However, internal dissensions, administrative issues and financial constraints impacted negatively on the Women's movement. On the other hand, member organizations like OPHENTA and NAFEZA did continue a number of social media peace campaigns and peace demonstrations using their organizational platforms. In 2015, OPHENTA and NAFEZA spearheaded a women's group for the emancipation of women with a focus on promoting women's participation in peacemaking in Mozambique¹⁷. While still retaining membership in Forum Mulher, their divided allegiance weakened devotion to Forum Mulher.

Based on the above information, empirical findings depict a limited level of cohesion in women's movements civil resistance in Mozambique. While evidence points to effective mobilization, there are issues arising from pursuing a collective agenda and unified interests from late 2013 impacting on team bondedness. I summarize my observations in the table below.

¹⁷ ibid

Women's Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance

Component	Indicators
A. Effective Mobilization with diverse participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of coalition inception documents detailing membership e.g., Organizational briefs, Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), etc (Yes – organizational profile but no MoU) • Existence of group presence – online (Yes)
B. Existence of a collective goal/mandate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of coalition goal (Yes - limited focus on ending the civil war. Divided collective vision in later years)
C. Harmonized interest to work collectively to attain specified goals or objectives i.e. team bondedness and harmonized interests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of coalition meeting reports/reports on nonviolent action - (Yes – minimal and only in relation to ending the civil war and supporting capacity development initiatives) • Existence of other group promoting activities e.g. summits (No) • Availability of joint proposals on agreed mandate/objectives (No) – Limited unified interest
D. Existence of a mechanism for addressing internal dissensions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal mechanisms for conflict resolution (No) • Presence of internal conflicts (Yes with unresolved tensions)
E. Sustained engagement over time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of nonviolent action undertaken during war time and other periods prior to non-inclusion in negotiations (Yes) • Existence of other actions organized and undertaken by the women's movement during war time and negotiations, e.g. workshops/summits (Yes - minimal)

Table 12: Summary Indicators for Women's Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance – Mozambique

6.3. Assessing Leverage

Women's civil resistance calling for an end to the civil war was evident in Mozambique from the 1990s. News reports from the Mozambican News Agency (2015), African Confidential (2015) and Africa Research Bulletin (2016) detail peace protests, campaigns and rallies led by Forum Mulher particularly in Maputo and Beira stressing the negative impacts of the war on women. At the local level, "women's grassroots campaigns were crucial in preventing the escalation of violence and rebuilding war-torn communities" (Chingono 2015, 2). The collective intervention of the women's movement in raising concerted calls to end violence enhanced visibility in the public space both within and outside Mozambique. Furthermore, the agenda adopted by FRELIMO during the colonial era conceiving women as contributors in the armed struggle for independence already positioned women in Mozambique as a collective force for peace.

Although women mobilized under the umbrella of Forum Mulher to solicit for an end to the war and promote women's rights, separatist campaigns undertaken by OPHENTA and NAFEZA from late 2013 calling for women's inclusion in the negotiations leading to the 2019 Peace Agreement led to mixed conceptions about the movement. "Traditionalists and Christians, men and women alike, conceived this agenda as a form of Western domination with many going as far as equating the occurrence of national disasters such as drought and famine as effects of women's excesses and freedoms" (Chingono 2015, 108). This fuelled divisions within the movement with especially rural women succumbing to pressures to jettison campaigns on women's participation in the peace negotiations. Chingono (2015) notes that radical feminists like OPHENTA had to confront resistance from populist patriarchs in addition to the divisions within the women's movement. This negatively impacted on the influence of the movement within Mozambique and conflicting parties were able to capitalize on this to maintain their exclusionary stance (Chingono 2015). However, it is important to note that women's visibility also attracted recognition from international organizations like UN Women that played a role in supporting capacity development initiatives on the Women, Peace and Security agenda.

Leverage	
Component	Indicator
Societal Recognition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition by conflicting parties: Yes but with mixed perspectives impacting influence of the movement • News articles detailing group activities: Yes • Group visibility or social media presence: Yes
Affiliation with other international or regional networks or actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support from international agencies: Yes – by UN Women and other donors focused on capacity building activities • Cooperation with other peacebuilding actors: None recorded • Existence of joint peace activity implemented with affiliatory networks: No

Table 13: Summary indicators for Leverage - Mozambique

6.4 Non-Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations

The women’s emancipation agenda adopted by FRELIMO in the colonial era was quickly replaced after independence with a focus on state institution-building despite women’s visible contribution as combatants during the colonial era and in the civil war. While the women’s movement was visible given their consistent advocacy through several non-violent actions in the form of rallies, demonstrations, there was no move by negotiating parties to include them in the peace negotiations. Negotiations between FRELIMO and RENAMO preceding the 1992 Peace Agreement had no visible representation of women in the negotiation delegations for both conflicting parties. There was also no representative of the women’s movement in the peace talks.

In the formative years of the women's movement, their mandate also did not include an express interest to be included in the peace negotiations. With resumed violence and the onset of negotiations between FRELIMO and RENAMO in 2013¹⁸, the mandate of the women's movement was divided with certain constituent members wanting an express inclusion of women in the peace talks in addition to calling for an end of the conflict. Divergent perspectives impacted the collective mandate, group harmonized interest and blunted the movement's effectiveness. Furthermore, championing the cause of inclusion in the peace talks also meant challenging gender norms which put the movement in the negative light as well as dissuaded some women's member organizations within the movement.

Again, the reduced allegiance from influential women's organizations like OPHENTA and NAFEZA weakened Forum Mulher's sustained engagement. Regardless of women's persistent nonviolent action prior to the onset and during the negotiations leading to the Maputo Accord for Peace and National Reconciliation signed on 6th August 2019, women were left out of the formal peace negotiations. While sources indicate some measure of consultations with representatives of the women's movement like OPHENTA regarding their support to women impacted by the conflict, the extent of these consultations is not known.

Conversely, there were moves by international organizations at the peace negotiating table like the United Nations and Switzerland Government to advocate for mainstreaming gender in the implementation of the 2019 peace agreement, for instance, it was decided that women ex-combatants constitute part of designated beneficiaries for the DDR process (Cossa and Palik 2023). Infact, the Peace Process Secretariat records that 300 female ex-combatants have currently benefitted from the DDR program (Secretariado Para O Processo Da Paz 2023).

¹⁸ The NOWA Dataset details the kick starting of negotiations leading to the 2019 Peace Agreement in 2013.

Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations	
Component	Indicators
Presence of women’s groups in civil society as full participants at the peace negotiation table.	A. Presence or absence of women’s groups at the negotiation table – Absence of women groups.
	B. Visibility during peace negotiations as a full participant – No.

Table 14: Summary Indicators for Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations – Mozambique.

7. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Having outlined the empirical findings for each of the cases, this section details a comparative analysis of the empirical findings to examine to what extent the suggested hypothesis that *Women's movements have greater chances of securing inclusion in formal peace negotiations in conflict contexts where women's movements cohesion in civil resistance is higher* holds. I begin by evaluating each case separately in order to ascertain if a relationship exists between the independent variable and dependent variable. Thereafter, I undertake a cross-case comparison and examine to what extent the hypothesis is supported when juxtaposing the empirical findings from each case with each other. Third, I appraise the plausibility of alternative explanations as well as discuss the existent limitations and biases of the study.

7.1 Case-by-Case Analysis – Connecting Women's Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance and Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations

Empirical findings indicate modest support for the hypothesis stating that women's movements have higher chances of securing inclusion in formal peace negotiations where women's movements cohesion in civil resistance is higher. However, evidence from empirical findings is subject to several limitations which I consider in the latter sections of this study.

In Colombia, women's movements cohesion in civil resistance suggests strong connections with the outcome, i.e., inclusion in formal peace negotiations. First, the empirical findings indicate a good level of cohesion in women's civil resistance exhibited by the extent of women's mobilization for peace, a clear delineation of a collective focal agenda specifying inclusion in the peace negotiations as the main objective. Findings also indicate unified interest in pursuing the agenda exhibited by the collaborative summits/activities undertaken to advance the mandate, and the actions taken by the women's movement to project their agenda in the public space to attract domestic and international support as well as pressure conflicting/negotiating parties to open up the peace talks. Infact, effective mobilization was exemplified through the recruitment tactics employed by the women's movement and the presence of inception documents outlining roles for member-organizations. There was intentionality to advance the agenda as exhibited by outlining membership roles and maintaining accountability with periodic meetings.

Additionally, interviews and secondary sources indicate women's role in calling for peace during war time and their advocacy efforts in mobilizing with the intention for conflicting parties to end the war as well as for them to have a say in the peace process. Irrespective of their differences and divergent thematic areas, they maintained a focus on their agenda and adopted strategies including leveraging international and local support to push forward their objective. Again, steps taken by negotiating parties to involve the women's movement in consultations and the gender sub-commission indicate some measure of influence wielded by the women's movement. The moves to involve women were undertaken after persistent advocacy by the women's movement. Conflicting parties could have chosen to disregard women's concerted calls for inclusion by maintaining their exclusionary stance until the end of the negotiations. Furthermore, the peace negotiations began in 2012 by excluding women with women's civil resistance leading to incremental changes depicted by women's inclusion in the negotiation delegation, in the gender sub-commission and finally in the formal peace negotiations.

Lastly, the women's summit outlined joint proposals on challenges facing women that should be addressed in the peace accord for post-conflict Colombia, for instance, increasing women's political participation in peace structures and a 'no-amnesty' provision for sexual violence offenders. A cursory examination of the 2016 Colombian Peace Agreement reveals the inclusion of both provisions in the peace accord as well as other related gender provisions emanating from the joint proposal from the women summit jointly decided by the women's movement.

In the case of Mozambique, a low level of women's movements cohesion in civil resistance appears to have resulted in non-inclusion in the formal peace negotiations. First, although empirical findings indicate women's mobilization and collective objective focused on ending the Mozambican civil war, findings attest to a loose structure in formation with inception documents neither outrightly apportioning roles nor stipulating a mechanism for accountability. Challenges stemming from divided perspectives regarding women's participation in peace negotiations, administrative bottlenecks and other issues constituted internal dissensions which weakened collaboration, sustained engagement and ultimately cohesion. This was evident in limited collaborative activities from 2013 especially with the move by some constituent members spearheading other women's associations which they felt projected the needs of Mozambican women at the time facing exclusion from decision-making/peacemaking.

Second, where women collaboratively undertook nonviolent action clamouring for an end to the war, it did yield some results as empirical findings indicate steps by conflicting parties to commence/sustain negotiations from 2013. While women's nonviolent action may not suggest the sole reason for this action by conflicting parties, research has consistently noted the effectiveness and underlying power of civil resistance in undermining the legitimacy of government and propelling authorities into changing behaviour (Chenoweth and Cunningham 2013). Similarly, internal dissensions impacts negatively on group bondedness and cohesion.

Third, the 2019 National Peace and Reconciliation Agreement contain no gender provisions or mentions women's role in post-conflict structures. Furthermore, findings from the NOWA dataset and academic literature reveal an absence of women in the negotiating delegations for conflicting parties. Secondary sources also reveal an absence of a representative of the women's movement in the peace talks leading to 2019 Peace agreements. Thus, divided ideologies on women's participation in peacemaking impacted on the movement's inability to champion this cause as an agenda item to create the needed momentum to pressure conflicting/negotiating parties to review their exclusionary stance. The outcome may have been different if there was some harmonized interest in advancing women's participation in the peace negotiations leading to the 2019 Peace Agreement as well as in adopting mechanisms for addressing administrative challenges/internal issues.

7.2 Between Case Comparison

The empirical findings from the two cases suggest a modest support to the hypothesis that *Women's movements have greater chances of securing inclusion in formal peace negotiations in conflict contexts where women's movements cohesion in civil resistance is higher*. However, the presence of alternative explanations and limitations to the study prevent a conclusive position regarding the causal mechanism. Nevertheless, both cases buttress strong connections between women's movements cohesion in civil resistance and subsequently inclusion in formal peace negotiations.

First, as theoretically expected, the Colombian women's movement appears to have been more definitively focused in their mobilization and in adopting a collective agenda/mandate. While in both Colombia and Mozambique, women's mobilization was undertaken broadly, the Colombian women's movement did not only consider an end to the war. The Colombian women's movement embodied a longer-term vision and took steps to strategize by converging in the women's summits, workshops and coordinating meetings to expressly delineate their mandate as well as ensure a collective buy-in/unified interest from constituent members. They envisaged that championing the cause for inclusion in the formal peace negotiations would enable them gain entry into the peace talks and present the agreed joint proposals from the summits reflecting pertinent issues affecting women. On the other hand, mobilization in the Mozambican women's movement although focused on calling for an end to the civil war and promoting capacity development of constituent members, the movement did not consider strategies for maintaining a collective agenda/mandate in the long term. Furthermore, the coordination capacity undertaken by the Colombian women's movement appears more robust than the Mozambican women's movement with steps taken to organize coordination meetings and workshops at the regional and local levels feeding back to designated core group members.

Second, the Colombian women's movement took steps to promote cohesion and bondedness within the movement. Empirical findings reveal the presence of internal and external mechanisms for addressing dissensions/conflicts that may arise in the course of advancing their mandate. While one may argue that the presence of internal issues impacts women's movements cohesiveness and in many cases nullifies cohesion, it is important to consider that no association or group is devoid of issues especially with complexities stemming from differential perspectives. The presence of internal issues does not nullify cohesion but the ability to manage these issues impacts on the longevity of collective mandate and sustained engagement. Although unrelated to this study, in their article Esteban and Ray (2008) argue that group heterogeneity alone is not sufficient to weaken in-group bondedness. Challenges stem from the inability to manage the dynamics associated with heterogeneity. In the case of the Mozambican women's movement, divided perspectives fuelled the exit of notable constituent members of the movement weakening the movement. The onset of the peace negotiations in 2013 presented a good opportunity that could have been maximized by the Mozambican women's movement to advance a collective mandate for inclusion despite existent gender norms however the divisions within the movement hampered its bondedness and collective strength.

Third, while it may be argued that contextual factors in Mozambique impeded the efforts of the Mozambican women’s movement as opposed to the political climate in Colombia, empirical findings reveal that the Colombian women’s movement were initially excluded during the onset of negotiations in 2012 in Colombia. Women took deliberate efforts in positioning their agenda in the public glare and popularizing their mandate. Furthermore, the agenda adopted by FRELIMO during the colonial era and during the Mozambican civil war projected women as equal contributors in times of war and peace thus the Mozambican women’s movement could have maximized the opportunities from this recognition to change the narrative. I consider this in more detail in the alternative explanation section. Furthermore, empirical findings reveal steps taken by conflicting/negotiating parties to include women’s movements in both Colombia and Mozambique in consultation forums for the peace process. However, the Colombian women’s movement continued to agitate for inclusion until negotiating parties opened up the peace negotiations in Havana to include representatives from the Colombian women’s movement.

Summarizing Theoretical Implications				
Case	Women’s Movements Cohesion in Civil Resistance	Theoretically Expected Outcome (Inclusion in formal peace negotiations)	Observed Outcome (Inclusion in formal peace negotiations)	Support for Hypothesis
Colombia - Mujeres por la Paz	High level of cohesion	YES	YES	YES
Mozambique - Forum Mulher	Low level of cohesion	NO	NO	YES

Table 15: Summarizing Theoretical and Hypothetical Implications

Implications for the Causal Mechanism

In considering the causal argument, there exist differences in leverage in both cases. The Colombian women’s movement and Mozambican women’s movement had member organizations that were visible in the public before the formative stages of both movements. Both movements

had also undertaken several nonviolent actions before the end of the civil war and during the peace negotiations, however, the Colombian women's movement employed varied strategies/tactics to advance visibility and recognition locally and otherwise, for instance, organizing parallel meetings/events to discuss the points in the agenda being debated by negotiating/conflicting parties in Havana. Furthermore, the Colombian women's movement organized women's summits extending invitations to state actors, international actors, broadcast media, notable women activists, women's coalitions from other countries, and other stakeholders to put out their mandate in public glare as well as solidify their focus. Leverage for the Mozambican women's movements mostly stemmed from a reliance on non-violent methods i.e. peace marches, demonstrations, etc to project their mandate and build recognition in the public space. Furthermore, internal issues and divisions arising from divided perspectives regarding women's inclusion in peacemaking impacted leverage.

Again, although both the Colombia and Mozambique women's movements were recognized by and partnered with international actors/organizations like UN Women, the empirical findings from both cases depict differential levels of recognition. For Colombia, UN Women and other international actors actively supported efforts of the women's movement in securing inclusion in the peace negotiations through logistic and financial support for monthly coordination meetings, women's summits, building capacity on the rudiments of negotiation, and also funded the travel of representatives from the women's movement that attended the peace talks in Havana. However, support by international actors to the Mozambican women's movement was centered on capacity development initiatives on the Women, Peace and Security agenda.

In addition, the steps taken by conflicting parties to include the Colombian women's movement in several forums lends credence to the causal argument. Conflicting/negotiating parties extended invitations to consultative forums which was boycotted by the Colombian women's movement prior to inclusion in the gender sub-commission to give women groups a role within the commission. With persistent advocacy, the efforts of the Colombian women's movement culminated in inclusion in the formal peace negotiations. However, for the Mozambican women's movement, while it appears that women's recognition was visible in the formative years, the movement appears to have suffered from negative perceptions from 2013 onwards given the prevalent gender norms regarding women's participation in peacemaking existent at the time.

Finally, media sources attest to the causal mechanism particularly regarding the Colombian women's movement. The 2016 article by BBC News and Reuters describing the Colombian women's movement role in the peace process both in the talks' preparatory years and during the negotiations acknowledges leverage. Although news articles may be tainted by bias and may not be sufficient to reflect the views held by everyone in society, multiple media sources recognizing the role and mandate of the Colombian women's movement affirms visibility and some measure of influence in the Colombian society.

7.3 Alternative Explanations and Additional Observations

Based on the analysis in the previous section, the empirical findings depict modest support for the hypothesis as well as the causal argument/explanation. However, the empirical findings also reveal the complexities associated with women's movements cohesion in civil resistance as well as other issues that question the conditions that foster inclusion in formal peace negotiations. In order to critically examine the explanatory power of the theory tested, I consider certain factors mentioned in the previous literature and research design section that stand as strong alternative explanations that may affect the explanatory power of the theory. These include an enabling political climate, influence of the gendered normative framework and UN involvement in negotiations, disposition of warring/conflicting parties and external support by regional and international women groups/affiliates. Furthermore, I also consider additional observations that seem to have contributed to the findings in the study.

It is important to mention that the alternative explanations mentioned are by no means exhaustive of all potential confounders that could impede the explanatory power of the theory tested however I outline those issues that are most significant as well as useful for consideration in future research.

Alternative Explanations

Racioppi and O'Sullivan See (2006) note the importance of an enabling political climate as critical to fostering women's inclusion in peace negotiations. This is the case where democratic structures and actors promote local legislations that recognize freedom of association and other political opportunities. Paffenholz (2016) also notes the influence of prior commitments on gender in conflict contexts as instrumental in fostering women's inclusion in peace processes. Although semi-democratic countries, both Colombia and Mozambique have enacted several legislations promoting women's participation in the political space since the 1970s, for instance, *Law 51 of 1981 in Colombia* ratifying the implementation of CEDAW, *Law 581 of 2000* also known as the quota law which delineates the inclusion of at least 30 percent of women in all decision-making positions in the country, in addition to other policies. *Article 66 of the Mozambican Constitution of 1990* recognizes "formal equality between men and women before the law as well as women's representation in all areas of political, economic and decision-making spheres". Furthermore, the democracy indicators from the V-DEM Institute Country-Graph (2022) for Colombia and Mozambique reveal rising participation of women in the Colombian and Mozambican civil society and political space from the 1990s implying that women maximized the opportunities from these extant legislations to participate effectively in civil society within both countries. While explanations stemming from an enabling political climate may be germane and may to a certain extent explain women's inclusion in peace negotiations, it does not account for the variation in the outcome. The empirical findings from Colombia and Mozambique disclose the exclusion of women during the onset of the peace negotiations in both contexts despite the existence of local legislations legitimizing women's representation in political and decision-making forums like peace negotiations. Furthermore, Bari (2005) has noted that the presence of enabling legislations has not effectively translated to women's representation of women in political structures in practice given the presence of patriarchal structures within most contexts. In Mozambique, the 'favourable' political climate did little to foster women's inclusion in the peace negotiations leading to the 2019 peace accords.

Again, the influence of a gendered normative framework from the 1990s and the UN involvement in the peace negotiations in both countries may constitute an alternative explanation to account for the outcome in the dependent variable. Thus it may be argued that the strong gendered normative framework from the 1990s propagated particularly by the enactment of UNSCR 1325 in 2000 and

manifested by more women in political spaces and civil society created legitimacy for women groups forcing conflicting parties to open up the negotiation table as was the case in Colombia. Casimoro and Andrade (2010) note the Mozambican Government's pledge to commit to the creation of a Post-Beijing Action Platform in 1995 specifically prioritizing policies with a gender focus as well as initiating gender focal points in all government ministries. However, putting this into implementation posed a challenge. Furthermore, the fact that UNSCR 1325 provided legitimacy to women's civil resistance was not sufficient. Tensions still existed in relation to the full recognition and implementation of its provisions within states. Infact, Thompson and Whiting (2022) note that the UNSCR 1325 agenda exists as a 'symbolic' emblem within most states to promote relevance in the global sphere and portray gender-responsiveness. Lack of political will remains a challenge to global implementation of the agenda. Despite the existence and propagation of UNSCR 1325 since 2000, women in Colombia and Mozambique were still marginalized from peace negotiation sessions. Although UNSCR1325 provided visibility/legitimacy for the women's movement, it still could not account for the variation in the dependent variable.

Additionally, one may argue that the disposition of conflicting parties particularly in cases where they support broadening participation at the peace negotiation table may account for inclusion. Paffenholz et al (2015, 52) note that most conflicting parties mostly limit participation in peace negotiations as "inclusive peace negotiations may challenge power structures and limit decision-making". However, the disposition of conflicting parties is not sufficient to account for inclusion as the disposition of warring parties could be 'superficial' connoting limited/tokenistic involvement of women groups in peace processes as was the case in Colombia until women's mobilization and continued agitation created the pressure to open up participation in the peace negotiations.

Finally, external support by regional and international women groups/affiliates played a critical role in advancing women's agenda and cohesion in civil resistance. Paffenholz et al (2015) note the positive effect of regional and international women's networks in strengthening women's mobilization and advancing the objectives especially in non-violent action. This was seen to be the case in both Colombia and Mozambique, however, while international women's organizations like UN Women were critical to supporting the Colombian women's agenda to attain inclusion, their role was limited to capacity-building in Mozambique. In both cases, international/regional actors helped create visibility for the women's movement building the required momentum to

pressure conflicting parties to open up the peace negotiations. Although the empirical findings make it impossible to reject the role of external support by regional and international actors to women's civil resistance, international actors still have to rely on women's groups to project/advance their agenda providing support where needed. Their actions alone could not propel inclusion in the peace negotiations thus explaining their limited role in the case of Mozambique. This also raises a potential question – would women groups cohesion in civil resistance foster increased chances of inclusion in the peace negotiations without any external support from international actors? While the answer lies outside the scope of this study, the move by women's groups to leverage on external partnerships depict ownership and advancement of the agenda by women's groups and not international actors.

Additional Observations

I consider certain additional observations prior to discussing the limitations of this paper. First, previous research examining the connections between civil resistance and inclusion in peace negotiations depict inclusion as a consequential outcome of civil resistance marked by building leverage and pressuring warring/conflicting parties to open up the negotiation process. However, empirical findings from this study recognize that attaining inclusion may involve a linear process as was the case in Colombia. In other words, inclusion in formal peace negotiations may involve a process marked by attempts taken by conflicting parties to involve agitating parties in other platforms. Although conflicting/negotiating parties included women in consultations and the gender sub-commission, the Colombian women's movement's sustained agitation amongst other factors led to inclusion in formal peace negotiations.

Furthermore, empirical findings from this study question the focus on previous literature solely on the act of civil resistance by non-warring actors noting the propensity for creating pressure to actualize desired outcomes without considering other factors that may work alongside civil resistance. Both the Colombian and Mozambican women's movement received support from external actors that were critical to sustaining the agenda of both movements and supporting their mandate. This working cooperation helped build the necessary momentum needed to create local and international pressure especially for the Colombian women's movement. Although having a restrictive mandate, the Mozambican women's movement still benefitted from the support of external actors.

Lastly, empirical findings highlight the role of high literacy/exposure levels and knowledge of international women's rights instruments as useful in building legitimacy for women's civil resistance. The Colombian women's movement was more conversant with the changing gendered normative framework from the 2000s as opposed to the Mozambican women's movement and capitalized on this to legitimize their mandate. Perhaps, higher literacy/exposure levels in the Mozambican women's movement may have engendered an advancement of inclusion as a collective agenda.

7.4 Limitations and Possible Bias

In this section, I examine a number of limitations to the findings in the study as well as potential bias which may impact the explanatory power of the theoretical argument and empirical findings.

Theoretical Limitations

Regarding theoretical limitations, conceptualizing and operationalizing women's movements cohesion in civil resistance may be questioned. Civil resistance on its own involves a number of indicators ranging from mass participation to sustained engagement thus conceptualizing women's groups cohesion in civil resistance may involve certain internal dynamics and indicators not considered in this study. Cohesion is a multifaceted process involving other complexities that may not be easily observable or identifiable from written literature and may require a more nuanced approach in its assessment. For instance, some scholarly articles examining group cohesion include an assessment of the feelings of emotional connectedness to the group. I utilize observable traits in conceptualizing women's movements cohesion in civil resistance for the purposes of this study thus this calls for further studies to examine the concept. Furthermore, leverage may connote multiple meanings and manifest in various forms beyond recognition and influence. Certain scholars like Lewis (2014) consider leverage from power perspectives and dominance exhibited by material wealth, possession of nuclear weapons, charisma, etc. However, for the purposes of this study, I restrict the conceptualization of leverage to easily identifiable mechanisms.

Again, criticisms may arise in relation to the causal mechanism given the presence of other confounders not considered in this study. A third variable that was not investigated was the impact of the legacy of war on broadening inclusion as previous literature note that countries with a history

of longstanding conflicts and recidivist rate tend to be amenable to broadening participation at the peace negotiation table to foster durability of peace accords. It is likely that other unrecognizable contextual factors/confounders may be present to account for inclusion within the time period of focus.

Limitations regarding the Research Design

Certain limitations exist regarding the research design. First, a comparative study of two countries - Colombia and Mozambique is limited in representativeness and impacts the generalizability of the study. This is because I consider women's movements within semi-democratic countries in Latin America and Africa. While both cases may embody certain similar characteristics, selecting more cases would have broadened the scope of generalizability of findings from the study. Furthermore, considering prominent non-violent cases with robust secondary sources and research materials like Colombia depicts some measure of latent bias in my case selection. While both cases hold potential for a structured, focused comparison in relation to women's group cohesion especially in view of the concluded peace accords in both countries particularly the 2016 Colombian Peace agreement celebrated as the most gender-comprehensive peace accord, availability of resource materials played a role in selecting the case from the broader population of cases. Most cases on civil resistance focus on rebel groups and civil society with limited attention to women's civil resistance within Africa and Latin America. Secondary sources that document cases of women's civil resistance center on successful campaigns that actualize inclusion with limited information on cases that did not result in inclusion in peace negotiations.

Empirical Limitations

Regarding empirical limitations, source credibility poses a challenge especially in relation to key informant interviews with women movements from Colombia and Mozambique. Limited secondary data exist regarding certain indicators for examining women's movements cohesion in civil resistance, for instance the existence of mechanisms for addressing internal dissensions and unified interest to work collaboratively effecting a reliance on interviews. Interviews also create a tendency for respondents to speak from a place of bias. Respondents' perspectives may be influenced by their personal ideologies and understanding of gender bias. Furthermore, conducting the interviews virtually did not provide an avenue for deeper engagements with respondents. A

key advantage of in-person interviews is the potential for validating information by enlisting multiple sources from the context to verify information and build credibility. Relying on three respondent organizations for each case may not be sufficient to reflect the situation on the ground. Furthermore, it is near impossible for interview respondents to recall every event that transpired within the time period of focus i.e., 2000-2016 for Colombia and 1991 to 2019 or Mozambique. While events that transpired nearer to 2023 may be easier to recollect, others that occurred as far back as the 1990s may pose challenges.

Again, challenges arise due to language barrier. Most secondary sources from Colombia and Mozambique are written in Spanish or Portuguese engendering a reliance on Google translate for interpretation. Spanish and Portuguese are markedly different from English and contain word structures and language complexities that may be difficult to recognize. As a native English speaker, this means the inability to identify the nuances of language that Google translate may be unable to spot during translation. In addition, the limited secondary sources on the 2019 peace negotiations in Mozambique pose challenges for research and unveils a host of other concerns including reliability issues from under-reporting. Scholarly literature on the Mozambique Peace Process mainly focus on the history and dynamics of the conflict, the provisions of the peace accords of 1992 and 2019, and the activities of women's groups during and after the colonial era and the civil war. Unlike Colombia, limited secondary sources for Mozambique do not document the focus of the Mozambican peace negotiations leading to the 2019 peace accords and why there is failure to consider gendered provisions in the accord. Further research in this area is required to examine this in detail.

8. CONCLUSION

The importance of women in peace has been the center of scholarly research especially with the passage of the UNSCR 1325 calling for “women’s equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the promotion of peace and security” (Chitando 2021, 2). Yet, more than two decades after the adoption of the UNSCR 1325 agenda, “the striking absence of women from peace-making structures particularly peace negotiations reveals a troubling gap between the aspirations of global commitments and the reality of peace processes” (UN Women 2022, 3). It is common practice for elitist peace negotiations to include mostly warring factions and their proxies, political actors, and military actors excluding women groups in civil society. Despite a plethora of scholarly literature on the connections between civil society inclusion and durability of peace as well as the benefits of women’s involvement in peace processes, women still face marginalization from peace negotiations.

Scholarly research has also acknowledged the potency of civil resistance as a means to pressure conflicting/negotiating parties to broaden participation to include civil society and women groups at the peace negotiation table. However, research fails to explain the causes of inclusion and the connections between civil resistance and the inclusion of non-warring actors at the peace negotiation table or how the efforts of women’s movements can facilitate inclusion at the negotiation table. This study bridges this gap by examining how women movements can foster inclusion via civil resistance especially in building momentum to push open the doors of inclusion in peace negotiations. Particularly, this thesis sought to answer the research question – “*Why does civil resistance by women’s movements foster inclusion in formal peace negotiations in some cases and not in others?*” Building on previous theories espoused by Chenoweth and Cunningham (2013), Nilsson and Svensson (2023) and Pearlman (2011) on the connections and efficacy of civil resistance in fostering inclusive peace processes in conflict contexts, I theorize that women’s movements that are cohesive enough in civil resistance can build leverage towards facilitating inclusion in formal peace negotiations. Using the methodology of a structured focused comparison of two cases of women’s civil resistance in Colombia and Mozambique, I test my hypothetical argument “*women’s movements have greater chances of securing inclusion in formal peace negotiations where women’s movements cohesion in civil resistance is higher.*”

Empirical findings indicate that a high level of women's movements cohesion in civil resistance fosters women's inclusion in formal peace negotiations. On the other hand, where women's movements cohesion in civil resistance is limited, it reduces the propensity for securing inclusion in formal peace negotiations. Additional observations also attest to the role of external actors particularly international/regional actors as critical to supporting women's movements cohesion in civil resistance as well as high literacy levels and exposure of women's movements to the gendered normative framework as important to facilitating inclusion in formal peace negotiations. This thesis further highlighted several empirical and theoretical limitations that call for further research on the topic.

Additionally, empirical findings reiterate the results from previous research regarding the connections between civil resistance and inclusion in formal peace negotiations but notes that inclusion in peace negotiations may involve a linear process. This thesis also calls for further research on the topic to assess other potential factors that could engender inclusion in formal peace negotiations as well as the plausibility of the causal mechanism. Future research could also focus on strengthening data collection on both successful and unsuccessful cases of women's civil resistance movements to validate empirical results as well as examining if women movements cohesion in civil resistance would foster increased chances of inclusion in formal peace negotiations without any external support from international actors.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 – Draft Informed Consent Form (English – Also available in Spanish and Portuguese languages)

INFORMATION TO STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Thesis Topic: Women’s civil resistance and fostering inclusion in formal peace negotiations.

Research institution: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Sweden

Researcher: Ugochi Cynthia Abazie Abang **Contact:** cynthiaabazie@yahoo.com

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Supervisor: Desiree Nilsson **Contact:** desiree.nilsson@pcr.uu.se

Description of the study

This study seeks to address the research gap regarding how women can secure access to the negotiation table in formal peace negotiations. Particularly, this research examines whether and how women’s civil resistance or nonviolent action can pave the way for inclusion in peace negotiations. The study seeks to increase knowledge on women’s civil resistance and the chances for securing inclusion in formal peace negotiations. This research will also enhance knowledge on the connections between women’s nonviolent action and involvement in formal peace negotiations.

Voluntary participation

Your participation is voluntary. You are free to choose not to answer any question and you can end your participation in the interview at any time. If you would like to withdraw your responses or your participation in the study after the conclusion of the interview you may do so at any time by contacting the responsible researcher one week before the submission of the thesis, that is latest by May 15, 2023.

Confidentiality

Your participation is anonymous. We will not ask for any identifying information which could associate you with your responses. The questions asked in the interview are general in nature, such that you will not be asked about specific incidents or sensitive information that may put you at risk in any way. If information on specific cases is presented during the interview, it will not be recorded.

Consequences of your participation in the research project

We take several measures to mitigate social harm by not eliciting sensitive information that may put you at societal risk or harm. Furthermore, data security measures including closed, and password-protected meetings will be undertaken to ensure the data remains confidential and protected. To minimize the risks of psychological harm, we ask only general questions and allow you the freedom to decline to answer any question.

Personal information handling

We will not collect any identifying information. Your responses to the interview will be recorded on paper. Any audio materials will be transcribed and stored in an encrypted folder. These notes from the interview will be digitized and transferred to secure storage. No information will be disclosed to unauthorized persons. Although interview responses may be quoted in the thesis, your name will not be mentioned, and it will not be possible to link your responses to you. Participating in the study also entails that interviews will be recorded. However, you have a choice to not consent to an audio recording in which case we can rely on note-taking for the interviews.

Research Results

A copy of the thesis can be shared with you if you so desire following the thesis submission date. The final draft will be accessible in the online format of the thesis. Do feel free to contact the researcher via the contact details shared above if you have any questions related to the research findings.

Appendix 2 — Questions for the semi-structured interviews (English – also available in Spanish and Portuguese languages)

For Women’s Movements in Civil Resistance

Introduction

1. Could you kindly share the name of your organization and your role? What is your organization’s area of advocacy and location?

Women’s Mobilization, Collective Mandate and Harmonized interests – Indicators A, B, and C

2. Why did women mobilize for women in your country?
3. How did women’s groups organize and what was the strategy for organizing?
4. What groups were involved in the organizing – was it broad-based?
5. Where were group members from – state level or grassroots organizations?
6. Did you have an overarching mandate, goal or objective? If so, what was it?
7. What were the roles of organizing actors in the movement?
8. Were there groups designated as core group members?
9. Was there an intention to work collaboratively? If so, what was the motivation for collaboration in the civil resistance?

Existence of a Mechanism for Addressing Internal Conflicts and Dissensions and Sustained Engagement over Time – Indicators D and E

10. Were there issues during or after mobilization and coordination? If so, how was this managed?
11. Were there issues that arose in the course of undertaking protests or marches or demonstrations? How was this addressed?
12. When did women’s groups begin protests or other nonviolent action?
13. Did women organize during the war? If so, what role did you play during conflict?

Leverage – Public Recognition and Membership Affiliation to Regional and International Networks

14. How did women groups build recognition in the public space?
15. What strategy was utilized to project the group’s grievance or mandate?
16. How many organizations were a part of the movement?
17. Are there group members with affiliations or membership to other regional or international networks?
18. Did international or regional actors play any role during the civil resistance? If so, what role did they play?

Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations

19. Were women's groups present at the peace negotiation table?
20. If present at the table, what role did women's groups play during the peace negotiations?

For Regional and International Women's organizations:

Introduction

1. Could you kindly share the name of your organization and your role? What is your organization's area of advocacy and location?

Women's Mobilization, Collective Mandate and Harmonized interests – Indicators A, B, and C

2. Why did you think women mobilized for women in your country?
3. What groups were involved in the organizing – was it broad-based?
4. Where were group members from – state level or grassroots organizations?
5. Did these women's groups have an overarching mandate, goal or objective? If so, what was it?
6. What were the roles of organizing actors in the movement?
7. Were there groups designated as core group members?
8. Was there an intention to work collaboratively? If so, what was the motivation for collaboration in the civil resistance?

Leverage – Public Recognition and Membership Affiliation to Regional and International Networks

1. How did women groups build recognition in the public space?
2. Do you know the strategy that was utilized to project the group's grievance or mandate?
3. How many organizations were a part of the movement?
4. Are there group members within the women's groups that have affiliations or membership to your organization?
5. What role did your organization play in supporting the movement during the civil resistance?

Inclusion in Formal Peace Negotiations

6. Were women's groups present at the peace negotiation table?
7. If present at the table, what role did women's groups play during the peace negotiations?

Appendix 3 — Interview Participants

List of Interview participants

Colombia Women's Movement:

- Interview with anonymous representative of Red Nacional de Mujeres, via zoom, April 7, 2023
- Interview with anonymous representative of Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres, via zoom, April 10, 2023
- Interview with anonymous representative of Corporacion Humanas, via zoom, April 12, 2023

Mozambique Women's Movement:

- Interview with anonymous representative of OPHENTA, via zoom, April 15, 2023
- Interview with anonymous representative of NAFEZA, via zoom, April 15, 2023
- Interview with anonymous representative of UN Women, via zoom, April 29, 2023