Women’s Engagement in Mediation and Peacebuilding Process – An Instrument for Equality

Mediation is acknowledged as one of the most effective alternative dispute resolution methods and plays a crucial role in the peacebuilding process and peace studies. In order to ensure its efficacy and achieve equality, it is imperative to involve both male and female negotiators throughout the peacekeeping and peacebuilding processes. The gender disparity among mediators represents an unjust practice that needs to be eliminated.

Various studies and practical examples have revealed that the inclusion of female mediators in conflict resolution, particularly in intra-state and inter-state conflicts, enhances the significance of women in society, elevates their social status, and cultivates an environment conducive to gender equality. This impact is particularly pronounced in closed, traditional, and conservative societies where religious origins often influence social and cultural norms. Mediation is a potent process with multiple direct and indirect positive effects; it can serve as a prerequisite for the ongoing peaceful coexistence of societies while challenging norms that hinder the universal recognition and acceptance of equality.

Key words: mediation process, peace studies, peacebuilding, woman in mediation, gender equality, mediation for equality.

1. Introduction

Mediation – one of the most important mechanisms for the conflict resolution; at the same time, it is considered an important achievement of the people of both the modern and the ancient world, which played its turning role in the process of promoting the peaceful coexistence of the disputing parties. Mediation has deep historical roots and can be considered a part of centuries-old tradition of many societies of the world. As mediator Jay Fallberg points out, mediation probably came into existence when there were at least three people on earth sufficient to guide the process, and like many other reforms, it should be seen as a modern adaptation of what already existed in ancient times and cultures.

The word "mediation" derives from the Latin term "mediare," which means to mediate or be in the center. Thus, mediation, as a process, can be seen as finding the middle ground, a creative endeavor to reach a balanced and neutral interaction with disputing parties. It is crucial to emphasize that mediation involves purely friendly intervention. Some dictionaries define mediation as "making an effort to resolve a disagreement between individuals." In the context of international law, mediation refers to the intervention of a neutral state or group to restore peace between two belligerent states. Among the various definitions of mediation, its last definition is enough to prove that mediation in the world academic and scientific space, as well as in the system of international relations, should be considered as an integral part of a seemingly new,
but time-tested discipline - "peace studies". Mediation is essential for guiding societies and states through the three crucial stages of peace: peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding.

Research highlighting the significance of women's involvement in negotiation processes and reaching agreements plays a central role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding studies. It is widely believed that incorporating women in conflict resolution significantly enhances their legal status in society and fosters progress towards achieving gender equality, which is particularly relevant in traditional and conservative societies.

This article aims to support the notion that mediation must be free from gender stereotypes and should actively encourage the participation of women in the negotiation process. By doing so, the mediation process becomes more diverse and helps eliminate gender-based harmful practices. To reinforce this argument, the article draws on socially significant events from Georgia's historical and modern statehood, as well as international best practices.

### 2. Women in Conflicts

Many women and women's organizations have successfully transformed public opinion, shifting it towards equality and empowering women in closed, conservative, and traditional societies through mediation and negotiations. Moreover, they also managed to rethink the concept of peace and peace studies. To paraphrase a well-known saying, women and their movements take small steps and make giant leaps for humanity and world peace. In some situations, and societies, the role of a woman and her ability to be a good mediator are completely ignored, solely because of her gender. This is particularly noteworthy, as it is unacceptable for women not to be engaged in the process that affects them most negatively. Often, in armed conflicts and civil strife, women are the biggest victims. Among other misfortunes, they become victims of sexual violence and the so-called "combat award" among violent "warrior" men.

During the Rwandan genocide in 1994, according to various estimates and counts, between 250,000 and 500,000 women were victims of sexual violence. Those who were supposed to protect women became instigators of violence - pro-Indonesian militias organized mass terror against women. Additionally, according to various estimates, more than 20,000 women became victims of rape and violence during the events in Kosovo. In 2007, it was stated at the international conference on "Women for Peace" that: "Women are more vulnerable than men when society collapses." This is one of the reasons why women should play a key role in peacebuilding and the implementation processes of peace agreements.

The United Nations Security Council's 1325 Resolution (hereinafter referred to as the Resolution) adopted on October 31, 2000, reaffirms the importance of enhancing the role of women and their involvement in promoting international peace and security. It emphasizes that women should take on central and active roles in conflict resolution processes. As a result, the UN Security Council calls upon member states to ensure their implementation.

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14 Ibid 34.
greater representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional, and international institutions or mechanisms dedicated to conflict prevention, management, and resolution.\textsuperscript{20}

The preliminary process for preparing the world community for this resolution, followed by its adoption and successful implementation in many countries, has brought about positive changes in the involvement of women in conflict resolution processes. This high-level decision has yielded notable results. For instance, out of 31 peace processes conducted in 1992-2011, women were represented in mediators and negotiating groups in 17 of those processes. Some significant examples include El Salvador in 1992, Croatia in 1995, Bosnia in 1995, Guatemala in 1996, Northern Ireland in 1998, Kosovo in 1999, Sierra Leone in 1999, Papua New Guinea in 2001, Macedonia in 2001, Afghanistan in 2001, Somalia in 2002, Uganda in 2008 etc.\textsuperscript{21} However, it is disheartening to note, that none of these 31 cases had a woman negotiator leading the teams. This is particularly concerning as these are the processes and events where women have historically suffered the most.\textsuperscript{22}

3. Women, Conflicts and Georgia

In Georgia, women gained the right to vote in the early 20th century under the modern nation-state. Notably, in 1919, a time when women in most countries were still fighting for their right to vote, five women\textsuperscript{23} out of 130 members participated in the founding assembly of the legislative body of the Democratic Republic of Georgia.\textsuperscript{24} As for the local level, in 1918, Peri-Khanum Sopieva, a woman from Karajala (a part of Tbilisi’s district local self-government), achieved a significant milestone by becoming the world’s first Muslim woman to be elected as a deputy. Her victory was exceptional as she managed to persuade the male members of her community that she was the best candidate capable of addressing the challenges facing their community.\textsuperscript{25} Peri-Khanum Sopieva faced multiple layers of minority status. As a woman, she was part of a minority in society, and within the Muslim community in Georgia, she was also considered a minority. Despite these challenges, she ran as an independent candidate, not backed by any party affiliation.

Despite such impressive achievements, gender stereotypes remain deeply rooted in Georgian society. Many women can recall instances from their school days when they were told that excelling in subjects like mathematics or physics meant having a "man's brain." In Georgia, women are often advised to pursue "safe" professions, while fields such as law enforcement agencies, business, and public office are considered unsuitable for them. Instead, societal pressure suggests that women should focus on becoming teachers, nurses, or cooks. Both men and women grow up under the weight of these harmful social expectations in Georgia, where women are supposed to gravitate towards "safe" professions, while even the slightest display of weakness is often not tolerated in men.\textsuperscript{26}

Certainly, the challenge of gender inequality and the undervaluation of women's capabilities is not unique to Georgia or Georgian society. Even in the 21st century, women in almost every society continue to face struggles and the need to prove themselves, particularly in professions that are traditionally considered "not meant for women."\textsuperscript{27} The second-class status of women is still deeply rooted in many countries and societies. Frequently, women's capabilities and potential contributions to peacebuilding are often underestimated\textsuperscript{28} and pushed to the background, especially in a more traditional and less secular cultures.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{21} UN Women, Women’s Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence, 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed., 2012.
\textsuperscript{23} CSOgeorgia, The First Georgian Women Parliamentarians. The European Union for Georgia, 2022.
\textsuperscript{25} Dunbar W., The world's first democratically elected Muslim woman was from Georgia, 2018, Eurasianet.
\textsuperscript{26} Kachkachishvili I., Nadaraya K., Men and Gender Relations in Georgia. United Nations Population Fund, 2014.
\textsuperscript{27} Iris Luo X., Scheleifer C., Hill M. C., Police Income and Occupational Gender Inequality, Police Quarterly, Vol. 22, Issue 4, 481–510.
The division of professions based on gender is unjustifiable. No profession should be exclusively designated for either gender, and there is no type of work where gender identity is critical. While some academic literature may claim that "women are better mediators than men," such sweeping generalizations should be challenged.  

Mediation, negotiation, and peacebuilding are not dependent on gender—they result from an individual's inner state, experience, and efforts. However, at the same time, it is crucial to involve as many women as possible in the mediation and negotiation processes, appreciating their roles and breaking down the stereotypes that exclude women from these crucial endeavors.

In Georgia, women have played significant roles in peacebuilding throughout history. From peacekeeping to peacebuilding processes, and even in preventive diplomacy, women have been central figures. Several historical facts, socio-cultural attitudes and norms support the authenticity of this claim. Namely, the cultural traditions demonstrate that women were crucial initiators and advocates for laying down arms during battles. An example of this can be seen in traditional Georgian dance. While most Georgian traditional dances have a predominantly masculine visual expression and incorporate martial arts elements, there is a specific part in some dances where a woman enters the stage holding a white handkerchief. She throws it between the warring men, signaling for the battle to stop. In some cases, this gesture leads to reconciliation, where the opposing sides and the women dance together in harmony at the final stage. This tradition portrayed through dance reflects the country's socio-cultural way of life. 

Therefore, the content of these traditional dances suggests that historically, Georgian women indeed held roles as mediators and negotiators, demonstrating their active participation in conflict resolution and peacebuilding efforts.

The emphasis on women's “agenda” centered around peace can be associated with their cultural and socio-political roles, which historically focused on promoting public welfare and the common good with a peace-loving approach. This perception likely stems from the long-established belief that women are inherently more peace-loving than men. In Georgia, like in many other countries, women have been symbolized as paragons of morality, purity, kindness, and tenderness. This traditional perception often associates women with qualities such as tolerance, collaboration, non-violence, and a natural inclination towards peace due to their "primary social role" as mothers.

The historical example from Georgian history illustrates the important role women played in mediation and negotiations. In this particular episode, during the negotiations between King Tamar and rebelled nobility Qutlu-Arslan, the King recognized the potential of mediation as a means of resolving the conflict. She entrusted two noblewomen, Kravai Jakeli and Khvashak Tsokali, to engage in the negotiations with the opponents. The historical sources reveal that these women were successful in mediating between the King and the rebels, leading to a peaceful resolution of the crisis. While the annals provide information about the outcome of the negotiations, they do not delve much into the personal stories of Kravai Jakeli and Khvashak Tsokali, nor do they preserve any frescoes or detailed accounts of their roles. One interesting aspect worth noting is how historical sources described these women primarily in relation to their roles as mothers and their family lineage. For instance, Kravai Jakeli is always mentioned as “a glorious woman - mother of Rati Surameli, Eristavi of Kartli.” Despite this limitation in historical representation, the fact that women were involved in peace mediation during the 12th century in Georgia is an important precursor to traditional mediation processes. However, their success was attributed to their socially established roles, their marital status, and their family connections rather than solely acknowledging their mediation skills and abilities.

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33 King Tamar (1172 - 1273) King of Georgia in the 12th century
34 Head of the Royal Treasury and Property at the King Tamar’s Kingdom
woman adopted the role of peacekeeper and performed this role at the highest level, but history has attributed this influence on her socially established role of motherhood.

Despite societal norms and limitations on women's abilities based on their social status, women in Georgia have consistently played a central and crucial role in the peacebuilding process. This involvement often extended to mediation processes, which in turn contributed to the advancement of women's rights. It is strongly believed, and not without reason, that the women who acted as mediators played a significant role in improving the legal status of women in Georgia and positively transforming public and masculine opinions. The impact of these women's efforts is evident in historical developments, such as women gaining the right to vote in 1918, marking a shift from their traditional family roles to active engagement in public life. However, progress and democratic transformations, including women's rights advancements, faced setbacks during the communist movement and Sovietization of Georgia. This period slowed down the momentum and delayed the progress of women's rights for approximately 70 years.

In 1921, Bolshevik Russia usurped Georgia's independence and made it a part of the Soviet Union. The arrival of the Soviet regime transformed the traditional image of women in Georgia, turning her from a peacemaker into a warrior. While Marxism and subsequent Soviet ideology – Bolshevism - promoted the idea of gender equality, in reality, this equality was not founded on a comprehensive understanding of gender roles and true equality. Instead, it derived from the principle of equalizing individuals based on Marxist and Bolshevik ideology. Under the Soviet system, the concept of working-class equality permeated various aspects of social life, including gender. Both women and men were expected to adhere strictly to party ideology, obey the central government, and be subservient to the party's directives. This rigid adherence to the central authority left little room for independent thinking and individuality. Women's emancipation under this arrangement came at the expense of suppressing their own opinions and identities, not giving them an opportunity to think about their individual significance. In this new reality, defending and promoting the interests of the party became the central purpose of life for everyone, and fighting for the party's ideology on foreign fronts was seen as a source of glory and honor. The collective image of women shifted from being peace-loving and mediators to becoming “militant: warriors and confrontational characters for the Party and the Soviet Union. Women were portrayed as answering the call of the motherland, and the collective “Soviet woman” became the face of this call – “the Motherland is calling you”. As a result, the space for mediation and negotiation was erased from this ideological landscape for 70 years. The concept of the “Soviet woman” was transformed, and her role as a peace-oriented figure disappeared from the societal narrative. An example of this transformation can be seen during the Second World War, known as the “Patriotic War” in the Soviet Union. During this period (1940-45), one million Soviet women were directly involved as fighters, further reinforcing the shift from a peacemaker to a warrior image.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, women's movements emerged once again in the post-Soviet space. They became vocal advocates for peace and played active roles in addressing the post-Soviet conflicts that plagued the region, which were often remnants of the imperial and Soviet Russia's influence. In response to these conflicts, numerous women's movements formed in the post-Soviet space, with their primary focus on confronting ethnic conflicts. Alongside promoting peace, these movements also embraced the idea of peacebuilding, recognizing it as the highest form of conflict resolution. Peacebuilding encompasses a comprehensive approach that aims to address the root causes of conflict and build sustainable peace in the aftermath of hostilities. One notable example of such a women's movement is seen in the North Caucasus, where women were among the first to demand an end to the war in Chechnya. These courageous women stood

against ethnic divisions, with their central message emphasizing the urgent need to stop persecution and massacres based on ethnic grounds.\(^\text{40}\)

It is also essential to remember the Caucasian women's movement in the wake of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (an ethnic, intra-state and, at the same time, inter-state conflict in the Nagorno-Karabakh region between Armenia and Azerbaijan. It started in the early 1990s and is ongoing), where women organized waves of protest in both Armenia and Azerbaijan demanding a ceasefire and the initiation of peace talks. Their protests were fueled by the desire for the exchange of prisoners of war at the conflict's border. These women-led protest movements demonstrated that active involvement and advocacy by women could play a crucial role in positively resolving issues related to war and conflicts. They challenged the notion that conflicts were solely a “masculine” domain where women's contributions were limited. Another remarkable women's movement that demanded peace and authored the unique performance was formed in 1993 in Georgia. This movement/performance was called "The Women's Peace Train". Almost 100 thousand Georgian women involved in it are known as White Headscarves.\(^\text{41}\)

These women no longer were just mothers, wives, or bearers and distributors of the Soviet ideology. Women's involvement in conflicts and their calling for peace promoted to rethink of woman's role - women presented themselves as peacebuilders, with their initiative and identity, and distanced from their historical, social role interlocked to the family.

The story of Pankisi Gorge provides a valuable example of how the presence of a woman negotiator can positively impact the legal status of women and foster transformative changes within a community. Pankisi Gorge is inhabited by ethnic minorities, including Kists and Chechens, with a significant portion of the population following traditional Islam.\(^\text{42}\) In this region, customs and customary law hold particular importance. Unlike many other communities where customs are mainly transmitted orally, the Kists have a written code of customary law that defines legal relations and governs the general way of life in the gorge. Consequently, many local disputes and legal issues are often resolved through the community's customary law and rarely reach formal state institutions. The “Council of Elders” serves as the primary legislative and executive body for the traditionalist Kists, making decisions on various disputes in Pankisi Gorge and setting norms that guide the daily lives of the local population, including both Kists and Chechens. Moreover, a specific portion of the local community relies on Sharia law as an alternative method of dispute resolution, blending traditions, Islam, and customary understanding of mediation.

Traditionally, women have been actively involved in family farming (land cultivation, livestock care, food production, etc.) and other essential tasks. Even though women represent the main workforce, they have been deprived of decision-making roles. However, despite many restrictive rules, with support from various international and local organizations, in 2011, the Council of Elder Women emerged as a powerful voice for the women of Pankisi, bridging the gap both with the “Council of Elder Men”, and the state. As representatives of the Council of Women, these women actively advocate for women's rights throughout the gorge and closely monitor the realization of women's rights in the valley. The Council serves as the only effective body in the community, addressing the challenges and problems faced by local women. It plays a pivotal role in empowering women to make important decisions and defend their rights. The Council of Elder Women takes on various critical issues affecting women in the region, including domestic violence, early marriage, job shortages, unemployment, inadequate medical care, and insufficient school infrastructure. Through mediation, the Council effectively resolves individual disputes and problematic issues between the state and the local community. According to locals, the establishment of the "Council of Elderly Women" alleviated the situation for women.\(^\text{43}\) The fact that women living in the Pankisi Gorge address the "Council of Elderly Women" to resolve the conflict, and do not have to go to the court, is positively evaluated by locals.\(^\text{44}\)


\(^{41}\) Ibid 252-260.


\(^{44}\) In-depth interviews with residents of Pankisi gorge - author's findings. Data of 2018.
Presumably, the authors refer to the involvement of women in such issues when talking about the need to increase women's participation in negotiations. Besides, women tend to better understand each other’s problem, especially in a traditional society like the Pankisi Gorge. This, in turn, gives us the basis to say that similar women's associations advance the role of women, increase their authority, and encourage their involvement in decision-making processes, thus improving their legal status and creating a fertile ground for gender equality.

4. Conclusion

Indeed, numerous studies on the importance of women's involvement in mediation and conflict resolution highlight the positive impact it has on improving the legal status of women and fostering gender equality. Whether in peacekeeping or peacebuilding efforts, women's participation in negotiations has been recognized as a valuable tool for advancing women's rights and creating a more equitable society. Beyond its direct effects on conflict resolution processes, women's participation in negotiations also brings positive changes to the overall environment and improves women's conditions, especially in traditionally closed societies. The validity of the above-mentioned approach is proved by many international and local cases, including the events that took place in Georgia from the early Middle Ages to the present day.

Georgian society maintains a conservative and closed approach to many innovations, especially in those regions where the influence of traditions dictated by religion is strong. Therefore, the issue of gender equality is not protected at an appropriate level, and the involvement of women in the negotiation process is rarer. However, female mediators in Georgia every day prove that this is a space where women can succeed and create public good. Despite the difficulties that usually occur, in the end, all those women's movements, women negotiators, individual and/or collective roles, improved conditions for women, changed conflict situations for the better and brought a progressive transformation of a traditional society.

Today, women mediators in Georgia not only resolve conflicts but also break stereotypes about women and promote the progressive development of society. Each mediation and negotiation process are a step forward for development, positive societal transformation and transition to a new, more developed stage. And women’s role in this process is invaluable.

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