

Online Appendix

Code Book for
Women in the Havana Peace Process
(WHPP)
Dataset

Elizabeth L. Brannon and Rebecca Best

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Introduction

This dataset documents participants in the Colombian Peace Process between the government of Colombia and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC-EP), which took place in Havana, Cuba between 2012 and 2016. In the early negotiation attempts between the FARC and the Colombian government, few women were formally involved (Bouvier 2016; Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz 2018). In the peace talks that took place from 1998-2002, the government had two women included in their delegation, María Emma Mejía and Ana Teresa Bernal, and the FARC later appointed Mariana Páez to their delegation after encouragement by Mejía and Bernal (Bouvier 2016). Despite being far from gender parity in these early peace talks, Bouvier (2016) notes that women were well represented informally in the talks, particularly through engagement with civil society organizations. When the FARC and the Colombian government returned to the negotiating table in 2012, however, women were conspicuously absent. There were no women on the government's negotiating team (though two women were appointed as alternates) and the FARC only included two women as "collaborators" (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz 2018). After months of consistent pressure and protest from civil society organizations, FARC women, and the international community, both delegations appointed women representatives as negotiators and later in 2014, a Gender Subcommission was formed (Humanas 2017; Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz 2018).^{1,2} Since the signing of the peace deal, Colombia has received significant attention for its historic levels of women's inclusion³ and for the careful attention to gendered issues that resulted from women's integration. As such, Colombia is significant for the positive and progressive reactions of the government and the rebels to accusations of excluding women. More frequently, conflicting parties either ignore these demands (Anderlini 2007), or they offer observer status to women, as was seen in the case of Liberia (Saiget 2016; Tripp 2015). Thus, the process can serve as a strong example of how women's participation influences peace outcomes.

Data Overview

Our data include 117 women and 69 men who participated in the peace process. Of the women included in the dataset, 77 served on the state delegation, while 40 served on the FARC-EP delegation. All of the men in our data are drawn from the government delegation as we were unable to find a comprehensive list of Colombian men in the peace process. We used two sources for the names of participants: a 2017 report from Humanas Colombia, "Experiences, Contributions, and Recognition: Women in the Peace Process in Havana," which included the names of both FARC and government women; and the *Biblioteca del Proceso de Paz con Las FARC-EP* (hereafter *Biblioteca*) produced in 2018 by the Office of the High Commissioner of the Peace, which included the names of government delegates. To code the backgrounds of each individual, we relied on a variety of public sources. These sources included employment

¹ The Gender Subcommission consisted of five representatives from FARC-EP and five from the government delegation at any given time, however, the identities of those representatives fluctuated over time. According to Bouveir (2016), the only male delegate to the subcommission was Rubín Moro of FARC-EP, however other sources have indicated that men participated on both sides and some sources have indicated that Sergio Jaramillo Caro, High Commissioner for the Peace Process from 2012-2017, at least attended some meetings.

² The 2003 Peace Process between the Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) also included a Gender Subcommission, however in that process, the Gender Subcommission lacked influence (Jordan & Denov 2007).

³ Women's participation was similarly high in the peace process between the government of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front. In 2011, 33 percent of the signatories to the Oslo Joint Statement signed between the government and the NDF were women (O'Reilly et al. 2015).

contracts with the Office of High Commissioner for Peace, LinkedIn profiles, employee profiles, Facebook and twitter accounts, news reports, and Mujer Fariana⁴ webpages as captured by the Wayback machine.⁵

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Variables

Name Individual's name; drawn from Humanas or the *Biblioteca*.

Delegation indicates whether the individual is associated with the FARC-EP or Colombian government delegation.

Original Source indicates whether our initial source for the individual was Humanas or the *Biblioteca*. Two women of the government delegation appeared in the *Biblioteca* but not the Humanas report. As such, they are coded as *Biblioteca*. All other women are coded as Humanas, regardless of whether they appeared in both sources, as is the case with all other government women delegates.

Woman Binary indicator coded 1 if Woman, 0 otherwise.

Twitter indicates the individual's twitter handle, if found.

Biblioteca Binary indicator coded 1 if the individual is included in the Biblioteca, 0 otherwise.

Groupcommittee, **Groupcommittee2**, and **Groupcommittee3** Indicate the groups, teams, or committees to which the individual was assigned if known.

Gender Subcommittee Binary indicator coded 1 if we found references to the individual ever serving on or participating in meetings of the Gender Subcommittee. This is likely an undercount of women's participation in the Subcommittee as some sources indicate that nearly every woman involved in the peace process cycled through the Gender Subcommittee at some point.

RoleinPeace text summary of the individual's role in the peace. These are drawn from contracts for members of the government delegation as well as from news articles and linked in pages.

Photographervideographer Coded 1 if the individual is identified in sources as a photographer or videographer. Sources include news stories (including the credits for photographs and video clips), Linked In, Twitter, and press releases.

Monthlycompensation2016 The individual's average monthly compensation in 2016 Colombian pesos as recorded in employment contracts between the individual and the Colombian government.

⁴ Website of the women of FARC.

⁵ <https://archive.org/web/>

Plenipotib Indicates whether the individual is listed as a plenipotentiary or President of Colombia in the *Biblioteca*. This variable is coded 1 only for members of the government delegation because the *Biblioteca* only covers the government delegation. There were two High Commissioners for the Peace Process during the period from covered by the *Biblioteca*. Sergio Jaramillo Caro served from 2012 – 2017, and is coded as a plenipotentiary because his name also appears on the list of plenipotentiaries. Rodrigo Rivera Salazar served from 2017 – 2018 and is not listed as a plenipotentiary in the *Biblioteca*, therefore we do not code him as such.

Plenipot16 Indicates whether the individual signed the “Final Agreement For Ending the Conflict and Building a Stable and Lasting Peace” in Bogotá, Colombia on November 24, 2016. None of the eight plenipotentiaries from the FARC-EP delegation are included in these data because all were men. The FARC-EP plenipotentiaries were: Iván Márquez, Pablo Catatumbo, Joaquin Gómez, Bertulfo Álvarez, Ricardo Tellez, Pastor Alape, Mauricio Jaramillo, and Carlos Antonio Losado.