BURDENS OR FACILITATORS? – CASE STUDY ON WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS DURING THE COLOMBIAN CONFLICT

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Abstract/Tiivistelmä

This research aimed to contribute to the discussion of women's participation in conflict management by studying the effect of women's inclusion in the peacemaking processes during Colombia's conflict.

The peace agreement between the Colombian government and guerrilla group FARC-EP has been considered one of the most inclusive peace agreements in history; therefore, I intended to look at the peace agreement and its gender-specific provisions. Furthermore, this research aimed to look at how, if in any way, women affected the peace negotiations and how the gender-specific provisions of the peace agreement have been implemented so far.

The findings of this study support that women's indirect and direct participation in the peace negotiation helped to mediate peace through the establishment of local ceasefires and increasing the negotiators' commitment to establishing a peace agreement. Women's influence can also be seen in the peace agreement's commitment to promoting greater inclusion of women in the Colombian society as well as addressing gender-specific security and health concerns. The implementation of the gender-specific provisions of the agreement has been moderate, and security concerns affecting women have been reported to continue. Nonetheless, progress has been made and could be expected to continue over time.

Based on the results of this research, women's inclusion in peacemaking in Colombia has not affected the process negatively; instead, it could have helped achieve the signing of the agreement.

Keywords
Women, gender, peace, peacemaking, conflict transformation, gender mainstreaming, policy planning, United Nations, UN Women

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Tiivistelmä
Tämän tutkielman tarkoituksena oli osallistua keskusteluun naisten roolista konfliktien hallinnassa tutkimalla naisten osallisuuden merkitystä Kolumbian rauhanneuvotteluissa.

Kolumbian hallituksen ja sissiryhmä FARC-EP:n välille solmittua rauhansopimusta on pidetty eräänä parhaista esimerkeistä sukupuolinäkökulman valtavirtaistamisesta, ja siksi tarkoituksenani oli tarkastella rauhansopimusta ja sen sukupuoleen liittyviä säännöksiä. Lisäksi tämän tutkielman tarkoituksena oli katsoa, miten naiset vaikuttivat rauhansopimuksen syntymiseen, ja kuinka sukupuoleen liittyvät säännökset ovat toteutuneet tähän mennessä.

Tutkielman tulokset osaltaan osoittavat, että naisten osallistuminen rauhanneuvotteluissa auttoivat rauhan välittämisessä, mm. aselepojen muodostamisen sekä neuvottelijoiden rauhan muodostamiseen sitoutumisen kautta. Naisten vaikutus näkyy myös rauhansopimuksessa, joka sitoutuu lisäämään naisten osallisuutta yhteiskunnassa sekä ottamalla huomioon naisiin kohdistuvia terveys- ja turvallisuusriskejä. Sukupuoleen liittyvien säännösten toteutuminen on tulosten mukaan ollut kohtalaista, ja naisiin kohdistuvat turvallisuus- ja terveysriskit ovat raportoitu jatkuvan. Tästä huolimatta, edistystä on huomattavissa ja kehityksen voidaan odottaa jatkuvan tulevaisuudessakin.

Tutkielman tulosten perusteella naisten osallisuuden ei voida sanoa hidastaneen tai vaikuttaneen rauhanneuvotteluihin negatiivisesti, sen sijaan, on mahdollista, että naisten osallisuus Kolumbian rauhanneuvotteluissa on edistänyt rauhansopimuksen allekirjoittamista.

Asiasanat
Naiset, sukupuoli, rauha, rauhanneuvottelut, konfliktin hallinta, sukupuolinäkökulman valtavirtaistaminen, päätöksenteko, Yhdistyneet Kansakunnat, UN Women

Säilytyspaikka
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AUC	Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia, Colombian United Self-Defence Forces
BACRIMs	Bandas criminales, criminal groups
CDMH	Centro Nacial de Memoria Histórica, Colombian national centre for historic memory
CRSV	Conflict-related Sexual Violence
ELN	Ejército de Liberación Nacional, National Liberation Army
FARC-EP	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionaras de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo, Colombian revolutionary forces – people's army. Sometimes called FARC, in this study I use FARC-EP to refer to the armed forces, to separate from the FARC political party.
FARC	Fuerzas Alternativas Revolucionaras de Colombia, Colom

	bian alternative revolutionary forces, political party formed from previous FARC-EP members after the peace agreement
GSTJ	Gender-Sensitive Transitional Justice
HRC	Human Rights Council, a United Nations body for human rights
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bi, Trans and Intersex persons/community, other abbreviations include but are not limited to LGBTQ, LGBTQIA+. LGBTI is most used in United Nations descriptions and the data for this study, which is why it is chosen to be used in this study as well.
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
UN	The United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNSCR 1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, landmark resolution on Women, Peace and Security
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of women

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1   INTRODUCTION

In 2018, Crisis Management Initiative hosted a campaign with the title "the worst joke in the world" (Maailman huonoin vitsi, writer's translation). The campaign aimed to highlight the exclusion of women in peacemaking processes. Women account for only 8 % of the peace mediators globally, and of the people signing peace contracts, 4 % are women (Crisis Management Initiative, 2018). And the joke? It goes like this:

> *"What's in common with a ballpoint pen, bottle of sparkling water, a note pad, flower bouquet and a middle-aged man?" – All of them end up in peace negotiation tables before a woman does.*

The joke highlights what has been the reality in peace negotiations through times. The United Nations has worked towards correcting the issue by issuing a United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) in 2000 that aims to include women in peacemaking processes and to include the gender aspect in peace agreements. Since the adoption of the UNSCR 1325, the situation has not changed significantly.

Despite covering half of the human population, women are often considered a marginalized social group. In many countries and cultures, women do not enjoy similar rights as their male counterparts as attitudes, policies and laws put women in inferior positions in society. The United Nations has listed gender equality as one of its Sustainable Development Goals. While some areas, such as the prevalence of genital mutilation and early marriage, have seen improvement, structural issues at the roots of gender inequality, such as legal discrimination, unfair social norms and

inability to be involved in decision making have progressed insufficiently (United Nations, 2019).

According to the report of the Secretary-General on progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals, women's representation in parliaments varied from 0 to 61.3 per cent, averaging on 24.2 per cent (United Nations, 2019). As women are often not represented in decision-making processes, women's interests can be overlooked more easily in decision making, allowing legal discrimination and deeply rooted social norms and attitudes to soar.

During times of war and conflict, social instability and inequalities are heightened. Conflict also affects different social groups differently. By large, 'peace' is defined as the lack of armed conflict, but the absence of armed conflict does not guarantee a safe and peaceful living for many. The goal of conflict transformation, in largely male-dominated peace negotiation settings, is to end the armed conflict. However, women, in particular, are disproportionately affected by post-conflict insecurity in societies (Ewig et al., 2013; UN Women, 2018). Because of that, ensuring security in post-conflict settings is also in women's best interest. Some research suggests that including women in the peace processes would bring the discussion focus towards post-conflict security and on its part, contribute to even a more sustainable peace (O'Reilly et al., 2015). This study will elaborate on the gendered aspects of conflict and how women, as well as some other marginalized social groups, are affected by conflicts and post-conflict state of insecurity.

Women's inclusion in peacemaking processes has been recorded in different contexts. Colombia is considered one of the examples of women bringing about positive change in peacemaking processes, which is why this study focuses on Colombian example. Colombian civil war has spanned over five decades and the conflict, as well as conflicting parties, evolved throughout time. Women, indigenous groups and LGBTI persons were significantly affected by the conflict. This study evaluates 1) how women have been reported to have been included and excluded in the peace processes in Colombia 2) what kind of issues women, in particular, have

been reported to have brought up in the negotiations, 3) how the gender aspects have been taken into account in peace accord 4) how has the implementation of the gender-specific provisions in the peace accord been reported. In the end, the study will evaluate what kind of value women's inclusion has brought to the process and if the results could be applied in other contexts as well.

2   CONFLICT AND COMMUNICATION

2.1 Defining conflict

To experience and participate in conflicts is an inherently human characteristic. Conflicts occur on all levels of human life, varying from interpersonal conflicts, i.e. sibling rivalry or lovers' quarrels, to international warfare. Conflicts exist in all human relationships and are unlikely to cease to exist in the future. To some extent, conflicts are necessary in order to build functional relationships and to express dissatisfaction in certain situations and to communicate desired behavioural traits. Conflicts should not be viewed as solely negative phenomena as most day to day conflicts can be solved in a positive and non-violent manner. When managed properly, conflict can bring about positive changes in all levels as it can clarify misunderstandings, needs and wants can be discussed openly and strengthens common interests. The frequency of conflicts does not necessarily reflect the satisfaction in nor the successfulness of the relationship: the competencies used in managing the conflict will move the relationship forward on a constructive or a destructive way (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001). Similarly, in order for democratic societies to function and evolve, constructive conflict is needed. Conflict can be considered destructive when it is violent or armed.

Ramsbotham (2005) recognizes three different levels of conflict: social level, state level and international level. Social level conflicts are those day to day miscommunications and quarrels that are evident in almost all human relationships. State-level conflicts, on the other hand, are political conflicts that happen within the state's borders, such as coups and civil wars. International level refers to conflicts that expand over the nation's borders, varying from bilateral, regional to even global conflicts. Both constructive and destructive conflicts can occur in all of these levels.

According to Bercovitch and Fretter (2004), conflict means precise, coercive interactions in which two or more contending parties seek to impose their will on one another. It is a process of interaction between parties that are looking to counter their opponent because their interests, goals or behaviour are incompatible with one another. Different factors of conflict can be defined through three interrelated components: specific conflict situations; motives and the parties' cognitive structure and the behavioural-attitudinal dynamics of a conflict process (Bercovitch & Fretter, 2004, p. 4). Conflict situation refers to the situations that bring about clashing goals or values among parties, conflict attitudes, on the other hand, refer to the psychological and cognitive processes that induce conflict or follow them. The last component, conflict behaviour consists of the observable activities undertaken by a conflicting party in order to injure or eliminate the opponent (Bercovitch & Fretter, 2004, p. 4). This definition emphasizes the idea that conflict is a power game in which two or more parties clash out of a desire to hurt or even eliminate the opponent. This thought, albeit valid for many conflict types, might not lead to a peaceful, non-violent resolution of the conflict. Instead, it can quickly escalate the conflict into a violent or armed conflict.

Political stability within regions is also closely correlated with the tendency for conflict. According to Gardam et al. (2006), only 12 % of established democracies were involved in a civil war, whereas 30 % of states with uncertain or transitional democracies and 45 % of one-party dictatorships were involved in civil wars (p. 9). This would suggest that actors looking to prevent violent conflict should direct their attention to promoting stable and effective governance and democratic participation

(Gardam et al., 2006). Violent conflict and violations of human rights are also strongly connected. Governments and regimes that violate civil and political rights are also more likely to experience political violence (Gardam et al., 2006).

Many conflict theories state that conflicts occur when two or more parties have incompatible values, behaviours or goals in a given situation. Those clashing ideals lead to conflict behaviour. This, however, is a simplified model of conflict and does not explain the ever-changing and distorted characteristics of conflict. Conflict escalation and de-escalation is a complex and unpredictable process. As the conflict continues, new issues and conflicting parties can emerge, power-struggles can change goals and tactics, and the core reasons for conflict will fade (Ramsbotham, 2005). Galtung (1970) provides a model of conflict, violence and peace that acknowledges the structural and cultural roots of conflict and violence and that conflict resolution is more than a relational and symmetrical process. This model applies especially to larger conflict scenarios in interstate, international, cultural and gendered contexts.

Galtung (1970) sees conflict as a triangle, the points being a contradiction, attitude and behaviour. Contradiction he defines as the underlying conflict situation, the incompatibility of goals. Attitude, on the other hand, refers to (mis)perceptions of each other and themselves. Attitude has emotive (feelings), cognitive (beliefs), and conative (will) elements. Finally, behaviour can include acts of cooperation or coercion. In violent conflicts, behaviours include destructive attacks, threats and pressure. The three components are continuously developing and influencing each other. As conflict parties pursue their interests, hostile attitudes and conflict behaviours develop. Thus the conflict situation grows and intensifies, bringing more parties into the conflict. As more parties get involved, the conflict expands, and changes and the root causes start to fade. This evolvement can significantly complicate addressing the conflict, therefore managing and resolving the conflict can prove challenging. This definition of conflict is significant as it understands the continually evolving nature of large-scale conflicts. In many, if not all, violent state and international level conflicts, the conflict has

preceded with a history of violence and disparities and thus addressing the underlying tensions can be difficult or even nearly impossible.

Similarly, Galtung (1970) refers to violence as a triangle, consisting of direct, cultural and structural levels of violence, which manifests in violent conflicts. Direct violence refers to the direct acts of violence, such as killings in a conflict. Structural violence refers to indirect violence, such as people dying from the poverty caused by conflict or incompetent governance. Lastly, cultural violence refers to those societal structures and cultural aspects that allow or justify violence. According to this definition, direct violence can be ended by changing conflict behaviour, structural violence ends by removing structural injustices, and cultural violence can be ceased by changing attitudes. According to Galtung (1970) also separates 'negative peace', where direct acts of violence end and 'positive peace', where structural and cultural violence is also overcome. This definition of violence is significant, especially when looking at gendered aspects of conflict as well as peacemaking processes. A broad definition of violence, as well as conflict, is needed in order to find sufficient methods to end the violence and conflict on all levels and to achieve sustainable, positive, peace for everyone.

2.2   Gendered aspects of conflict

The state of conflict, as well as post-conflict violence, have effects on women that can endanger their livelihood and security and contribute to the inability of women to participate in the society (UN Women, 2018). Violent conflicts often include gender-based violence, which affects specifically women. Bouta and Frerks (2005) define gender-based violence as "physical, sexual and psychological violence against both men and women that occurs within the family and community and is perpetrated or condoned by the state" (p. 33). It comes in many forms, including but not limited to: honour killings, acid attacks, psychological abuse, domestic violence and sexual assaults (Mannell et al., 2018). Gender-based violence affects both civilians and

soldiers and the act is deliberate (Bouta & Frerks, 2005). Gender-based violence is pervasive, and it affects women in every part of the world. According to the World Health Organization (WHO) report from 2013, one in every three women has been affected by sexual violence. Spikes in sexual violence during times of conflict and post-conflict states are well documented (UN Women, 2018).

Women are more vulnerable to sexual violence at times of conflict, and according to the United Nations annual report of conflict-related sexual violence, sexual violence has been considered an intentional war tactic (UN, 2019). Sexual violence is used to displace communities and to expel "undesirable" groups as well as to commandeer resources. It is also often used as a method of terror, control and oppression (UN, 2019). Human trafficking, as well as sexual exploitation of humans, especially women, tends to increase during conflict. In conflict-ridden societies, many women get involved in prostitution to survive, but also because sex becomes a form of bargaining power. (Bouta & Frerks, 2005, p. 33). Widespread gender-based violence also increases the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Experiencing gender-based violence also negatively affects the mental health of the victims, as women who experience gender-based violence have been reported to experience higher levels of depression, suicidal thoughts and symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (Mannell et al., 2018).

In states of conflict, frequently, normal political and social practice assigns women's status lower than that of men, which results in socioeconomic and political practices that ignore women's specific security needs (Ewig et al. 2013, p. 34). The post-conflict state of society also affects women in particular, putting them often in a more vulnerable position. Women are consistently excluded from decision-making related to the security of their environment, bodies and lives in post-conflict societies (Ewig et al., 2013, p. 33). The end of public conflict often does not mean the end of violence against women; therefore the post-conflict state is not always a secure space for women (Ewig et al., 2013). In fact, according to UN Women (2018), for most women in post-conflict environments violence does not stop with the signing of the peace

agreement, on the contrary, most women experience an increase in violence in post-conflict settings (p. 5).

Conflict-related sexual violence is one of the significant drivers, as well as a result of forced displacement (UN, 2019). Women and girls specifically are affected by sexual violence, as they navigate through checkpoints and borders without documentation, money or legal status. Also, refugees and internally displaced persons have reported suffering from sexual violence committed by officials, armed groups, smugglers and others who control resources and services (UN, 2019). At a global level, forcibly displaced women and girls are particularly impacted by lack of administration of and access to sexual and reproductive health services and thus experience higher levels of maternal morbidity and mortality, increased risk of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), sexually transmitted diseases, heightened chance of unintended pregnancies as well as the likelihood of unsafe abortions (NGOWG, 2018).

Although an increase in information about sexual and gender-based violence can be seen according to NGOWG (2018), it is often limited to statistics about how many women were affected or listing gender-based violence as one of many violations against civilians (p. 26). The discussion surrounding sexual and gender-based violence lacks attention to the root causes of violence and patterns of violence. Furthermore, the current discussion on sexual and gender-based violence fails to address gender-based violence that affects specific groups of women and girls, such as indigenous women, women and girls with disabilities, LGBTI persons as well as religious and ethnic minorities. If gender equality is considered a 'need' rather than a fundamental human right, it can be dismissed as a voluntary commitment rather than a legally enforceable norm. According to NGOWG (2018), the Security Council failing to address long term structural violence and the root causes for sexual and gender-based violence will give a narrow focus on human rights violations and its immediate causes and consequences and results in a focus on women as victims. In order to fully address sexual and gender-based violence as a symptom of broader inequalities, the root

causes of conflict and prioritising women's participation, as well as identifying trends and visualising solutions, need to happen.

Even though gender-based violence is a widespread phenomenon and a real risk for people's, particularly women's, safety and health, it is not necessarily a universal problem. Heise et al. (2002) point out small communities, e.g. Wape of Papua New Guinea, where gender-based violence is mostly non-existent. Heise et al. (2002) present different interpersonal, cultural and societal factors that enable gender-based violence and matters that decrease the risk for women's victimisation. Interpersonal factors included experiencing or witnessing abuse in childhood, among other things. At the community level, women's isolation and lack of social support, as well as male groups that pardon and legitimise men's violence, contribute to higher levels of gender-based violence (Heise et al., 2002, p. S8). According to Heise et al. (2002), cultural factors that allow gender-based violence include rigidly defined gender roles and their strict enforcement. A concept of masculinity that is defined through toughness, male honour or dominance can also attribute to gender-based violence. Other cultural factors that predict higher levels of gender-based violence include tolerance or acceptance of violence as a punishment for women and children, a means to interpersonal disputes. On the other hand, some cultural factors can protect from gender-based violence, for example, women's authority and agency outside of the family can be linked to lower levels in abuse within intimate partnerships (Heise et al., 2002, p. S8).

These findings support Galtung's (1970) definitions of direct, structural and cultural violence, which all affect women in a different way than men. Direct violence refers to direct acts of violence, such as sexual violence, honorary killings or genital mutilation, which target women and girls in particular. Women also suffer differently from structural violence, as they often are most affected by displacement, unequal ownership of resources or lack of access to participate in economic life. Lastly, women are explicitly affected by cultural violence, as in many societies, women's rights and

their contributions are overlooked, which on its part allows the more direct forms of violence that targets women specifically.

It is notable that in the data used in this study, the concept of gender was not clearly defined. However, as the experiences of women and the LGBTI persons and indigenous people is often separated in the texts, it's likely that the experiences are also considered separate. This separation alludes that in the data, the concept of women refers to women of the cultural majority in Colombian society and follows a binary concept of male and female. While all of these groups face situations and difficulties unique to the identities, it is essential to note that these identities can often intersect (e.g. a person can be a woman and a member of the indigenous community at once).

2.3 Conflict management and resolution

Conflict management can be defined by three stages: conflict prevention, conflict containment and conflict settlement. Ramsbotham (2005) bases his model of conflict resolution responses to Galtung's (1970) ideas of conflict and violence (see chapter 2.3.). The model describes different stages of conflict as an hourglass, representing the

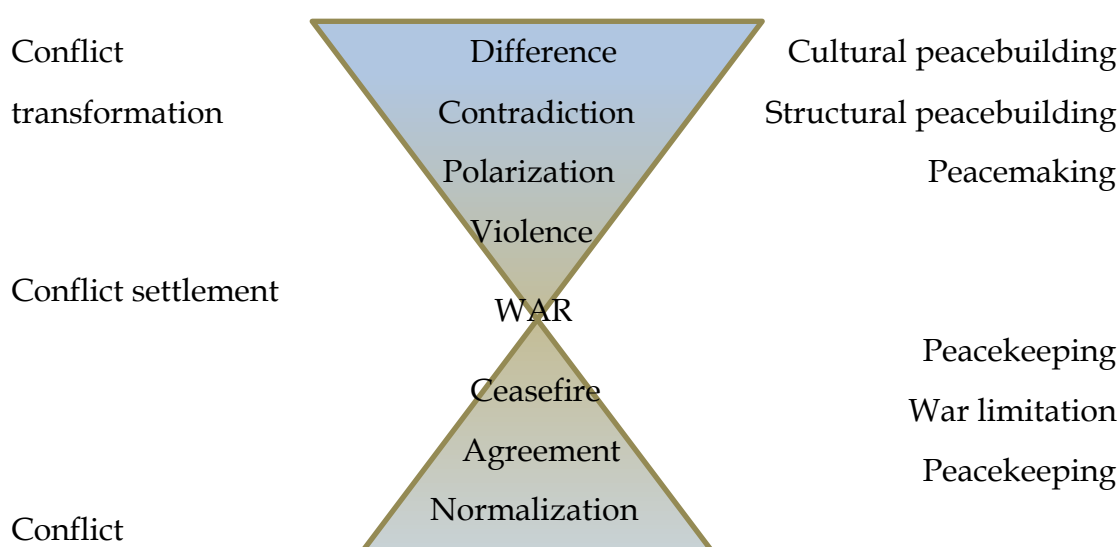| Conflict transformation | Difference | Cultural peacebuilding |
	Contradiction	Structural peacebuilding
	Polarization	Peacemaking
	Violence	
Conflict settlement	WAR	
		Peacekeeping
	Ceasefire	War limitation
	Agreement	Peacekeeping
Conflict	Normalization	

Figure 1: The hourglass model of conflict resolution, Ramsbotham (2005).

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narrowing political space characterising conflict escalation and the widening of political space during de-escalation (Ramsbotham, 2005). As the space narrows or widens, different responses become more or less appropriate or possible (p. 12)This model shows the contingency of conflict management and the actions needed to combine in order to maximize the chances of successful conflict settlement.

Terminology within conflict research differs when it comes to managing conflict. As conflicts are layered and ever-changing by nature and the core reasons for conflict become complicated as more participants get involved, it is difficult or in some cases impossible to address all causes of conflict while managing them. Thus, instead of using a commonly used term of conflict resolution, Ramsbotham (2005) refers to conflict-ending attempts as conflict settlement. Conflict transformation, on the other hand, refers to the 'deepest levels of cultural and structural peacebuilding'. Conflict settlement involves negotiation or mediation among the main participants aiming to reach a mutually satisfying agreement. (Ramsbotham, 2005, p. 12-13). War containment attempts to limit the conflict geographically and to lessen its intensity, and to find a termination to it as fast as possible.

In the period after the Cold War, most armed conflicts have come to an end rather by fading out than ending through a peace agreement, despite there being significant examples of conflicts ending so (Ramsbotham, 2005). According to Ramsbotham (2005), when conflicts fade out, the underlying issues prevail, and thus the conflicts are likely to reignite. Another issue is defining the end of the conflict. According to Wallensteen and Svensson's (2014) definition, a conflict has ended when no armed violence has occurred in a year. Rambotham (2005), however, reminds that often the peace settlements break down and repeated violence occurs. Notably, ending the conflict is much more complicated than finding terms agreeable to all conflicting parties: conflicts develop groups who benefit from its continuation. While wars often cause large-scale economic damage to societies but at the same time, warlords and even small-scale players can become economically and psychologically dependent on the continuation of conflict and control of the resources. Similarly, leaders may face

prosecution after the conflict, and thus it is in their best interest to keep the conflict alive (Ramsbotham, 2005).

Even though conflict benefits many, the absence of conflict benefits the society and populations more largely and is thus a shared interest. Ramsbotham (2005) outlines five conflict transformers that correspond to contemporary conflict analysis: context transformation, structural transformation, actor transformation, issue transformation and personal and group transformation. The first, context transformation, addresses the different contexts (social, regional and international) in which the conflicts are embedded and which are often critical to its continuation. In order to resolve the conflict, it is crucial to change its context, for example, local conflicts that are fuelled by global forces cannot be fixed on a local level if the structures or policies which have produced them are not addressed.

Structural transformation addresses the conflict structure, i.e. the set of actors and incompatible goals or relationships that constitute the conflict. These structures of the relationships within the parties often constitute the core of the conflict, and if those structures are not transformed, it is impossible to solve the conflict. Actor transformation on its turn means a possible change of leadership, goals, values or beliefs. Depending on the type of conflict, changes in parties, their internal conflicts, the constituency of the leadership or the parties' goals can transform the conflict. Similarly, conflicts are often defined by incompatible stances actors and parties take on issues, thus changing their positions on issues, or when issues lose importance or new ones arrive, the conflict transforms. Issue transformation is closely related to changes of interest and changes of goals (actor transformation and the conflict structure) and thus reframing the issue might lead ways to conflict settlement. Lastly, personal and group transformation, which in many contexts is not benign: as conflicts grow, power is often passed to more and more extreme leaders, violence intensifies and restraint and control fade.

While all of these transformations are not always positive, they are vital to identify in order to analyse the levels of conflict and finding ways for conflict

resolution and intervention. This definition of conflict transformation is necessary in order to reject the misinterpretation that conflict resolution is about finding the harmony of interests between actors and third-party mediation can settle conflicts by appealing to the underlying humanity of the conflicting parties. On the contrary, conflict resolution requires a change in the parties' goals or interests. Success in conflict transformation also depends on the timing and coordination of the transformers: they need to develop sufficient momentum to overcome the conflict's resistance. (Ramsbotham, 2005, p. 162-165).

Eunson (2007) emphasises the need for communication and contact to help de-escalate conflict. Through getting the conflicting parties in contact with one another, they will start talking and listening to one another, possibly then understanding each other's motivations, fears and needs (p. 25). In cases of armed conflict, it may be beneficial to find a neutral terrain in which to arrange the negotiations. In an unfamiliar territory, neither of the conflicting parties has special advantages. If the hostility is high, it might be the only possible place to guarantee security for everyone (Eunson, 2007, p. 69).

Although external interventions are commonly used and often a helpful way to mitigate conflict, essentially the conflicting parties have also to be invested and willing to find a solution to the conflict. In many armed conflicts, the conflicting parties become willing to negotiate as they realise they are not going to achieve their targets by use of force (Ramsbotham, 2005). Zartman (1995) describes this situation as a 'hurting stalemate', where the goals cannot be met with further violence and continuing the conflict is too costly. Other terms for this situation include 'ripening process or 'ripe moments' (Ramsbotham, 2005). According to Zartman's (1995) definition, other prerequisites for successful negotiations include valid spokesperson for the parties, a deadline and a vision of an acceptable compromise. A stalemate can also be seen as a natural and often even helpful part of the conflict process, as it can force the conflicting parties to see the situation in a more realistic way (Eunson, 2007, p. 33). Eunson (2007), mentions apology, forgiveness, creating new resources and

compromise as some of the thresholds for de-escalation of conflict. Particularly, Eunson (2007) argues that opening new modes of communication, acknowledging the adversary's existence and their right to representation and modifying the ideology that justifies the coercive actions can help de-escalate the conflict. Sometimes, to find the right compromises and solutions to the conflict, the conflicting parties may need help from external participants. Next, I will discuss mediation and third-party intervention in conflict management.

2.3.1   Mediation and third party intervention

Peacebuilding processes vary from diplomatic activities to conflict transformation and improving justice systems. Mediation, meaning an impartial third party trying to manage, prevent or resolve conflicts by helping them find mutually agreeable terms (UN, 2012). As the mediators are not the main protagonists of the conflict, it is thought that they can provide a more objective view of the conflict and thus find mutually agreeable terms more easily. Mediation has gained popularity as a means of conflict resolution within the recent decades (Wallensteen & Svensson, 2014). Mediation has shown to lessen the recurrence of conflict in comparison to agreements reached directly between the conflicting parties (Wallensteen & Svensson, 2014). However, Ramsbotham (2005) emphasizes that regardless of their popularity, third-party intervention is not always benign. According to Ramsbotham (2005), intervention, in general, shows a tendency to increase the duration of civil wars. However, on the other hand, both domestic and external third parties' involvement is often crucial in accelerating the peacemaking.

States and some nonstate actors can also intervene in conflicts or try to prevent conflicts from emerging. If this is the case, a strategy of coercive diplomacy is employed. Its purpose is to use threats or limited force in order to persuade an opponent to stop or cease to pursue an action (Kegley & Wittkopf, 2006, p. 473). Its

goal is to alter the actor's goals by changing the cost and benefit ratio. Coercive diplomatic actions include limited military intervention and economic sanctions, the latter of which in particular is a commonly used method of coercion. However, when governments use coercive methods in order to force parties to change their position and goals, they become actors in the conflict (Ramsbotham, 2005, p. 171). While forceful interventions can bring about an end to the conflict, the problem is whether such interventions can bring a stable and sustainable end to the conflict: if the root causes of the conflict are addressed and resolved or are the physical acts of conflict merely stifled. This question could explain the popularity of nonstate actors as mediators.

There are two main types of nonstate actors: intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The actors in IGOs are a group of states and can have global, interregional, regional or sub-regional scopes and multiple or single purposes. An example of a global multi-purpose IGO is the United Nations, the European Union being an example of a regional multi-purpose organization and examples of a global single-purpose organization could be World Health Organization and regional Nordic Council (Kegley & Wittkopf, 2006). While NGOs are a heterogeneous group varying from religious, economic and environmental agendas, they are primarily considered to be humanitarian movements by the public. Both IGOs and NGOs work in the field of conflict mediation.

The field of mediation and third-party intervention is a highly debated one. The debates include whether or not intervention should be impartial or partial, coercive or non-coercive, state-based or nonstate based (Ramsbotham, 2005, p. 168). Some scholars (e.g. Fisher & Keashly, 1991) have attempted forming models of conflict. However, the models fail to acknowledge the ethical issues involved in conflict transformation or the practical issues of its coordination (Ramsbotham, 2005, p. 168). However, they do conclude that a third-party intervention needs to be coordinated.

Third parties are often crucial in issue transformations. Third parties can typically put the conflicting parties in contact with each other, facilitate meetings,

setting agendas, and formulate agreements. These tasks can prove difficult or dangerous for the conflicting parties in the absence of a third, preferably impartial, party. (Ramsbotham, 2005). According to Ramsbotham (2005), the ripest stage for mediation is the point where the conflicting parties have come to the realization that they are not likely to achieve their goals by continuing the conflict, but they are yet to accept formal negotiations. In this stage, international organizations, governments and non-governmental actors can participate.

The current emphasis on NGO intervention is to train people inside the society in a conflict in the skills of conflict resolution, keeping a mind in the cultural traditions (Ramsbotham, 2005 p. 169-171). The training might be useful in the negotiations, as they can adapt their methods more flexibly to fit the local culture. According to Lederach (1995), conflicting parties are looking for trust more than neutrality in the mediators. The preference would suggest that the mediators don't necessarily need to be impartial to the conflict rather than "insiders" to the conflict. That would enable the mediators to understand the contexts and cultural restraints of the conflict in a more personal manner.

While peace negotiations are not always a straight-forward nor a linear process, some stages of peace negotiations can be categorized. Bell (2008) defines three key stages by which conflicting parties typically reach political agreements to end or transition from a conflict: pre-negotiation agreements, substantive agreements and implementation agreements. Pre-negotiation agreements, which are concluded before any formal peace settlements, often start with the conflicting parties aiming to establish broad context-setting initiatives to under which the parties can agree to come together (p. 60). In other words, the parties negotiate *how* the process will proceed: negotiations include timetables, agendas and codes of conduct. Pre-negotiation agreements are, in a way, 'agreements to agree' (p. 60). They usually involve merely those perceived as key political actors (who, almost everywhere in the world, are mostly men), and as they often are done in secrecy, can by default exclude women from the negotiation tables. Pre-negotiations can either be formal or informal and if

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successful, revolve around armed actors agreeing to ceasefires and ending hostilities (p. 58). Ewig et al. (2013) also note that in this stage, women are likely to be excluded for structural reasons, as the emphasis is on military and security outcomes that are considered essential to facilitate broader political engagement (p. 35). The lack of female representation, on its part, may contribute to the lack of gender focus in the agreements in further phases. This phase is the foundation for the peace negotiations to come.

A substantive agreement, sometimes called framework agreement, aims to sustain ceasefires and provide a framework that allows the government to address the root causes of the conflict, aiming to end the conflict more permanently. The agreements formed at this stage are usually labelled 'peace agreements' (p. 61). As it is a continuation from the pre-negotiation agreements, it draws from the deals established earlier and thus the space for new negotiations or negotiating established deals can be limited. This phase may include international agents and is the most high profile stage. Ewig et al. (2013) describe substantive agreement the "classic peace agreement" (p. 36). This stage is the most likely to include women, yet, their presence may still be minimal and merely symbolic (Ewig et al., 2013, p. 36). Bell's (2008) final stage is the implementation agreement stage, which includes clear aspects of the implementation of the agreement as well as verification and monitoring of the compliance (p.65-66). Ewig et al. (2013, p. 37) point out that structural inequalities, such as women's roles as the primary caregivers in the family, as well as the lack of security and support to become political actors, are factors that hinder women's abilities to be involved in this phase.

Turner (2018) describes mediation as 'a power game', where the mediator can leverage the agreement. Therefore the image of a mediator will continue to be masculine unless the image of mediation changes (p. 249). Elise Boulding (1990) discussed in her research the concept of global civic cultures that opens up new possibilities to hear the voices of people who were not included in the traditional nation-state politics. This excluded group would include women and children, as well

as cultural communities which were not, and often still are not, heard in the existing international order. Boulding (1990) uses the idea of social imagination as a tool to envision the future, in order to conceptualize that we live in a shared social space that is entangled with the past and the future. Boulding's (1990) ideals support the notion of peacebuilding starting from the grassroot levels, including local actors from different social and cultural groups. In the next chapter, I will explore ways that Boulding's (1990) ideals could be implemented in practice through women's participation in the conflict management processes as well as possibilities of changing Turner's (2018) described the masculine image of mediation.

2.4   Women in conflict resolution

Women's official inclusion in mediation and peacemaking has been discussed for a long time. The United Nations Security Council (2000) has addressed the problem by issuing a resolution to include women more actively in the peace processes. The resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) has been issued to ensure women's active participation and increased representation of women in the processes by the UN member states. Furthermore, the resolution aims to appoint more women into leadership positions and provide training and materials on the protection and particular needs of women in conflict situations. The resolution has addressed the need to include women in the decision making, as well as urging all decision making to incorporate a gender perspective, including protection of the human rights of women and girls (UNSC, 2000.) The resolution, albeit well-intentioned, has been implemented nearly two decades ago but current research still shows women to be underrepresented in the peace processes, including in the United Nations. Narang and Saini (2013) point out that even though the United Nations is aware of women's underrepresentation, the Department of peacemaking operation (DPKO) employs virtually no women. The percentage of women deployed remains at 4 and 1 per cent (Narang and Saini, 2013).

Of all the peace agreements signed between 1990 and 2010, merely 7 per cent of them addressed gender equality or the rights of women (O'Reilly et al., 2015, p. 2).

UNSCR 1325 (2000) is often cited in the literature as a base pillar in gender equality in the context of peacemaking. The resolution urges the Member States of the UN to work towards implementing international humanitarian and human rights law, stressing the importance of the equal participation of women. It states that the particular needs of women and girls need to be taken into consideration, understanding the impact of armed conflict on women. (UN Security Council, 2000.) The resolution was considered to be one of the great achievements of the global women's movement, yet, the overwhelming gender gap in conflict resolution remains almost two decades after (UN Women, 2015, p. 5). The global study on the implementation of the resolution 1325 (UN Women, 2015) points out that even though there is an abundance of rhetoric about women's inclusion, the security of women and girls and funding for programs and processes, the actual numbers of implementing them have remained very low. Another report by the UN Women (2012) points out that while there has been no notable improvement on the number of women in official peacebuilding positions, the frequency of the consultations between women's groups and the mediation teams have been increasing. The report on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (UN Women, 2015) offers guidelines and recommendations on peacemaking based on the trials and errors of the resolution. Some of the recommendations include more focus on prevention over militarisation, addressing women, peace and security as a matter of human rights and implementing punishments on the perpetrators (p. 394-397). Crisis Management Initiative (2015) emphasises the need to monitor and document peace processes in real-time in order to promote learning and good practice. The need to change attitudes regarding women's inclusion and their agency as well as acknowledging the multiplicity of women's identities were referred to in the policy (Crisis Management Initiative, 2015). These factors are often mentioned in literature as reasons withholding women from actively participating in the peace processes (e.g. Narang & Saini, 2013; Krause et al.,

2018) and to change the prevailing presumptions could open up more doors for women. These policies, however, remain on a mostly theoretical level and could be more easily ignored.

The progress of including more women in the peace negotiating tables has been slow, regardless of suggestions and encouragement. While literature regarding women's role in peacemaking processes suggest that including women as hosts has positive impacts overall, not all agents in the field seem to be positive about having more women in the teams. O'Reilly et al. (2015) mention that many peacemakers and other actors in the decision making are resistant to include more women in the process due to 'lack of evidence' of the value women's participation would bring as well as fear of women's inclusion causing the process to derail (p. 2). Women's inclusion, however, has not been found to affect peace processes negatively, on the contrary, the data shows that women's direct participation has a positive correlation to higher agreement implementation levels (Krause et al. 2018). Meanwhile, the referred 'lack of evidence' could be a result of a low percentage of women included in the processes, therefore having little data to support it. Furthermore, many mediators and peacemakers reported being unsure of how women's inclusion could be done in practice (O'Reilly et al., 2015; p. 2).

Marginalised social and political roles is a recurring theme when discussing women's exclusion in peace negotiations. Existing gender roles and power relations affect women's opportunities to participate in peace processes. Women's contributions to peace negotiations are often overlooked as they often occur in informal situations and can be considered an extension to the existing gender roles (Narang & Saini, 2013). Mueller-Hirch (2018) reports the women's role in peace processes in Kenya to have mainly been unofficial negotiations within the society, and therefore easily overlooked. As men continue to dominate in the leadership positions, including politics and peace negotiations, women tend not to have a voice in decision making. (Narang & Saini, 2013, p. 1115). Patriarchal socio-cultural factors that still

prevail in many societies also assign women into less powerful roles and sees them as victims and uncritical advocates for peace (EEAS, 2014).

Some research also suggests that by including women in conflict resolution and peacemaking processes, the peace has been achieved more effectively, and the results have been more sustainable (e.g. O'Reilly et al., 2015). There, however, seems to be no clear consensus on the question of why including women specifically would provide more effective solutions to peacemaking. Mueller-Hirch (2018), however, suggests one reason for that could be women's marginalised roles in society and politics, as well as assigned social roles, that develop women into more peaceful and caring roles instead of conflict and confrontation. This definition would suggest a more social difference between the sexes instead of biological factors that would affect the peace mediation styles. There is little evidence on biological differences affecting women's behaviour that would make them noticeably more rational or empathetic in comparison to men. Krause et al. (2018, p. 986) argue that essentialist assumptions of women's peacefulness pervasive in different documents regarding women's participation in peace processes are not helpful. Instead, it can unhelpfully cloud the judgement of the actual reasons why women's participation in peace negotiations.

A study by UN Women (2010) shows that a connection exists between women's participation and the quality of peace agreements. Women make up for roughly half of the population; however, at peace negotiation situations, only 8 % of the participants are women (Crisis Management Initiative, 2018). Excluding women from the processes is to ignore the voices and needs of half of the citizens. Peace processes are crucial moments to ignite the future of the political and societal structure, and only a few groups of the society are heard in the processes. Excluding women and minority groups in society can lead to excluding their particular needs in the decision making and lead to unequal and even derogatory and dangerous legislation that can endanger the safety and human rights of certain members of the society. Globally, many countries do have legislation in place that puts women in unequal positions or even in danger for their safety; some of which include legislation that allows rape within

marriage, child marriages, domestic abuse and stoning to death of sexual minorities. Many of the aforementioned legislative issues are violations to universal human rights but also assign women, and other groups, into less powerful positions in the society. Including women in the decision-making processes could potentially decrease such legislation and increase overall equality in society (Narang & Saini, 2013).

The data from the research conducted by O'Reilly et al. (2015) suggests that when women are involved and have influence in the peace negotiations, there are positive effects to reaching a peace agreement as well as the implementation of the agreements (p. 11-12). Similarly, Krause et al. (2018, p. 1005) suggest a clear link between peace agreements that include women signatories and the permanence of peace. As women's experiences in war and post-conflict states differ profoundly of those of men, it is understandable that women groups' focus and views on peace negotiations as well as the implementation of the agreements differ from men's. Men continue to be the primary combatants and are mostly affected by the direct effects of war. Women, instead, suffer the indirect consequences of war; post-conflict violence, rises in conflict-related sexual violence, human right abuses and the spread of infectious diseases, to name a few (O'Reilly et al., 2015, p. 5). While in male-dominated peace negotiations the notion of 'peace' is often defined by the absence of armed conflict, women's focus would naturally include the continuation of insecurity within the society even after a treaty has been formed. The focus on the overall security of the state even in post-conflict situations could increase the durability of peace. Women's inclusion's impact on the durability of peace is supported by some research (O'Reilly et al., 2015; Krause et al., 2018).

Ways of including women in practice have been tried to be done through several different policies. UNSCR 1325 (2000) has been largely cited in the literature, it being a base pillar in gender equality in the context of peacemaking. The resolution urges the Member States of the UN to work towards implementing international humanitarian and human rights law, stressing the importance of the equal participation of women. It states that the unique needs of women and girls need to be

taken into consideration, understanding the impact of armed conflict on women. (UN Security Council, 2000). The resolution was considered to be one of the great achievements of the global women's movement, yet, the overwhelming gender gap in conflict resolution remains almost two decades after (UN Women, 2015, p. 5). The global study on the implementation of the resolution 1325 (UN Women, 2015) points out that even though there is an abundance of rhetoric about women's inclusion, the security of women and girls and funding for programs and processes, the actual numbers of implementing them have remained very low. Another report by the UN Women (2012) points out that while there has been no notable improvement on the number of women in official peacebuilding positions, the frequency of the consultations between women's groups and the mediation teams have been increasing. The report on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (UN Women, 2015) offers guidelines and recommendations on peacemaking based on the trials and errors of the resolution. Some of the recommendations include more focus on prevention over militarisation, addressing women, peace and security as a matter of human rights and implementing punishments on the perpetrators (p. 394-397).

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O'Reilly et al. (2015) emphasise the need for women's direct participation at the peace negotiation table, as it would provide more democratic decision-making processes. Other ways that women could participate in the processes could be observing, consulting, through gender-inclusive commissions, workshops, public

decision making and mass action (p. 13). Report by UN Women (2012) also recommends a standardised protocol to include women in the peace negotiations from the start. Also, gender awareness training for both male and female mediators should be provided as well as providing funds for incentives to include women should be done (UN Women, 2012).

Women's lack of inclusion in the peace processes cannot be explained by their presumed lack of experience in the field; rather, it is a result of lack of effort to integrate them in the processes (UN Women, 2012; p. 26). The existing literature supports that including women not only doesn't interfere with the processes, but it might also provide longer-lasting solutions and more durable peace (e.g. Krause et al., 2018). Many of the research indicates that rather than women necessarily being more peaceful of the genders, more equal societies are, in fact, more peaceful. Conflict prevention and the prevention of violent extremism and terrorism are the current focus points of peace research. The current research, however, points out that the more equal the society is as a whole, the more peaceful they tend to be (Narang & Saini, 2013; Mueller-Hirch, 2013). Therefore, promoting equality on all parts of the society, including having more women in leadership positions and including them in peace negotiations should be a priority in order to sustain peace. In addition, changing the attitudes of women's agency and abilities in conflict situations could change the attitudes of women's abilities in other parts of the society as well, therefore promoting women's inclusion in peace negotiations would be promoting women's inclusion and broader equality in other areas as well.

3 CONFLICT IN COLOMBIA

3.1 History and context

The conflict of Colombia has spanned over decades, causing at least 50,000 casualties and one of the largest population of internally displaced people – many of whom have disappeared (Peace Insight, 2009). According to the Council on Foreign Relations (2017) estimate, up to 220,000 people have lost their lives, 25,000 disappeared, and over 5.7 million people have been internally displaced. The massive displacement, over 10 per cent of Colombia's estimated population of 47 million, has generated a humanitarian crisis affecting disproportionately women, Afro-Colombians and indigenous populations (Beittel, 2015). Displacement not only puts women and girls in danger of sexual violence, but sexual violence also causes displacement. According to UN Women (2016) report, 17.7 per cent of the internally displaced people interviewed had fled their homes due to sexual violence.

Political violence in Colombia is rampant and affects the rural areas in particular (Gonzáles et al., 2007). Despite abundant natural resources, a large population of Colombians live in poverty. Political violence in Colombia affects mostly the rural areas of the country; 93% of the areas affected by guerrilla violence are typically rural (Gonzáles et al., 2007).

The history of the conflict dates back to a period of violence called 'La Violencia' between 1948 and 1959. However, Colombia has been suffering from periods of political violence ever since its founding in 1810 (Peace Insight, 2009). Colombia's lack of strong central governance with presence all across the country has allowed room for rebellion (Beittel, 2015). The decade of violence came to an end through a constitutionally sanctioned power-sharing agreement between the Liberal and Conservative parties. This agreement, however, excluded political competition as any other political options were repressed (Peace insight, 2009). This political oppression, as well as inspiration from Cuban Revolution, led to the founding of left-wing guerrilla groups, most significantly the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas – Ejército del Pueblo (Colombian revolutionary forces – people's army, FARC-EP) and Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National liberation army, ELN). The FARC-EP consisted of militant communists and peasant self-defence groups, whereas ELN was composed of mainly students, Catholic radicals and intellectuals. Both oppose the privatization of natural resources and claim to represent the poor population against Colombia's rich population. (Council on Foreign Relations, 2017).

To protect themselves from attacks from the guerrilla groups, right-wing paramilitary groups consisting of local land and business owners and drug lords emerged (Peace Insight, 2009). The most notable paramilitary group is Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (United self-defence forces, AUC), which was included on the U.S. State Department's list of foreign terrorist organizations until summer of 2014 (CFR, 2015). While AUC has since formally dismantled, sub-groups of BACRIMs (bandas criminales, short for criminal groups in Spanish) have formed from it (Council on Foreign Relations, 2017).

Intertwined with the history of conflict in Colombia, the country has also had a key role in international drug economy, sourcing both cocaine and heroin for decades (Beittel, 2015). Through time, both the guerrilla groups and paramilitaries have been involved in criminal activities, such as narco-trafficking, murders, kidnappings and bombings (Peace Insight, 2009). Drug trafficking has explicitly fuelled the internal

conflict by funding both left-wing and right-wing armed groups (Beittel, 2015). Also, narco-trafficking has caused widespread corruption in the country as well as the delegitimization of the political class (Peace Insight, 2009). The conflict has caused devastating humanitarian loss as the casualty rate from land mines, primarily used by the FARC-EP, has caused more than 10,000 deaths and injuries since 1990. This casualty rate from land mines is second highest in the world, following Afghanistan. (Beittel, 2015.)

In 2000, U.S. lawmakers established Plan Colombia, an aid package to help the government tackle guerrilla violence, help strengthen its institutions and end drug production and trafficking. While the White House credited Plan Colombia as a critical factor in establishing the path for peace negotiations, some critics have considered the more than $10 billion aid package as the cause of thousands of deaths and hundreds of thousands of internally displaced people (Council on Foreign Relations, 2017.)

During Andrés Pastrana's presidency between 1998 and 2002, the government tried to negotiate peace with FARC-EP. However, the negotiations failed rather dramatically, when FARC-EP hijacked a commercial airline and kidnapped a sitting senator (Long, 2015). In 2002, Colombia elected Álvaro Uribe as their new president. Uribe, vowing to take a hard stance against the guerrillas, instituted a "Democratic Security" policy that mobilized resources for war (International Center for Transitional Justice, 2011). Combining counterterrorism and counter-narcotics efforts, the policy aimed to assert state control over the whole national territory. In 2003, Uribe initiated a new offensive against the guerrilla groups called Plan Patriota. With U.S. support, Colombian troops made their way into rural Colombian areas taken over by the FARC-EP. (Beittel, 2015.) In 2003, the government reached a deal with AUC to begin to disarm, and in 2005 AUC accepted the government's highly debated deal on lowered jail sentences and protection from extradition (Piccone, 2019).

Through these efforts during Uribe's first term, homicides fell by 40 per cent and kidnappings by 80 per cent (Council on Foreign Relations, 2015). However, while the

homicide rates fell, the displacement numbers surged. Colombia had become more secure for some, but more dangerous for others. (Díaz Pabón, 2018.) Some international rights groups claimed Uribe's administration was violating human rights and Colombian courts have investigated accusations of Uribe's links to right-wing paramilitary groups. However, those investigations have proven fruitless (CFR, 2015). Instead, many experts have estimated that the Uribe administration's policies have laid the foundation for peace negotiations. FARC-EP's support had fallen to roughly seven thousand members, from its sixteen thousand members in 2001, as it agreed to peace talks in 2012. (Council on Foreign Relations, 2015.) U.S. support has also been considered fundamental, as they offered assistance in training, logistics and intelligence and provided helicopters and aircraft (Beittel, 2015).

Following Uribe's second and final term, Juan Manuel Santos was elected president in 2010. He claimed to continue Uribe's forceful work towards the national security policies and campaigning against the FARC-EP leadership. In 2010 and 2011, the government killed two of the FARC-EP's top leaders and military commanders. Following the death of Alfonso Cano, FARC-EP leader, in 2011, FARC-EP announced their new leader to be Rodrigo Londoño Echeverri. Soon after his appointment, he opened a political dialogue with the Santos government. By 2012, FARC-EP announced to release all of its "exchangeable hostages" and to stop their system of kidnapping for ransom. (Beittel, 2015).

3.2   Gendered impacts of Colombian conflict

It is important to note that the effects of war and conflict go beyond the number of deceased combatants and economic losses for society. The Colombian conflict has caused a devastating humanitarian loss that has disproportionately affected women and girls, indigenous populations and LGBTI persons. The conflict has deepened the loss of collective lands belonging to Colombia's rural ethnic groups, increasing their poverty and possibly endangering their cultural and ethnic continuity (UN Women,

2016, p. 6). All genders have also been subjected to death threats and criminalization. Also, the stigmatization of social and political activities is common. Significantly affected groups have however been journalists, human rights defenders, LGBTI groups and Afro-Colombian and indigenous leaders, among other political groups. Increased military presence in the rural areas inhabited mostly by indigenous groups has caused a notable surge in prostitution, sexually transmitted illnesses, sexual violence and unwanted pregnancies, affecting indigenous women and girls. (UN Women, 2016.)

United Nations annual report of conflict-related sexual violence (UN, 2019) notes that levels of sexual violence surge during times of conflict. Sexual violence is used as a war tactic and to assert power and control over the most vulnerable (UN, 2019). This is also the case in Colombia. The Constitutional Court of Colombia (Corte Constitucional de Colombia) describes the sexual violence against women in Colombian armed conflict a systematic and reiterated, often invisible practice (Corte Constitucional de Colombia, 2008). In Colombia's context, all of the conflicting parties, consisting of the government, paramilitaries and the guerrillas, have been involved in acts of sexual violence and violence against women, LGBTI and indigenous people.

Sexual violence was used to assert power over others, to gain information and control, particularly women's, behaviour. For example, the paramilitaries of "Jorge 40" leadership used sexual violence to banish local populations from their lands, as a form of punishment to those women who challenged their orders. Their abuse included group rapes, kidnapping of young girls who were then kept as sexual slaves as well as using sexual violence as a method of extracting information from women and girls claimed to be guerrillas. (UN Women, 2016.) The AUC, on the other hand, carried out a massacre targeting Wayúu indigenous group, who were defending their territory (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, 2010). The acts of violence included shooting the men and decapitating the women and slashing their breasts (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, 2016, p. 270). Women became tools in establishing supremacy and a model of masculinity and a tool of communication. The

skins of the attacked women became a metaphorical canvas on which a message is written for the enemy (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, 2010, p. 101). Paramilitaries have also maintained the control over areas with the involvement of local parents who turned over their young daughters in exchange of protection or favours. State security forces have also reportedly been involved in a generalized practice of sexual abuse taking advantage of the vulnerable positions of impoverished and displaced women and girls. (UN Women, 2016.) Different conflicting parties had turned women into commodities who were used for control and information. Women were forced into strict gender roles and were gravely punished for noncompliance. Some acts of violence, however, were particularly gruesome and used women as tools of pleasure. In the Urabá region of Colombia, for example, a criminal group called the Urabeños pried on impoverished girls of ages 12-14 and paid for their breast implants and liposuctions and then sexually assaulted them, using them as sex slaves. Paramilitary commander Marco Tulio Pérez Guzman used beauty contests, which were a local custom, to identify the most visually pleasing virgins in his area and selected the young girls for his own use and pleasure. (UN Women, 2016.)

While gender discrimination and prejudices against LGBTI persons has been visible in the Colombian society, it has been highlighted during the armed conflict. Sexual violence against LGBTI persons has been used as a form of "corrective violence" to "cleanse the population". This kind of persecution has caused displacement of the LGBTI communities as they try to flee the areas under the control of armed groups (UNSC, 2015, p. 7). In 2003, paramilitary commander Guzman organized a boxing match, recruiting particularly homosexual youth to participate under the threat of death. The match was humiliating and traumatizing for the youth forced to participate. After the match, many of them chose to move from the area, and the paramilitaries later killed at least one participant. (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, 2011, p. 67-69.) Sexual violence often goes unreported, and in Colombia in particular, the institutional capacity for addressing it is inadequate. Often, women and others who seek medical support or report abuse to the authorities, have to risk

experiencing further abuse and ridicule by practitioners and police. The police and medical staff often lack training in established protocols in cases of sexual and gender-based violence. (UN Women, 2016.) Devastatingly, when reported, the acts of violence have vastly been overlooked by the justice system. The Constitutional Court prioritized 183 cases of sexual violence and of the cases where the violators could be identified,

Fifty-six per cent were committed by the paramilitaries, 23 per cent by the government security forces and 8 per cent by the guerrillas (Corte Constitucional de Colombia, 2008). However, by 2013 only in three cases, the violators had been convicted, leaving 98.8 per cent of cases in exemption (UN Women, 2016). Factors that can attribute to the exceptionally high levels of impunity are governmental structures and customs that inadequately prevent sexual violence, combat impunity and address continuing discrimination against women, girls and cultural, sexual and gender minorities (UN Women, 2016).

3.3   Start of peace negotiations

After decades of direct and indirect warfare, by 2012, conflict dynamics had shifted in favour of a political settlement. All sides had come to the point of 'hurting stalemate' (Zartman, 1995), where they are not likely to win the conflict by arms alone. Therefore, they are more likely to be willing to negotiate. (International Crisis Group, 2012.) Even though FARC-EP support had declined, and its strengths had weakened, the premises for durable peace were challenging. Guerrillas nor the state no longer enjoyed the trust of the larger population as their actions over 50 years had shown continuous war, systematic human rights violations and indifference for the interests of the public. In order to successfully negotiate peace, the parties need the participation and endorsement of the civil society, particularly from the indigenous and rural populations. (International Crisis Group, 2012.) Furthermore, to achieve sustainable peace, the negotiators need to accept that a mere peace agreement will not suffice in

successfully ending the violence, the violence and deeply rooted socio-economic injustices will not be solved overnight.

The year 2012 was monumental in accelerating the peace negotiations between the state and FARC-EP. In August 2012 Santos announced tentative peace talks with FARC-EP leadership that had taken place in Cuba. Out of these exploratory negotiations, the government and FARC-EP leadership agreed upon a framework for formal peace talks, taking place in Norway in October 2012. (Beittel, 2015.) The Peace Framework Law, a constitutional amendment that provides a structure for the peace process formed in 2012, was eventually endorsed by the Constitutional Court of Colombia in 2013. Similarly, a bill that allowed the expansion of military courts' jurisdiction was passed late 2012 despite controversy and human rights campaigners' resistance. (Beittel, 2015.)

A peace accord was made in 2016, seemingly ending years of negotiations between the Colombian government and FARC-EP. The deal, signed in November 2016 by Santos, was later rejected narrowly by a referendum in October 2016. The referendum only drew out only 37.4 per cent of voters. While the deal was revised and quickly accepted by the houses and the Colombian Congress, Uribe and Santos' predecessor Andrés Pastrana Arango strongly criticized the deal for being too lenient on the FARC-EP guerrillas. (Piccone, 2019.)

Despite the criticism and struggles with political legitimacy, the implementation of the first phase of ceasefire, disarmament and demobilization proceeded relatively smoothly with the support from the international community. Particularly, FARC-EP kept its promise to refrain from arms. However, the government since struggled with the next phase of building peace: reintegrating ex-combatants, combatting drug production, controlling resurfaced armed criminal groups (i.e. the BACRIMs), continuing rural developments and helping the victims in reparations. (Piccone, 2019.) One way of reintegration was forming a new legal political party FARC (Fuerzas Alternativas Revolucionarias de Colombia), consisting of former FARC-EP members, and guaranteeing its seats in the legislature (Piccone, 2019). These actions are aligned

with some of Eunson's (2007) thresholds for conflict de-escalation: compromise and creating new resources. By legitimizing FARC-EP's views in the form of a new political party, the Colombian government acknowledged the opponent's existence and their right of representation. FARC-EP on its turn, promised to modify its actions from armed to political opposition.

The Colombian conflict is a real-life example of Galtung's (1970) continually evolving and expanding conflict consisting of direct, cultural and structural levels of violence. Once time had passed and more people got involved, it started being more challenging to detect the underlying issues causing the conflict and to bring about positive peace. It is also notable how the signing of peace accords does not mean a lasting peace. However, development and reparation policies and most importantly, their implementations, play a crucial role in achieving sustainable peace in the society. Nevertheless, the conflict transformation processes in Colombia are considered one of the 'success stories' of female participation in the peace processes and considering the gender aspect in the negotiations (e.g. UN Women, 2015; Salvesen & Nylander, 2017).

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Object of the study and research questions

Although there is an existing body of literature concerning women's inclusion in peace processes, little attention has been given to gender perspectives in peace agreements. Furthermore, in order to analyse the effectiveness of women's inclusion in peace processes, one has to look at the implementation of the agreements. In order to limit the area of the study and to be able to give an in-depth analysis of the themes, I have chosen to examine women's participation through the context of the Colombian conflict outlined above.

In the previous chapters, I have defined and described violent conflicts and their specific impacts on women. Following, I have described conflict transformation processes and how women's inclusion in those has been reviewed in literature. Finally, I have brought these topics into the context of Colombia. Through specific examples of the human experiences and atrocities during the conflict, I hope to have brought the audience closer to the cruelties of armed conflict. The conflict of Colombia, on its part, has shown the particular impacts that violent conflict may have on women, indigenous groups and LGBTI communities. The object of this study is to look at how women's influence in the peacemaking processes in Colombia has been represented

in the United Nations documentation of the conflict. The aim is to find out if women's inclusion has been acknowledged to bring about (positive) changes in the peace negotiations in Colombia. To find out the representation of women's role in the peace negotiations and the subsequent peace agreement, I have chosen three research questions:

RQ1 How has women's role in the Colombian peace process been represented in the United Nations and UN Women's documents?

> **RQ1.1 How have women been reported to have been included or excluded in the peace process?**
>
> **RQ1.2 How have women been reported to have influenced the Colombian peace negotiations?**
>
> **RQ1.3 How is female agency in general presented in the data?**

RQ2 How has gender been taken into account in the Colombian peace accord?

RQ3 How has the implementation of the gender-specific provisions of the peace accord been reported?

The research questions are descriptive. The first research question examines how the documents report women's inclusion in the peace processes: in which contexts of peace processes of Colombian conflict women have been included as well as which parts were women not able to participate in. The peace processes examined will reflect the stages of the peace agreement procedure by Bell (2008, see chapter 2.3.2) and I will see in which way, if any, were women reported to have been involved in the pre-negotiation, substantive agreement and implementation agreement stages. These inclusions can be direct (i.e. participation at the actual negotiation tables) or indirect (e.g. women's groups' advocacy or protests).

Secondly, I will look at the stages where women were reported to have been involved in and observe the possible viewpoints of women that were brought up during the negotiations. This question aims to examine, for example, what kind of topics were brought up, how did the women try to influence the process and what

were their concerns. The third sub-question looks at how gender has been presented in the data. If the second sub-question looked at what kind of concerns women reportedly brought up during the negotiations, this question would look at what kind of rhetoric was used in the texts to address women and gender.

The second research question looks at the peace agreement through the gender lens. How the issues brought up by women are presented in the agreement and what was the focus on the discussion of the gender perspective and women's experiences. To follow up on that, I penned the third research question, whose aim is to look at how the set goals are being reported to have come to reality.

To answer these questions, I will look at documents from the United Nations, including a report containing the official final peace accord between the Colombian government and FARC-EP as well as UN Women's documents that focus on the female experience and women's agency during the conflict and the peacemaking process. The data used in this text can be found in tables 1 and 2.

4.2   Research methods

This study is rooted in qualitative research. Qualitative research relies on human perception and understanding: personal experience and intuition (Stake, 2010). Although qualitative research methods lack a shared paradigm, they describe human interaction and behaviour and thus are often used in political analysis, psychology and sociology, to name a few. Qualitative research is sometimes called interpretative research, as it heavily relies on the interpretations of the researcher (Stake, 2010). Similarly, Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2018), note that while qualitative research differs widely in the used theoretical background and data gathering and analysis methods, the critical aspect is the theoretical basis of the findings. By the theoretical basis of the findings, Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2018) mean that the researcher's understanding of the phenomena at hand is based on the meanings given or the methods used that

ultimately influence the results of the study. In other words, the results of the study are not separate from the analysis methods or the one interpreting them. Thus, qualitative research is always subjective to some extent, as the researcher chooses their study design based on their own knowledge and judgement. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). It is essential to aim for as much transparency in the study as possible to justify the interpretative nature of it: how the data was gathered, what was found and how the conclusions were drawn.

This research partially draws inspiration from feminist research. Smith (1987, p. 152) says that established sociology has always had a concealed gender subtext, for it has been thought, investigated and written from the viewpoint of men. Although the argument is over 30 years old, it still holds to some extent even today. Even 20 years after the establishment of UNSCR1325, men's overwhelming dominance in the political life continues as the status quo, and the 'fight' for women's participation in that falls for feminist organizations, women's organizations and private citizens, who by large are women. I argue, that until gender equality1 and gender mainstreaming become such integrated parts of all levels of society and decision making that it is a foregone conclusion, we need feminist research and advocacy.

Liamputtong and Ezzy (2005) note that feminist theorists have advocated for research methods that allow women to express their experience from their own perspective. Feminist research also highlights that current social research is largely androcentric, meaning it has been developed and looked at from the perspective of men to serve their political interests (e.g. Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005; Hughes, 2002; Järviluoma et al., 2004). In other words, the exclusion of women from research may not always be done consciously, but if research is by default surrounding men and men's experiences, it can overlook the gendered natures and effects of different phenomena. While this study does not address women's experience from their perspective, it aims to provide a feminist perspective to peace and conflict research by focusing on the documentation of women's experiences. Individual's gender affects

1 Note: Gender equality, not female dominance as to how feminism is often misinterpreted.

the experienced reality (see chapters 2.4., 3.2). In this case, conflict and security as well as access to decision making in society; thus it can be argued that a female-centred gender focus could bring about a more wholesome understanding of the social and political reality.

Perhaps more importantly, this study rests on the notion of social constructionism. According to social constructionism theory, how we collectively think and communicate about the world, affects the way the world is. If we want to understand the social world we live in, we must understand the roles of culture, language, discourse and knowledge play in it (Elder-Vass, 2012). In this study, I aim to look at the conversation about women in Colombia; the cultural, social and political roles assigned to them through the documents. The way women are portrayed in these texts, in a way, forms the foundation of the reality of women in Colombia. According to social constructionist theory, changing the ways by which people collectively think or communicate about the world, can constitute a significant change for the social world in itself (Elder-Vass, 2012, p. 5).

Similarly to social constructionism, constructivism argues that social facts are indeed human creation (Tsai, 2009, p. 21). According to Tsai (2009), social structure is manifested by the international community as well as the material structure. Social structure has three components: shared knowledge, material resources and practices (Wendt, 1992, p. 73). According to this definition, social structures are real and objective, as opposed to "just talk" (Wendt, 1992, p. 74). Social structures, according to both social constructionism and constructivism, exist as a result of human creation. To understand the world in which we live, one must look at the shared knowledge, resources and practices.

In this study, I chose to use unobtrusive qualitative methods for data collection. Unobtrusive methods are non-reactive methods that draw social and cultural meanings from existing sources (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). My study draws the data from publicly available sources, such as the United Nations research library. As Liamputtong and Ezzy (2005) noted, in some cases, the data might not be feasible to

collect personally, as informants might no longer exist or if the subject is particularly sensitive. In those cases, gathering data from readily existing sources, without intruding in subjects' personal lives, could be beneficial. Liamputtong and Ezzy (2005) listed a few possible sources for unobtrusive data; material culture, such as physical objects, physical traces or settings, written record, such as books, journals and personal documents, use of hardware, such as cameras and observations and audio-visual records, such as films, videos, music and photographs.

Due to the length of the conflict, vast numbers of people affected and actors involved, it would be impossible to gather data in a way that shows the objective reality of the conflict. Therefore, I have shifted my focus into how reality is being constructed through the written record.

Silverman (2001, p. 122) described, much like social constructionism, that written texts influence how we see the world and the people in it, how we act. Unobtrusive methods can also document participants' actions without being dependent on the interviewer's questions or the overall success of the interview situation. As the Colombian conflict has spanned over five decades, few people would have experienced it in its entirety and living through years of conflict is always psychologically damaging. Thus it could be challenging to find participants for this study. Furthermore, to look at how women were excluded or included in the peace-making processes, it is vital to see whose voices were heard in official documents and how the gendered implications of the conflict were addressed in them.

4.3   Data collection

The Colombian conflict has grown and evolved over its five decades. Throughout the years of the conflict, the developments have been documented extensively by different entities. From the data available, my goal was to find and select documents that make it possible to answer the questions of the study and thus I had to limit my data for

documents that particularly focused on the peacemaking efforts as well as women's role in them. The primary data of this study is gathered from the public record documents by the United Nations and UN Women. The role of the United Nations in mitigating the peace process in Colombia has been monumental for reaching the peace accord between the Colombian government and FARC-EP as well as AUC. Their records also document the forthcomings and the compliance of the negotiations. The UN Women, on the other hand, provides summaries and analyses of the negotiations and their development and bring the discussion to the women's role.

It is notable that the United Nations and its affiliate organisations, such as UN Women, are diplomatic entities and their documents are always a result of negotiations. Therefore, as such, their documents do not reflect reality objectively. They represent the "negotiators' struggle" to form a cohesive text that fit the UN document format (Riles, 1998, p. 387). However, I would argue that from a constructivist point of view, the documents do have value as creators of reality. Tsai (2009, p. 22) argues that constructivism asserts that the process of international politics alters the interests and the identity in the international system, rather than changing the material structure. Furthermore, the actors of the international community, as well as the structure of the international political system, are interactive in their interdependence, thus determining the evolution of the international system. United Nations is a powerful actor in maintaining international peace and security, one whose documents outlive its writers. Therefore, according to this definition, the United Nation's role as a creator and gatekeeper of the international system is undeniable. UN Women, on the other hand, is a United Nations entity that is dedicated to gender equality and empowerment of women. Their work includes a focus on women, peace and security and integrating a gender focus on peacebuilding efforts worldwide. Therefore, they provide a wide range of public resources regarding gender.

In order to analyse the peacemaking efforts and women's role in them, I identified pivotal points in the conflict and looked at the reports and analyses made

of the conflict. Then I created a timeline of the Colombian conflict, featuring the significant points I selected (see figure 2). The key dates for peacemaking in Colombia happened between 2002 and 2016 when the first round of peace negotiations with FARC-EP collapsed, and a peace accord was finally signed at 2016. As noted before, women, in particular, are affected by the post-conflict insecurity and to look at the sustainability of the achieved peace, it is important to include implementation of the peace accords in the analysis. To include reports after the signing of the accords, I decided to limit the search until the year 2020.

Figure 2: Timeline of Colombian peace negotiations.

Gathering the data from UN Women was a fairly straightforward process. Typing the search word 'Colombia' into the UN Women digital library, the publications database (https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications)

provided four documents in English (search last conducted 22.05.2020). The documents ranged in themes from women's participation in the peace processes globally and in Colombia specifically, UN Women's efforts in Colombian gender-sensitive transitional justice programming and finally a review of United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) strategic plan from 2008-2011.

With the search words 'Colombia' and the publication date between 2002 and 2020, the United Nations digital library system (digitallibrary.un.org) shows 16,417 results (latest search made 25.05.2020). The results include all documents of any mission or meeting of the United Nations where Colombian representatives have been present or any resolution that Colombia has also signed. Also, the timeline of the search did not limit all of the documents and documents dating earlier than 2002 frequently showed up in the search results. To find a smaller and a more suitable sample size, I included search words 'Colombia' (in the title) and 'peace' (any field). That search brought out 462 records (latest search 25.05.2020). From those results, I ruled out any documents that were not directly related to the peace missions in Colombia (e.g. documents related to peace missions in other countries where Colombian UN representatives were present) and documents that did not match the timeline. This way, I selected a total of 43 documents, comprising of, draft resolutions (5), letters (6), reports (21), resolutions (9) and statements (2). These documents are from different UN entities: United Nations Security Council (UNSC), Human Rights Council (HRC), General Assembly and Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

Through these documents, I hope to be able to gain a broad understanding of Colombian conflict through looking at women's participation throughout the process (document 44) and how the gender aspect has been implemented in the peace accord, and how it has been monitored (documents 1-43, 45-47).

4.4 Data analysis

For this study, I have chosen discourse analysis as the analysis method for the data. Phillips and Hardy (2002, p. 6) describe discourse analysis aptly by saying that it "tries to explore how socially constructed ideas and objects were created and how they are maintained and kept in place over time". Discourse analysts believe that discourse and language are the producers of social reality, for discourse also creates social reality rather than merely describes it (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005, p. 261). Discourse analysis, at best, can reveal how social realities are produced and maintained. The fundamental notion of the analysis is that language not only reflects and reveals phenomena and social reality; it also produces it. (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). Discourse analysis is a time consuming and labour-intensive research method, but it can potentially provide us with a better understanding of the social world we live in (Phillips & Hardy, 2002).

This study also derives from qualitative historical analysis to analyse the documents from the United Nations and UN Women. Specifically for the research questions 1.1, 1.2 and the research question 3, the documents chosen for this study are used as a historical source, describing the events that occurred in Colombia during the conflict, peace negotiations as well as the post-conflict state. History can be used in qualitative research for a multitude of reasons, but scholars in the field of international relations often choose historical documents as "facts" used in description or explanation (Thies, 2002, p. 353). While the documents are a human product and thus cannot ever fully represent reality objectively, UN Women as well as United Nations documents, in this case, serve as "basic information". Basic information, in this case, refers to documents that are relatively free of interpretation and accorded to relatively high levels of consensus (Thies, 2002, p. 353). The documents chosen for this study are limited to well-known events and to some extent, are considered accurate descriptions of the events.

To answer the research question 2 (see 4.1), I want to look at the data and not to see *why* women are excluded or included in the peace-making efforts and the peace

agreement, but *how* women are represented in the texts; whose voices are heard and how the texts establish women's identity and roles as victims, caregivers and actors. The way women are represented in this data describes not only the roles of women in Colombian society but also reproduces it. As Colombian peace process has been described a positive example of women's involvement in peace negotiations and gender mainstreaming (e.g. UNSC, 2018; Ruiz-Navarro, 2019), it can be a catalyst for broader gender equality in peace, decision and global policymaking.

The process of analysis in this study follows Liamputtong and Ezzy's (2005) proposed steps into discourse analysis (p. 263):

1. First, I constructed initial research questions to see what kind of questions I want to answer with my research and thus find the right kind of data to answer those questions.
2. Second, I searched for and chose the data for analysis. I downloaded all documents and formatted a table containing all of the documents (see attachment 1 and 2).
3. Then, I read the data, making notes along the way. I questioned my own presumptions of the content of the data and the way I interpreted it.
4. Next, I coded the data as inclusively as possible, unifying it around the core categories of women and gender (e.g. Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005, p. 270-273).
5. Fifth, I revised the tentative research questions, according to the patterns that emerged in the data.
6. Then I analysed the data by examining the regularity and variability in the data.
7. From that, I formulated tentative hypotheses.
8. Next, I checked the research's reliability and validity.
9. Finally, I wrote out the findings.

4.4.1 Coding

Selective coding is a process where all categories found in the data are unified around a "core" category (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). The process of coding involves categorising the text into mutually exclusive categories, counting the occurrence and

analysing them statistically (Wood and Kroger, 2000, p. 32). In this study, I will code the data into specific categories regarding women and gender.

As it has been mentioned earlier, the data was comprised of public data from the United Nations as well as the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women (UN Women). The data analysis followed the principles of discourse analysis. More specifically, the data was analysed according to Liamputtong and Ezzy's (2005) 9-step model for discourse analysis, as presented in section 4.4. The codes that emerged from the data were themes that were emphasised in the texts multiple times and were relevant to the research questions. First, I looked at the concrete ways in which women have influenced the peace process in Colombia (section 5.1). From that, three main ways could be detected: grassroot level mediation and official peace talks, sub-commissions and delegations and gender mainstreaming of the peace accord. With this information, I was able to answer research question 1.

To answer research question 2, I looked at the peace agreement specifically, making notes and finding repetitive themes throughout the text. This coding resulted in three different categories, presented in figure 3. The narratives regarding *women as victims* included descriptions of women as a victimised, marginalised or otherwise struggling population. *Women as caregivers* related to women's reproductive roles or otherwise included the narrative of women's caregiving, nurturing nature or roles in society. *Women as actors*, on the other hand, related to women as active members of society: their contribution to politics, peace-making and economy, to list a few.

Figure 3: Codes found in the peace agreement.

The relative sizes of the spheres represent the number of times the codes can be found in the peace agreement (Document 10). Finally, to answer research question 3, I reviewed the UN data regarding the implementation of the peace agreement, following the same coding presented in figure 3.

5   ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

5.1   Role of women in conflict resolution in Colombia

The data I chose for this study was dated between 2002 and 2020 (see tables 1 and 2). However, it became clear that a large part of the UN Women's documents focused on the particular efforts and effects of women throughout the peace process, whereas the UN documents primarily focused on the peace accord and its implementation and monitoring. To answer RQ1.1 and RQ1.2, this chapter will look at the UN Women's documents in particular as a historical source (see 4.4). I have divided the findings into subcategories, that will look at different ways women have influenced the peace process. In chapter 5.2, I will further evaluate how gender-specific policies were discussed in the peace agreement and in chapter 5.3, I will look into how they were implemented during UN's Mission and Verification Mission in Colombia.

5.1.1   Grassroot level mediation and peace talks

Although women were not included in the talks that lead to the demobilisation of paramilitary group AUC in 2003 nor the ultimately failed talks and negotiations with

ELN between 2005 and 2007, women's influence in the Colombian peace process is evident. In 2000, María Emma Mejía and Ana Teresa Bernal, female negotiators during Pastrana government, along with Mariana Páez, a female negotiator for FARC-EP, led a public hearing on economy and employment. That forum gathered six hundred women from different parts of Colombian society. The main goals of the hearing were to gain visibility to gender inequality and demand women's representation at the peace table. While the cause gained visibility, securing seats for women in the peace negotiations proved difficult as high-level government authorities failed to attend the hearings (Document 44, p. 17).

When the initial peace negotiations between the government and the FARC-EP fell out in 2002, "disillusionment was widespread" (Document 44, p. 18). During that time, hope for peaceful solutions was brushed off by guerrilla sympathisers. Despite the political climate, women's organisations continued to work to find political solutions to the conflict regardless of the lack of official peace talks by grassroot level participation and local mediations as well as by organising marches for peace. The documents show that women, despite not having access to official mediation tables, have mediated locally between armed actors and tried to convince them to find peaceful solutions to the conflict.

> Throughout the country, women dialogued directly with armed groups to secure the release of hostages, to prevent violence and displacement, to recover children recruited by the armed actors, to protect their communities and to secure basic necessities.
>
> Document 44, p. 19

In addition to releasing hostages and preventing violence, women also negotiated local ceasefires as well as convinced insurgents to lift road blockades in order to allow the passage of food, medicine and people through checkpoints managed by the insurgents and paramilitaries. Local women's organizations, Alianza Iniciativa de Mujeres Colombianas por la Paz (Alliance Initiative of Colombian Women for Peace, IMP) and Asociación Colombiana de Familiares de Miembros de la

Fuerza Pública Retenidos y Liberados por Grupos Guerrilleros (Colombian Association of Relatives of Members of the Public Force Held and Released by Guerrilla Groups, ASFAMIPAZ) created a campaign called "Operation Siriri" to impose pressure on the government and the armed actors to find humanitarian agreements with the insurgents. Ruta Pacífica de la Mujer (the Pacific Route of Women) supported diplomatic efforts of Senator Piedad Córdoba to lobby for a humanitarian accord.

Colombian women also worked towards creating global alliances and engage international support for peace efforts. Women pressured and obtained visits to investigate women's rights in Colombia. The visits included UN Special Rapporteur Radhika Coomaraswamy's visit in 2001, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights representative Susana Villaran's visit in 2005 and the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, Margot Wallström's, visit in 2012 (Document 44, p. 19).

Regardless of these efforts, virtually no women were officially taking part in the peace talks in 2012 in Norway. All of the seats, consisting of 10 negotiators, including five plenipotentiaries[2] with full negotiating power and a team of up to 30 total members on both sides, were taken by men. A Norwegian moderator held the only female seat. Similarly, at the negotiations in Havana, all of the plenipotentiaries and all but one of the negotiators were men. The exclusion of women in the official negotiations was described as 'a bit of a shock' (Document 44, p. 19), given changes in public discourse demanding women's inclusion in peacemaking (such as the publication of UNSCR 1325), as well as the work done by Colombian women to promote women's inclusion in the processes.

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2 Plenipotentiary: a person, particularly a diplomat, who has the authority to represent his or her country, especially in another country. (n.d.) In Cambridge Dictionary. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/plenipotentiary

Women's minimal presence as lead negotiators is misleading, however. At the table, around the table, behind the table, and at side tables, women are having their say and shaping the path to peace. --- Colombian women have accompanied and advanced the peace process, shaped public opinion, supported a negotiated solution to the conflict, generated analysis and organized inputs, and built their capacity to engage.

Document 44, p. 19

The document reports that women have made significant efforts in being included in the peace making processes and have worked towards finding peaceful solutions amid the pause in peace negotiations and lack of representation in the negotiating tables.

5.1.2   Sub-Commissions and Delegations

While women may not have had seats in the official negotiating tables, the documents show that women affected the outcome of the negotiations through different sub-commissions, delegations and working groups. Most notable ones are the Technical Sub-Commission on Ending the Conflict, which has 25 per cent female representation, and Gender Sub-Commission, which was composed of mostly women except for one male FARC-EP representative. The Gender Sub-Commission was formed due to significant pressure from women's organizations (Document 46, p. 32).

The Technical Sub-Commission on Ending the Conflict was established to discuss issues on a bilateral ceasefire, the laying down of weapons, FARC-EP prisoners, criminal organizations, and security guarantees (Document 44, p. 21). Similarly, the Gender Sub-Commission was established to bring the issue of gender into the negotiations. While it had significant symbolic value, it had no decision-making power or the authority to change already reached agreements. The data from UN Women shows that the sub-commission raised awareness on SGBV and its impact

on the victims and their families and communities. They not only spoke about the impacts of war and conflict on women but also on children and the LGBTI communities.

> [The Gender Sub-Commission] helped bring to light the gender dimensions of the conflict, provided a direct link for civil society organizations working on gender issues including lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and/or intersex (LGBTI) organizations, to present their insights regarding the gender approach in the peace negotiations and agreements, and opened new ground for women's participation in peacebuilding and the implementation of the agreements.
>
> Document 46, p. 32

One of the significant accomplishments of the Gender Sub-Commission was securing a delegation trip to Havana in 2014 to meet with the negotiating teams. Five delegations of victims, 60% of them women, voiced their experienced sexual violence in the context of the armed conflict. Their inclusion brought out the topic of SGBV in the negotiations, an issue that had not been addressed in Cuba before.

> Members of the negotiating teams described the participation of these groups in Havana as "transformative" and noted their deepened emotional commitment to ending the conflict that they felt after meeting with the victims and hearing their experiences.
>
> Document 44, p. 22

The delegations urged the government and FARC-EP to keep negotiations going until they reach a final peace accord and to seek ways to de-escalate the conflict before the accord has been established. According to the document, FARC-EP initiated its process of acknowledgement, apology and making amends as a direct result of the delegations' visit to Havana. In addition, they announced they would increase their recruiting age and release all of its remaining child soldiers.

The quote above, in particular, displayed the impact of having diverse voices in the negotiations. Before the presentation of the victims' delegation, the topic of sexual and gender-based violence was not addressed in the negotiations. As O'Reilly et al.

(2015) pointed out, in male-dominated peace discussions, the notion of 'peace' is primarily defined by the absence of armed conflict. Thus it is arguably easy to overlook the more indirect consequences of war, such as rises in conflict-related sexual violence and insecurity. When the negotiators heard the experiences of the victims, however, they reported an increased emotional commitment towards finding peaceful solutions to the conflict.

5.1.3   Gender mainstreaming of the peace agreement

The Colombian conflict is unique in many ways, and the engagement of delegations, women's and LGBTI organizations with the negotiations is unprecedented (Document 44, p. 22). Women's organizations and local women have made strides towards gaining access to the negotiations and bringing women's needs and rights, as well as the rights of indigenous and LGBTI communities into the peace agreement.

> The direct participation of both women and victims at the negotiating table had an important impact. The peace agreement signed in September 2016 is recognized as one of the most inclusive peace agreements in history.
>
>   Document 46, p. 32

When the public referendum in November 2016 rejected the initial peace agreement between FARC-EP and the Colombian government, gender played a big part in the initial rejection of the agreement (Document 45, p. 26). The peace accord contained provisions that aim to protect women, LGBTI and indigenous communities. The gender focus was significantly both applauded and objected[3]. When the original accord was rejected, many feared that the gender-specific provisions would be

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3 See more: the Washington Post (2016).

sacrificed to accommodate those who rejected the deal. This, however, was not the case.

> In the renegotiated peace agreement that was ratified by Congress and entered into force in December 2017, the gender focus was not weakened. Rather, the language is clarified and has become more precise.
>
> Document 46, p. 32

The agreement that is 274 pages long (available in English in Document 10 in its entirety), contains over 100 specific provisions that directly reflect gender. According to the data, the sub-commissions' work, the Gender Sub-Commission in particular, on gender-sensitive language is by large the reason the final agreement reflected gender dimension of the conflict (Document 46, p. 56). The gender-specific provisions include points in rural reform, political participation, end of the conflict, solutions to illicit drugs, victims and implementation, monitoring and verification of the peace agreement.

As mentioned above, the Colombian peace agreement is considered one of the most inclusive peace agreements in history. In the data, the theme of intersectionality is often repeated: apart from gender, ethnicity, class, age, as well as the divide between the urban and rural populations, are attributing factors to inequality (Document 45, p. 26). All of those factors interact with each other. Thus they should not be looked at separately in order to create a more realistic idea of the challenges women face in society.

> The aim of using an intersectional approach rather than viewing as a homogenous group is three-fold: to highlight the diversity of different women's experiences of conflict without engaging in a competition of harms; to examine the ways in which different axes of identity-based discrimination and oppression intersect; and to open possibilities for historically marginalized individuals and communities to meaningfully articulate their concerns and needs.
>
> Document 45, p. 27

One of the factors enabling the intersectional approach to gender mainstreaming in the agreement, as well as its monitoring, was the cooperation and unity of different actors in the political sphere. Multiple women's groups, LGBTI movement and other organizations were able to agree on core issues, such as promoting women's participation in the peace negotiations, despite other political divides (Document 46, p. 56). Also, Colombia has a history of a politically active feminist movement, and the gender mainstreaming efforts had robust international support.

> Colombia had a strong and well supported feminist movement long before the formal peace process took shape. Other enabling factors included the support from members of both delegations; strong support for a gender-responsive approach from Norway (and Cuba), guarantors of the process; and continued pressure from civil society, international bodies like UN Women, and from women in the delegations.
>
> Document 46, p. 32

While the peace accord in itself has multiple sections addressing gender, the inequality issues will not be repaired if the provisions are not implemented in reality. The implementation has reported to be a concern.

> Although Colombia has developed a comprehensive legal framework for addressing conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence, these reforms and efforts have not yet been fully translated into practice, and the daily reality of violence remains the same for many in the country.
>
> Document 45, p. 26

Like noted in the quote above, the challenge of the reforms lies in their implementation. Real-time implementation and verification mechanisms are integral to not only support the sustainability of the achieved peace but also to implement the gender-sensitive approach of the agreement. Monitoring also can help identify advances and difficulties, opportunities and gaps of the agenda (Document 46, p. 8).

The data shows that women have influenced the outcomes of the peace negotiations in various ways, both directly and indirectly. Women worked towards peace amid the pause in official negotiations, pressured negotiators to stay at negotiations until peace was achieved, helped to bring out victims' experiences to the negotiations and finally, helped bring gender into the peace accord. Next, I will look at the peace accord and the UN data to answer questions 1.3, 2 and 3: how gender is represented in the peace accord, how it is implemented and how female agency is presented in the data overall.

5.2 Women in the peace accord

In this chapter, I will look at specifically the second and final peace accord signed between FARC-EP and the Colombian government (document 10). Gender has been mentioned in the agreement in over 100 provisions. The gender-specific provisions can be found in item 1 on comprehensive rural reform (27 % of the mentions), item 2 on political participation (17 %), item 3 regarding the ceasefire and laying down of arms (16 %), item 4 on solutions to illicit drugs (18 %), item 5 in victims (13 %) and lastly, item 6 on implementation, monitoring and verification (8 %; Document 46, p. 32). Also, the agreement contains specific protocols and annexes on the implementation of the agreed items.

To answer how gender has been taken into account in the Colombian peace accords and decision making, I needed to look at the document and not only see how many times gender and women's rights were addressed in the document. Furthermore, I wanted to look at how they were addressed. To analyse the gender-specific provisions and how gender was addressed in them, I formatted codes from themes that were repeated most often when discussing gender and women (see figure 3). Next, I will look at each code separately.

5.2.1   Women as actors

Women as actors was by far the most common narrative found in the document. This code refers to any time women were referred to in the text as independent actors, who by default had something to contribute to society. In the document, women's agency was most often conveyed through emphasizing the equal participation of both men and women in different aspects of decision making. In the section regarding rural reform, one of the principles was equality and gender mainstreaming, which was addressed as such:

> Acknowledgement of women as independent citizens with rights, who, irrespective of their marital status or relationship to their family or community, have access, on an equal footing with men, to ownership of land and production projects, financing options, infrastructure, technical services and training, inter alia. Attention will be given to the social and institutional conditions that have prevented women from gaining access to productive assets and to public and social benefits. Such recognition requires the adoption of specific measures for the planning, implementation and monitoring of the plans and programmes covered in this Agreement so that these can be implemented whilst taking account of women's specific needs and distinct conditions, in accordance with their life cycle, aspirations and needs.

> Document 10, p. 12

> To strengthen the participation of women as citizens, their social agendas have to be appreciated and their contribution to public life as political subjects has to be recognized, especially in terms of promoting and defending their rights.

> Document 10, p. 31

These quotes above recognize the marginalized role of women in Colombian society, the structures that have contributed to it and the need for programmes that improve women's role as independent actors. Notably, the mention of marital status and the relationship to their family can be interpreted in a way that women's rights as citizens have formerly been dependent on those factors. These quotes also show the prevalence of both the needs- and rights-based rhetoric to gender equality. Colombian

women at the 2013 National Summit of Women for Peace advocated for rights-based approaches for gender equality (Document 45, p. 24). In rights-based approach, human rights are used as the base for setting the goals for policies and programming; meaning that the processes are guided by human rights principles (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, 2015, p. 5). Needs-based approach, on the other hand, addresses the needs people, women in general, recognize in their socially accepted roles in society. This approach does not challenge the gender division of labour or women's unequal position in society but instead reinforces it. (Moser, 1994, p. 40). In this respect, the agreement seems to have a mixed approach to gender equality.

It is also notable that the participation of women in political processes was almost always mentioned in the relation of men's participation.

> In order to build a stable and lasting peace, the presence of the State in rural areas will be broad and effective, and it will be reflected in the democratic fulfilment of the rights of all citizens, men and women alike.
>
> Document 10, p. 13

> The strengthening of women's political participation and citizenship on an equal footing includes the adoption of measures to ensure balanced representation of men and women in shaping all the bodies referred to in this Agreement.
>
> Document 10, p. 45

In the agreement, women's underrepresented role as political actors is addressed time and time again. However, when discussing the strengthening of women's political participation, it is often only reflected through the equal or balanced representation of men and women.

> The Government and FARC-EP acknowledge the important role played by women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in consolidating peace, and also the need to promote and strengthen women's political and citizen participation, particularly in the end-of-conflict situation. Women's leadership and participation on an equal footing are essential in public decision-making processes and in the formulation, implementation, evaluation and monitoring of Government policies aimed at achieving a stable and lasting peace.

The quote above recognizes the strides women have made to ensure the end of the conflict in Colombia. It also emphasizes the value of women's participation in the political sphere. The agreement recognizes the social and institutional barriers that prevent women's political participation in society that is rooted in a history of discrimination and inequality. The accord also emphasizes the value of women's participation in all areas of public life, as it can also be seen from the amount of gender-specific provisions in every item of the agreement. However, it is notable that despite the emphasis on the importance of women's equal representation, concrete examples of how it will be achieved are often not specified. One exception to that, however, can be found on item 2 of the agreement:

> Community, institutional and regional media must contribute to citizen participation and, in particular, promote civic values, acknowledgement of different ethnic and cultural identities, gender equality, political and social inclusion --- In an end-of-conflict scenario, community, institutional and regional media will play a part in developing and promoting a culture of participation, equality and non-discrimination, peaceful coexistence, peace with social justice and reconciliation, and media content will incorporate non-sexist values and respect for the rights of women to a life free from violence.

Interestingly, the item 2 on Democratic mechanisms for citizen participation, including direct participation, at various levels and in various subject areas, addresses the citizen participation and women's participation in particular through media representation and programming. This part of the agreement aims to change the society's views on gender equality through changing the narratives on media to create a "culture of participation and equality". Particularly, the agreement shows a belief that incorporating "non-sexist values" could potentially change public's views on the capabilities of women and other marginalized social groups and even create a broader culture of social and political participation. Lastly, the rights of women to a life free

from violence is tightly intertwined with the view of women as victims, which I will discuss in detail next.

5.2.2   Women as victims

Victimisation was the second most common theme that came up when discussing women and gender. It is an important topic, given the number of heinous crimes women were subject to at the peaks of conflict (see chapter 3.2) and considering their marginalised roles in society. However, the narrative of the victim does not come without risks. Some critical voices have raised concern over the problematic totalising effects of the term 'victim' (Walklate et al., 2018, p. 200). Several scholars have criticised that the victim narrative sees the subject as passive and pitiable, and diminishes the victim's sense of agency (Polletta, 2006, p. 111).

Conversely, the victim narrative can also potentially decrease impunity on crimes as well as gain the attention of policymakers and have the victims' concerns acted upon (Walklate et al., 2018 p. 201). It is also possible that considering the victims' experiences can bring out new impacts and shortcomings of existing norms and policies. That is why it is also essential to look at how victimisation of women is addressed in this agreement. In this agreement, the victim narrative was mostly used to justify policy reforms to ensure the non-repetition of the crimes women were particularly subject to. Sometimes, the themes of women as victims and actors were overlapping:

> More than 3,000 victims took part in four forums held in Colombia, organised by the United Nations and the National University, and sixty victims travelled to Havana to deliver their testimonies directly to the Negotiation Table and offer their recommendations, with the support of the Episcopal Conference, the United Nations and the Colombian National University. In addition, more than 17,000 proposals were submitted by the victims and other citizens, by various means, to the Negotiation Table. All the proposals that we received from the victims were fundamental for achieving the agreements.
>
> Lastly, we want to thank the victims for their resolute participation, their noble testimonies and their proposals, without which it would not have been possible to construct this

Agreement, and we encourage them to actively participate in its implementation and in the building of peace.

Document 10, p. 109

This extract from the agreement acknowledges that the victims' stories and experiences had a direct and important impact on the constitution of the peace agreement. Like noted in chapter 5.1.2, the participation of victims' delegation at the peace negotiations was reported to have deepened the emotional commitment of the negotiators to end the conflict. On multiple occasions, women's victimization was used as an argument to promote greater gender inclusion:

The judicial component [of the comprehensive system for truth, justice, reparation and non-repetition] will function in a way that emphasises the needs of women and child victims, who suffer the disproportionate and differentiated effects of serious breaches and violations committed because of and during the conflict. Reparation must be in line with the United Nations' call for all peace agreements to adopt a gender perspective, recognising reparative and restorative measures, the special suffering of women, and the importance of their active and fair participation in the judicial component of the comprehensive system for truth, justice, reparation and non-repetition.

Document 10, p. 125-126

This quote shows how the codes of women's agency and victimisation can overlap. The agreement recognises the effects of conflict on women specifically while promoting for an increase on women's participation. In this quote, the victimisation of women is used to justify gender-specific policies and restorative measures, as well as increasing women's participation in society. On other parts of the agreement, the narrative on women's victimisation in this agreement often relates to sexual and gender-based violence.

This [equity and gender-based] approach [to address illicit drug use] should take into account the relationship between illicit drug use and violence against women, especially domestic violence and sexual violence. Measures will be adopted for women, girls, young people and adolescents.

Document 10, p. 101

All systematic violations of international humanitarian law — hostage taking or other serious deprivations of freedom, torture, extrajudicial executions, forced disappearances, rape and other forms of sexual violence, child abduction, forced displacement and the recruitment of minors will all be ineligible for an amnesty or pardon or equivalent benefits, as established in the Rome Statute.

Document 10, p. 131

When discussing the victimisation of women, one cannot ignore sexual and gender-based violence. In this agreement, as shown in the excerpts above, the narratives of women as victims and SGBV are interlinked. Item 4 of the agreement, Solution to the problem of illicit drugs, emphasises on multiple occasions, the relationship between illicit drug use and domestic and sexual violence on women. In addition, the agreement aims to take action to minimise the negative effects on drug use on the user as well as the user's community, while "giving priority to more vulnerable groups such as the homeless, women and the prison population" (p. 103). Notable in these excerpts is their focus on actions to tackle the problems of sexual and gender-based violence. The second excerpt, while not explicitly discussing women, agrees to address the exceptionally high levels of impunity in regards to SGBV (see chapter 3.2) by not granting amnesty to those who have committed sexual violence crimes.

In this agreement, the topic of women as victims was used mainly to highlight the effects of conflict and violence in society has on women. It, however, is not used to create a narrative of a "pitiable" woman, instead, to justify creating gender-specific legislation and policies. Next, I will look at how women were portrayed through their roles as mothers and caregivers.

5.2.3 Women as caregivers

Women as caregivers is the last code that emerged from the agreement. It was the least prominent out of the three, as I only marked it 11 times throughout the entire agreement. Regardless, its prevalence was significant enough to look further into, as it taps into a larger discussion of women's seen value in society through their reproductive or caregiving roles. It is an important discourse, as women's roles in society have been reflected through motherhood and their contributions to society have been overlooked as they were considered extensions to existing gender roles (Narang & Saini, 2013; in chapter 2.4). This chapter will look into how the peace agreement challenges or reproduces the narrative of women as caregivers.

> The [comprehensive rural] reform recognizes the productive and reproductive role of women and thus their fundamental contribution to rural development and the rural economy; and it will make every endeavour on their behalf and on that of the most vulnerable in society to guarantee conditions of well-being and quality of life and to consolidate their modes of organization and production.
>
> Document 10, p. 10

In this excerpt, women's contribution to rural development and economy is reflected through their motherhood. This can be interpreted as only recognizing women's contributions to the development of the rural societies by their ability to procreate rather than seeing women as independent actors that by default can be of value to the society. In addition, the quote promises to acknowledge their needs on "their behalf", which gives the impression that the decisions are to be made for the women, not by engaging with the women and others whose needs are being discussed. However, this excerpt uses the specific reproductive roles of women to justify creating conditions to ensure the well-being and the quality of life of women and the "most vulnerable in society".

> The Government will adopt measures to facilitate effective participation by women in this [policy for strengthening democratic and participatory planning] work, including measures to overcome obstacles concerning women's caregiving and reproductive roles.
>
> Document 10, p. 43

This excerpt above continues with the same discourse of women's reproductive roles, yet the tone of the quote is quite different to the excerpt before. This excerpt acknowledges women's caregiving and reproductive roles as obstacles4 to societal and democratic participation. In order to allow women to participate in democratic processes without having to choose between domestic and public lives, institutional design has to account for the plurality of women's identities and needs and create policies (e.g. access to adequate healthcare, parental leaves, accessible early childhood education, to name a few) that support them.

> Adoption of a differential and gender-sensitive approach that takes account of the health requirements of women, over their life cycle, including measures to address sexual and reproductive health, psycho-social care and special measures for pregnant women and children in the areas of prevention, health promotion and treatment.
>
> Document 10, p. 23

> The development of programmes to combat hunger and malnutrition, with national coverage, especially for the destitute rural population, pregnant and breastfeeding women, girls and boys and older adults. These programmes will include emergency plans for the most vulnerable rural population and those living in extreme poverty.
>
> Document 10, p. 29

The agreements, as shown in the quotes above, acknowledges the gender-specific health requirements of women and the need to improve the services and programmes that provide health care. In these excerpts, the needs of pregnant and breastfeeding mothers are prioritized, however, also access to sexual and reproductive health services is discussed, thus acknowledging the rights of women to choose over their reproductive desires. According to a United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) definition, good reproductive health is "a state of complete physical, mental and social

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4 Meaning that mothers and women in other caregiving roles may not have the cultural or institutional support to pursue a career outside of the home, due to the responsibility of childcare falling on the woman rather than distributing the labour equally with the spouse, or having sufficient parental leave or options for childcare.

well-being" and that people are able to have a satisfying and safe sex life and the freedom to decide if, when and how often to reproduce (UNFPA, 2020). According to this definition, at least, the acknowledgement of women's health needs through both sexual and reproductive health and the specific health needs of mothers would support the plurality of women's identities, which is further supported in the following extract:

> Promotion of schemes for protection during pregnancy, childbirth and breastfeeding, as well as newborn health services, by gradually extending the coverage and enhancing the quality of the family health and subsidy systems, with special emphasis on rural working women.
>
> Document 10, p. 28

The agreement takes into account the specific health needs of pregnant and breastfeeding women by emphasizing the need for sufficient nutrition, in particular in the rural communities. Furthermore, the accord agrees to develop sufficient institutional support and public social policies, such as subsidy systems and education, for women who are mothers in order to allow them to better participate in public life. This, on its part, can help to increase the possibilities for women's agency, that was discussed in chapter 5.2.1.

So far, chapter 5 has discussed the concrete ways in which women have influenced the Colombian peace process and then how gender and women's needs have been acknowledged in the peace accord. Next, I will look at how the agreement has been implemented in reality.

5.3 Implementation of the gender-specific policies

As shown in table 1, the UN documents chosen for this study include draft resolutions, resolutions, letters, statements and reports. In chapter 5.2, document number 10 was of particular interest, as it contained the final peace agreement between the FARC-EP

and Colombian government. In this chapter, I will look at the rest of the documents to see how they reflect gender and women's role in society. Most of the selected UN documents related to the UN's first Mission and the subsequent Verification Mission to Colombia. The first Mission, agreed upon in the resolution 2261 (table 1, document 35) in 2016, was established by Security Council with a mandate to monitor and verify the process of laying down of arms. Once the first Mission successfully ended its mandate in September 2017, the United Nations Verification Mission in Colombia started its activities immediately. The Verification Mission, established by the Security Council with resolution 2366 (table 1, document 37), mainly working to verify the implementation of sections 3.2 and 3.4 of the Final Agreement (regarding the political, economic and social reintegration of FARC-EP members and the measures on security for communities and organisations). The United Nations worked on both missions as an unarmed international observer, recognising Colombia's ownership of the implementation of the Final Agreement (document 35). Mostly, the documents were published between 2016 and 2019, after the signing of the Final Agreement.

Most information on the implementation and particularly the gender-aspect of the agreement can be found on the Mission and the Verification Mission's reports (documents 12-32). Next, I will analyse the findings regarding women and gender at the implementation of the Final Agreement. In this section, the documents are used as a historical source, reporting the events in Colombia.

5.3.1   Supporting women's agency after signing of the peace agreement

The peace agreement between the Colombian government and FARC-EP, as discussed in 5.2, discussed women's agency largely through the institutional and cultural barriers that do not allow women to participate in the public life as effectively as men. Thus, the agreement also called for greater inclusion of women in politics and policy

planning. In this section, I will look at how the UN documents reported the implementation of women's agency.

According to the UN reports, greater participation of women is being addressed through various measures, such as through the establishment of The Special High-Level Forum for Women in 2017. The Forum aims to serve as an "interlocutor and advisor" to the Commission for the Follow-up, Promotion and Verification of Implementation of the Final Agreement (Document 19, p. 3). The focus of the Forum is to bring about the perspectives and contributions of women into the peace implementation process.

In 2018, Colombia elected Iván Duque from the right-of-centre political party Centro Democrático as its president. For the first time, a female Vice President, Marta Lucía Ramírez was appointed (Document 23, p. 1). Another woman, Nancy Gutiérrez, was appointed Minister of the Interior and in the political opposition, Ángela María Robledo, took a seat in the Chamber of Representatives. The Secretary-General noted the elections to have been "more peaceful and inclusive", as many former insurgents have exchanged violence for politics (Document 25, p. 15). The Secretary-General stated that politics in Colombia is "undoubtedly changing" (Document 23, p. 1). While this development seems promising regarding women's better access to public life, as well as women's rights in general, this progress has not come without its share of resistance:

> A high degree of resistance to the implementation of the peace agreement has been opposed by various sectors of society, including among political and economic actors, the legislative and judicial bodies, and civil servants. For example, during the referendum process, the advancement of LGBTI and women's rights within the agreement were used to leverage opposition to it, which has had a chilling impact on previous gains related to those rights.
>
> Document 21, p. 2

The quote above, from the 2018 annual report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the situation of human rights in Colombia, acknowledges a level of public pushback for the implementation of the peace

agreement. It is noteworthy that specifically the advancement of women's and LGBTI rights in the agreement caused opposing, possibly initiating difficulties on implementation of those provisions.

> OHCHR notes that the percentage of women in Congress decreased in the 2018 elections. While the number of women remained the same as in 2014 (56 seats), the total number of seats rose from 268 in 2014 to 279 in 2018. Gender parity has, however, been noted in the Council of Ministers of the current Government. One of the aims of Sustainable Development Goal 5 is to ensure women's full and effective participation at all levels of decision-making.
>
> Document 26, p. 6

> While female former combatants have participated in the available reintegration programmes, the implementation of those projects does not clearly address the specific situation of women yet. Local initiatives by women's organizations have sought to include female former combatants, as in Pondores (Guajira Department), where the Association of Women Coffee Growers from Perijá has opened opportunities for female former combatants to get involved in the Association and its projects.
>
> Document 19, p. 12

These extracts above also highlight that women's agency in the political sphere, while improved, has encountered some difficulties. While women have been reported to actively participate at the reintegration programmes for former combatants, at the same time the programmes might not have a strong gender-specific focus on them, despite the agreement promising to have gender represented in all areas of the implementation. Similarly, focus on gender parity in the Congress is an improvement, however, if the overall number of seats held by women has remained the same while the overall number of seats has also increased, the final decision-making power of women remains lesser than before.

> In 2017, a number of protests were held, including in Buenaventura, Valle, Norte de Santander, Cauca and Chocó; indigenous protests were also held nationwide. Shortfalls in the guarantee of rights, citizens' perception of institutional incapacity, lack of democratic representation, and corruption were among the reasons for the protests.

This quote from 2017 reports also dissatisfaction from the public to the implementation of the agreement. The protests are reported to have stemmed, in part, from the public's perceived shortcomings of the protection of rights, democratic representation and institutional support. Given the agreement's specific focus on these issues, the protests expose likely problems on translating the promises of the agreement to reality.

Overall, women's agency was the most highlighted gender-specific topic covered in the agreement. Particularly women's participation in politics and policy planning was highlighted. However, according to the reports from the UN Mission and Verification Mission to Colombia show, efforts have been made to improve gender parity and the possibilities of women to participate in public life, while it has faced pushback from a part of the public while others have felt the implementation insufficient.

5.3.2   Women's victimization after the agreement

The second-largest narrative found in the agreement was women as victims. Notably, women's victimisation on accounts of sexual violence has been a recurring theme both in the UN Women's reports as well as the peace accord. The agreement deemed promising due to its acknowledgement of the heinous crimes women are disproportionately subject to, thus possibly making an effort to end sexual and gender-based violence within the Colombian context. In the reports by the UN Mission and Verification Mission in Colombia, SGBV aspect of the narrative related to women as victims is highlighted. Security issues overall have been reported to prevail since the adoption of the agreement. Regarding women's security, threat of sexual and gender-based violence was highlighted.

While the reports acknowledge SGBV generally being underreported, the Government has reportedly estimated the average age of female victims of sexual violence as 13 (Document 15, p. 14-15). In the reports, it is noted that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) has found the State's statistics on the extent of sexual violence as insufficient. While an integrated information system on gender-based violence exists, the protocols for intervention are reported not to be respected in rural areas, despite victims wishing to make complaints to the officials. (Document 21, p. 12). In addition to continuing risk for sexual violence, female human right defenders have been killed since the signing of the peace agreement.

The situation of male and female human rights defenders continued to cause concern in 2016. Over the entire year, OHCHR registered 389 aggressions, including: 59 killings;7 44 attacks; 210 threats, 69 of which were collective; 72 infringements of the rights to privacy and property, including photographing, surveillance and computer theft; 3 enforced disappearances; and 1 case of sexual violence. The 59 victims killed included 4 women, 6 indigenous leaders, 3 leaders of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex groups, 3 trade union leaders, 1 Afro-Colombian leader and 2 leaders of youth groups.
    Document 15, p. 9

Despite the efforts of the State to reduce attacks on human rights defenders, OHCHR is extremely concerned at the increase in killings of defenders, including social and community leaders. In 2017, OHCHR registered a total of 441 attacks, including 121 killings. Fatalities included 84 human rights defenders with leadership roles, 23 members of social and political movements, and 14 people killed during social protests. OHCHR also recorded 41 attempted killings, 213 threats, 61 violations of the rights to privacy and property (for example, unsolicited photos and information theft), four cases of forced disappearance, and the rape of a woman activist. --- Fourteen of the murdered defenders were women, twice the percentage of women defenders killed in 2016. Three of the victims were from the LGBTI community. The categories of defenders most affected by attacks were community, indigenous, peasant, Afro-Colombian and union leaders.
    Document 21, p. 3

These quotes, from documents dates in 2017 and 2018, show that human rights defenders, including those who defend women's and LGBTI rights, have been and continue to be at risk after the peace agreement. Apart from killings, risks include forced disappearance and sexual violence, among others. A report from 2019 (Document 26, p. 4) documents that the killings of female human rights defenders continue, and the highest risk is reported to be in areas with high levels of gender-based violence. Killings and threats to security could be a way of illegal armed groups to control and intimidate people's participation in political activities.

> *According to the analysis by the Office of the Ombudsman of its 2019 early warnings, women continue to be targeted by illegal armed groups, including to discourage them from participating in political, social and peacebuilding processes. Women who denounce sexual violence and those participating in the implementation of the peace agreement are at particular risk.*
> *Document 31, p. 11*

A 2019 report argues that the prevention of human rights violations requires a more substantial State capacity at national and local levels, as well as guaranteeing better inclusion of civil society and local communities. Particularly, the participation of women is highlighted, as it is reported to be "essential to prevent violations of human rights, given their decisive role in identifying the causes of violence and in mediating conflicts in their communities". (Document 26, p. 3). The extrajudicial executions of human rights defenders is a continuing concern reported in the documents, and impunity related to those crimes, as well as the affected persons' likely distrust with the authorities raises concerns (Document 21, p. 14). However, some improvements, particularly from the institutional side, are also reported.

> Regarding security guarantees, the national police launched a project to increase gender sensitization and the response to gender-based violence in seven regions, and the Ministry of Defence has developed its first policy on gender mainstreaming for the defence sector, including for military personnel deployed to territorial areas for training and reintegration and communities.
>
> Document 23, p. 11

With regard to the police, the basic unit of the rural mounted police has established posts in all 26 territorial areas, with an average of 33 police officers at each of those locations. All posts have at least one female officer responsible for gender-related issues and gender-based violence. The unit is also consulting with former combatants and communities about the establishment of immediate attention police centres near each of the territorial areas. In addition, the police has begun implementing the "Communities Safe and at Peace" programme, aimed at strengthening trust and dialogue with communities, local organizations and former combatants.

Document 19, p. 7

These reported projects and developments indicate progress towards gender mainstreaming in the security policies. The national police are also reported to continue to work towards better responding to gender-based violence, gender awareness of the officials, and to improve their training and coordination with local authorities regarding gender-specific issues. The report mentioned progress in identifying and prioritizing female-led projects. (Document 24, p. 10). Similarly, the representation of women among military and police staff has reported having increased (Document 27, p. 10).

Overall, women continue to be subject to various gender-based crimes even after the signing of the peace agreement, which on its own supports the theory of gendered differences on the post-conflict security and understanding of peace (e.g. Ewig et al., 2013). However, at the same time, policy changes are being implemented, and moderate progress is being reported. Thus it shows promise of women's issues being mainstreamed in decision-making and possibly the security of women slowly improving.

5.3.3 Implementation of challenges regarding women's caregiving roles

As discussed in 5.2.3, the peace agreement acknowledged women's role in society beyond their reproductive and caregiving roles. It also recognized how these roles could impose barriers for women's abilities to participate in public life and further acknowledged the lack of institutional support for women to allow fulfilment of both public and personal lives. Another concern was lack of resources, especially in rural areas, to ensure the fulfilment of the specific health needs of pregnant and breastfeeding mothers. In the reports of the implementation, concerns over access to health services are highlighted.

> Unfortunately, in many rural hospitals near the territorial areas, obstetrical services are deficient or non-existent and women continue to face serious difficulties in obtaining those services or access to a maternity ward owing to high transportation costs. The provision of and access to services that ensure the enjoyment of sexual and reproductive rights remain a major challenge.
>
> Document 22, p. 8

> Despite improvements made, there is an urgent need to establish field clinics in the [transitional local] zones [for normalization]. The presence of more than 60 pregnant and nursing FARC-EP members underscores the importance of medical attention, and FARC-EP has voiced complaints regarding the unavailability of such care.
>
> Document 16, p. 9

From the reports, inequality of access to health services can be noted. Of the concerns, the quality or availability of health services in rural areas and zones for former FARC-EP members is emphasised. Apart from access to maternal wards and reproductive and sexual health, the reports noted an insufficient supply of infant formula and other supplies for infants (Document 16, p. 9). The improvements mentioned in the extract above refer to a reported increase of former FARC-EP members being registered in the health system, as well as the government offering assistance and medical treatment in the FARC-EP populated pre-grouping zones (Document 16, p. 9).

Approximately 95 per cent (12,380) of former FARC-EP members are covered by the national health-care system. However, issues around quality, access and information constitute barriers, especially for pregnant women, children, adolescents and persons with disabilities. Approximately one in 10 former combatants suffer from disabilities and chronic illnesses stemming from the armed conflict, and the special system provided under the peace agreement to attend to those conditions is still pending.

Document 28, p. 7

The maternal mortality rate of afro-Colombian women is 152.9, while it is 66.5 for the rest of the population.

Document 21, p. 9

These extracts state that access to health services not only affects pregnant women in particular, disproportionately affects former FARC-EP members and women of Afro-Colombian origin. This disparity between the mortality rates of afro-Colombian and other female population in Colombia further emphasizes the unequal access to health services.

While the caregiving roles of women were limitedly reported in the United Nations documents, they indicate concerning trends regarding pregnant women and mothers' health. While some focus on those issues was given in the peace agreement, significant improvements were not reported.

5.4   Summary of the findings

Chapter 5 started by looking at practical ways women have been reported to have been involved in or excluded from the peace negotiations in Colombia in order to answer the first research question "*How has women's role in the Colombian peace process been represented in United Nations and UN Women's documents?*". The research question included three sub-questions:

RQ1.1 How have women been reported to have been included or excluded in the peace process?

RQ1.2 How have women been reported to have influenced the Colombian peace negotiations?

RQ1.3 How is female agency in general presented in the data?

The data analysis shows that women have reportedly been advocating for peace and women's inclusion in the processes throughout the years of conflict. They have, for example, negotiated local ceasefires, pressured negotiating parties to continue negotiating until an agreement has been reached and campaigned for greater gender focus on the agreement. Despite the campaigning, women were absent from the official peace negotiations held in Cuba and Norway. In other words, women were excluded from all three of Bell's (2008) peace agreement stages. However, women's influence in achieving peace and the peace agreement is indisputable. Women worked the side-lines, and with that, they helped to deepen the emotional commitment of the negotiators to work towards peace and managed to include women, the indigenous population as well as LGBTI communities' specific needs and experiences into the agreement.

The second research question, "*How has gender been taken into account in the Colombian peace accord?*", was analysed in section 5.2. The agreement included over 100 gender-specific provisions, and they were present in all items of the agreement. The theme most highlighted in the agreement was women's agency: greater inclusion of women in all aspects of the society was discussed time and time again. However, it was notable that specific actions to promote women's inclusion were rarely mentioned. Women's experiences as victims and caregivers were also discussed in the agreement but rather than posing women as "passive and pitiable" (Polletta, 2006), those experiences were mainly used to argue the importance of women's broader inclusion in policymaking and the need to develop gender-specific policies and institutional support for women.

Lastly, section 5.3. looked at the third research question 3, *"How has the implementation of the gender-specific provisions of the peace accord been reported?"*. According to the United Nations data, the Government has shown a commitment to improving women's inclusion and security, through the creation of The Special High-Level Forum for Women, increasing female personnel in the national police and military and gender-specific training for the officials, for example. However, access to health services, particularly for maternity wards, was reported to be challenging and significant regional inequalities in the access to and quality of the care were noted. The data also showed alarming trends in the killings of human rights defenders, including women's rights advocates. Sexual violence and threats also were reported to have continued.

Overall, these findings support the theory of gendered differences on the post-conflict security and understanding of peace (e.g. Ewig et al., 2013). Furthermore, the findings support the hypothesis that when women are involved and have an impact in the peace negotiations, there are positive effects to reaching a peace agreement as well as the implementation of the agreements (O'Reilly et al., 2015, p. 11-12). Many signs of progress have been made in order to secure women's more significant inclusion in public life, and programs have been implemented to guarantee the security of women in post-conflict Colombia. However, the situation of women in Colombia remains far from perfect. As a 2019 report from the Secretary-General puts it: "While the Peace Agreement is properly lauded for its inclusion of a gender-sensitive approach, the follow-through has lagged" (Document 27, p. 12). The implementation of the gender provisions of the peace agreement relating to security and reintegration remains limited. Nonetheless, the peace agreement, signed in November 2016, is relatively new and trust-building, institutional reforms and reintegration are long-term processes. Thus improvements could be expected over time.

It is also important to acknowledge that the achieved 'peace' in Colombia merely refers to the peace agreement made between the Colombian Government and FARC-

EP. According to a report dated in October 2019 (Document 29), despite negotiating efforts, some extent of violent conflict between the Government and ELN is reported to remain, possibly continuing to this day.

The case of Colombia is quite a unique example of gender mainstreaming in the peacemaking processes, particularly from the extent to which it is addressed. Nevertheless, this study cannot explicitly say, nor is it trying to, that women's particular efforts made the agreement possible or the achieved peace more sustainable or "better". The results suggest, however, that women's participation could have helped motivate the negotiators to work towards an agreement and that their campaigning helped to incorporate more gender-specific provisions to the agreement. The sustainability of peace can only truly be measured much later on.

6 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Ethical considerations and limitations to the study

As is the case with most qualitative research, this study changed and evolved throughout the process. The availability of the data defined *what* could be examined, and thus the results are limited to the points chosen to highlight in the UN and UN Women's reports. The points chosen to be discussed in the texts reflect the writers' opinions on which aspects are worthy of being highlighted and writing process a diplomatic text goes through before its publishing. The reader does not have access to discussions, reports and results outside of the public materials, which potentially could change the results of this study.

Therefore, it is important to note that this study relies on the representation of reality, which is not necessarily the whole truth of reality. The Colombian conflict has continued over 50 years, and to some extent, it could be argued to be continuing to this day. Thus, it is impossible to find a person who has experienced the conflict and its effects in its entirety. Therefore, each individual's experienced reality of the conflict differs, each experience being equally valid. The length of the conflict and my physical distance to Colombia (each making it harder to find a legitimate sample of

interviewees) was the reason I opted to do a study based on existing data, rather than in-depth interviews.

One ethical consideration of this study was its validity. According to Bernard (2006), "nothing in research is more important than validity" (p. 53). The validity of a study, mainly referring to qualitative research such as this one, means the "accuracy and trustworthiness of the instruments, data and findings in research" (Bernard, 2006, p. 53). The validity of the study can be increased by increasing the transparency of the study, therefore making it easier for the reader to judge its merits (Guest et al., 2012, p. 85).

By choosing the extracts which to highlight in this study and through the selection of data to begin with, I potentially could skew the results to support my own hypotheses. To eliminate this possibility as much as possible, I attempted to walk the reader through each decision made, from the selection of data to the conclusions made. Furthermore, every document used in the study can be found in tables (in attachments) and are publicly available for anyone to read.

All the extracts used in chapter 5 are mainly quoted verbatim. All changes to the original text are marked with "---" in the cases of summarizing the text. In cases where I needed to add information about what the text was referring to, I marked them with square brackets. These changes were evaluated carefully and made only to increase the readers' understanding of the context.

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6.2 Ideas for future research

This study has its roots in the theory of social constructionism and constructivism. As Young & Collin (2004) put it, social constructionism proposes that knowledge, and thus our social reality, is created by social processes and knowledge and action go together (p. 376). By another definition, humans construct frameworks of meaning or discourse to make sense of the world around them (White, 2004, p. 11). Wendt (1992)

writes that constructivism believes that norms, customs and behaviours can shape the behaviours and interests of society. In other words, the way we discuss topics, e.g. women's agency and roles in society, forms a basis to the lived reality of women. Therefore it is important to look specifically how women are presented in official documents to see how their roles in society are being reproduced in literature. Creating shared knowledge of women as active agents in societies, as opposed to a marginalized and passive group, could help shape the social structures and practices.

In addition, I chose to look at female representation in peacemaking in Colombia, as it is dubbed to be one of the prime examples of gender mainstreaming in the context of conflict resolution. Therefore, it is essential to see concrete examples of its successes and failures. Creating positive examples of women's inclusion in peacemaking may pave the way for broader gender equality in conflict resolution in other countries, as well as women's inclusion in other areas of decision making as well.

The Colombian conflict has also gained media interest, both locally and internationally. The female participation and gender focus of the agreement has been covered in media around the world (e.g. The Washington Post, 2016; BBC, 2016; El País, 2019). Therefore, it would be interesting to continue this research in how the media represents the importance of women's contributions as well as the successfulness of the achieved peace. In particular, examining the contrast between local, Spanish language articles and international English language news coverage would be interesting areas of study.

One of the themes of this study is the gender mainstreaming in Colombian policy planning and its impacts on women, for example, on their security. However, this study mostly looks at the experiences and policies designed for cis-women[5]. To continue, it would be beneficial to also look at how the agreement addressed other minorities, such as sexual or gender minorities (the LGBTI community) as well as cultural minorities (e.g. Afro-Colombians and the indigenous populations) and to

5 Cisgender:" a person whose gender identity corresponds with the sex the person had or was identified as having at birth".
(n.d.) In Merriam-Webster Dictionary: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/cisgender.

what extent the agreement changed the situation concerning their security, health and overall access to society.

Limiting this study to Colombia confines the results to only one country. Therefore, the results cannot be concluded to be universal, which, on the other hand, opens up possibilities for future research. Perhaps looking at peacemaking processes in other countries would be interesting to gain a broader knowledge of women's influence on them. Similarly, gender mainstreaming in other contexts as well gives almost limitless possibilities for more studies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Document number	Document title	Document type	Year
1.	S_2016_67	Draft resolution	2016
2.	S_2016_774	Draft resolution	2016
3.	S_2017_776	Draft resolution	2017
4.	S_2017_837	Draft resolution	2017
5.	S_2019_725	Draft resolution	2019
6.	A_C1_57_4	Letter	2002
7.	S_2002_1388	Letter	2002
8.	S_2016_53	Letter	2016
9.	S_2017_481	Letter	2017
10.	S_2017_272	Letter; Final Agreement	2017
11.	S_2018_801	Letter	2018
12.	E_CN.6_2010_L.5	Report	2010

13.	A_HRC_14_24	Report	2010
14.	S_2016_1095	Report	2016
15.	A_HRC_34_3	Report	2017
16.	S_2017_252	Report	2017
17.	S_2017_539	Report	2017
18.	S_2017_745	Report	2017
19.	S_2017_801	Report	2017
20.	S_2017_1117	Report	2017
21.	A_HRC_37_3	Report	2018
22.	S_2018_279	Report	2018
23.	S_2018_723	Report	2018
24.	S_2018_874	Report	2018
25.	S_2018_1159	Report	2018
26.	A_HRC_40_3_ADD.3	Report	2019
27.	S_2019_265	Report	2019

28.	S_2019_530	Report	2019
29.	S_2019_780	Report	2019
30.	S_2019_827	Report	2019
31.	S_2019_988	Report	2019
32.	S_2019_1017	Report	2019
33.	S_RES_1465	Resolution	2003
34.	A_RES_58/317	Resolution	2004
35.	S_RES_2261	Resolution	2016
36.	S_RES_2307	Resolution	2016
37.	S_RES_2366	Resolution	2017
38.	S_RES_2377	Resolution	2017
39.	S_RES_2381	Resolution	2017
40.	S_RES_2435	Resolution	2018
41.	S_RES_2487	Resolution	2019
42.	S_PRST_2017_6	Statement	2017

Document number		
43.	S_PRST_2017_18	Statement	2017

Table 1: UN Documents

APPENDIX 2

Document number	Document title	Year
44.	Gender and the role of women in Colombia's peace process	2016
45.	"We were like caged birds, this gave us wings to fly": A review of UN Women programming on gender-sensitive transitional justice	2019
46.	Women's meaningful participation in negotiating peace and the implementation of peace agreements: Report of the Expert Group Meeting	2018
47.	UNIFEM Strategic Plan (2008–2011) Evaluability Assessment	2012

Table 2: UN Women documents