
Gender, Conflict Resolution, and Peacebuilding

Assessing the Contribution of Women to the Colombian Peace Process

Sarah Kathleen Mullally

Affiliation

MA Latin American Studies
Graduate of the Faculty of Humanities,
Leiden University

Contact

smullally01@qub.ac.uk

Abstract

In Colombia, women have historically been excluded from formal peace processes, yet the 2016 peace agreement signed by the Colombian Government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People's Army (FARC-EP) is widely considered as the first comprehensive peace accord in history to fully integrate a gender perspective. How did women in Colombia navigate an exclusionary political environment to shape the 2016 peace process? Drawing on original case material, including interviews with key actors in the 2012-2016 Colombian peace process, this article analyses the approach of the women's movement for peace. Engaging with academic debate on conflict resolution, women and peacebuilding, this article indicates a robust correlation between peace and local women-led initiatives to reduce inequality, thereby identifying an oversight in common conceptualisations of peacebuilding as a strictly post-conflict, post-accord process. This article illustrates the accumulation of women's political agency in Colombia, arguing that the Gender Subcommittee and the gender-inclusive peace agreement, which emerged in 2016, are the fruit of their decades-long struggle.

Key words: *Peacebuilding, Women's Movement, Conflict Resolution, Gender, Colombia*



Introduction

In November 2016, the Colombian Government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People's Army (FARC-EP) signed the Final Accord for the Termination of the Conflict and the Construction of a Stable and Durable Peace. The Agreement signified an end to the longest internal armed conflict in Latin America and hoped to initiate a new era of peace (Segura & Mechoulam, 2017). The incorporation of a gender perspective has set a precedent for future peace processes, and the Agreement has subsequently been heralded as the most gender-inclusive in the world (Phelan & True, 2022). Amidst the praise, however, it is often forgotten that the first two years of negotiations were marked by the absence of women (Gómez & Montealegre, 2021).

Women have played multiple roles throughout the armed conflict in Colombia, but it is often their status as victims that receives most attention (Bouvier, 2016, p. 6). Throughout the conflict, women have been subject to forced displacement, sexual violence, and forced labour at levels disproportionate to men (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, 2017; Meertens, 2001, 2019). Therefore, when President Santos announced the beginning of peace talks in 2012, Colombian women refused to be excluded as men held a monopoly over decisions that would affect their future and that of their country. Women mobilised, forged alliances, and established agendas to secure participation and ensure an agreement that acknowledged their disproportionate suffering. A growing body of scholarship identifies a positive correlation between women's participation in negotiations and the quality and durability of peace (Krause et al., 2018; O'Reilly et al., 2015; True & Rivero-Morales, 2019). However, women's efforts and actions before and during negotiations have been rarely documented or analysed against the evolving local, national, and international socio-political contexts.

With a focus on the four years of negotiations (2012-2016), this research attempts to formulate a response to the following question: *How have women contributed to peacebuilding in Colombia?*

To do so, the article is structured around the following sub-questions: (1) *What impact did women's mobilisation for peace have on the creation of the Gender Subcommittee and the inclusion of a gender perspective in the Final Agreement?* (2) *What strategies did women employ to secure representation and participation in negotiations?* (3) *What was the impact of forming alliances nationwide and with the female plenipotentiaries?*

Methodology

In order to understand women's contribution to peacebuilding in Colombia and how such an inclusive peace agreement emerged from negotiations that began in the absence of women, the methodological approach consisted of an in-depth qualitative analysis of academic literature, media reports, publications from women's organisations, and international bodies. Due to the global Covid-19 pandemic, it was not possible to travel to Colombia to carry out fieldwork, which made the task of establishing contact with women's peace organisations very challenging. However, six semi-structured interviews were conducted over the Zoom Video Communications platform between February and June 2022.

Following a process of virtual networking, six participants were interviewed, including researchers for national think tanks and NGOs; Colombian female scholars; the director of a community-based peacebuilding organisation; and a member of the government's negotiating team who served as co-Chair of the Gender Subcommittee.¹¹ In order to capture the unique experience and expertise of each participant, the interview process involved pre-set, open-ended questions to guide the conversation. The data collected from these interviews thus provides a diverse range of academic, institutional, and societal perspectives, which collectively contribute to a deeper understanding of the role of women in the Colombian peace process. However, it must be acknowledged that the voices of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous women are absent from this research. Given their disproportion-

¹¹The full list of interviewees and their respective backgrounds is detailed in the appendix for this article



ate exposure to conflict and their central role in community-based peacebuilding, this represents an important limitation.

This article is divided into three parts. The first section presents a critical analysis of existing academic literature relating to conflict resolution, women, and peacebuilding. The second section is a historical reflection of women's mobilisation and advocacy for peace in Colombia. The third section consists of an analysis of the interview material to respond to the research questions outlined above. This article adds to existing research in the area in two ways. Firstly, the analysis of women's historical mobilisation for peace in Colombia produces a more comprehensive understanding of the factors that led to a more inclusive process from 2012-2016 and the production of a gender-responsive peace agreement in 2016. Secondly, through the analysis of the original interview material, a robust correlation is observed between peace and local, women-led initiatives to reduce inequality, which identifies a limitation to common conceptualisations of peacebuilding as a strictly post-conflict, postaccord process.

'Women's movement for peace', 'women's movement' and 'the movement' are used interchangeably to refer to the diverse groups of women and feminists who mobilised for peace.

Theoretical Framework

Conflict Resolution as a Vehicle for Social Change

Early conceptualisations of the transformation from war to peace equate conflict resolution to problem-solving. However, conflicts of the 20th and 21st centuries expose this approach as reductionist and overly simplistic. The roots of the problem-solving approach can be traced to Burton's (1990b) basic human needs theory, according to which conflict is the result of 'frustrated needs' and to resolve conflict, these needs must be satisfied. The formulaic, rational nature of this problem-solving framework fails to consider the cultural and personal elements which shape conflicts.

LeBaron (2002) offers a convincing argument that conflict cannot be resolved "durably nor re-

spectfully" by focussing on problem-solving alone, as it is "insufficient to bridge cultural or worldview differences" (p. 1). Many early scholarly approaches to conflict resolution were developed in individualist Global North cultures and promote a generic practice which cannot successfully be "exported" to conflicts in collectivist societies in the Global South (Abu-Nimer, 2013, p. 171). This one-size-fits-all approach illustrates a common limitation of many conflict resolution theories: the failure to consider the socio-cultural context in which each conflict occurs. A culturally conscious approach is more likely to provide a multidimensional perspective, which would enable a deeper understanding of the roots of the conflict and how it affects communities. Abu-Nimer (2012) and Lederach (1995) both acknowledge the complexities differentiating one conflict from another and emphasise the importance of placing local cultural practices at the centre of conflict resolution. A collective consciousness of socio-cultural attitudes, traditions, and practices may offer a forecast of how conflict is likely to develop.

A more localised approach, sensitive to culture and human emotions, seems more likely to procure a peace that is satisfactory to all. Throughout conflict resolution processes, consideration should also be afforded to the effect of protracted conflict on societal cultural attitudes, where there is a risk of violence becoming an accepted cultural practice. Conflict does not occur in a vacuum between those waging war but rather has a knock-on effect that extends beyond the physical. The normalisation of violence at the individual and community level, resulting from sustained violence at national and international levels, could pose a threat to peace following a ceasefire. Extending conflict resolution processes beyond the mere cessation of violence is therefore crucial to foster broad social change.

Conflict resolution can serve to construct an improved and less unequal society, but many traditional approaches reinforce elitist practices (Burton, 1998; Doob, 1970). As conflict is often caused and sustained by underdevelopment, Azar (1990) substitutes Burton's (1990b) profile of the "necessitous man" for the victimised and marginalised, stressing that victims should



always be given the highest priority in governments' developmental policies (p. 131). Negotiation processes driven by political and military elites, which overlook affected communities, risk the production of an outcome that is neither reflective of nor accepted by society.

Women and (Post-Conflict) Peacebuilding

Dominant scholarly conceptualisations that designate peacebuilding as a post-conflict process undermine the efforts of grassroots groups, which have led peacebuilding initiatives long before the military and political elites unite at the negotiating table. Peacebuilding as a post-conflict process implies that it is contingent on an agreement. In contexts of protracted negotiations and failed agreements, this could serve to prolong human suffering from the direct effects of war. Galtung (1967) coined the term "peacebuilding" as the process of abolishing structural violence and tackling power imbalances and inequality of opportunity (p. 298). Lederach (1997) supports Harbottle's (1979) thesis, which emphasises an interrelated, coordinated, and multi-professional approach (p. 217). Peacebuilding, according to Lederach (1997), "is more than postaccord reconstruction"; it "encompasses, generates and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict towards more sustainable, peaceful relationships" (p. 20). This holistic approach would prioritise victims and those most affected by conflict.

The conceptualisation of "post-conflict" peacebuilding is also problematic for women, who suffer disproportionately from the effects of war. Porter (2016) asserts that the term "post-conflict" overlooks gendered violence, which remains in a militarised culture following the official end to war (p. 210). Highlighting the "continuities of violence that blur the line between war and peace", Selimovic et al. (2012), found that most cases with little or no involvement of civil society in the peace process relapsed into conflict at a later stage (p. 112). "One stands to lose much by excluding civil society from peace processes" (Selimovic et al., 2012, p. 5). One may stand to lose much more through a failure to acknowledge that civil society is gendered. However, to re-

duce women's capacity for peacebuilding to their "innate peace-loving nature", or their instinctive capacity to build peace, is not only a patriarchal tendency that strips women of their recognition as subjects of political rights, but it also reinforces the idea of war as a man's issue and peace as a woman's project (Galtung, 1996, p. 40; Weber, 2006).

Much of the attention on women's contribution to peace focuses on processes occurring outside of the formal processes, which are often monopolised by men. Bell (2013) points out that, although peace initiatives are often promoted by women, it is only when the main protagonists to a conflict – primarily men – come together in a formal attempt to mediate that a formal peace process is considered to exist (p. 2). According to Paffenholz (2016), early women's involvement facilitates sustained inclusion throughout negotiations and agreement implementation (p. 8). Bell (2018) highlights a three-pronged approach to ensure that peace processes are gendered from the outset (p. 9). First, women must be involved in negotiating, reaching, and implementing the peace agreement, and all mediators must be aware of how the conflict and peace process affect women. Second, the substance of the peace agreement must adopt a gender perspective and address the needs of women and girls. Third, feminist advocacy must include a long-term commitment to sustained peace.

Statistical analysis by Krause (2018) shows a robust relationship between women signatories and the durability of peace, with agreements signed by women showing a higher number of provisions and a higher rate of implementation than those not signed by women (p. 987). Gender equality has been shown to be a strong indicator of a state's peacefulness (Hudson et al., 2012, 2009) and inequality a strong predictor of civil war onset (Caprioli, 2005; Melander, 2005). According to McWilliams (2015), there is seldom just one peace process occurring but a whole range of female-led processes, without which, lasting change is unlikely (p. 232). This multifaceted peace work, however, is rarely "noticed or recognised" (Selimovic et al., 2012, p. 11). Selimovic et al. (2012) highlight the significance of claiming space as a powerful base from which women



can set their own agendas and exert influence from outside the official negotiations. From these spaces, women can gain legitimacy and circumvent formal power structures (Selimovic et al., 2012, pp. 107-111).

Conflict resolution should not be approached as a generic formula to solve problems of personal and structural violence in any given place. Perception of local cultural and social norms must be at the heart of any attempt to address conflict and build peace, with sensitivity shown for those affected by violence of all forms. The end of conflict presents an opportunity to create positive social change by dismantling power structures that perpetuate struggle. Wars often begin at the hands of men and are considered a man's issue. This patriarchal ideology pervades theoretical approaches to conflict resolution, which fail to consider the pertinent role of women, as a heterogeneous group, in building peace. As men have taken their seats at official negotiating tables to analyse the problems created by conflict, women have been mobilising to build peace as war raged on. International standards are strengthening the position and legitimacy of women peacebuilders, although barriers remain. Through the formation of strong, intersectional alliances, women have confronted these barriers, and their contribution has proven essential to lasting peace.

History of Women's Mobilisation for Peace in Colombia

Participation in Betancur's Peace Negotiations

As the second wave of feminism was rising across Europe and North America in the 1970s, the depreciation of women in Colombia was worsening. Women became the spoils of an androcentric war, subject to sexual violence and discrimination. This provoked a quiet revolution in Colombia as women began to construct a collective identity as "subjects of social change" (Luna & Villareal, 1994, p. 171). Feminist groups emerged, placing issues such as abortion, sexuality, and domestic violence in the public arena. Simultaneously, urban and rural popular women organised against exploitation and inequality

(Gómez Correal, 2011). Women linked to spaces of political participation began "a broad process of autonomous organisation within these male-dominated spaces" (Vargas, 2002, p. 307). Collectively, these groups represented the women's movement, which reacted quickly to exploit a growing global dialogue on gender equality.

The United Nations designated the period 1975-1985, the "Decade for Women", during which three objectives were outlined: 1) full gender equality and the elimination of gender discrimination; 2) the integration and full participation of women in development and 3) an increased contribution by women towards strengthening world peace (United Nations, 1976). This prompted a reflection of a woman's place in society and empowered the movement in Colombia, propelling the construction of women's networks (Álvarez, 2000, p. 30). As the international community cast an eye over the treatment of women, pressure rose on the Colombian State, which was active and complicit in their oppression.

With the ratification of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women (CEDAW) in 1981, the institutionalisation of the gender equality discourse translated pressure into legal obligations on the Colombian State. These advancements were indicative of a global reckoning that set the stage for mobilisation. The extent of resistance became evident in 1981 when women across the country united at the first Latin American Feminist Encuentro (Meeting) in Bogotá (Luna & Villareal, 1994). This served to prove Melucci's (1998) hypothesis that "the movement is present before the mobilisation becomes visible" (p. 379). The meeting exposed a movement that had been gaining traction in the home and the community as women united to generate social and political change. Empowered by international recognition of their right to equality and security, women advocated for a peaceful end to the armed conflict. The following year, El Colectivo Nacional de Mujeres (the National Women's Collective) was established to lobby before Betancur's peace talks (Chaparro-González & Martínez-Osorio, 2020, p. 27).

Betancur appointed eleven women as vice-ministers and two government ministers, marking



one of the greatest levels of women's political participation in Colombian history (Torres Mateus, 2020). This inclusionary trend extended to the negotiating table and subsequent peace agenda. In 1984, the government signed agreements with four different armed groups. Of fifty-eight signatures, four belonged to women, and the peace commissions were composed of 158 men and 17 women (Chaparro-González & Martínez-Osorio, 2020, p. 24). Women represented 7.14 per cent of all signatories of the peace agreements and 9.71 per cent of peace commission members (Villarraga, 2015). For the first time, women had been invited to participate in discussions to end a conflict of which they had long been the primary victims. This shift from total exclusion to partial inclusion was the culmination of women's mobilisation within a favourable international climate despite national adversity.

Imposing a Feminist Agenda on the 1991 Constitution

The 1985 siege of the Palace of Justice marked a breakdown of Betancur's peace process and accelerated women's mobilisation for peace (Luna & Villareal, 1994). Subsequent peace processes initiated during the Barco (1986-1990) and Gaviria (1990-1994) administrations saw a regression in terms of women's representation and none of these agreements addressed women's rights (Chaparro-González & Martínez-Osorio, 2020, pp. 28-29). Excluded from formal processes, women focused on shaping the "peace pact" presented by the National Constituent Assembly (Chaparro-González & Martínez-Osorio, 2020, p. 32).

In March 1988, the women's collective submitted a proposal entitled 'Nosotras el pueblo de Colombia' - 'We, the people of Colombia' (in the feminine) to the House of Representatives for the reform of the 1886 Constitution. The collective was composed of trade unionists, liberals, conservatives, communists, socialists, feminists, independent and social leaders, reflecting the heterogeneity of the group (Montaño & Aranda, 2006, p. 270). The proposal included labour and political rights, protection for children, and

the eradication of inequality and discrimination (Morgan & Buitrago, 1992, p. 370). In response to increasing societal violence, they also proposed a "right to peace, personal security and the prohibition of torture and physical or psychological cruelties" (Morgan & Buitrago, 1992, p. 370).

The convocation of a constitutional assembly intensified networking among women and feminists, who coordinated to ensure the incorporation of their rights into the new Constitution. With only four women elected, low representation intensified the need for strategic advocacy (Luna & Villareal, 1994). In April 1991, the women of Cali published an open letter inviting women to meet to "discuss strategies" (Morgan & Buitrago, 1992, p. 378)¹². Women from across the country responded, uniting to form the Red Nacional de Mujeres y Constituyente (the Woman and Constituent Assembly National Network) to campaign for the incorporation of CEDAW principles into the new constitution (Morgan & Buitrago, 1992). The growth of this network, from an amalgamation of ten women's groups to seventy-five, reflects the power of the movement and its capacity for harnessing support (Luna & Villareal, 1994, p. 191).

Despite exclusion from formal processes, women harnessed alternative forms of participation. Colombian women recognised the law as a powerful instrument for social change, making immense contributions to "a new political order conducive to all Colombians living in peace" ("Ha renacido la esperanza," 1991). The movement successfully carved out a space for women when the political opportunity arose. By adopting a human rights frame to present their demands, establishing strategic alliances, and harnessing the power of the media, the movement demonstrated a broad repertoire for contentious action, which prohibited the Assembly from ignoring their proposals. This process saw the birth of the Red Nacional de Mujeres (National Women's Network, hereafter RNM), of women, feminists, and non-feminist groups, united for a negotiated end to the conflict (Chaparro-González & Martínez-Osorio, 2020, p. 36).

¹²From a letter from María Ladi Londofio, Clara Eugenia Charria and Carmen Eliza Alvarez, on Si-Mujer (1991, April 19) quoted from Morgan and Buitrago (1992).



Pastrana's Peace Process and UN Resolution 1325

The cautious optimism for a new peaceful political order soon faded under the Samper administration (1994-1998). Low legitimacy due to alleged links with drug traffickers limited President Ernesto Samper's bargaining power for effective peace talks (González, 2014, p. 421). This period did, however, mark an advancement in terms of women's participation. Of seventy-five signatories to peace agreements, seven were women and the Presidential Council for Peace was composed of thirteen men and two women (Chaparro-González & Martínez-Osorio, 2020). The Mandate for Peace, Life and Freedom collected 10 million votes and galvanised marches with high levels of female participation (Rojas, 2004, p. 12). This pressure created momentum for the Pastrana-FARC peace talks in San Vicente del Caguán in January 1999.

Women's representation in the official peace process of 1999-2002 was low, but their impact beyond the negotiating table was mighty. Four women held official positions during negotiations, but the peace commissions were composed of more women than men (Chaparro-González & Martínez-Osorio, 2020). RNM succeeded in holding a Women's Forum in Caguán to declare that "without women, there will be no peace and with women, a sustainable peace can be achieved" (Martínez & González, 2001, p. 87). The forum was an opportunity to advance the gender agenda and created impetus for the formation of further networks (Paarlberg-Kvam, 2017, p. 162). Approximately 600 women attended, representing the "cultural, sectoral and regional diversity of the movement" (Díaz et al., 2001, p. i).

In this public demonstration of political agency, women asserted themselves as key actors in resolving the conflict. The movement highlighted the underlying socio-economic dynamics of the war and the need to address "ethnic, gender and generational dimensions of the conflict" (Rojas, 2004, p. 20). This surpassed common discourse of paramilitaries, drug-traffickers and terrorism. The absence of government officials reinforced the assumption of war as a man's issue, exposing low levels of state support for women's

proposals. This absence did not, however, preclude the forum from public recognition. *El Espectador* and *El Tiempo* reported on the event, propelling women's "issues" and visions for peace into the public arena (Thomas, 2000; Castrillon, 2000). Four months later, the UN launched the Women Peace and Security (WPS) agenda with Resolution 1325 (Yoshida & Céspedes-Báez, 2021, p. 19).

This resolution reaffirmed the role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, and post-conflict reconstruction (United Nations Security Council, 2000). In Colombia, official negotiations were dominated by men but from the margins, women responded quickly to the WPS agenda (Rojas, 2004, p. 22). In 2001, Colombian and Swedish trade unions jointly established *Iniciativa Mujeres por la Paz* (the Women's Peace Initiative, IMP) "for women from various social sectors to unite to design a shared agenda for peace" (Rojas, 200, p. 212).

When peace talks collapsed, the women's movement remained steadfast in their demand for a settled negotiation. A coalition of women organised a peace rally to raise their "long-silenced voices" in a resounding 'no' to the war and to confront "the power that excludes, marginalises, and eliminates" (Rojas, 2009, p. 218; Sánchez et al., 2002, p. 104). This exposed the ever-growing political presence of the movement. Subsequently, the *Constituyente Emancipatoria de Mujeres* (Women's Emancipatory Constituent Assembly) was formed to secure participation in future negotiations (Rojas, 2009, p. 212). The Assembly united nearly 800 women from various regions, social classes, and ethnic groups - who together produced a "Twelve-Point Agenda for Peace" (Rojas, 2009, p. 212; *Iniciativa de Mujeres Colombianas por la Paz*, 2003)

Women's Resistance under Uribe

The biggest threat to advancements made by women in terms of participation, representation and the pursuit of lasting peace, was the election of Álvaro Uribe as president of the Republic in May 2002 (Jones, 2009, p. 360). The open endorsement Uribe received from the United Self-



Defence Forces of Colombia (hereafter, AUC) during his presidential campaign set the tone for an eight-year tenure of parapolitics, impunity, and widespread human rights violations (“El candidato liberal colombiano,” 2002). Within a hostile national climate, the women’s movement appealed to the international community, organising nationwide marches to keep their demands for peace in the public eye (Bouvier, 2016, p. 18).

In November 2003, approximately three thousand women arrived in Putumayo to denounce increased human rights violations under Uribe’s ‘democratic security’ programme (Rojas, 2009, p. 218). This demonstration was a testament to the resilience of the movement, which continued to insist on a political solution to the conflict. In an organised act of defiance, IMP submitted a report to Congress which recommended a gender perspective in the legal framework for demobilisation and reintegration of armed groups (Rojas, 2009, p. 213). The proposal invoked international humanitarian law to support their demands. This legislative advocacy strategy, executed in combination with active mobilisation, proved effective. The final law approved by Congress included five points from the proposal, including protection for victims and witnesses of sexual aggression (Rojas, 2009, p. 213).

UN Resolutions 1325 proved fundamental to women’s anti-war activism throughout Uribe’s presidency. Colombian women employed these international frameworks as “mechanisms of accountability” to the state (Bouvier, 2016, p. 37). The arrival, in 2005, of Susana Villarán from the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, to raise awareness of gender-based violence and discrimination, affirmed the successful reach of their advocacy. This generated increased “dialogue and coordination between women’s movements across the country”, who thereafter adopted a more vigorous rights discourse to demand cultural and social change (Sisma Mujer 2010, p. 31). In 2008, the Constitutional Court ordered in favour of protecting the rights of women victims of forced displacement, and declared sexual violence against women a regular, systemic, and invisible practice in the

armed conflict (Sisma Mujer 2010, p. 31).

Analysis

Drawing on semi-structured interview material, this section examines how Colombian women contested their exclusion from the peace process and influenced both formal negotiations and grassroots peacebuilding initiatives.

No Peace Without Women

When peace talks began in September 2012, what was striking was the “masculine monopolisation” of negotiations (O. P. Velásquez Ocampo, personal communication, February 24, 2022). Two women were designated as negotiators for the Colombian government, and two women accompanied the FARC negotiating team as collaborators.¹³ Thus, even when women were granted access, their position was subordinate to that of men. The under-representation of women sparked nationwide mobilisation among women who sought to publicise their exclusion and challenge the power dynamics that exacerbated their suffering.

With three decades’ worth of activist experience behind them, the women’s movement for peace had fine-tuned its organisational capabilities and had developed robust political agency. This was evident from their rapid response to the announcement of the peace negotiations. In October 2012, in contrast to the homogenous, elitist composition of the official negotiating teams, women from all sectors of Colombian society united under a common platform, *Mujeres por la Paz* (Women for Peace), to draft their own peace agenda (Phelan & True, 2022, p. 180). A collective commitment was expressed “to shape a society” in which women would be recognised as “subjects of rights in public and in private” (*Mujeres por la Paz*, 2012). The manifesto highlighted their differences and the inequalities they experienced, demonstrating their ability to develop a peace agenda acceptable to all. *Mujeres por la Paz* expressed their resolute commitment to build peace, in a paragraph which is worth quoting in full:

¹³Lucía Jaramillo Ayerbe, Elena Ambrosi Turbay, Tanja Nijmeijer (alias Alexandra Nariño) and Shirley Méndez.



We reaffirm our ethical and political commitment to the construction of peace and a political end to the social and armed conflict; we declare ourselves insubordinate to the patriarchy and to capitalism and we refuse to continue to be spoken for in a patriarchal culture; we want to be party to the new social contract which will emerge from these dialogues (Mujeres por la Paz, 2012).

The movement identified the patriarchal, capitalist culture of Colombia as an aggravator of conflict and called for social change, which they identified as necessary for lasting peace. This mirrors many scholarly reflections linking sustainable conflict resolution to social and cultural transformation (Burton, 1990; Doob, 1970; Kelman, 1986; Scimecca, 1991). Mujeres por la Paz drew attention to gender-based violence beyond the battlefield; articulating the connection between organised and intrafamilial violence, emphasising that peace can only be achieved by eradicating both. By reframing the conflict from a military issue to a societal issue ingrained in Colombian culture, women activists expanded the scope of peace negotiations beyond demobilisation and ceasefire arrangements, laying the ideological foundations for the inclusion of a gender perspective in the Final Agreement.

The Women's Movement for Peace was therefore challenging the conventional methods of conflict resolution, which had repeatedly been dominated by men, and which had historically failed to foster lasting peace. These women declared themselves as "protagonists" of negotiation, peacebuilding, and decision-making processes and supported this assertion by reminding the government, the armed forces, and the people of Colombia that "problems which affect women, have implications for society as a whole" (Mujeres por la Paz, 2012). The manifesto was an articulate and comprehensive expression of women's stake in the peace process.

Employing international legal discourse, the women's movement framed peace as a right to be enjoyed by all Colombians. The movement transformed their exclusion into political lever-

age to secure participation in the formal process and exert pressure for a gendered peace agreement. With the endorsement of nearly 100 organisations, fourteen proposals were submitted for consideration. Through coalition-building, public contestation of their exclusion, and the articulation of a gendered peace agenda, women established themselves as legitimate political actors in the peace process and laid the foundations for representation in the formal process and the incorporation of a gender perspective within the negotiations. A strong message was conveyed to insurgents, politicians, and Colombian society: there will be no peace without women.

Penetrating the Patriarchal Peace Process

The importance of Resolution 1325 was stressed in multiple interviews as Colombian women invoked this international framework to support their claims for inclusion in negotiations and to articulate the disproportionate effect of the conflict on women. The promotion of the rights of women in conflict and post-conflict settings from the international political arena, created space for women's advocacy at local levels and the women's peace movement in Colombia claimed this space. The 2013 National Summit for Women and Peace was the culmination of sustained efforts from women's and feminist organisations and their persistent engagement with the peace process. The women of Colombia understood that there is no strength without unity, particularly when asserting their position among the political elite. The summit was a grand demonstration of this unity: a public rejection of their imposed position of subordination and an irrefutable declaration of their status as political subjects and peacebuilders (Muñoz Pallares & Ramírez Cardona, p. 2014). The summit united over four hundred people to promote women's inclusion in the peace process. UN support was "fundamental" in raising the profile and legitimising women's claim to participation (V. Samudio, personal communication, April 28, 2022).

The summit was, by all accounts, a peace process occurring parallel to formal negotiations. Women from across the country united to consolidate a common agenda (Phelan & True, 2022, p.



182). One objective was to promote dialogue among territorial, national, and international peacebuilding experiences to identify challenges and lessons learned (Muñoz Pallares & Ramírez Cardona, 2014, p. 17). This was echoed nine years later by Sergio Jaramillo Caro, who emphasised the value of learning from other peace processes (Jaramillo Caro, 2022). Having participated in official negotiations from 2012 to 2016, the former High Commissioner for Peace was speaking from hindsight. The foresight exhibited by those at the 2013 summit is, therefore, a testament to women's capacity as peacebuilders and active agents of change.

Three fundamental points were agreed upon at this summit. Firstly, the parties should not leave the negotiating table until they reach an agreement. Secondly, the presence and participation of women during every stage, and thirdly, an agenda which addressed the needs of women and how the conflict had affected them (Muñoz Pallares & Ramírez Cardona, 2014, p. 10). Women for Peace organised a demonstration in Bogotá. Over 8,000 women claimed the streets under the rallying cry "I am a woman and peace is mine" to demand inclusion in the formal dialogues ("Las mujeres maracharon", 2013). Their efforts succeeded when, in November 2013, Nigeria Rentería and María Paulina Riveros were appointed as plenipotentiaries with full negotiating power on behalf of the Colombian government. Reflecting on her appointment, Riveros explained:

It was the women's civil society movement, which was very strong in Colombia and very prepared, that demanded that the agreement have a differential approach with respect to women. It was in response to this that the President nominated Nigeria and me. (M. P. Riveros, personal communication, June 3, 2022)

While numerically it may seem insignificant to appoint just two women among approximately twenty negotiators, this was an important victory. The negotiations, which began in 2012 and progressed into 2013, projected an image of the peace process as a patriarchal arena. It seemed that the

door had closed on women's participation, but through persistent engagement and nationwide public advocacy, the women's civil society movement managed to pry this door open. Through the organisation of inclusive parallel processes such as the National Summit for Women and Peace, alongside sustained coalition-building and harnessing international support from the UN, women transformed their exclusion into political influence. This strengthened their legitimacy as peacebuilders and successfully pressured negotiators to expand women's participation within the formal peace process.

Building Alliances for a Gendered Agreement

The women's movement recognised that with female negotiators, civil society actors could gain access to official negotiations. Ellerby (2016) argues that a women-inclusive peace agreement requires institutional support for women's participation. Women peace activists formed alliances with the female delegates so that, from their position in Havana, they could cultivate political will to incorporate their demands and institutional support for their participation. Riveros reflected that her appointment was due to her "very fluid, permanent, and deep relationship with civil society" (M. P. Riveros, personal communication, June 3, 2022). This "close bond of trust" would ensure the "reflection of women's rights in each aspect of the agreement" (M. P. Riveros, personal communication, June 3, 2022). This alliance provided a platform from which the women's movement exerted pressure for greater access to negotiations.

The Gender Subcommittee resulted from this pressure and was a breakthrough as it formally guaranteed the participation of women civil society in the official peace process ("Instalan Subcomisión de Género," 2014). The objective of the subcommittee was "to include the voice of women and a gender perspective in the agreement" ("Se instaló la Subcomisión de Género," 2014). The subcommittee exemplified the transformative force of the women's movement and its capacity to influence negotiations despite initial exclusion. With support from international experts and a "very strong relationship" with



women's civil society organisations, the subcommittee established a solid conceptualisation of a gender perspective (M. P. Riveros, personal communication, June 3, 2022). Riveros emphasised that women's organisations "were a permanent source of advice to the subcommittee" (M. P. Riveros, personal communication, June 3, 2022).

From 2014 to 2016, eighteen representatives of women's organisations participated in official deliberations with the Gender Subcommittee.¹⁴ Five delegations of victims, sixty per cent of whom were women, were also invited to participate in hearings (Céspedes-Báez & Jaramillo Ruiz, 2018, p. 98). As a result, over one hundred provisions relating to women's rights and equality were written into the final peace agreement, affirming Ellerby's argument that a women-inclusive peace agreement is possible where there is institutional support for women's participation. The subcommittee ensured the incorporation of a gender-based approach, addressing comprehensive rural reform, political participation, solutions to the problem of illicit drugs and victims of the conflict ("Los logros de la Subcomisión de Género," 2016). With the intention of reducing the imbalance of power and inequality of opportunity, these provisions address what Galtung (1969) identifies as "structural violence" (pp. 170-171). These measures aimed to weave peace into Colombian institutions and society by reducing indirect violence against women. The final agreement reflects Boutros-Ghali's (1992) conceptualisation of peacebuilding as a process of "rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war (...) and building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit" (p. 4).

Each interviewee attributed the peace agreement and inclusion of a gender perspective to women's persistent mobilisation. When Santos announced the beginning of negotiations in 2012, the women's peace movement was "mature, organised and had accumulated allies and agency throughout the previous three decades" (V. Samudio, personal communication, April 28, 2022). This aligns closely with Bell's (2018) notion of feminist advocacy, which she defines as

the long-term commitment necessary to ensure that peace processes are gendered from the outset (p. 9). The interview data suggests that the women's movement for peace had already fulfilled this dimension of Bell's framework well before formal negotiations began and it was the accumulation of this advocacy which led to a gendered peace agreement.

Building Peace in the Midst of War

In 2024, Jaramillo Caro, former High Commissioner for Peace in Colombia, proclaimed that peace comes after the agreement (FBA, 2024). This has long been the approach to conflict-resolution and echoes many scholarly understandings of peacebuilding as a "post-conflict" process (Paris, 2004). There are three main flaws with filing peacebuilding under the "post-conflict" category. Firstly, it reveals a common discrepancy between political understandings of the construction of peace and peacebuilding on the ground, which often begins long before official negotiations commence. Secondly, it undermines the revolutionary role that local communities play in peacebuilding pre-agreement and thirdly, "post-conflict" peacebuilding fails to acknowledge violence beyond the battlefield, which is perpetuated by cultural attitudes and influenced by the normalisation of armed conflict.

As politicians have inferred that peacebuilding is contingent on an official agreement, women in Colombia have been actively building peace in the midst of conflict and in the absence of a treaty. San Andrés de Cuerquia (hereafter, San Andrés), a rural Andean town in the Antioquia department of Colombia, has been an epicentre of violence, where communities have long lived under the shadows of paramilitaries (Rutas del Conflicto, n.d.). Lady Acevedo, the coordinator of Paz A Bordo, a peace organisation in San Andrés, emphasised the central role of local women victims of the conflict, in building peace (L. Acevedo, personal communication, June 1, 2022). These women have united to form associations and organisations in resistance to violence. She stressed that they alone, without

¹⁴Including: Asociación Amanecer de Mujeres por Arauca, Red Nacional de Mujeres, Iniciativa de Mujeres por la Paz, Ruta Pacífica de Mujeres, Coordinación Nacional de Desplazados-Departamento de Mujeres, and Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas, Negras e Indígenas.



institutional support, began to construct a community of peaceful coexistence: “these women organised themselves and took the reins to build peace” (L. Acevedo, personal communication, June 1, 2022). Asociación de Mujeres Creativas y Emprendedoras del Municipio de Rovira (the Association) is another women-led, independent peacebuilding initiative that promotes women’s engagement in economic activities such as farming and the cultivation of coffee crops (Sanabria, 2022; Solorzano, 2020).

The interdependent relationship between social equality and peace was concisely articulated by Acevedo: “Social inequality guarantees poverty, and that which guarantees poverty, is always going to guarantee violence” (L. Acevedo, personal communication, June 1, 2022). This reinforces Galtung’s (1976) conceptualisation of peacebuilding as the abolishment of structural violence and inequality. Women have engaged in processes to break this vicious cycle. Paz a Bordo organises skills-based workshops for women to learn to make bedding, curtains and clothing to sell. Acevedo explained that this is part of the peacebuilding process as it helps women become financially independent, thus reducing social inequality (L. Acevedo, personal communication, June 1, 2022).

Acevedo highlighted two elements of peacebuilding that must sustain and complement each other. The first concerns peacebuilding from the “endogenous”, which she defined as “strength from within the local communities” (L. Acevedo, personal communication, June 1, 2022). The second concerns peace as a political project. Acevedo emphasised the importance of integrating the two and transforming peace from a “political issue” to a practical process (L. Acevedo, personal communication, June 1, 2022). This mirrors Lederach’s (1997) approach, whereby the elites of society engage with and support grassroots and social leaders to construct peace (p. 72). Acevedo explained that in the absence of institutional support, women have developed their own understanding of peace and have united to build this vision into their communities (L. Acevedo, personal communication, June 1, 2022).

All interviewees highlighted the normalisation of violence. Acevedo remarked that, in San An-

drés, “many jokes are violence-related (...) it has become anchored in our culture” (L. Acevedo, personal communication, June 1, 2022). This not only affirms Porter’s (2016) assertion that gendered violence remains in a militarised culture following the official end to war (p. 210) but suggests that the conflict exacerbated gender-based violence in Colombia. “Here, a woman is beaten for the simple fact of being a woman” (L. Acevedo, personal communication, June 1, 2022). This strengthens Selimovic et al.’s (2012) assertion that understanding the interrelations of domestic violence and violence in the streets is “imperative” for substantive social change (p. 112). Culture cannot be omitted from the conflict resolution equation if peace is to be achieved at all levels of society. Riveros noted that the negotiating parties collectively “aspired to construct a culture free from gender-based violence” (M. P. Riveros, personal communication, June 3, 2022). Beyond the mere aspirational, women-led organisations such as those in rural communities in Rovira and San Andrés have been actively working to eradicate violence.

The Kroc Institute’s fourth special report on the gender approach of the Colombian peace agreement found that the implementation rate of provisions with a gender focus is low (Echavarría Álvarez, 2023, p. 28; Quinn and Vásquez, 2023). The report indicates that the gender provisions are unlikely to be implemented within the 15-year timeline outlined in the framework plan for implementation (Echavarría Álvarez, 2023). These findings conflict with Krause’s analysis that women’s participation in peace negotiations leads to higher agreement implementation rates (Krause, 2018, p. 1006). The low levels of implementation expose a gap between peace as a political issue and what Acevedo refers to as a “practical process” (L. Acevedo, personal communication, June 1, 2022). The Kroc Institute report cites failed efforts to eradicate poverty as an example of a gender gap in the implementation of the peace accord (Echavarría Álvarez, 2023, p. 35). This is consistent with concerns expressed by the interviewees. “No hay plata, no hay plata, no hay plata” (there is no money) was repeated by the interviewees when asked of the biggest challenges to building peace and women’s



sustained participation. Each stressed the importance of education and the role of young people in holding the government to account in the pursuit of a peaceful, just and equal society. Despite challenges, each interviewee expressed hope and attributed this to advances made by women in the face of adversity. “We have had enough of this violent narrative. There is no turning back now” (L. Acevedo, personal communication, June 1, 2022).

Discussion and Conclusion

The women of Colombia defy many scholarly conceptualisations of a woman’s role and place in war and peace. Sexual violence, marginalisation, and discrimination were the side effects of an armed conflict that plagued Colombian society for more than fifty years. However, the violence, repression, and brutality that characterised the country were also the impetus for social mobilisation for change. An international climate that cracked open the conversation on gender equality thrust women to the front and centre of the campaign for an inclusive, negotiated settlement, which acknowledged the differentiated effects of warfare on women. This global dialogue empowered the women’s movement in Colombia, which responded by building alliances and constructing a collective identity as political subjects to challenge their imposed positions of subordination and victimisation. The inclusion of women at the negotiating table during the Betancur administration was a result of their persistent activism and catalyzed their sustained demands for inclusion in the peace processes that followed.

Much of the literature on women’s contribution to the Colombian peace process has glossed over the historical accumulation of women’s political agency, and few have analysed the impact of women’s peacebuilding efforts at the community level. Women’s mobilisation for peace in Colombia did not occur in a vacuum. The consistent ability of these groups to adapt to changing national and international contexts is a testament to their political agency. Over the three decades and four peace processes that preceded the Santos-FARC negotiations, the women’s peace movement consolidated its efforts to lay a strong founda-

tion from which to challenge male monopolisation of the 2012 negotiations.

Women’s contributions to peacebuilding in Colombia have thus manifested in many ways. Since the mid-1980s, women have publicly rejected the violent conflict and campaigned for a negotiated settlement to the war through the construction of strategic alliances, public marches, and national summits. By documenting and publicising human rights violations, Colombian women challenged the normalisation of violence by institutionalising peace. The women’s movement in Colombia remained attentive to their expanding rights under international law, engaging in legislative advocacy to protect their rights, promote peace and appeal for change.

When the negotiations between the government and the FARC commenced in 2012, women reacted quickly to challenge the gender deficit and to prevent a peace treaty which would be characterised by gender blindness. Women of all backgrounds joined forces to express their commitment to ending the armed conflict and to publicly denounce the violence stemming from the capitalist, patriarchal structures of Colombian politics and society. The peace agenda produced by this diverse alliance of women in 2012 called for their direct participation in official negotiations and the inclusion of a gender perspective in the peace process.

The formation of alliances between diverse civil society groups of women and feminists increased the visibility of the movement which helped to garner the support of international bodies. The alliances formed locally, nationally, and internationally strengthened the credibility of their claim for inclusion. The significance of alliance-building was evident in the organisation of the National Summit for Women and Peace. The summit was a grand demonstration of unity, which contrasted starkly with an increasingly polarised Colombian society. The summit was a platform for women to publicly declare their status as political subjects and peacebuilders. Through the cumulative foundation of alliances, women’s civil society organisations were able to interact with the female plenipotentiaries. The consolidation of this relationship served to legitimise their claims among the political elite and



opened an entry to direct participation in official negotiations. While the implementation of the peace agreement was beyond the scope of this research, the lack of progress since 2016 in delivering on the gender provisions of the agreement presents further questions regarding barriers to gender equality and highlights an important area for further research analysing post-accord challenges to inclusive, sustained peace.

As Colombian women have frequently been denied access to formal negotiation spaces, they have pursued alternative paths to build peace in their communities. These peacebuilding initiatives have often developed in the midst of war and as the political and military elite have convened for discussions. Women peacebuilders such as those in San Andrés de Cúcuta and Rovira undermine many scholarly and political approaches to peace which insist on placing peacebuilding on a shelf until an agreement has been reached to settle the conflict.

Contrary to repeated scholarly affirmations of women's innate ability to build peace, this research demonstrates that the role of Colombian women as peacebuilders stems from their status as subjects of political rights, from the robust

political agency which they have accumulated through contentious action and their direct involvement in peacebuilding initiatives. While this research draws on interviews with women from diverse sectors of Colombian society, it does not include the voices of Afro-Colombian or Indigenous women who have experienced disproportionate and identity-specific impacts of the armed conflict (Echavarría et al., 2024). Future research should centralise the voices of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous peoples and should consider gender and ethnic experiences through an intersectional lens.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to the interviewees who generously dedicated their time to share their knowledge and experience with me, which have been invaluable to the development of this research. I would also like to thank to Dr. Håvar Solheim and Professor Patricio Silva from Leiden University for their support throughout the research process and insightful suggestions in the preparation of this article for publication.

Bibliography

- Abu-Nimer, M. (2012). *Dialogue, Conflict Resolution, and Change: Arab-Jewish Encounters in Israel*. SUNY Press. <https://doi.org/10.1353/book10961>
- Abu-Nimer, M. (2013). Reflections on the Field of Conflict Resolution. *International Journal of Conflict Engagement and Resolution*, 1(2), 163–187. <https://doi.org/10.5553/IJCER/221199652013001002004>
- Álvarez, S. E. (2000). Translating the Global Effects of Transnational Organizing on Local Feminist Discourses and Practices in Latin America. *Meridians*, 1(1), 29–67. <https://doi.org/10.1215/15366936-1.1.29>
- Azar, E. E. (1990). *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: Theory and Cases*. Aldershot.
- Bell, C. (2013). *Women and peace processes, negotiations and agreements: operational opportunities and challenges*. Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre.
- Bell, C. (2017). Women, Peace Negotiations, and Peace Agreements. In F. Ní Aoláin, N. Cahn, D. F. Haynes, & N. Valji (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Conflict* (pp. 417–429). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199300983.013.33>
- Boutros-Ghali, B. (1992). An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping. *International Relations*, 11(3), 201–218. <https://doi.org/10.1177/004711789201100302>



- Bouvier, V. M. (2016). *Gender And The Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process*. United States Institute of Peace; UN Women.
- Burton, J. (1988). *Conflict resolution as a political system* Working Paper No. 1, Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University.
- Burton, J. (1990a). *Conflict resolution and prevention*. St. Martin's Press.
- Burton, J. (1990b). *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*. Palgrave Macmillan UK. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-21000-8>
- Canal Capital. (2013, November 27). *Presidente Santos designa a dos mujeres en equipo de negociación en Cuba*. [Video] YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ahINGSdF5js>
- Caprioli, M. (2005) Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict. *International Studies Quarterly*, 49(2), 161–178. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0020-8833.2005.00340.x>
- Castrillon, G. (2000, June 26). Las Mujeres al País Presentaron Más de 700 Propuestas de Todo Tipo para la Paz. *El Espectador*.
- Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. (2017). *La guerra inscrita en el cuerpo. Informe nacional de violencia sexual en el conflicto armado*.
- Céspedes-Báez, L.M., & Jaramillo Ruiz, F. (2018). “Peace without women does not go!” Women’s Struggle for inclusion in Colombia’s peace process with the FARC. *Colombia Internacional*, 94, 83-109. <https://doi.org/10.7440/colombiaint94.2018.04>
- Chaparro-González, N. & Martínez-Osorio, M. (2020). *Negotiating from the Margins: Women’s Participation in Colombian Peace Processes (1982–2016)*. [Working paper 9] (M. Stoffregen, Trans.). Dejusticia.
- Constitución Política de Colombia 1991 (1991, June 13). <http://es.presidencia.gov.co/normativa/constitucionpolitica>
- Corporación SISMA MUJER, & MZC-España. (2010). *Mujeres en zona de conflicto diagnóstico: Mujer, paz y seguridad. Los movimientos de mujeres y paz en Colombia. Desde los años noventa hasta hoy*. Mujeres en Zona de Conflicto.
- Díaz, S., González, P., Hernández, L., Tobón, G. & Velásquez, M. (2001). *Audiencia Pública de las Mujeres: Economía y Empleo. Por un país donde las mujeres podamos vivir, soñar y morir de viejas*. Cuadernos de Mujeres por la Paz, Red Nacional de Mujeres.
- Doob, L. (1970). *Resolving conflict in Africa: The Fermeda Workshop*. Yale University Press.
- Echavarria, J., Samira Fajardo Farfán, J., Vásquez, M. G., Giancola, M. B., Forero Linares, B., Pulido, E. G., Joshi, M., Kielhold, A., Márquez Díaz, J., Menjura Roldán, T., Cristina Pérez, M., Quinn, L., Quinn, J., Rincón, A. R., Ortiz, N. R., Robayo Corredor, A., Contreras, A. M. R., Rojas Bernal, N., Sáez Flórez, C., ... García, I. Z. (2023). *El tiempo se agota para la implementación del enfoque de género: avances, retos y oportunidades a seis años de la firma del Acuerdo Final*. University of Notre Dame. <https://doi.org/10.7274/ff365428x38>
- Echavarria, J., Gómez Vásquez, M., Zúñiga García, I., Forero Linares, B., Álvarez Giraldo, E., Astaíza Bravo, J., Balen Giancola, M., Campos Cáceres, P., Córdoba Ponce, E. M., Fajardo Farfán, J. S., Gutiérrez Pulido, E., Hernández Morales, L., Joshi, M., Kielhold, A., Márquez Díaz, J., Menjura Roldán, T., Mosquera Martínez, R., Mosquera Sánchez, E., Quinn, L., ... Villamizar Ríos, M. (2024). *A Call to Action: Third Special Report on the Implementation*



- Status of the Colombian Final Peace Accord's Ethnic Approach*. University of Notre Dame. <https://doi.org/10.7274/26931988>
- Ellerby, K. (2016). A seat at the table is not enough: Understanding women's substantive representation in peace processes. *Peacebuilding*, 4(2), 136-150. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2016.1192240>
- El candidato liberal colombiano, acusado de recibir el apoyo de los paramilitares. (2002, April 6). *El País*. https://elpais.com/internacional/2002/04/06/actualidad/1018044003_850215.html#
- FBA (2024, 19 September). *Peace Fellowship Dialog with Sergio Jaramillo Caro Part 1*. Folke Bernadette Academy. [Video] YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CMZuvjTrnZg>
- Final agreement for ending the conflict and building a stable and lasting peace. (2016, November 24). United Nations Peacemaker. <https://peacemaker.un.org/en/node/9804>
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), 167-191. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002234336900600301>
- Galtung, J. (1976). Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking and Peacebuilding. In *Peace, War and Defense: Essays in Peace Research II* (pp. 292-304). Christian Elders.
- Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*. SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446221631>
- Gómez Correal, D. (2011). Dinámicas del movimiento feminista bogotano: Historias de cuarto, salón y calle. In M. P. Jiménez R. (Ed.), *Historias de vida (1970-1991)*. Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
- Gómez, D. M., & Montealegre, D. M. (2021). Colombian women's and feminist movements in the peace negotiation process in Havana: Complexities of the struggle for peace in transitional contexts. *Social Identities*, 27(4), 445-460. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2021.1924659>
- González F. E. (2014). *Poder y Violencia en Colombia*. Odecofi-Cinep.
- Ha renacido la esperanza: Presidente Gaviria. (1991, July 5). *El Tiempo*. <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-115292>
- Harbottle, M. (1979). 'Cyprus: An analysis of the UN's third-party role in a "small war"', in P. Worsley, & P. Kitromilides (Eds.), *Small States in a Modern World: The Conditions of Survival*, New Cyprus Association.
- Hudson, V., Caprioli, M., Ballif-Spanvill, B. & Emmet, C. F. (2012) *Sex and World Peace*. Columbia University Press.
- Iniciativa de Mujeres Colombianas por la Paz. (2003). *Agenda de las mujeres por la paz*. <https://repositorio.unal.edu.co/handle/unal/54001>
- Instalan subcomisión de género en la mesa de diálogos de paz para Colombia. (2014, September 7). *La Vanguardia*. <https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20140907/54414759679/instalan-subcomision-de-genero-en-la-mesa-de-dialogos-de-paz-para-colombia.html>
- Jaramillo Caro, S. (2022, May 12). *Lessons from Peace: Panel I* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bVF9CIDIjs0&list=PLLvMXj5O_FLgVO-wrTa8hzPd7y-67D9PI&index=3
- Jones, J. C. (2009). U.S. Policy and Peace in Colombia: Lost in a Tangle of Wars. In Bouvier V.M. (Ed.). *Colombia: Building Peace in a Time of War* (pp. 373-370). United States Institute of Peace.



- Kelman, H. & Cohn, S. (1986). Resolution of international conflict: An interactional approach. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (2nd ed.) pp. 323-342). Nelson-Hall Publishers.
- Krause, J., Krause, W., & Bränfors, P. (2018) Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace. *International Interactions*, 44(6), 985-1016. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386>
- Las mujeres marcharon y clamaron por la paz. (2013, November 21). *Semana*. <https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/mujeres-lideran-clamor-por-la-paz-en-marcha-en-bogota/365554-3/>
- LeBaron, M. (2002). *Bridging troubled waters: Conflict Resolution from the Heart*. Jossey-Bass.
- Lederach, J. P. (1995). Conflict Transformation in Protracted Internal Conflicts: The Case for a Comprehensive Framework. In K. Rupesinghe (Ed.), *Conflict Transformation* (pp. 201-222). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-23823-1_9
- Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Los logros de la Subcomisión de Género en tres acuerdos de La Habana. (2016, July 23). *El Espectador*. <https://www.elespectador.com/colombia-20/paz-y-memoria/los-logros-de-las-ubcomision-de-genero-en-tres-acuerdos-de-la-habana-article/>
- Luna, L., & Villarreal, N. (1994). *Historia, género y política: Movimiento de mujeres y participación política en Colombia, 1930-1991*. Seminario Interdisciplinar Mujeres y Sociedad.
- Martínez, M., & González, G. (2001). *Mujeres y proceso de paz: deseos y realidades*. Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Escuela de Estudios de Género, Grupo Mujer y Sociedad; Corporación Casa de la Mujer de Bogotá.
- McWilliams, M. (2015). Women at the Peace Table: The Gender Dynamics of Peace Negotiations. In Flaherty, M.P., Matyók, T.G., Byrne, S. & Tusó, H. *Gender and Peacebuilding: All Hands Required*. Lexington Books. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2737935>
- Meertens, D. (2001). Facing Destruction, Rebuilding Life: Gender and the Internally Displaced in Colombia. *Latin American Perspectives* 28(1) 132-148. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X0102800108>
- Meertens, D. (2019). Introduction: Land, Gender, and Justice on the Eve of Peace. In *Elusive Justice: Women, Land Rights, and Colombia's Transition to Peace*, (pp. 3-22). University of Wisconsin Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvvh86r5.6>
- Melander, E. (2005) Gender Equality and Intrastate Armed Conflict. *International Studies Quarterly*, 49(4) 695-714. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2005.00384.x>
- Melucci, A. (1998). La experiencia individual y los temas globales en una sociedad planetaria. In Tejerina Montaña, B., & Ibarra Güel, P. (Eds.). *Los Movimientos Sociales: Transformaciones Políticas y Cambio Cultural*, pp. 361-382.
- Montaño, S., & Aranda, V. (2006). *Reformas constitucionales y equidad de género: Informe final, seminario internacional, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 21, 22 y 23 de febrero de 2005*. Naciones Unidas, CEPAL, Unidad Mujer y Desarrollo. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/574132c>
- Morgan, M. I., & Buitrago, M. (1992). Constitution-Making in a Time of Cholera: Women and the 1991 Colombian Constitution. *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism*, 4(2), 353-414.
- Mujeres por la Paz. (2012, December 4). *La paz sin las mujeres ¡No va! Manifiesto de las mujeres*



- por la paz*. <https://es.slideshare.net/delDespojoCrnicas/la-paz-sin-las-mujeres-nova-manifesto-de-mujeres-por-la-paz>
- Muñoz Pallares, M., & Ramírez Cardona, C. C. (2014). *Cumbre nacional de mujeres y paz Bogotá, Colombia, octubre 23–25, 2013* [Sistematización]. Pictograma Creativos Ltda.
- Se instaló la subcomisión de género en La Habana. (2014, September 7). *Noticias RCN*. <https://www.noticiasrcn.com/nacional-pais/se-instalo-subcomision-genero-habana>
- Paarlberg-Kvam, K. (2017). Colombian women activists and the potential for peace. In A. Castro, A. Herrero-Olaizola, & C. Rutter-Jensen (Eds.), *Territories of conflict: Traversing Colombia through cultural studies* (pp. 160–174). Boydell & Brewer.
- Paffenholz, T., Ross, N., Dixon, S., Schluchter, A., & True, J. (2016). *Making women count – not just counting women: Assessing women’s inclusion and influence on peace negotiations*. Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative (The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies); UN Women.
- Paris, R. (2004). *At War’s End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511790836>
- Phelan, A., & True, J. (2022). Navigating gender in elite bargains: Women’s movements and the quest for inclusive peace in Colombia. *Review of International Studies*, 48(1), 171-194. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210521000334>
- Porter, E. (2016). Feminists building peace and reconciliation: beyond post-conflict. *Peacebuilding*, 4(2), 210-225. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2016.1192245>
- Program on Peace and Development. (2022, May 12). *Lessons from Peace: Panel I*. [Video]. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bVF9CIDIjs0&list=PLLvMXj5O_FLgVOwrTa8hzPd7y-67D9PI&index=2
- Quinn, L., & Vásquez, M. G. (2023). *Implementation of the Colombian peace accord reaches its sixth year* [Peace Accords Matrix Policy Brief No. 16]. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, Keough School for Global Affairs, University of Notre Dame.
- United Nations. (1976). *Report of the World Conference of the International Women’s Year*. United Nations.
- Rojas, C. (2004). *In the midst of war: Women’s contributions to peace in Colombia* (S. Nagari, Ed.). Hunt Alternatives Fund.
- Rojas, C. (2009). Women and Peacebuilding in Colombia: Resistance to War, Creativity for Peace. In Bouvier, V.M. (Ed.), *Colombia: Building Peace in a Time of War* (pp. 207-224) United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Rutas del Conflicto. (n.d.). *San Andrés de Cuerquia*. Convenios de Fuerza y Justicia. <https://rutasdelconflicto.com/convenios-fuerza-justicia/node/371>
- Sanabria, C. (Host). (2022, March 9). 8m: mujeres rurales tejiendo la paz. [Audio podcast episode]. In *Rutas del Conflicto Radio*.
- Scimecca, J. (1991). Conflict resolution: The emergence of the field. In K. Avruch, P. Black & J. Scimecca (Eds.), *Conflict resolution: Cross cultural perspectives* (pp. 19–35). Bloomsbury Academic.
- Segura, R. (2017). *Made in Havana: How Colombia and the FARC Decided to End the War*. SSRN. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2969332>



- Selimovic, J., Brandt, Å., & Jacobson, A. (2012). *Equal Power Lasting Peace: Obstacles for Women's Participation in Peace Processes*. The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation.
- Solorzano, R. (2020, September 2). Pastoral Social fortalece los emprendimientos productivos de la mujer en Rovira. *Entretenimiento Tolima*. <https://entrenimientotolima.com/pastoral-social-fortalece-los-emprendimientos-productivos-de-la-mujer-en-rovira/>
- The Pearson Institute. (2018, November 29). *Colombia: The Path to Peace*. [Video] YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aZnpa419PVc>
- Thomas, F. (2000, 21 June). Las Mujeres al Caguán. *El Tiempo*. <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-1258491>
- Torres Mateus, C. A. (2020). *Mujeres en la Unión Patriótica*. Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Facultad de Ciencias Humanas, Departamento de Historia.
- True, J., & Riveros-Morales, y. (2019). Towards inclusive peace: Analysing gender-sensitive peace agreements 2000–2016. *International Political Science Review*, 40(1), 23-40. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512118808608>
- United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1325 (31 October 2000) UN S/RES/1325.
- Vargas, V. (2002). Los feminismos latinoamericanos en su tránsito al nuevo milenio (una lectura político personal). In D. Mato (Ed.), *Estudios y otras prácticas intelectuales latinoamericanas en cultura y poder*. CLACSO/CEAP/FACES.
- Villarraga, Á. (Ed.) (2015). *Biblioteca de la paz, 1980–2013: Los procesos de paz en Colombia*. Fundación Cultura Democrática.
- Weber, A. (2006). *Feminist peace and conflict theory*. In Routledge encyclopaedia on peace and conflict theory. Routledge.
- Yoshida, K., & Céspedes-Báez, L.M. (2021). The nature of Women, Peace and Security: A Colombian perspective. *International Affairs*, 97(1), pp. 17–34. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiaa173>



Appendix B: Gender, Conflict Resolution, and Peacebuilding: Assessing the Contribution of Women to the Colombian Peace Process by Sarah Kathleen Mullally

Table 1
List of Interviewees

Name	Profile	Date and Place
Dr. Olga Patricia Velásquez Ocampo	Professor of Law at <i>Los Andes</i> University in Bogotá, Colombia; former Legal Adviser to the Ministry of Justice; expert on law and gender, transitional justice and constitutional design.	24 February 2022, Zoom
Isabela Marín Carvajal	Researcher for Colombian think tank Fundación Ideas Para la Paz (FIP); and independent consultant for conflict and gender.	28 April 2022, Zoom
Dr. Vera Samudio	Colombian lawyer and researcher for Colombian think tank <i>Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular/Programas Por la Paz</i> (CINEP/PPP). Since 2016 Dr Samudio has been accompanying the implementation of the Fifth Point of the Colombian Peace Accord: Agreements Regarding the Victims of the Conflict.	28 April 2022, Zoom
Valeria Quintana	Assistant researcher for Colombian NGO and think tank Instituto de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Paz (INDEPAZ)	21 May 2022, Zoom
Dr. Lady Acevedo	Director of peacebuilding organisation, Corporación Paz a Bordo	1 June 2022, Zoom
Dr. María Paulina Riveros	Negotiator for the Colombian government in Havana 2014-2016, co-Chair of the Gender Sub-commission and former Deputy Attorney General of Colombia	3 June 2022, Zoom