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The Time was Ripe:

Women's Movements' Break-throughs in the Colombian Peace Agreement

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Abstract

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In 2016 a historic peace agreement between the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army (FARC) was signed, putting an end to a conflict that lasted over 50 years. This agreement was the world's very first gender-inclusive peace accord, meaning that they included women in the peace process and recognized how they are particularly subjected to war and conflict. This thesis aims to analyze how structures of gender inequality can be addressed in times of war, and why this peace deal managed to be so successful, at that particular place and time. Previous research within this field shows that women's participation in peace talks leads to more durable peace that addresses structural inequalities. Hence, this paper aims to answer the research question: *Which main factors enabled the historical gender-inclusive peace agreement in Colombia in 2016?* Four different theoretical frameworks are used to examine this: Johan Galtung's theory of positive peace, Raywen Connell's theory of Hegemonic masculinity, Cynthia Enloe's theory of postcolonial feminism, and I. William Zartman's theory of ripeness. Secondary research has been conducted in the form of qualitative content analysis, as well as primary research in the form of two expert interviews. The major findings from the study show that the strength of civil society organizations acted as a main contributor to enabling this inclusive peace deal. Women's ability to mobilize and share their experiences from the war was made possible through guidance and openness from women's rights organizations, various international actors as well as the Colombian government and FARC. The other main circumstance for enabling this peace agreement was that the time was ripe, especially due to new leadership, third-party intervention, and international trends. Consequently, the peace agreement was an important step in addressing structural inequalities in Colombia, which constitutes a leading example for the rest of the world.

Key words: Colombia, gender inclusion, peace agreement, positive peace, hegemonic masculinity, ripeness, women's mobilization.

Table of contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Purpose	3
1.2 Research Question	4
1.3 Scope	4
2. Background	5
2.1 History of the Conflict	5
2.2 The Peace Process	7
2.2.1 Implementation of the Peace Agreement	8
2.3 The Peace Agreement's Content	9
3. Literary Review	10
3.1 War and Conflict as a Gendered Phenomenon	10
3.2 Why Inclusion of Women Makes for More Durable Peace	11
3.3 Difficulties in Resolving the Colombian Conflict	12
4. Theoretical Framework	13
4.1 Johan Galtung: Defining Violence and Peace	13
4.2 Raewyn Connell: Hegemonic Masculinity	15
4.3 Cynthia Enloe: To Make Feminist Sense of International Politics	17
4.4 I. William Zartman & Dean G. Pruitt: The theory of ripeness	19
5. Methodology	21
5.1 Research Design	21
5.1.1 Secondary Research	22
5.1.2 Primary Research	22
5.2 Abductive Approach	23
5.3 Quality Assurance	24
5.4 Ethical Considerations	24
6. Results	25
6.1 Secondary Research	25
6.1.1 The Role of the Colombian Government and FARC During the Peace Process	25
6.1.1.1 The Colombian Government	26
6.1.1.2 FARC	27
6.1.2 Civil Society and Women's Rights Organizations	27
6.1.2.1 Coalición 1325	29
6.1.2.2 Mujeres por la Paz	29
6.1.2.3 Sisma Mujer	30
6.1.3 International Actors	31
6.1.3.1 Cuba, Norway, and Sweden	31
6.1.3.2 The United Nations	32
6.2 Primary Research	33
6.2.1 Interview 1 with a Mediator from the European Union	33

6.2.2 Interview 2 with an Expert in Women, Peace and Security	36
7. Discussion	39
7.1 The Strong Mobilization of Women	39
7.2 The Right Timing	40
7.3 Eradication of Structural Inequalities	43
8. Conclusion	44
9. Bibliography	47
10. Appendix	56
10.1 Appendix 1: Coding scheme	56

1. Introduction

On November 24, 2016, a historic peace agreement was signed, putting an end to Colombia's over 50 years long civil war, and one of the world's most extreme humanitarian crises.¹ It was signed by Juan Manuel Santos, the President of Colombia, and Timoleón Jiménez, the leader of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army (FARC) which was one of the biggest guerrilla groups in Colombia.² This treaty is claimed to be history's most inclusive peace deal globally, particularly when it comes to the inclusion of gender, with over 130 provisions focusing particularly on gender and women's rights.³ For the very first time in history, a gender sub-commission was appointed during a peace process, to proclaim women's experiences, their rights and their inclusion in the peace agreement.⁴ For his efforts in formulating the peace accord for this complex conflict, President Santos received the Nobel Peace Prize.⁵

Women are particularly subjected to war and conflict in certain ways.⁶ Conflicts exacerbate prevailing structures of discrimination against women, and women tend to increasingly suffer from for example sexual violence, trafficking, and forced marriages in war zones.⁷ During

¹ Justice for Colombia. 'Colombian armed conflict'. *Justice for Colombia*. 2023.

<https://justiceforcolombia.org/about-colombia/colombian-armed-conflict/> (accessed 2023-04-03) ;

Landguiden. 'Konflikten i Colombia'. *Landguiden*. n.d.

<https://www.ui.se/landguiden/konflikter/konflikten-i-colombia/#:~:text=Colombia%20har%20%C3%A4nget%20pl%C3%A5gats%20av,n%C3%A4ra%20sammanf%C3%A4ttad%20del%20av%20konflikten> (accessed 2023-04-05).

² Christine Bell et. al. 'Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace'. *PA-X Codebook, Settlements Research Programme, University of Edinburgh*. 2019.

<https://www.peaceagreements.org/wview/1845/Final%20Agreement%20to%20End%20the%20Armed%20Conflict%20and%20Build%20a%20Stable%20and%20Lasting%20Peace>, (accessed 2023-04-07); Justice for Colombia. 'Colombian armed conflict'.

³ Catalina Ruiz-Navarro. 'A feminist peace in Colombia?'. *Relief Web*. 2019-02-15.

<https://reliefweb.int/report/colombia/feminist-peace-colombia>, (accessed 2023-04-01);

UN Peacemaker. 'Executive Summary, From words to action'. *UN Peacemaker*. n.d.

<https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/Colombia%20Study%20-%20Summary%20report.pdf> (accessed 2023-05-03). p. 2.

⁴ Odette Chalaby. 'Colombia's peace agreement is the world's first to have gender at its core'. *Apolitical*.

2018-01-12. <https://apolitical.co/solution-articles/en/colombias-peace-agreement-worlds-first-gender-core> (accessed 2023-04-29).

⁵ The Nobel Prize. 'Press release'. *The Nobel Prize*. 2016-10-07.

<https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2016/press-release/> (accessed 2023-04-19).

⁶ United Nations OHCHR. 'Women's human rights and gender-related concerns in situations of conflict and instability'. *United Nations OHCHR*. 2023.

<https://www.ohchr.org/en/women/womens-human-rights-and-gender-related-concerns-situations-conflict-and-in-stability> (accessed 2023-04-08)

⁷ Ibid.

peace negotiations that offer an opportunity to address these issues, women have been severely underrepresented.⁸ Statistics show that between 1992 and 2019 women occupied on average 13 percent of the negotiators, 6 percent of the mediators and 6 percent of the signatories in the world's major peace processes.⁹ Thus, the importance of addressing this issue is significant, worldwide. In order to tackle this problem, the United Nations adopted Resolution 1325, on Women, Peace and Security, in 2000, which was the very first resolution specifically focusing on the gendered aspects of war.¹⁰ It illustrates the importance of women's participation in peace negotiations and post-conflict peacebuilding, and the significance of including a gender perspective in these processes. It also promotes enhanced efforts to protect women and girls from sexual violence in conflict settings.¹¹

Moreover, Colombia is a postcolonial state with widespread structural inequalities.¹² The country currently has the seventh highest income inequality in the world, with a Gini coefficient of 54.2.¹³ In many ways, Colombia is characterized by patriarchal structures.¹⁴ In 2020, Colombia had a Gender Inequality Index Rank of 101 in the world.¹⁵ In 2021, Colombia had a Human Development Index (HDI) Rank of 88th place in the world.¹⁶ Yet, Colombia was the country that managed to close the world's very first inclusive peace agreement. Why was it possible right there, at that very time? With this peace agreement, they addressed the internationally recurrent issues of women's underrepresentation in peace negotiations and the defective acknowledgment of their rights. If the factors that enabled this peace agreement were established, the Colombian case could work as a preceding example to increase gender equality elsewhere.

⁸ UN Women. 'Facts and figures: Women, peace and security'. *UN Women*. 2022. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures> (accessed 2023-04-19).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ UN Peacemaker. 'S/RES/1325. 'Security Council Resolution on women and peace and security'. *UN Peacemaker*. 2000. <https://peacemaker.un.org/node/105> (accessed 2023-04-17).

¹¹ UN OSAGI. 'Landmark resolution on Women, Peace and Security'. *UN OSAGI*. n.d. <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/> (accessed 2023-04-04).

¹² Catherine Legrand. 'COLONIZATION AND VIOLENCE IN COLOMBIA: PERSPECTIVES AND DEBATES'. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*. Vol. 14, No. 28, 1989, p.10.

¹³ Wisewater. 'Gini Coefficient by Country'. *Wisewater*. 2023. <https://wisewater.com/country-rankings/gini-coefficient-by-country/> (accessed 2023-04-06).

¹⁴ Virginia M. Bouvier. *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process*. New York: UN Women, 2016-03-04. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2017/2/gender-and-the-role-of-women-in-colombias-peace-process> (accessed 2023-04-02), p.13.

¹⁵ UN Women. 'Global Database of Violence against women: Colombia'. *UN Women*. 2023. <https://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/en/countries/americas/colombia#4>, (accessed 2023-04-09).

¹⁶ UNDP. 'Colombia: Human Development Index'. *Human Development Reports*. 2022. <https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/specific-country-data#/countries/COL> (accessed 2023-04-09).

1.1 Purpose

Inspired by a research approach called Positive Deviance, this paper focuses on finding mechanisms that create successful behaviors and outcomes.¹⁷ The Positive Deviance concept implies that in every community there are a few individuals, or groups, with uniquely favorable behavior and strategies that make them find better solutions than others that face the same challenges and possess the same resources. The Positive Deviance Inquiry consequently seeks to discover and define these behaviors.¹⁸

Although this thesis does not meet the formal criteria of Positive Deviance Research, it has greatly influenced the paper's research approach, namely to seek the causes of successful behavior.¹⁹ In light of this historical gender-inclusive peace agreement, it led us to consider what factors played a vital part in enabling this peace process, especially with the knowledge that Colombia is still a country with widespread gender inequality and strong macho culture.²⁰ Thus, the purpose of this paper is to get a deeper understanding of how structural inequalities can be addressed in times of war, by looking at the successful case of Colombia. This thesis seeks to define why this deal was successfully negotiated at this particular time and place.

Furthermore, this paper aims to contribute to the debate on gender inclusivity's effect on peacekeeping. A deeper understanding of the Colombian peace accord could support future work to enable other agreements to successfully include women's rights. Historically, women's perceived role in war has been narrowed down to victims with little or no agency. Even in previous peace deals, such as in the case of Northern Ireland where groups of women have played vital roles in ensuring peace, they have gained very little recognition for their important work.²¹ It is crucial to note that although the Colombian peace accord is the first of its kind where women have been included more substantially, women have in historic peace

¹⁷ The Positive Deviance Initiative. 'Basic Field Guide to the Positive Deviance Approach'. *Positive Deviance Collaborative*. n.d.
<https://web.archive.org/web/20160629202953/http://www.positivedeviance.org/pdf/Field%20Guide/FINALguide10072010.pdf> (accessed 2023-03-29).

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Bouvier. *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process*. p.13

²¹ Claire Pierson. 'Gendering Peace in Northern Ireland: The Role of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security'. *Capital and Class* 43(1), 2019, pp:59-61.

deals played an important role, even though they were not offered a seat at the negotiation table.²²

1.2 Research Question

This essay is based on the following research questions:

Which main factors enabled the historical gender-inclusive peace agreement in Colombia in 2016?

The main research question is subsequently divided into the following sub-questions:

- a) *Which actors were most prominent to include gender inclusivity, and what were their roles?*
- b) *Are there any other decisive mechanisms or circumstances enabling gender inclusivity in this particular peace agreement?*
- c) *How have these factors contributed to an eradication of structural inequalities?*

1.3 Scope

All factors contributing to this peace agreement are presumably countless, as it often is within the subject of social sciences research. Therefore, this paper has been limited to focusing on the most prominent factors that appeared in the research material. Nevertheless, this paper does not neglect that other factors could have been significant too for making this agreement possible.

Moreover, the term “gender-inclusive” is in this thesis used in accordance with how the peace agreement is officially defined. However, it is important to note that the peace agreement’s first version acknowledged the rights of the LGBTQI+ community. Yet, these points were in large part removed in the final peace agreement.²³ The term “gender-inclusive” will be used in this paper but it is hereby stressed that this primarily refers to the inclusion of women, and

²² Ibid. p.59.

²³ Sida. ‘Strategirapport för Colombia 2016: Sammanfattning av utvecklingen mot strategiresultaten och insatsportföljens genomförande’. Sida. 2016.
<https://cdn.openaid.se/app/uploads/2020/09/07075721/Strategirapport-2016-Colombia.pdf> (accessed 2023-04-15), p.7.

that there is still a lot of work to be done to further include all genders. Likewise, the theoretical framework used in this paper primarily phrases a binary viewpoint on gendered structures when describing notions of masculinity and femininity.

Further, this essay proceeds from the assumption that the Colombian peace agreement is successful in regard to the inclusion of women. However, it is important to note that the following implementation of the agreement has been widely criticized as being irregular, including those aspects that focus on women's rights.²⁴ Still, we mean that regardless, the agreement should be viewed as successful in the sense that it was the very first peace agreement to include these matters in print. This is a big step towards positive change, and is still the most successful case there is. In addition, it is still too soon to determine the long-term consequences of the peace accord, and therefore positive long-term effects cannot be neglected either, even if the implementation faces its challenges.

2. Background

2.1 History of the Conflict

Colombia has suffered from one of the world's most severe humanitarian crises and what for long used to be the world's longest running active civil war.²⁵ The war officially began in 1964 with the creation of the two guerilla groups FARC and ELN, but Colombian society was marked by violence long before that.²⁶ Colombia is a postcolonial state with widespread inequality.²⁷ Except for high income inequalities, land distribution is very unequal, with a concentration of land ownership being among the highest in the world. The unequal distribution is strongly connected with rural poverty and is both a cause for, and a consequence of, the armed conflict.²⁸ Women own much less land than men. In 2015, the

²⁴ Amineh Kakabaveh. 'Implementeringen av fredsavtalet för jämställdhet och för jämlikhet för etniska grupper i Colombia'. *Sveriges Riksdag*. 2022. https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/skriftlig-fragga/implementeringen-av-fredsavtalet-for-jamstalldhet_H9111104 (accessed 2023-04-05). p.1.

²⁵ Justice for Colombia. 'Colombian armed conflict'.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Bouvier. *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process*. p.6.

²⁸ Oxfam international. "'Divide and Purchase': how land ownership is being concentrated in Colombia. *Oxfam international*'. 2013-09-27. <https://www.oxfam.org/en/press-releases/divide-and-purchase-how-land-ownership-being-concentrated-colombia> (accessed 2023-04-20).

World Bank announced that only 3,8 percent of women in Colombia between the ages of 15 to 49 own land alone.²⁹ Research shows that a woman with land and property earns approximately four times more, and is eight times less likely to suffer from domestic violence, than a woman who does not have access to land.³⁰

A particularly violent time in Colombia's history, referred to as "La Violencia", took place between 1948 and 1966 and led to political disorder.³¹ In the 1950s, farmers began to organize themselves to protect the ownership of land in the southern parts of the country. Pressured by the landowning elite's interests, the government launched an attack on the autonomous zone Marquetalia in 1964. As a response, the farmers rearranged their strategy, and with involvement from the Colombian Communist Party, they mobilized as the guerilla group Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army, known as FARC.³² The same year the other guerilla group, the Army of National Liberation (ELN) was formed by students inspired by the Cuban revolution who advocated for social justice.³³ In response to the creation of the guerilla groups, paramilitary groups were formed in the 1980s, partly supported by the Colombian army, landowners, drug cartels and business leaders.³⁴ The drug cartels, alongside other criminal businesses, are deeply integrated into the conflict.³⁵ According to the peace agreement's truth-commission, about 450 000 people were killed between 1985 and 2018 alone. Moreover, millions of people have been forced to flee their homes.³⁶ In 2015, UNHCR declared that Colombia has one of the world's largest numbers of internally displaced people, estimated to be 6 million.³⁷ Another critical event in the conflict

²⁹ The World Bank. 'Gender data portal: Ownership of land (%)'. *The World Bank*. 2023.

<https://genderdata.worldbank.org/indicators/sg-own-ld/> (accessed 2023-04-15).

³⁰ U.S. Agency for International Development. 'Improving Women's Land Rights in Colombia'. *U.S. Agency for International Development*. 2016.

<https://www.tetrattech.com/pdf/download?url=http://localhost%252fen%252fdocs%252fpd14%252d271%252d%252d%252dwomens%252dland%252drights%252din%252dcolombia%252epdf> (accessed 2023-04-25). p.1.

³¹ Pilar Domingo, Alina Rocha Menocal & Verónica Hinestroza. 'Progress despite adversity: women's empowerment and conflict in Colombia'. *Overseas Development Institute*. 2015.

<https://odi.org/en/publications/progress-despite-adversity-womens-empowerment-and-conflict-in-colombia/#:~:text=The%20case%20of%20Colombia%20is,the%20gendered%20experience%20of%20conflict> (accessed 2023-04-15). p.9

³² Justice for Colombia. 'Colombian armed conflict'.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Landguiden. 'Konflikten i Colombia'.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ UNHCR. 'Worldwide displacement hits all-time high as war and persecution increase'. *UNHCR*. 2015-06-18. <https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/worldwide-displacement-hits-all-time-high-war-and-persecution-increase> (accessed 2023-04-15).

is referred to as the “Falsos Positivos” scandal which took place between 2002 and 2008, where the Colombian government offered rewards for those who killed FARC members. This resulted in the murders of at least 6400 innocent civilians who were incorrectly asserted to be guerilla members in order to get benefits.³⁸

2.2 The Peace Process

The peace talks between President Juan Manuel Santos and FARC began in 2010 in total secrecy.³⁹ The negotiations between the two parties started officially in 2012, in Havana, with Cuba and Norway as guarantor states.⁴⁰ The focus on women’s rights was not significantly introduced until later. In 2014, the government and FARC appointed a few women each to work on the sub-commission on gender.⁴¹ The sub-commission in itself had no decision-making authority but worked to secure the acknowledgment of women’s rights as well as women’s political participation.⁴² The sub-commission was almost entirely constituted of women, except for one male delegate from FARC.⁴³ Norway and Cuba supplied the commission with gender experts that were able to provide technical support when requested, even though the commission also included local Colombian experts. During the peace talks, representatives from women’s organizations and the LGBTQI+ community across the country were invited to share their experiences.⁴⁴ When the gender sub-commission was created, three parts of the agreement were already considered to be finished. The commission then reviewed these finished items, which was possible thanks to the peace process design that “nothing is agreed until everything is agreed”. The commission succeeded to integrate the gender approach throughout the agreement, for example

³⁸ Joe Parkin Daniels. ‘Colombia tribunal reveals at least 6,402 people were killed by army to boost body count’. *The Guardian*. 2021-02-19. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/feb/19/colombia-farc-tribunal-false-positives> (accessed 2023-04-25).

³⁹ Dag Nylander, Rita Sandberg & Idun Tvedt. ‘Designing peace: the Colombian peace process’. *NOREF*. 2018. <https://noref.no/Publications/Regions/latin-america/Designing-peace-the-Colombian-peace-process> (accessed 2023-04-15). p. 2.

⁴⁰ REFWORLD. ‘Colombia: Peace process between the government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia , FARC) (2012-March 2013)’. *UNHCR*. 2013-04-09. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/5188f3054.html> (accessed 2023-04-05).

⁴¹ Chalaby. ‘Colombia’s peace agreement is the world's first to have gender at its core’.

⁴² Bouvier. *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia’s Peace Process*. pp: 21-22.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Hilde Salvesen & Dag Nylander. ‘Towards an inclusive peace: women and the gender approach in the Colombian peace process’. *NOREF*. 2017-07-10. <https://noref.no/Publications/Regions/latin-america/Towards-an-inclusive-peace-women-and-the-gender-approach-in-the-Colombian-peace-process> (accessed 2023-04-10), p.2.

guaranteeing women's rights to ownership of land, and to ensure acknowledgment of women's experiences of war in the truth-commission.⁴⁵

In August 2016, a first peace agreement was finished and signed.⁴⁶ Yet, surprisingly the Colombian population voted against it in a referendum, with a small majority of 50,2 percent.⁴⁷ The peace treaty was partly criticized for the extent of impunity for FARC members.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the gender approach was questioned by the public as well as religious leaders, for going against traditional family values.⁴⁹ After the "no-vote" the agreement was revised on certain aspects. The central writings regarding women's rights remained, however, the inclusion of LGBTQI+ rights was almost entirely removed in the final agreement.⁵⁰ On November 24, the revised agreement was signed by the President of Colombia Juan Manuel Santos and FARC's leader Timoleón Jiménez, writing history as the most inclusive peace deal.⁵¹

2.2.1 Implementation of the Peace Agreement

Colombia still faces severe challenges. The implementation of the peace agreement is irregular, and especially the issues regarding equality have unfortunately not been implemented according to the decided timeframe.⁵² In 2021, 138 human rights defenders were killed in Colombia. This was out of 358 deaths in total across the world, making Colombia the world's most dangerous country for human rights defenders.⁵³ Most of the killings still occur in rural areas, largely controlled by armed groups connected to the cocaine business.⁵⁴

⁴⁵ Salvesen & Nylander. 'Towards an inclusive peace: women and the gender approach in the Colombian peace process'. pp: 2-3.

⁴⁶ Bell et al. 'Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace'.

⁴⁷ BBC. 'Colombia referendum: Voters reject Farc peace deal'. *BBC*. 2016-10-03. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-37537252> (accessed 2023-04-15).

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Sida. 'Strategirapport för Colombia 2016: Sammanfattning av utvecklingen mot strategiresultatet och insatsportföljens genomförande'. p. 7.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Bell et al. 'Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace'; Ruiz-Navarro, 'A feminist peace in Colombia?'

⁵² Kakabaveh. 'Implementeringen av fredsavtalet för jämställdhet och för jämlikhet för etniska grupper i Colombia'. p. 1.

⁵³ HDR Memorial. 'Human Rights Memorial Report 2021'. *HDR Memorial*. 2021.

https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/sites/default/files/hrd_memorial_2021_report_final.pdf (accessed 2023-04-05), p.4.

⁵⁴ Jan Schulz. 'Land Inequality Is One Of The Root Causes Of Human Rights Violations In Colombia'. *Human Rights Pulse*. 2022-03-02.

2.3 The Peace Agreement's Content

The final peace agreement includes 6 items. Throughout the whole agreement, “women” is mentioned 236 times, and “gender” 59 times.⁵⁵

- 1) The first item regards a rural reform. This includes restructuring the unequal distribution of land caused by the conflict to ensure the health of the rural population. In doing so, it would prevent the conflict from reigniting. The item stresses that women and men are regarded as equals and that an equality and gender-based approach should be included, acknowledging women as independent citizens with equal rights.⁵⁶
- 2) Point two regards political participation, asserting that this should include everyone. This entails that FARC is guaranteed seats in the Congress for a period of time. This item also mentions that women have greater difficulties to reach political participation, and recognizes that this must be acknowledged and counteracted.⁵⁷
- 3) Item 3 concerns the end of the conflict, providing measures to achieve a ceasefire.⁵⁸ This part also includes that “Every component of the reincorporation process shall have an equity-based approach, with a particular emphasis on women’s rights.”⁵⁹
- 4) This point addresses the problem of illegal drugs. Here, the agreement mentions how women have been particularly affected by illegal drug trafficking, for example as victims of human trafficking and sexual exploitation. It recognizes the importance of including women in the efforts to combat this kind of violence.⁶⁰
- 5) This point recognizes the victims of the conflict, including women and particularly those who live in poverty. The item recognizes ways to restore justice.⁶¹ This includes for example compensation in different forms and psychosocial support.⁶² Included in the agreement, there is the “Comprehensive System for Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-repetition” that constitutes a truth-commission, with a strong focus on

<https://www.humanrightspulse.com/mastercontentblog/land-inequality-is-one-of-the-root-causes-of-human-rights-violations-in-colombia> (accessed 2023-04-20).

⁵⁵ Bell et al. ‘Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace’.

⁵⁶ Ibid, pp: 10-13.

⁵⁷ Ibid, pp: 34-56.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 57

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 69

⁶⁰ Ibid, p.104

⁶¹ Ibid, pp: 132-133

⁶² Ibid, pp: 192-193

transitional justice⁶³ and to fight impunity of crimes against human rights.⁶⁴ During the peace talks in Havana, victims of the conflict were brought to present their own views and experiences.⁶⁵

- 6) The last note regards implementation and verification mechanisms, and this note again mentions the importance of a gender-based approach.⁶⁶

3. Literary Review

The information below provides an overview of previously published work within the scope of this paper's subject. This literature concerns topics such as how war is gendered, why the inclusion of women is important for achieving durable peace and why the Colombian conflict has been so difficult to resolve. This literature is valuable for this thesis as it provides relevant core understandings in relation to this paper, as well as that it demonstrates the importance of formulating inclusive peace deals.

3.1 War and Conflict as a Gendered Phenomenon

War and conflict is a phenomenon that is highly complex and affects various groups in society differently. During the last two decades, scholars within peace research have particularly focused on how war and conflict are deeply gendered. Cockburn argues that although there are exceptions, the majority of soldiers are men and the majority of rape victims in conflict are women.⁶⁷ She means that it is important to recognize how men and women are affected by war and conflict differently, and consequently how the conflict needs to be resolved. Even in cases where female soldiers are more common than usual, they are treated differently from male soldiers. Female soldiers more often have to make adjustments to fit into the masculinity norms that are often connected to the military. With this knowledge,

⁶³ A transitional justice approach provides victims of large-scale conflicts, with recognition, reconciliation, psychological support and legal assistance. It offers a way for societies to heal from tragedies and through providing testimonials, the risk of new conflicts is reduced: OHCHR. 'About transitional justice and human rights'. *United Nations*. 2023. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/transitional-justice> (accessed 2023-05-22)

⁶⁴ Bell et al. 'Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace'. pp: 135-139.

⁶⁵ Salvesen & Nylander. 'Towards an inclusive peace: women and the gender approach in the Colombian peace process'. p.3.

⁶⁶ Bell et al. 'Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, pp: 204-205.

⁶⁷ Cynthia Cockburn. 'War and Security, Women and Gender: An Overview of the Issues'. *Gender and Development*. Vol. 21, no. 3, 2013, p.434.

it is important that women are included in peace talks as they are both actors as well as victims of war and conflict.⁶⁸

3.2 Why Inclusion of Women Makes for More Durable Peace

Previous studies have shown that despite United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 there is still a very low number of women involved in peace processes.⁶⁹ This resolution came about partly because of the criticized peace deal in Bosnia Herzegovina, which forced many women into human trafficking and prostitution.⁷⁰ Scholars continue to provide evidence for the fact that when women are included in peace talks, peace deals become more durable.⁷¹ Krause et al. explain that there is still a huge research gap within this field. The inclusion of women has not only been shown to increase the likelihood of reaching a peace agreement, but also enhance the success of the peace agreement's implementation.⁷² Krause et al. state that the positive aspects of the inclusion of women do not derive from the common assumption that women are inherently more peaceful compared to men. Rather, including women means that a group, whose experiences of conflict and war have for a long time been ignored, finally gets their perspective and experiences validated.⁷³ Furthermore, Krause et al. explain that female signatories tend to have close ties to local civil rights groups, which can entail that there is closer communication with grassroots networks. Thus, it can be easier to begin peace talks and find common ground between the involved parties. Those groups that are excluded from peace negotiations tend to become further marginalized in post conflicts societies, continuing the vicious cycle of structural violence and inequality.⁷⁴

Although various studies have confirmed that the inclusion of women in peace talks has positive outcomes for sustainable peace, the number of female signatories did not increase between the years 1990 and 2014.⁷⁵ Moreover, it is important to remember that women are by no means a homogenous group, therefore it is crucial that peace agreements not only have a

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Jana Krause, Werner Krause & Pia Bränfors. 'Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace'. *International Interactions*. Vol. 44, no. 6, 2018, pp: 989-990.

⁷⁰ Diana Koester. 'Gendered Legacies of Peacekeeping: Implications of Trafficking for Forced Prostitution in Bosnia-Herzegovina'. *International Peacekeeping*. Vol. 27, no.1, 2020, p.36.

⁷¹ Krause et al. 'Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace'. pp: 989-990.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 987.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

gender inclusive approach but rather a holistic approach to diversity and inclusion, based on gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status and so forth. Likewise, Krause et al. state that having a focus on diversity does not solely entail using inclusive wording in the peace accord, but rather how the agreement focuses on achieving structural changes that strengthen equality and encourages diversity.⁷⁶ Furthermore, other factors such as the involvement of civil society groups as well as international peace negotiators have been shown to increase the durability as well as the quality of peace.⁷⁷

3.3 Difficulties in Resolving the Colombian Conflict

The Colombian peace negotiation is something that has been of great interest to scholars within the field of conflict and peace studies. This is partly because the conflict is so complex and deeply ingrained in Colombian society. Many scholars have thus focused on why the conflict has been so difficult to resolve, especially focusing on Colombia's widespread drug trade. Efforts to reach a peace agreement in Colombia have been numerous over the 52 years of conflict, alas without any success.⁷⁸ Bouvier means that hardships in achieving peace can partly be explained by the political turbulence that began when the Conservatives and the Liberals got a shared monopoly over power in Colombia. As a response to this both left and right guerrilla groups were formed, among these were FARC and ELN.⁷⁹ Cockburn states that in order for the guerrilla groups to finance their military, drug trafficking has been the main source of income. The drug trade is, therefore, a big part of why the conflict is so difficult to resolve, since the trading of drugs, particularly cocaine, is such a lucrative business.⁸⁰ It is also important to note that the ideological and geographical landscape of the conflict has changed over time, making it even more complex to reach the point of peace.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 1006.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 988.

⁷⁸ Bouvier. *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process*. pp:4-5.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p.4.

⁸⁰ Cynthia Cockburn. 'From Where We Stand. War, Women's Activism, and Feminist Analysis'. *Zed Books*. 2007. <https://ia800203.us.archive.org/17/items/FromWhereWeStandWarWomensActivismAndFeministAnalysis/184277820xFromWhereWeStand.pdf> (accessed: 2023-04-20), p.7.

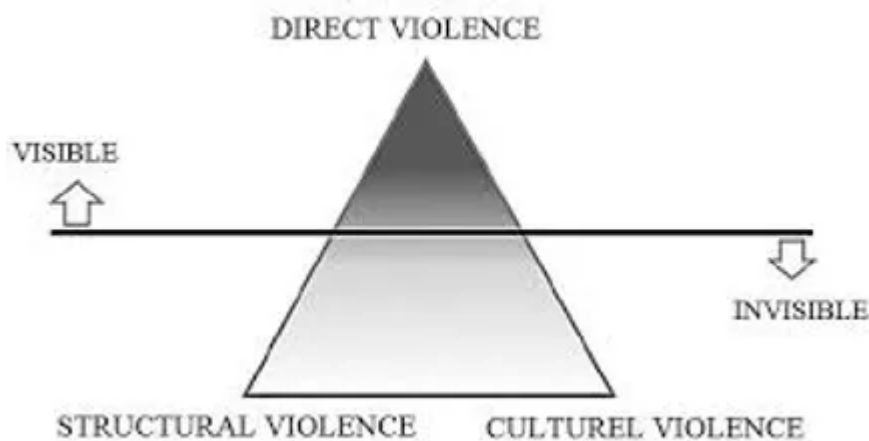
⁸¹ Bouvier. *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process*. p.4.

4. Theoretical Framework

4.1 Johan Galtung: Defining Violence and Peace

The distinction between two different kinds of peace, negative peace and positive peace, was first introduced by the Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung. He was a pioneer in peace studies and has laid the foundation of today's peace work.⁸² In order to gain a holistic approach to peace, Galtung claims that firstly, one has to define the term "violence". Galtung distinguishes between physical and psychological violence. In peace research, acts of physical violence have often been the sole focus. Galtung means that psychological violence is "violence that works on the soul".⁸³ It is common that these two different types of violence interfere with each other and are simultaneously present in situations of conflict. Furthermore, Galtung also makes a distinction between cultural-, structural- and direct violence, which enables a deeper understanding of how to attain lasting peace. Cultural-, as well as structural-, violence is considered to be "invisible" types of violence.⁸⁴

Figure 1. Johan Galtung's definition of violence.⁸⁵



⁸² Vision of Humanity. 'Johan Galtung and the Quest to Define the Concept of Peace'. *Vision of Humanity*. n.d. <https://www.visionofhumanity.org/introducing-the-concept-of-peace/> (accessed 2023-05-05).

⁸³ Johan Galtung. 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research'. *Journal of Peace Research*. Vol. 6, No. 3, 1969, p.169.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p.170.

⁸⁵ Johan Galtung. 'Cultural Violence'. *Journal of Peace Research*. Vol.27, no. 3, 1990, p.295.

Violence is often built into societal structures and represented in unequal distribution of power and opportunities, such as where the life expectancy of the upper class of a population is double that of the lower class.⁸⁶ Structural inequalities, such as this one, are however often overlooked and not perceived as violent by the majority.⁸⁷ With direct violence, Galtung refers to an intentional act of violence, such as the use of arms, where one or more people are injured. Structural violence on the other hand is often caused by political and institutional mechanisms which hinder people from attaining their needs in terms of security and mental wellbeing, to name a few examples, and constitutes a hindrance for citizens to prosper and thrive.⁸⁸ Furthermore, cultural violence is the use of any kind of culture, such as symbols, flags, religion, and so forth, as a means to justify acts of direct as well as indirect violence. This form of violence oftentimes derives from misunderstandings between parties that originate from anger fed by ignorance.⁸⁹

Negative peace is described by Galtung as the absence of direct violence and war. Thus, it is the lack of physical violence, such as enforcing a ceasefire during a war. Although this might stop the physical violence, putting down arms is rarely a comprehensive approach to achieving peace.⁹⁰ Positive peace on the other hand is not merely the absence of physical conflict, but also the focus of finding durable solutions to achieve structural changes that foster peace within all aspects of societies. Galtung means that positive peace puts great emphasis on a non-violent approach to procure a peaceful society over time.⁹¹ In this sense, there is a particularly strong connection between structural violence and positive peace, as this kind of peace focuses on abolishing or redefining societal structures that cause harm and maintain inequalities. Positive peace enables people to reach their full potential no matter what societal group, gender, ideology, religion, or ethnicity they belong to.⁹²

Although there is rarely a focus on achieving positive peace in times of conflict, it is indeed possible, according to Galtung. However, he means that it takes time to put an end to structural inequality as it is deeply rooted in societal institutions, as well as in people's general way of perceiving themselves and others.⁹³ A good representation of this is equality

⁸⁶ Ibid, p.171.

⁸⁷ Ibid, pp:167-168.

⁸⁸ Galtung. 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research'. p. 169.

⁸⁹ Galtung. 'Cultural Violence'. p.291.

⁹⁰ Galtung. 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research'. p. 183.

⁹¹ Ibid. p. 190.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid, p.168.

between the genders. Although women have fought for their equal rights for generations there is still a long way to go before one can say that men and women are equal. Not to mention the inclusion of other genders, such as citizens that identify as non-binary or transgender, where they still experience great adversity all over the world.⁹⁴

In a review of Galtung's peace research, Peter Lawler asserts that different societies and groups have different interpretations of what peace entails, making his definition of peace insufficient and the concept of positive peace more difficult to achieve than what Galtung claims.⁹⁵ Furthermore, critics mean that the concept of positive peace is influenced by political ideologies, and what is determined as "peace" is not something that can be empirically tested.⁹⁶ However, one could argue that peace, and especially Galtung's idea of structural violence, can to a certain extent be something that can be measured in an objective sense. For example, Galtung's idea of structural violence deals with measurable entities, such as pay gaps between men and women, or access to healthcare amongst different societal classes.⁹⁷

4.2 Raewyn Connell: Hegemonic Masculinity

The concept of hegemony has had a considerable influence in gender studies and particularly masculinity studies, in the last two decades.⁹⁸ This concept was first introduced in the early 1980s by the Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell, where she discusses the well-established connection between masculinity and power, and consequently how gender exists in a system of hierarchies, where men are the superior sex.⁹⁹ This system recognizes how other factors such as class and ethnicity matter for men's position in society. The theory describes how hegemonic masculinity is the ideal type of masculinity and represents what it means to be a "real man", although it is not the most statistically common type. The dominance derives from cultural and institutionalized values that reinforce male ascendancy

⁹⁴ Bouvier. *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process*. p.13.

⁹⁵ Peter Lawler. 'A question of Values: Johan Galtung's Peace Research'. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995. p.74.

⁹⁶ Ibid. p.59.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p.81.

⁹⁸ Raewyn Connell & James W. Messerschmidt. 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept'. *Gender and Society*. Vol. 19, No. 6, 2005, p. 830.

⁹⁹ Rachel Jewkes et al. 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Combining Theory and Practice in Gender Interventions'. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*. Vol. 17, no. 2, 2015, p. 96.

over women.¹⁰⁰ Hegemonic masculinity does not only explain men's domination over women, but also certain men's domination over other men.

It is important to note that although there is a common global perception, norms and ideals of masculinity can differ on national, local, and institutional levels. The common conception of the ideal man generally correlates with a man that has a strong physique and is sporty, tough, courageous, and assertive.¹⁰¹ Connell states that even though it is the ideal masculinity, it is not very common. Connell means that hegemonic masculinity could be connected to the fact that violence is more often perpetrated by men than it is by women.¹⁰² Hegemonic masculinity has particularly been used to explain male genders' difficulties in expressing emotions and instances where they are perceived as vulnerable and weak, using males' position in the military as a source of research for this.¹⁰³ Being a part of the military and exercising violence is strongly connected to the ideal type of masculinity.¹⁰⁴

Although Connell's theory has received much praise, it has also been met with a lot of critique for presenting a simplified idea of masculinity. Furthermore, Micheal Moller argues that focusing on the ideal man shifts focus from the most common displays of masculinity and the way they possess power.¹⁰⁵ Consequently Moller argues that it should be the everyday masculinities that are the sole focus of research and analysis, not the superior masculinity which few fulfill the criteria for.¹⁰⁶ However, one could argue that the reason why Connell gives so much attention to the ideal form of masculinity is that, even though few might fulfill the ideals, many strive to achieve it, and thus hegemonic masculinity has a lot of influences of power distributed in society.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ Connell & Messerschmidt. 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept'. p. 832.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Connell & Messerschmidt. 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept'. p. 834.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Maya Eichler. 'Militarized Masculinities in International Relations'. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*. Vol. 21, No. 1, 2014, pp. 81-93.

¹⁰⁵ Michael Moller. 'Exploiting Patterns: A Critique of Hegemonic Masculinity'. *Journal of Gender Studies*. Vol. 16, no. 3, 2007, p.265.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Connell & Messerschmidt. 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept'. p. 832.

4.3 Cynthia Enloe: To Make Feminist Sense of International Politics

Cynthia Enloe, professor at Clark University (USA), is a feminist writer and theorist. She has made several contributions within the field of feminist international relations, particularly on gender and militarism.¹⁰⁸ In her book *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making feminist sense of international politics*, Enloe discusses the disregarded fact that international politics is deeply gendered, including references to inequalities in colonial history. Enloe states that gendered norms and behaviors that might seem traditional, biological, and inevitable are in fact socially constructed phenomena.¹⁰⁹ She means that femininity and masculinity are packages of expectations, maintained by the daily exercise of power on different levels, domestic as well as international.¹¹⁰ Hence, international politics constitutes a world system integrated with superior masculinity dependent on subordinate femininity.¹¹¹ This social process, over generations, has kept women out of political and influential positions. Enloe means women are at the bottom of most international hierarchies, even though the system is dependent on women's, often low- or unpaid, work.¹¹² Because of this, Enloe asserts international politics lack a perspective of women's experiences. Women often possess roles in relation to men, such as wives and daughters. When women are made invisible, the gendered power structures of femininity and masculinity are also obscured, Enloe means.¹¹³

In her book, Enloe discusses gender inequalities in colonized societies, specifically in regard to agricultural work and the distribution of land.¹¹⁴ According to Enloe women produce at least half of the world's food, but compared to men they own much less of the land where the food is grown.¹¹⁵ To successfully achieve a land reform that does not only reproduce patriarchal structures, Enloe means that women's autonomous organizing and analysis are usually required.¹¹⁶ Changing structural inequalities have been hardest to reach when women have lacked access to talk with each other confidentially and share their different experiences and priorities with each other. Especially women in a colonized society are usually from

¹⁰⁸ Clark University. 'Professor Cynthia Enloe'. *Clark University*. 2023. <https://www.clarku.edu/departments/womens-and-gender-studies/people/professor-cynthia-enloe> (accessed 2023-04-12).

¹⁰⁹ Cynthia Enloe. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Updated ed. with a new preface. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2000. p.3

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid, pp: 16-17.

¹¹² Ibid, p. 16.

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 11.

¹¹⁴ Enloe. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p. 143.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p. 146.

different social classes with different experiences of both foreign power and the society's ruling elite, making an exchange of the different experiences and perspectives particularly important.¹¹⁷ Enloe also stresses that it is crucial that supporters from outside the community do not try to force their feminist views on the local women, but instead let the women maintain both their nationalist and feminist aspirations.¹¹⁸

Enloe thus claims that the world at large is characterized by patriarchal nationalisms, and she means that those have presumed that women's oppression comes from the structures of (neo-)colonialism. Restoring a nation's independence would allegedly lead to women's liberation.¹¹⁹ Throughout history, women have been encouraged to take part in nationalist movements, but not to question gendered power relations, Enloe asserts. Women who have demanded equal rights have been silenced by the argument that changing these structures would be divisive in a nation that is too fragile at the moment. "Not now, later" they have been told. When the national goal is achieved, gender relations will be addressed.¹²⁰ Enloe is critical of this view, and that the national community's problems could be solved without confronting unequal gender relations and acknowledging women's experiences.¹²¹ Even if it would be risky for the prevailing nationalist structures, the chances of lasting change enhances if gender inequalities are taken into account, Enloe states.¹²²

Even if international politics is characterized by an unequal power relation between men and women, the reality is more complex than to view women exclusively as victims. Power relations among women from different cultures exist as well, and an image of the female victim is also a conception that further reinforces her passive, patronized position.¹²³ Enloe means that women need to be seen as actors in international politics, and they ought to get invited to reinterpret international politics through *their* specific experiences in order to achieve a more equal society.¹²⁴ If the workings of gender structures and that it is socially constructed can be made visible, Enloe means that this system of inequality may be more receptive to change than has been thought.¹²⁵ However, in a review made by Varsha Gopal,

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 63.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p. 64.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p. 62

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid, p. 63.

¹²³ Ibid, p. 16.

¹²⁴ Ibid, p. 15.

¹²⁵ Ibid, p. 17.

Enloe's book is summarized and commented on. According to Gopal, Enloe has frequently been criticized for having a lack of empirical exploration and of theoretical rigor, where some of her arguments are loose and tinted.¹²⁶ Despite this critique, Gopal means that Enloe succeeds in achieving an inclusive feminist theory as she addresses a postcolonial perspective.¹²⁷

4.4 I. William Zartman & Dean G. Pruitt: The theory of ripeness

The theory of ripeness, first time founded by I. William Zartman in 1989, concerns the psychological processes of parties involved in conflict resolution that direct them into negotiation.¹²⁸ According to Zartman, most peace studies have focused on the substance of the proposals in peace agreements as the most significant factor in coming to a resolution.¹²⁹ Recent studies, however, have put more emphasis on another prerequisite for a successful peace resolution, namely the timing of efforts, which is the core idea in ripeness theory.¹³⁰ This approach does not neglect the importance of substance, but according to this theory the proposal will only lead to conflict resolution when the parties are ready.¹³¹ Zartman states two conditions necessary for a ripe moment and in order to conclude a successful negotiation. Firstly, the parties are in a mutually hurting stalemate they can not escape through increased armed efforts. Secondly, both parties perceive a way out through negotiation.¹³²

However, recent additions to the traditional ripeness theory, by both Zartman himself and others, suggest that policymakers rarely are entirely rational.¹³³ When conflict escalates, negative attitudes, such as distrust and anger, towards the opponent usually grow, which block communication, making negotiation more difficult. Leaders can get emotionally

¹²⁶ Varsha Gopal. 'Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics by Cynthia Enloe (2014): A Review by Varsha Gopal'. *Doing Sociology*. 2020-11-30, <https://doingsociology.org/2020/11/30/bananas-beaches-and-bases-making-feminist-sense-of-international-politics-2014-by-cynthia-enloe-a-book-review-by-varsha-gopal/> (accessed 2023-05-13).

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Dean G. Pruitt. *Whither Ripeness Theory?*. Fairfax: Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University. 2005. https://activity.scar.gmu.edu/sites/default/files/wp_25_pruitt_0.pdf (accessed 2013-04-09), p. 1

¹²⁹ I William Zartman. 'Understanding Ripeness: Making and Using Hurting Stalemates'. In: Roger Mac Ginty, Anthony Wanis-St. John, (eds) *Contemporary Peacemaking*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. 2022. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-82962-9_2

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² I William Zartman. "6 Ripeness: The hurting stalemate and beyond". In: National Research Council. *International Conflict Resolution After the Cold War*. Washington DC: The National Academies Press. 2000. <https://nap.nationalacademies.org/read/9897/chapter/7>, p. 228.

¹³³ Pruitt. *Whither Ripeness Theory?*. p. 2.

committed to the conflict, involving pride and shame, with an endeavor to win and an aversion to withdrawal. Therefore, recognizing a ripe moment is harder in severe conflicts, where the costs of the conflict must be extreme to outrank pride, negative attitudes towards the opponent, and the wish for revenge.¹³⁴ It has also been suggested that leaders may be too close to the day-by-day practice of the conflict that they can not rationally recognize peaceful solutions.¹³⁵ Dean G. Pruitt has gathered and summarized the literature on the subject, and mentions two factors that can conquer these impediments, making the parties able to rationally recognize ripe moments for conflict resolution.¹³⁶ Firstly, he mentions the new leader theory, which implies that a shift in leadership may spur a change in the conflict. Since new leaders can not necessarily be held responsible for former policies, the pride to hold on to previous policies is not present in the way. New leaders can also bring in new perspectives, are more prone to see the bigger picture, and in addition to this, the opponent is less likely to distrust them.¹³⁷ Moreover, third-party intervention can help the parties to act rationally on a ripe moment. Third parties are often less biased, they can detect conditions of ripeness such as mutual stalemate, and they can provide help in negotiations.¹³⁸

Moreover, Pruitt has further contributed to the field by suggesting additions to Zartman's original theory. Pruitt suggests adding a "readiness theory" where one looks closer at each side separately and maps out the factors that push an actor into readiness for a ripe moment. By using variables, he believes in a multiple causal factor model that would explain the conditions of conflict resolution in more depth, reach further and be applicable to more cases.¹³⁹ Pruitt means that an enduring critique of Zartman is that his theory lacks a wider political dimension when it solely focuses on leader decision-making. Pruitt means a multiple causal factor model could include more aspects of the internal political processes.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁴ Ibid, pp: 3-4.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid, p. 4.

¹³⁷ Ibid, p. 5.

¹³⁸ Ibid, p. 5-6.

¹³⁹ Pruitt. *Whither Ripeness Theory?*. pp: 6-9.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 22.

5. Methodology

Since we as researchers have a mutual interest in peace- and conflict studies, especially in regard to equality and gender, we started to discuss different possible research questions on the subject. Through connections, an opportunity presented itself to set up a meeting with a person specialized in Women, Peace and Security, working at a Swedish agency. The meeting gave further insights of relevant aspects within the professional field that academic research can contribute to. It was immensely valuable to discuss the relevance of different topics with someone working with the issues in practice. This meeting specifically acted as an inspiration to incorporate a Positive Deviance approach, as we understood how rare the inclusivity in the peace accord of Colombia was. Ensuring the field's practical relevance, we were hereafter able to formulate our research question.

5.1 Research Design

This paper uses a qualitative method and the reasons for this are numerous. Firstly, a qualitative analysis allows for a deeper understanding of the various concepts connected to the research question. The chosen research question could not be answered as extensively with numerical data. Secondly, due to lack of resources, we had no possibility of traveling to Colombia ourselves and gather material, and the material that was available to us suited a qualitative method better.¹⁴¹ Nevertheless, qualitative research can be problematic as it to a certain extent lacks the ability to be generalized and replicated, as well as it has a tendency to be subjective since the researcher makes interpretations of the material.¹⁴² Efforts to avoid tendencies of subjectivity have been made by using diversified sources for gathering material, such as material published by authorities, experts within the field and NGOs, as well as expert interviews. Furthermore, the abductive approach that is explained below has contributed to maintaining an open mind to the paper's findings, which allows for incorporating additional perspectives and insights on the Colombian conflict. Whether or not this study has external validity, meaning that the findings from this study can be applied in other contexts, can be problematized.¹⁴³ Of course it is difficult to generalize this study as it was specifically intended for the peace negotiations in Colombia. Since the conflict in Colombia is so complex and various actors have contributed to creating this inclusive peace

¹⁴¹ Alan Bryman. *Samhällsvetenskapliga metoder*. Third edition. Stockholm: Liber. 2018, p. 459

¹⁴² Ibid, pp: 484-485.

¹⁴³ Ibid, p.74.

accord its findings become rather contextual. However, findings from this paper can be used as a guide in finding insights on other conflicts, in other geographical contexts.

5.1.1 Secondary Research

Included in this paper's research design is both secondary and primary research. Secondary research has been conducted in the form of qualitative content analysis through thematic coding of different documents.¹⁴⁴ Some documents are written by institutions such as the UN, some are printed in scientific journals whilst some documents are publications by NGOs and civil rights organizations. A number of themes were set up together with a code number (such as "Focus on the government as an actor": 4) (see Appendix 1), whereas the documents were read and coded. While reading, new themes and codes were added. Similarly, other themes that were included in the initial preparation were later considered to be insignificant. Through the thematic coding, it became clear how prevalent the different themes were in the published material. Together with the knowledge from the interviews we were able to read through the documents once more, allowing for new findings and important patterns, in addition to the initial codings, that correlated to those patterns presented in the interviews. This gave us the opportunity to do a closer reading of certain documents, with a more narrow focus on significant patterns.

5.1.2 Primary Research

After the initial phase of thematic coding, a decision was made to add interviews as a method of collecting data to complement the insights gained from the documents. We wanted to eliminate the risk of our secondary research representing a single narrative in the published official documents. Therefore, two interviews were conducted with experts providing their own direct experiences from the negotiations. The interviews were formed as semi-structured, where a set of questions were prepared beforehand in an interview guide. However, the interviews were flexible, where new questions took form depending on the informant's answers, while others were removed when their insignificant relevance appeared.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 677.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 563

The first interview was held on April 3, 2023, with a senior advisor (referred to as informant 1) on issues concerning dialogue and mediation at a Swedish authority for Peace, Security, and Development. He has worked on various peace negotiations as a mediator for the UN and EU, and during the Colombian peace process he participated as an advisor of the EU's envoy. Thus, he has direct experience from the negotiation process leading up to this peace agreement. The second interview was held on April 21, 2023, with a woman (referred to as informant 2) working at a Swedish authority in Colombia, who has a long experience with peacebuilding as well as incorporating the Women, Peace and Security agenda in her work. The interviews have been recorded and transcribed word by word, as well as anonymized. A summary of both interviews is presented under the results. After the collection of both secondary and primary research, the themes, factors, actors, and other decisive mechanisms that have proved to be most prominent in relation to the research question have been presented below.

5.2 Abductive Approach

In accordance with an abductive approach, we have been working alternately between theoretical frameworks and empirical findings during the research process. Tavory and Timmermans argue that an abductive approach is beneficial since it is not too bound to a theoretical framework. They also mean that an abductive approach is flexible towards its finding and in doing so minimizes the risk of subjectivity.¹⁴⁶ In the beginning, various theoretical standpoints were discussed, however, there was an openness to the possibility of rejecting these theories if they were proven not to be applicable to the empirical material. Findings from documents as well as interviews acted as an inspiration to add certain theoretical approaches whilst rejecting others. For example, it was during the first interview that informant 1 mentioned the theory of ripeness and how it can be applied to this case, whereby we chose to further explore this theory and tried its relevance in relation to the other empirical material. By using this abductive approach, having multiple different theories in mind and being flexible about how they fit the empirical findings, the aim has been to be as objective as possible in relation to theory.

¹⁴⁶ Iddo Tavory & Stefan Timmermans. *Abductive Analysis - Theorizing Qualitative Research*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 2014. pp: 35-49.

5.3 Quality Assurance

Choosing sources for the secondary research has been made with caution, assuring the credibility of the authors as well as the relevance of the publication dates. Primarily the sources used in this thesis are documents published by recognized authorities, such as the UN. However, we also recognized the value of using other sources such as news articles published by NGOs, to minimize the risk of only taking in one narrative. Therefore, a careful comparison of findings across different kinds of sources has been made. Furthermore, to increase the credibility of this study a decision was made to conduct the interviews as well. This gave the possibility to see if the official story presented by the big authorities differed from the findings presented by people with their own experiences of the peace process. To gain as many different insights as possible two different interview objects with varied experiences and expertise were chosen. The first informant is a man that worked on-site with the peace negotiations in Colombia as a mediator from the EU's envoy. He represents a perspective of international support. The second informant is a woman (to include the possibility of different viewpoints attributed to gender), with experience in working with peacebuilding in connection to the Women, Peace and Security agenda. She has lived in Colombia for 10 years, and lived there at the time of the peace talks.

5.4 Ethical Considerations

During the research, we have been conscious of ethical considerations, aiming to conduct the research with minimal harm to anyone involved. This study followed the British Sociological Association's (BSA) ethical guidelines.¹⁴⁷ The material analyzed through the qualitative content analysis has been officially published sources, thereby not revealing any confidential information. The interview persons have participated completely voluntarily and they have been anonymized to ensure that being a part of this study will not reveal their identity. The recordings of the interviews have been made with full consent and the recordings have been deleted after the transcribing in order to ensure anonymity and confidentiality.¹⁴⁸ The chosen subject may be a sensitive one as it deals with victims of war and conflict. However, we have not interviewed anyone with personal experience as such directly affected by the conflict, and

¹⁴⁷ British Sociological Association. 'Statement of Ethical Practice'. 2017. *British Sociological Association*. https://www.britisoc.co.uk/media/24310/bsa_statement_of_ethical_practice.pdf (accessed 2023-04-27).

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

all of our questions are based on their expertise within the subject and only in connection to the peace negotiation process.

6. Results

6.1 Secondary Research

6.1.1 The Role of the Colombian Government and FARC During the Peace Process

Both the government and FARC included women in the initial, unofficial peace talks. However, when the talks officially started in 2012, not one woman had a place at the negotiation table.¹⁴⁹ In the following year, however, both the government and FARC were influenced by the women's rights movement, for example the National Summit.¹⁵⁰ In April 2013 Victoria Sandino, who was a former FARC combatant and current congresswoman at the time, entered the FARC negotiating team.¹⁵¹ She was devoted to include the perspectives of more women, especially female ex-combatants from FARC.¹⁵² Her participation resulted in women being assigned 20 percent of FARC's negotiating team places.¹⁵³ In November 2013, the government followed by including two women, Nigeria Rentería and María Paulina Riveros, to the table.¹⁵⁴ Consequently, in 2014 the gender sub-commission was established.¹⁵⁵ At the end of the negotiations, approximately 40 percent of FARC's negotiating team, and 20 percent of the government's negotiating team, were women.¹⁵⁶

Salvesen and Nylander argue that the direct participation of women and victims in the peace process was important since the negotiators became aware of the realities they had

¹⁴⁹ Salvesen & Nylander. 'Towards an inclusive peace: women and the gender approach in the Colombian peace process'. p.2.

¹⁵⁰ Alexandra Phelan & Jacqui True. 'Navigating Gender in Elite Bargains: Women's Movements and the Quest for Inclusive Peace in Colombia'. *Review of International Studies*. Vol. 48, no. 1, 2022, p. 174.

¹⁵¹ Ruiz-Navarro. 'A feminist peace in Colombia?'

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Phelan & True. 'Navigating Gender in Elite Bargains: Women's Movements and the Quest for Inclusive Peace in Colombia'. pp: 171-194-194.

¹⁵⁴ Bouvier. *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process*. p.20.

¹⁵⁵ Ruiz-Navarro. 'A feminist peace in Colombia?'

¹⁵⁶ Council on Foreign Relations: Women's Participation in Peace Processes. 'Colombia Case Study: Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace'. *Council on Foreign Relations*. n.d. <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/colombia> (accessed 2023-04-15).

experienced. The women presented concrete proposals of agenda items to address these issues.¹⁵⁷ Representatives from women's rights organizations were also heard by the heads of delegations who agreed to include a gender approach, and thus they could be held accountable for it.¹⁵⁸ It is important to consider that even when women have possessed few roles as negotiators, women are still present in the process even if they lack the utmost power and credit. Backstage, women are working, contributing and having their say. Across Colombia, women have organized, analyzed and influenced public opinion as well as contributed to a solution.¹⁵⁹

6.1.1.1 The Colombian Government

It has been suggested that since 2010, when Juan Manuel Santos became the President of Colombia, the country's political approach changed significantly. For instance, Domingo et al. mean Santos officially stated that Colombia suffers from an internal armed conflict, instead of depicting various guerilla groups as terrorists.¹⁶⁰ However, Céspedes-Báez & Jaramillo Ruiz, as well as Boutron, appear to think that there was only little effort made by the Colombian government to have a gender-inclusive perspective in this peace agreement.¹⁶¹ Until local and international actors put pressure on the government, there were no women included in the negotiation team at the start of the peace talks in 2012.¹⁶² Despite the hard work of women's rights organizations it took two years to include a permanent sub-commission focusing on gender. Céspedes-Báez & Jaramillo Ruiz state that the gender-inclusive aspect did only come as an initiative from the government as a way to display their efforts in being in favor of diversity and gender inclusivity.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁷ Salvesen & Nylander. 'Towards an inclusive peace: women and the gender approach in the Colombian peace process'. p.3.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid p.3.

¹⁵⁹ Bouvier. *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process*. pp: 6-7.

¹⁶⁰ Domingo, Rocha Menocal & Hinestroza. 'Progress despite adversity: women's empowerment and conflict in Colombia'. p.10.

¹⁶¹ Lina M. Céspedes-Báez, and Felipe Jaramillo Ruiz. "Peace without Women Does Not Go!" Women's Struggle for Inclusion in Colombia's Peace Process with the FARC'. *Colombia Internacional*. Vol. 94, 2018, p. 85; Camille Boutron. 'Engendering Peacebuilding: The International Gender Nomenclature of Peace Politics and Women's Participation in the Colombian Peace Process'. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*. Vol. 13, no. 2, 2018, pp: 116–21.

¹⁶² Céspedes-Báez, & Jaramillo Ruiz. "Peace without Women Does Not Go!" Women's Struggle for Inclusion in Colombia's Peace Process with the FARC'. p. 85.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

6.1.1.2 FARC

When peace negotiations unofficially started in 2010, the leader of FARC was Alfonso Cano. In 2011, the military forces of the government killed Cano, which according to Nylander et al., could have challenged the following peace negotiations severely.¹⁶⁴ However, peace talks continued with the new leader, which they claim indicates how eager FARC was to find a peaceful solution.¹⁶⁵ The new leader from 2011 was Rodrigo Londoño Echeverri, also known as Timoleón Jiménez or Timochenko, who continued the peace talks and signed the agreement in 2016.¹⁶⁶

FARC has had a proportionately big number of female combatants, approximately 40 percent of the force were women.¹⁶⁷ At local and regional levels, FARC had many female commanders, even if the top leaders were solely men. It has been suggested that there prevailed relative equality among FARC men and women in the field, even if they also were affected by patriarchal structures.¹⁶⁸ Other sources also report the repeated occurrence of sexual, physical and psychological violence against women within the military.¹⁶⁹ In 2013, FARC women created their internal group Mujeres Farianas with their own website to present their experiences of the war.¹⁷⁰

6.1.2 Civil Society and Women's Rights Organizations

Colombia is a rather conservative country with deeply rooted values in religion and patriarchal structures.¹⁷¹ Despite this, women's movements in Colombia have been rather vocal about the injustices and have had a significant impact on the country's improved equality, both within the laws of the country and particularly for the peace negotiations.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁴ Nylander et al. 'Designing peace: the Colombian peace process'. p. 2.

¹⁶⁵ Nylander et al. 'Designing peace: the Colombian peace process'. p. 2.

¹⁶⁶ United Nations. 'Parties to Final Agreement Agree Colombia Conflict Can Be Resolved by Addressing Land Distribution, Rural Development, Former Commander Tells Security Council'. *Meetings Coverage and Press Releases*. 2023-04-13. <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sc15255.doc.htm> (accessed 2023-05-18).

¹⁶⁷ Salvesen & Nylander. 'Towards an inclusive peace: women and the gender approach in the Colombian peace process'. p.2.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Janine Aguilera Mesa. 'From war to economic reintegration: The challenges for women ex-combatants in Colombia'. *International Growth Centre*. 2023-03-20.

<https://www.theigc.org/blogs/gender-equality/war-economic-reintegration-challenges-women-ex-combatants-colombia> (accessed 2023-04-07).

¹⁷⁰ Phelan & True. 'Navigating Gender in Elite Bargains: Women's Movements and the Quest for Inclusive Peace in Colombia'. p. 187.

¹⁷¹ Bouvier. *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process*. p.13.

¹⁷² Céspedes-Báez & Jaramillo Ruiz. "'Peace without Women Does Not Go!' Women's Struggle for Inclusion in Colombia's Peace Process with the FARC". p. 87.

This is not to say that these women's rights organizations have not encountered adversity. Boutron describes how the progressive gender approach in the peace deal was strongly resisted by conservative groups in Colombia. Especially as it contested the traditional idea of "the Colombian core family", which in turn was seen as opposing Colombian religious values.¹⁷³

Different scholars and actors each have distinct perspectives on who had the greatest impact in concluding a peace deal. Boutron claims that the gender sub-commission came through thanks to the endeavors of various women's rights organizations, both national and international.¹⁷⁴ Boutron also explains the importance of UN resolution 1325. This resolution especially gave support and tools to grassroots women's organizations in their work and validated their efforts.¹⁷⁵

During 2013, the year before the establishment of the gender sub-commission, women's rights organizations frequently held events and hearings.¹⁷⁶ For instance, in May 2013, a conference was held in Colombia with over two thousand members from various women's rights organizations. After this meeting, they published a report where they in detail listed ways to implement UN's resolution 1325 into a peace agreement, as well as stressing the importance of structural changes in order to reach peace in all aspects of Colombian society. In this report, they also demanded more gender inclusion among the members of the government and FARC.¹⁷⁷

Another key event took place in October 2013, the National Summit of Women for Peace. This was initiated by a collaboration of nine different Colombian women's rights organizations that represented people from different ethnic, cultural, and political backgrounds. The event was backed by the UN, Sweden, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, and OXFAM. The women's organizations had 450 representatives that met in Bogotá and came up with three demands to the negotiating parties. They claimed that FARC and the government can not leave the table without an agreement, that women must be included at

¹⁷³ Boutron. 'Engendering Peacebuilding: The International Gender Nomenclature of Peace Politics and Women's Participation in the Colombian Peace Process'. p. 116.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, pp: 116–21.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 117.

¹⁷⁶ Céspedes-Báez & Jaramillo Ruiz. "Peace without Women Does Not Go!" Women's Struggle for Inclusion in Colombia's Peace Process with the FARC'. pp: 95–96.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, p.96.

every step of the peace process, and that women's rights and experiences have to be of great importance during the negotiation.¹⁷⁸

A vast amount of women's rights organizations were involved in the peace process, to the extent that all their work can not be covered in this thesis. Three of them will be accounted for in closer detail below.

6.1.2.1 Coalición 1325

Boutron claims the coalition of women's rights organizations called Coalición 1325 played an important role in mobilizing support for implementing the UN security resolution 1325. This was partly done by publishing reports on the gendered dimensions of the conflict, showcasing the importance of looking at the conflict from the perspective of women as well.¹⁷⁹ In 2012 Coalición 1325 published a report condoning the lack of female participants in Colombia's past peace negotiations, calling for the implementation of resolution 1325 for the start of the new peace process initiated in 2012.¹⁸⁰ Apart from solely focusing on women's inclusion in this particular peace process, Coalición 1325 stressed the fact that the conflict will not be solved only through implementing a ceasefire. Instead, they expressed the need for understanding women's role and position in war and conflict, as well as how economic violence against women in Colombia is an issue that needs to be resolved hastily.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, Boutron means that the perseverance and hard work of Coalición 1325 helped to push for the implementation of a sub-commission focusing on gender within the peace negotiations.¹⁸²

6.1.2.2 Mujeres por la Paz

Furthermore, Céspedes-Báez and Jaramillo Ruiz recognize Mujeres por la Paz as one of the main groups that introduced the question of gender inclusivity in the peace talks.¹⁸³ This organization is a coalition of more than forty different women's organizations, formed in

¹⁷⁸ Bouvier. *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process*. p.20.

¹⁷⁹ Boutron. 'Engendering Peacebuilding: The International Gender Nomenclature of Peace Politics and Women's Participation in the Colombian Peace Process'. p.116.

¹⁸⁰ Céspedes-Báez & Jaramillo Ruiz. "'Peace without Women Does Not Go!' Women's Struggle for Inclusion in Colombia's Peace Process with the FARC'. p.95.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Boutron. 'Engendering Peacebuilding: The International Gender Nomenclature of Peace Politics and Women's Participation in the Colombian Peace Process'. p. 116.

¹⁸³ Céspedes-Báez & Jaramillo Ruiz. "'Peace without Women Does Not Go!' Women's Struggle for Inclusion in Colombia's Peace Process with the FARC'. p.94.

2012.¹⁸⁴ Céspedes-Báez and Jaramillo Ruiz particularly describe how this organization was vital for mobilizing public support for the peace negotiation and for including more women in the peace talks. For example, on November 22, 2013, Mujeres por la Paz organized a public demonstration outside the presidential palace in Bogotá, where over eight thousand women advocated for more inclusion in the peace deal.¹⁸⁵ This demonstration gained a lot of public attention, and shortly after President Santos announced that he would include a female negotiator in the peace talks as well as two spokeswomen, Nigéria Rentería Lozano and María Paulina Riveros Dueñas, to guide the dialogues of gender inequality in regards to the conflict. Although this was seen as an advancement in the government's approach to peace, this initiative was also criticized for not being representative enough, viewing women as a homogenous group.¹⁸⁶ Mujeres por la Paz also supported negotiations and mediation of the conflict at a regional level. A quiet, but important role was played by women in their communities to for example achieve local-level ceasefires, release of hostages and lifting of road blockages.¹⁸⁷

6.1.2.3 Sisma Mujer

Sisma Mujer is an organization founded in 1998 that works towards improving women's rights in Colombia. They particularly focus on giving support and counseling to women who live in rural areas as well as women of indigenous and afro-descent.¹⁸⁸ Sismas Mujer's founder, Claudia Mejía, was a part of the expert group for the sub-commission of gender during the peace talks. Her role there was to recommend ways to integrate women's rights, and particularly the rights of female victims, during and after conflict. Sisma Mujer played a significant role in giving restoration to victims of sexual violence and including this in the peace agreement through the initiative called "Five Keys for a Differential Treatment of Sexual Violence in the Peace Agreement".¹⁸⁹ This initiative acted to guarantee that the issue of sexual violence would be dealt with and that the implementation of the peace agreement would monitor this question closely.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. 84.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. pp.94-96.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p.96.

¹⁸⁷ Bouvier. *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process*. p.18.

¹⁸⁸ Sigrid Rausing Trust. 'GRANTEE PROFILE: Sisma Mujer'. *Sigrid Rausing Trust*. 2021.

<https://www.sigrid-rausing-trust.org/grantee/sisma-mujer/> (accessed 2023-04-05).

¹⁸⁹ Isabella Flisi. 'Colombia's Rejection of the Peace Agreement Creates New Hurdles for Women'. *PassBlue*. 2016-10-30.

<https://www.passblue.com/2016/10/30/colombias-rejection-of-the-peace-pact-creates-new-hurdles-for-women/> (accessed 2023-04-25).

6.1.3 International Actors

Although Boutron recognizes local organizations in Colombia as the main actors, she also puts emphasis on the importance of international actors, such as UN Women, Norway, Cuba, the United States, and Sweden. They helped to mobilize local organizations and made the logistics possible, and they put pressure on the Colombian government to validate these women's rights groups.¹⁹⁰ The international actors played an important role in encouraging the two parties to start initiating the peace negotiations, as well as contributing with guidance and more practical support during the peace talks.¹⁹¹

6.1.3.1 Cuba, Norway, and Sweden

Cuba and Norway acted as guarantor states¹⁹² for the Colombian peace deal, aiding with both political as well as financial support.¹⁹³ Cuba had been involved in previous efforts to bring peace to the Colombian conflict. Most of the peace talks were held in Havana, Cuba. In this way, the negotiations could take place with secrecy. If the initial negotiation phase would have been publicly known Nylander et al. means that the agenda of the peace talks would be too politically polarized and would have affected members from both sides.¹⁹⁴ During the peace talks, all the involved parties lived in a gated community in Havana where the members of the government and FARC were safe. Nylander et al. state that being able to live in close quarters on “neutral grounds” and having the possibility to meet more spontaneously helped to maintain a good atmosphere during the peace talks.¹⁹⁵ The residence where the Norwegian mediators lived, called the “Norwegian House”, was repeatedly used for more informal meetings that were held outside of the official peace talks. Norway and Cuba each

¹⁹⁰ Boutron. ‘Engendering Peacebuilding: The International Gender Nomenclature of Peace Politics and Women’s Participation in the Colombian Peace Process’. pp: 118–20.

¹⁹¹ UN Peacemaker. ‘Executive Summary, From words to action’. pp: 2-3.

¹⁹² A guarantor state is a third-part country that provides verification, support, or enforcement of agreement implementation in conflict resolution:

Stefanie Dwyer. ‘Window for Peace: Determinants of Third-party Guarantees in Intrastate Conflict Resolution’. *Columbia: Academic Commons*. 2017. <https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/doi/10.7916/D83B6BQ7> (accessed 2023-05-22).

¹⁹³ Nylander et al. ‘Designing peace: the Colombian peace process’. p.3.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. p.3.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. p.2.

had one gender expert that assisted the gender sub-commission, providing an international perspective on gender inclusivity.¹⁹⁶

Furthermore, although Sweden was not an official guarantor of the peace process, they contributed with economic support as well as valuable guidance. During the peace process they contributed over 6.6 million euros to the peace negotiation, as well as having a joint fund with the government of Norway.¹⁹⁷ Moreover, Juanita Millán believes that the Swedish and Norwegian governments both played crucial roles in making sure that the more practical and technical aspects of gender matters were successful. For example, Sweden and Norway helped to orchestrate so that groups of women from rural areas, and internally displaced women were able to give their statements in the peace negotiations.¹⁹⁸ Ruiz-Navarro also states that the countries enabled women of various guerilla groups to meet and share their experiences with other women from guerilla groups from various countries.¹⁹⁹

6.1.3.2 The United Nations

The United Nations' involvement in Colombia started long before the negotiations between the Colombian government and FARC were initiated in 2012. The UN had worked with Colombian civil society organizations more than a decade before these peace talks started, in efforts to help those who suffered most from the violent conflict.²⁰⁰ Including the UN in the peace process was seen as something natural and self-evident as the UN would be assigned to monitor the implementations of the peace deal.²⁰¹

For the current peace deal, the UN helped to organize various forums and meetings together with other actors in Colombia where they held discussions and exchanges of knowledge and experiences.²⁰² For example they coordinated a conference together with the National University and the Colombian Bishops' where they invited victims to join the peace talks and share their experiences. Throughout the peace deal, the UN had a big part in promoting the inclusion of civil society, especially victims of the conflict, and made sure that this was

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. p.2.

¹⁹⁷ Ruiz-Navarro. 'A feminist peace in Colombia?'.
¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Fabrizio Hochschild & Juan Pablo Caicedo. 'No Persistence—No Peace: A Reflection on the United Nations Contribution to Peace in Colombia'. *United Nations: UN Chronicle*. 2020-10-23.
<https://www.un.org/en/un-chronicle/no-persistence%E2%80%94no-peace> (accessed 2023-04-17).

²⁰¹ Nylander et al. 'Designing peace: the Colombian peace process'. p.7.

²⁰² Ibid. p.8.

practically possible.²⁰³ Although the absence of physical violence was seen as a very important step for peace, the UN also recognized the importance of building sustainable peace through implementing strategies to prepare for the aftermath of the conflict, providing social and psychological support for those groups in Colombian society that would need it the most as well as focusing on providing ways to reduce inequalities.²⁰⁴ Additionally, the UN was also ambitious in their efforts to include the Women, Peace and Security agenda and worked with various actors, such as the government, FARC, Civil society as well as international actors, to cooperate on finding solutions that would contribute to peace and equality.²⁰⁵

UN Women is a particular entity of the United Nations that works specifically with promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women and they had an important and impactful role in the peace process.²⁰⁶ Just as with the local women's rights organizations in Colombia, UN women have tirelessly fought for pushing the involved parties to involve more women in the peace negotiations.²⁰⁷ They have also enabled LGBTQI+ activists to contribute with expertise to the peace agreement and advocate for expanding the perspective on diversity beyond women.²⁰⁸ Furthermore, UN Women has been a part of bringing the issue of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict to the negotiation table, making sure that the voices of the victims of sexual violence were heard and that they had the support they needed.²⁰⁹

6.2 Primary Research

6.2.1 Interview 1 with a Mediator from the European Union

This interview was held with informant 1, with direct experience of the peace negotiations as a former advisor and mediator from the EU's envoy.

²⁰³ Hochschild & Caicedo. 'No Persistence—No Peace: A Reflection on the United Nations Contribution to Peace in Colombia'.

²⁰⁴ Hochschild & Caicedo. 'No Persistence—No Peace: A Reflection on the United Nations Contribution to Peace in Colombia'

²⁰⁵ UN Peacemaker, 'Executive Summary, From words to action'. pp:1-2.

²⁰⁶ Hochschild & Caicedo. 'No Persistence—No Peace: A Reflection on the United Nations Contribution to Peace in Colombia'

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Bouvier. 'Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process'. p.9.

The informant explained that he was both in Colombia and Cuba, where the negotiations took place. As a part of the EU's envoy he, together with the UN, Norway and Cuba supported the peace process. He mentioned that civil society was part of the negotiations, telling their stories to the board of the peace talks. Partly backed by the UN, a Colombian University and the catholic church, these individuals were gathered and taken to Havana. It was both leaders from NGOs, as well as direct victims of the war. They came from various backgrounds, representing indigenous groups and other minorities, they were from rural and urban areas, as well as from both sides of the conflict. Informant 1 said they came to the board and told them about their experiences and what changes they wished for. They strongly pleaded that the negotiators should not leave the table without an agreement. The informant said these stories were very powerful, and that it was apparent how it strongly affected the negotiators. During the process, there were many people working to provide psychological support to the victims.

Informant 1 said that it was part of the initial plan that the agreement should be inclusive and victim-centered. Therefore, it was natural from the start to invite representatives from civil society in the process. However, it was more a question of whom to include. The particular focus on women became integrated later. Before, there had been few female representatives at the table, but later the idea was born to set up a sub-commission to focus particularly on gender. Informant 1 said it was like a race between the government and FARC to send women to the sub-commission. When one party sent more female representatives than the other, the opposing side felt the need to step up and outdo the other. This was good, the informant said, because it led to the formation of a bigger sub-commission that had greater influence. Nonetheless, the majority of the peace accord had been formulated when the sub-commission was created. Consequently, the whole agreement was raised for revision in order for the sub-commission to include points in regard to gender. Informant 1 said that it was controversial to change already negotiated points, but it was accepted, which was big. Informant 1 mentioned that Norway and the UN played a big part in encouraging this, even though the Colombians made the actual decisions. The informant further states that when problems occurred during the negotiations, women from both FARC and the government went to the restrooms together. There, they conversed and negotiated with each other, and came back to the table presenting their stance on issues. It was a way for them to push for questions regarding their rights, of which the men would not fight as hard for.

Informant 1 means the international actors played their part by offering technical assistance, for example, they helped with formulating points in the peace deal that dealt with the gender discourse. The informant stressed that Colombia is a very patriarchal society, and even if they wanted to include gender, this was a bit of a challenge. However, informant 1 did not experience any particular resistance to include these issues from any specific actor. He also said that there were many women that fought in the war, and while stressing that it is still patriarchal, they had some influence.

The informant means that Alvaro Uribe, the former president and at the time of the peace process in opposition to Santos, was completely against the peace agreement. The informant claims that this partly has to do with Uribe's party being conservative while FARC is a left-winged guerilla group, as well as the fact that Uribe's party originates from the rural areas of Colombia, where the conflict has been most severe. In addition, paramilitary groups that were supported by Uribe committed war crimes during the conflict, such as the "Falsos Positivos" scandal. Hence, Uribe was reluctant towards the peace agreement with FARC and its truth-commission that could shed light on former indecencies. Moreover, the informant states there is prestige involved in this, where Uribe's side did not want to give Santos "all the credit". In accordance with Uribe, many Colombians did not want to initiate negotiations with FARC as they considered them to be criminals that should be punished. The informant thinks the peace process' victim-centered focus had to do with the strive to "sell peace". Thus, the victim-centered approach was a way to convince the public of the negotiation's importance, since it was a way to show that it is for the victims too, not only to declare peace with FARC.

Overall, informant 1 means that the peace accord was a compromise between actions leading to structural changes, and those that aim to merely achieve direct cease-fire. On the one hand, there is the land reform as well as the truth- and justice-commission, aiming to reach more structural changes. On the other hand, FARC presumably wanted to change the country more fundamentally, but the government would never accept that. Regarding why the revised peace agreement removed the points on LGBTQI+ rights, the informant commented that it had to do with Colombia's patriarchal structures, where many in the public found it important to maintain the "traditional family". He also claims that the catholic church had a big influence, where even the pope voiced his resistance to including these notes in the peace agreement, and demanded the removal of them in order to secure peace. The informant stresses the

reality of prevailing patriarchal structures, and that change takes time. After this the involved parties became pragmatic. Additionally, since it was at the end of Santos' mandate period, they did not want to go to election without the peace agreement.

In comparison with other peace processes that informant 1 has experienced, he says this one was much more structured, with the involved parties themselves leading the discussions and negotiations. The mediators were only there as support. The informant states that the parties included this themselves, not only due to external pressure. It was a well-thought-out and innovative process, he means. Furthermore, the informant means that the leaders were updated on different peace negotiations and the latest trends. One trend was that it had to be gender-inclusive. This trend partly came from the UN resolution 1325. The informant believes they were affected by the trends, and that they did not want Colombia to be seen as a poor, developing country. He also mentioned the theory of ripeness, suggesting that the conflict was "ripe" for resolution at the time of the peace agreement in 2016. Negotiations had been ongoing for two decades prior to the agreement without success. They had indeed tried before, but now it worked. He means this can be applied to various situations, referring to other negotiations he has experience of, where they finally came to a solution when the time was ripe.

6.2.2 Interview 2 with an Expert in Women, Peace and Security

The second interview was held with informant 2 who has a lot of experience within the field of conflict and peace studies, with a specific focus on issues concerning the Women, Peace and Security agenda. She has worked both within Swedish as well as international state agencies. This informant has lived in Colombia and experienced the fallout of the peace deal firsthand.

Informant 2 stresses the fact that from the beginning of the peace talks there was no mention of including a gender perspective from the two parties involved. Instead, she emphasizes the perseverance and hard work of the women's movement both on national and local level. For decades, various women's rights organizations and human rights defenders have led their own peace negotiations in their communities, which have been important for advocating for human rights issues and particularly women's inclusion and empowerment. They have implemented resolution 1325 of the Women, Peace and Security agenda through their own

means. The official negotiations offered an opportunity for the women's movement to position their work. Since the women's movement had been so resilient in Colombia during the last two decades, informant 2 says that they were very vocal when the peace talks began without a focus on gender inclusion. This was also something that was voiced by the international community. Informant 2 states that the international community engaged in political dialogues where they advocated for women's rights to be included in the decision-making process.

Eventually, women's rights groups got their demands met and a group called La Cumbre de Mujeres, was founded to collect testimonies from women across the country, taking into account their experiences, their demands as well as priorities when it came to inclusion. She means that this motivated FARC and the Colombian government to include more women in their negotiation teams. However, informant 2 also mentions that it was a challenge to find a collective voice and agenda since different groups naturally had different things that they thought were more or less important to prioritize. It was important to manage this, because since it was a challenge to bring in the women in the first place, having them conflicting with each other would be ineffective. To resolve this issue, informant 2 means that international actors were greatly important to create space for dialogue and collect different views, enabling diverse groups of women to find a collective voice and a common goal. The arrangement of a collective voice was key to the successful integration in the agreement, the informant stresses. Although informant 2 thinks that the peace accord falls short in many areas when it comes to gender inclusion and diversity, it is still important to acknowledge that it was a historic peace treaty in terms of gender inclusivity and some inclusion of LGBTQI+ perspectives. She believes this is a step in the right direction.

When asked why the women's rights movement is so particularly strong in Colombia, despite patriarchal structures, the informant said that historically no or very limited state presence has prevailed in many parts of the country. Therefore, for many years civil society has taken it upon themselves to take control of their own regions, protecting their rights and providing their communities with access to services. There are organizations both at the national and local level, and the informant thinks the women's movement has done a good job in connecting with the local level, which has led to a network of women across the country who for a long time have worked together to position their agendas.

President Santos was active as the minister of defense in the administration of the previous president Uribe, the informant explained. Uribe's administration, with Santos' participation, had a rather hard-handed fight against illegal armed groups and revised many allegations of human rights abuses during Uribe's presidency. When Santos became president his political line shifted, especially in regards to their security policies. The informant said that it was quite a scandal and it was suggested that he betrayed his political mentor Uribe. Santos became more open to negotiations with guerilla groups, such as FARC, which the informant thinks could have been an important factor for enabling the peace deal at this particular time. Santos understood that in order to find a peaceful solution and end the violence both sides had to be willing to give and take. However, informant 2 also means that Santos' rather tolerant approach, highly criticized for being too compliant to FARC, could also be a big contributing factor to why the "no-vote" won in the referendum on the peace accord and why the public opinion on the peace accords was rather ambiguous. She also thinks that it mattered that the opposition canvassed for their discontent with this peace deal, which affected public opinion.

The informant means that different actors played significant roles on different levels. Regarding international actors, the guarantor countries Norway and Cuba had an influential role in the political dialogue between the Colombian government and FARC. Moreover, she states that other international actors such as the UN played an important role in mediating between local groups, bigger civil rights organizations and the parties involved in the peace deal. They collected the needs, requests and concerns from different communities to have their say at the negotiation table. It was important to bring in the ground perspectives of various communities since the conflict played out differently in different areas. The extensive role that the civil society had in this peace process, and both FARC's and the government's openness towards them, is unique, she said. The informant means that this peace process in Colombia distinguished itself from other peace negotiations in the way that international actors had more of a subtle role. Elsewhere, international actors have taken more of a leadership role, whereas in Colombia the role of the civil society was stronger and international actors only provided support. International actors offered an important communication link between the different actors involved in the conflict, making sure that different groups across the country were able to have their say. However, she stresses the determination of civil society's significance for the most inclusive peace deal in history to come through.

7. Discussion

7.1 The Strong Mobilization of Women

One of the most prominent explanations for the success of this peace agreement's inclusivity appears to be a very strong mobilization of women in Colombia. Firstly, as informant 2 stated, civil society groups have for a long time organized and grown strong due to the lack of state presence. They have been used to fighting for their cause. Thus, for years women have mobilized and shared their experiences and opinions with each other. Subsequently, during the peace process various women's rights organizations, with thousands of women from different backgrounds, have been able to come together through organized hearings and demonstrations, suggesting ways to implement resolution 1325. Boutron, among others, claims that the gender sub-commission came through because of this activism. Besides the profoundly strong presence of women's rights organizations, women have had the chance to gather in different forms throughout this peace negotiation. For example, FARC has had a uniquely large proportion of women warriors, implying that women within FARC have possessed an active role in war and thereby challenging traditional norms of hegemonic masculinity. Within FARC, they have also further created space for female mobilization through Mujeres Farianas. Additionally, later in the peace process when more women were included, the negotiations constituted a forum for the relatively many female representatives to work together. As informant 1 mentioned, the women at the negotiation table took restroom breaks together when needed to organize their strategy, which showcases how women's mobilization has been prominent on all levels from the ground up, from civil society to the very negotiations.

Thus, what is significant in this case is how the barrier between civil society on a grassroots level, and higher political institutions, has been overcome. The women's movements on the grassroots level have taken their place in peace negotiations where victims were heard directly by the negotiators in a unique way. As mentioned, Salvesen and Nylander argue that their participation was important to inform the negotiators of their realities, and their stories evidently affected the negotiators considerably, as informant 1 experienced. Informant 2 declared that the women's movement has done a valuable job in connecting with women at the local level, creating national networks. Furthermore, representatives from civil society have come from different geographical, political, cultural as well as ethnic backgrounds.

Consequently, many perspectives have been represented, at the same time as they have managed to mobilize and present their will as one voice, as informant 2 mentions was crucial for a successful inclusion of gender in the agreement. International actors have provided support to facilitate communication from civil society and to gather them as one voice, rather than being the ones to rule the narrative of the conflict and its victims. Moreover, the UN's resolution 1325 worked as a tool in the Colombian women's movement's own fight.

Cynthia Enloe declared that in order to succeed in changing structures of inequality, for example to achieve a more equal land reform as in this agreement, women's autonomous organizing, mobilization and joint analysis are usually required. As seen, this has been the case in Colombia which was prevalent before, and further enhanced during, the peace process. Enloe means that especially in a colonized society women often have distinct experiences of oppression, and therefore it is particularly important to gather and share these different forms of hardships, which has been prevalent in the case of Colombia. Lastly, Enloe means that it is important that foreign actors do not try to force their feminist views on local women, but that they respect local norms. As mentioned in the secondary research, as well as in both interviews, the international actors have in this case uniquely provided their support but mainly by facilitating for the civil society to communicate their own experiences. Hence, all of the factors that Enloe has stated as important to achieve structural change, especially in a colonized society, can be found in the Colombian case where they consequently managed to initiate changing structures of inequality through the peace agreement.

7.2 The Right Timing

As presented above, women's mobilization is a strong cause for the successful gender inclusion in the peace agreement. Yet, as has been shown, civil society mobilization in Colombia has been strong for a long time. Attempts to find peace and address women's rights have been made before, but failed. Why was it possible then to come to an agreement that included women's rights, at this very time? As mentioned, distrust and anger reinforced by a long-lasting conflict can, according to the theory of ripeness, overshadow the rational recognition of a ripe time to negotiate peace. Considering that the Colombian conflict had been ongoing for decades, costing thousands of lives and being one of the world's most severe humanitarian crises, this impediment has most likely been prevalent. According to ripeness theory, impediments can however be overcome through for example new leadership

and third-party intervention. A shift in leadership was present in Colombia prior to the peace negotiations on both sides of the conflict. President Santos was elected in 2010, the very same year as the unofficial peace talks began. FARC's leader Timonchenko was elected in 2011, a year before the official peace talks began. The new leaders on both sides of the conflict can, according to the ripeness theory, have enabled change since they can depart from the emotional attachment to former policies, bring in new perspectives and overcome distrust towards each other. They can not be held responsible for former policies, and their pride to hold on to those can consequently be reduced. As stated by for example Domingo et al., Santos provided a new political approach when he was elected president. He redefined the conflict by suggesting that the country suffered from an internal conflict, rather than depicting FARC as a terrorist group. As Informants 1 and 2 mentioned, Santos was less hostile towards negotiating with FARC and thus enabled a better starting point in initiating peace talks than what previous administrations had done. Uribe's administration had on the other hand been guilty of several war crimes such as the "Falsos Positivos" scandal, and as informant 1 stated, Uribe was reluctant to accept the peace agreement and its truth-commission that could disclose former indecencies. Accordingly, Uribe had pride and shame involved, in ways that counteracted a negotiation. The shift in leadership implied that Santos entered with a new approach, which especially informant 2 thinks was crucial for enabling the peace agreement. However, as mentioned, scholars argue that their achievements would not have been possible without women's rights movements and international support.

Besides new leadership, another condition to overcome impediments to recognizing a ripe moment for conflict resolution is third-party intervention. According to ripeness theory, third parties are often less biased, they can detect conditions of ripeness, and they can provide help in negotiations. In the Colombian case, third-party intervention has indeed been present in the form of various international actors, especially contributing by providing their, less biased, support in the negotiations. As seen, they have offered a neutral ground in Cuba for the negotiations to take place, something Nylander et al. considered to be important for the parties to keep full secrecy and to feel safe. Further, international actors have provided gender experts, technical support, facilitated communication by for example transporting victims to the negotiation board, assisting meetings, and contributing with economic support. Thus, both conditions for a ripe moment, new leadership and third-party intervention, were present in Colombia.

Another feature that can be discussed in relation to the timing, is the international trend at the time. The fact that resolution 1325 was established a decade before, provided a great tool for the women's rights movement. Informant 1 also stresses that it was an international trend to integrate gender awareness and inclusivity, including resolution 1325, something of which the negotiators were aware. Conscious of how Colombia would be seen internationally due to current trends, the leaders were motivated to integrate the gender perspective, informant 1 meant. A telling example of this is how the gender sub-commission was formed, where the government and FARC wanted to outdo each other in how many women they appointed. This implies the prestige involved, where none of the actors wanted to be worse than the other. After all, Santos did receive the Nobel Prize for this agreement, acquiring international recognition. In this regard, one can say that the time was ripe to achieve structural change in regard to women's rights and in this way worked towards building positive peace. Even though the incentives of this inclusive peace agreement might have been influenced by international trends and prestige, it does not take away from the fact that it led to the most inclusive peace agreement in history.

Something that the time was not ripe for, however, was the full inclusion of LGBTQI+ rights. As mentioned previously, this was initially included in the first peace agreement but was later in large removed in the final peace accords. Informants 1 and 2 both believe that the public opinion was very divided in regards to LGBTQI+ rights, due to an opposition with strong religious beliefs that feared it would jeopardize core family values. The catholic church completely opposed this inclusion. As informant 1 stresses, considering the patriarchal structures, the initial agreement might have involved too many fundamental changes to implement at the same time. In this sense, there is still a long way to go to achieve equality, and thus also positive peace. Galtung also noted that structural inequality takes time to diminish, thus, achieving positive peace is a continuous fight.

Even though ripeness appears to be a significant condition to structural change, it is of great importance that it should not be used as an excuse for inequalities to proceed. Cynthia Enloe discussed that women fighting for equal rights throughout history have been silenced by the argument that the nation was too fragile at the time to achieve those structural changes. Here, the Colombian case illustrates a prominent example of when it in fact is possible to achieve structural changes even during a fragile peace process between two parties in severe conflict. The agreement was even already negotiated on several points when the gender

sub-commission was allowed to revise it. Informant 1 stresses that this was controversial, nonetheless, it happened. By referring to Galtung, a nation can only be truly stable and achieve positive peace if inequality is addressed. It must then be counterproductive to wait for a stable time to address inequality, when the inequality itself makes the nation unstable. Thus, as has been seen the right timing is significant, and change takes time. However, change is possible and the right timing will not appear by itself. The right timing can be made by the right conditions.

7.3 Eradication of Structural Inequalities

A unique factor of the Colombian peace process is its focus on redeeming structural inequalities in its quest to achieve positive peace. The agreement itself contains various notes addressing structural inequalities, such as the land reform, women's political participation, restoration to victims, and acknowledging the problems integrated in the drug business such as human trafficking. These points were successfully approached through the specific design of this peace process, involving various groups from civil society presenting their experiences directly to the negotiation board. The peace process also had a transitional justice approach, facilitating for victims to share their stories by providing psychological support. The fact that various groups from civil society, with different ethnic, geographical, political, cultural and economic backgrounds, were included also enabled an intersectional approach, addressing different aspects of structural violence. As Galtung claims, positive peace is not solely the absence of violence, but rather the absence of structural inequalities, something which has been prominent in the Colombian peace negotiations. The visible type of violence, thus direct violence, was dealt with in the peace accord through the inclusion of a ceasefire. What Galtung means are the invisible types of violence, cultural and structural- violence, have further been addressed through the victim-centered and gender-inclusive approach. For example, Coalición 1325 stressed that a ceasefire was not enough, but that women's socioeconomic position needed to be taken into consideration. The UN also recognized the importance of not merely focusing on the absence of physical violence, but stressed the importance of building sustainable peace and reducing inequalities where for example social and psychological support to civil groups were pivotal. Of course, there are many difficulties in dealing with inequalities that are built into societal structures, which shows the importance of powerful actors, such as the Colombian government and FARC, working towards eradicating these injustices. The fact that international actors supported local civil rights

movements whilst adhering to local values, can be seen as another contributing factor in ensuring positive peace, since this approach allowed the public to build durable structures resting on their own values.

Abolishing structural inequalities in Colombia also means eliminating patriarchal structures and working against hegemonic masculinity. Connell states that hegemonic masculinity is closely connected to militarization and power. In this sense, achieving positive peace also entails redefining the normative conceptions of masculinity and femininity. Colombia is known for having strong macho culture and ingrained norms connected to masculinity and femininity, as both the primary and secondary research has showcased. In some ways the peace process has allowed for a redefinition of norms, allowing women to have a seat at the negotiation table and thereby to be active actors, as well as inviting victims to present their experiences. Enloe means that to change structural inequalities, women need to get invited to reinterpret international politics through their experiences, which has been initiated in Colombia through this peace process. Consequently, hegemonic masculinity has been challenged, and the socially constructed essence of gendered structures has been made visible. Enloe means that if this can be done, inequality structures are more receptive to change than has been thought.

Hence, through this peace agreement efforts to eradicate structures of inequalities in Colombia have been made. Although there has been a strong focus on achieving positive peace, there is still a lot of work that needs to be done in regard to the implementation phase. Furthermore, the at first very promising but thereafter largely failed inclusion of the LGBTQI+ community can be seen as a challenge in achieving positive peace according to Galtung's theory.

8. Conclusion

To conclude, this study has aimed to answer which factors mainly enabled the gender-inclusive peace agreement in Colombia in 2016. One key contributor to this peace agreement was that women across civil society managed to mobilize, share their experiences, organize themselves, and present their narrative as one, collective voice. They consequently managed to affect the policymakers, overcoming the communication barrier. This was possible due to three conditions unique to the Colombian case. Firstly, Colombia has a very

strong civil society where women have strongly mobilized, through women's organizations as well as for example within FARC as warriors. Secondly, the unique negotiation design enabled the civil society to directly present their views to the policymakers. Although there was an initial resistance from both sides to include more women in the process, they later recognized the value of formulating an agreement with gender in mind. Thirdly, the international community provided important support to facilitate communication from civil society to the policymakers, but importantly, they did so with the unique approach to support without overruling and thus allowing for the civil society to present their own values.

The other key contributor was that the time was ripe for a gender-inclusive peace deal. Both the Colombian government and FARC had relatively new leadership at the time, meaning that they were not emotionally attached to former policies and therefore enabled new perspectives on the conflict. While the former president Uribe had reasons to counteract the truth of the conflict to be revealed, the shift in leadership facilitated an openness toward negotiation and for the victims to get restoration. Furthermore, third-party intervention was present, providing support to carry through this peace agreement, and advocating for an inclusive approach. Also, the importance of women's role in peace negotiations was of particular importance internationally at the time, which affected the policymakers. Findings in this study attribute their openness to the gender approach to international trends that advocates for inclusivity, especially in connection to resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security.

Hence, to answer this paper's research questions, the most prominent actors were civil society organizations that pushed for change, various international actors such as Cuba, Norway and the UN that provided support, followed by the Colombian government and FARC that also allowed for this gender inclusion. The decisive mechanisms for the peace agreement were particularly the women's mobilization that managed to affect the policymakers, and that the time was ripe. Through the inclusion of gender, the peace deal enabled an eradication of structural inequalities as the gender-inclusion challenges normative gender structures and contributes to positive, durable peace.

Furthermore, since the inclusivity approach could be considered to be an international trend at the time, one could question certain actors' real intentions of abolishing structural inequalities. In this sense, one could also question whether or not such trends can lead to positive peace or if it rather operates as a temporary solution. As Galtung states, positive

peace in certain ways entails changing how societies are structured, if the change is solely attributed to trends one might wonder whether these changes are long-term or not. This is something that could be of interest to future research on the subject. Lastly, since this paper is limited to the process leading up to the agreement, and because the agreement's implementation has thus far been uncertain, it would be favorable for future research to consider what factors are significant for a successful implementation of the Colombian Peace deal.

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10. Appendix

10.1 Appendix 1: Coding scheme

Description of code	Code	Number of times mentioned in document
Focus on women's role in the peace process.	1	
Focus on grassroots movements.	2	
Focus on women rights organizations as an actor.	3	
Focus on the government as an actor.	4	
Focus on Sweden as an actor.	5	
Focus on Norway as an actor.	6	
Focus on the UN as an actor.	7	
Focus on Sweden/Norway as an actor.	8	
Focus on FARC as an actor.	9	
Emphasis on structural changes to achieve peace (Positive peace).	10	
Emphasis on short-term solutions in order to stop the physical violence and achieve peace (Negative peace)	11	
Postcolonial theory (Historical focus).	12	
HBTQI+ inclusion/perspective.	13	
Specific individuals.	14	
Emphasis on gender inequality as a structural issue.	15	
Emphasis on other structural injustices.	16	

Critical towards the Colombian government.	17	
Positive towards the Colombian government.	18	
Document was written before the signing of the peace deal.	19	
Document was written after the signing of the peace deal.	20	
Focus on legal reforms for progress	21	
Emphasis on the importance of the UN resolution 1325.	22	
Focus on international actors.	23	
Role of NGO's	24	