



**AN INCLUSIVE PEACE AGREEMENT AND SUSTAINABLE PEACE
IS IT POSSIBLE?
THE CASE OF RURAL WOMEN IN CARTAGENA, COLOMBIA**

Master thesis Conflicts, Territories and Identities

December, 5th 2017

Anne M.S. van de Donk

Student number: s4162803

Supervisor: Dr. W.M. (Willemijn) Verkoren

Second reader: Dr. Ir. M. (Mathijs) van Leeuwen

Human Geography Master: Conflict, Identities and Territories

Nijmegen School of Management, Radboud University Nijmegen

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

Preface & Acknowledgements

This master thesis has been written as a final part of the specialization programme ‘Conflicts, Territories and Identities’ of the Human Geography at Radboud University Nijmegen.

The fact that you are now holding/reading the final version of my master thesis shows that I am able to overcome struggles like my ridiculously short attention span, a rehabilitation at the Sint Maarten Clinic for 4 months and three months of fieldwork in Colombia on my own. It showed me that if you are passionate enough you can reach anything. Writing about women’s inclusion has been something I wanted to do since the start of my bachelor in sociology at Radboud University, and I am so glad that it was possible to make it my final work. My friends and family know me as someone who is not shy of a discussion which is related to gender issues, and it would be amazing to build a future where this would be my work. This thesis is a good step in that direction. But this step wouldn’t be as good without the help of some wonderful people.

First of all, I would like to thank my two lovely supervisors Mrs. Dr. Willemijn Verkoren and Mrs. Dr. Haley Swedlund, who were understanding and always where there to give guidance and advice. Haley has had (a lot of) patience while I was changing subjects from week to week. After my fieldwork, Haley went on maternity leave and left me in great hands, the ones of Willemijn Verkoren. From then on, Willemijn helped me to translate my passion and enthusiasm for the subject into a master thesis. For which I am very thankful.

Another thank you goes to all the women who have helped me through interviews, discussions, many cooking sessions with coconut and Sunday nights of Zumba at Plaza de Trinidad. For three months they made my time wonderful in Colombia. In addition, thanks to my ‘research assistant’ as she will put on her resume when applying for her sociology bachelor in Cartagena. Maria Fernandez has helped me a lot with giving directions, where to take buses, she was responsible for some of the interviews transcriptions and taught me a lot on how to approach women who work for female victims. She also brought me in contact with her aunt who has given the ‘el Salado testimony’ which you can read in the results section. A sure thing is that you will get goose-bumps when reading her story. Maria Fernandez was a bright student but because of a lack of money, she had to drop out of school. With the money she earned helping me she was able to take English lessons which were valuable when searching for scholarships. I wish her all the best.

The acknowledgments would not be complete without giving special thanks to Sarah Dresden of the academic writing centre. Thank you, Sarah, for all our conversations that made sure that my thesis was written according to a funnel model instead of a watering can model. Thank you so much for your patience and the ability to change my passionate rambling to something you can call a master’s thesis.

Writing a thesis is hard, it is challenging and frustrating even without physical limitations. So last but not least, I want to thank David, my family, and friends who have supported me throughout this long and sometimes painful process. Special thanks to Naomi Kervel for proofreading some of the chapters. And of course, Julián for checking my Spanish summary! And David, who was even willing to visit me in Colombia during my fieldwork, who always supported me and lifted my spirits if I wanted to throw my laptop out of the window. Thanks to my parents for always supporting me throughout my studies and proofreading my essays, papers and finally my master thesis.

Anne M.S. van de Donk

Tilburg, 5 December 2017

*I hope you enjoy reading this master thesis as much as I enjoyed conducting my field research
in Colombia*

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

Table of contents

Preface & Acknowledgements	i
Table of contents	iii
Resumen.....	vi
Summary	viii
List of abbreviations & Spanish words.....	x
 Chapter One: Introduction.....	 - 1 -
1.1 What is known?	- 2 -
1.2 Research purpose and questions	- 4 -
1.3 Scientific and societal relevance.....	- 4 -
1.3.1 Scientific relevance.....	- 4 -
1.3.2 Societal relevance	- 5 -
1.4 Outline of this thesis.....	- 6 -
 Chapter Two: Theoretical background	 - 7 -
2.1 Peace agreements: Theories and concepts	- 7 -
2.1.1 So -how- does it work?	- 7 -
2.1.2 This thesis: Instrumental perspective	- 9 -
2.2 Sustainable peace.....	- 9 -
2.2.1 Challenges for reaching sustainable peace through a peace agreement.....	- 10 -
2.3 Inclusive peacebuilding	- 13 -
2.3.1 Challenges of inclusive peacebuilding	- 14 -
2.4 Building blocks for sustainable peace.....	- 16 -
2.4.1 The 'Women-and-Peace' Pillar.....	- 16 -
2.4.2 Women inclusion in peace processes.....	- 17 -
2.4.3 Critique on the 'Women-and-Peace' pillar	- 19 -
2.5 Summary & Research Questions	- 21 -
2.5.1 Summary.....	- 21 -
2.5.2 Research questions.....	- 22 -
 Chapter 3: Research methodology	 - 25 -
3.1 Explanation and justification methodology.....	- 25 -
3.1.1 Why qualitative.....	- 25 -
3.1.2 Why ethnographic?.....	- 25 -
3.1.3 Why a case study	- 26 -
3.2 Case study selection process.....	- 27 -
3.2.1 Living in Cartagena.....	- 28 -
3.3 Security protocol	- 29 -
3.4 Data Collection.....	- 29 -
3.4.1 In-depth interviews.....	- 30 -

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

3.4.2	<i>Selection of interviewees</i>	- 31 -
3.4.3	<i>Detailed overview sub-questions</i>	- 32 -
3.5	<i>Analysis</i>	- 33 -
Chapter 4: Results & Analysis		- 35 -
4.1	The Colombian Conflict	- 36 -
4.1.1	<i>El Salado testimony</i>	- 38 -
4.2	Colombian peace process	- 38 -
4.3	The first building block of the ‘women-and-peace’ pillar: Women Inclusion in the Peace Process	- 40 -
4.3.1	<i>View from the peace table</i>	- 40 -
4.3.2	<i>View from the WWE’s perspective</i>	- 42 -
4.3.3	<i>Answer to the second sub-question</i>	- 45 -
4.4	The second building block of the ‘women-and-peace’ pillar: women’s human security	- 46 -
4.4.1	<i>The human security needs, demands and challenges</i>	- 46 -
4.4.2	<i>Answer to the third sub-question</i>	- 49 -
4.5	Combining the building blocks: what is the chance of increasing gender equality in Colombia?	- 51 -
4.5.1	<i>Effect on working in the field of women empowerment</i>	- 52 -
4.5.2	<i>Answer to the fourth sub-question</i>	- 53 -
4.6	Challenges for the ‘women-and-peace’ pillar through inclusive peacebuilding	- 54 -
4.6.1	<i>Answer to the fifth sub-question</i>	- 55 -
Chapter 5: Conclusion & Discussion		- 60 -
5.1	Gender equality through inclusive peacebuilding	- 60 -
5.1.1	<i>The inclusiveness of the Colombian peace agreement</i>	- 60 -
5.1.2	<i>The importance of the ability of the Colombian agreement to increase gender equality</i>	- 61 -
5.1.2	<i>Inclusive peacebuilding and gender equality, lessons from Colombia</i>	- 62 -
5.2	Contributions, limitations and future research recommendations	- 62 -
5.2.1	<i>Contributions</i>	- 62 -
5.2.2	<i>Limitations</i>	- 63 -
5.2.3	<i>Recommendations</i>	- 64 -
5.3	Policy recommendations	- 64 -
5.3.1	<i>Policy recommendations for the implementation of the Colombian peace agreement</i>	- 64 -
5.3.2	<i>Policy recommendations for other contexts</i>	- 65 -
Bibliography		- 66 -
Annex I: Dutch		- 73 -
Annex II: Gender equality & Positive peace Index		- 75 -
Annex III: Security situation of Colombia		- 76 -
Annex IV: Interview guide (English translation)		- 77 -
Annex V: Photos of fieldwork		- 78 -

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

Resumen

U vindt een Nederlandse samenvatting in de eerste bijlage

Existe un creciente reconocimiento, tanto en círculos académicos como de política pública, de los procesos inclusivos de construcción de paz como una etapa necesaria para alcanzar escenarios de paz sostenibles (Castillejo, 2017). Se puede encontrar evidencia significativa en la literatura que sostiene que la equidad de género tiene una estrecha correlación con una paz sostenible (Hudson, *et al.*, 2014). En este sentido, en el Reporte sobre Paz Positiva de 2017 se afirma que la equidad de género tiene una relación consistente y demostrable con escenarios de paz de acuerdo con diversos estudios y bases de datos (IEP, 2017, p.53). Esta relación es clara, incluso en escenarios con diferentes tipos de régimen político y en diferentes regiones geográficas (IEP, 2015). Ya que gran parte de la evidencia sobre estas correlaciones se basa en datos cuantitativos de análisis comparativos sobre países, sería interesante examinar si esta relación también puede ser encontrada al observarse desde una perspectiva micro cualitativa. Las correlaciones globales no responden a la pregunta de cómo funciona esta relación, así como tampoco exponen explicaciones causales.

¿Puede acuerdo de paz incluyente, con un grado de inclusión femenina sin precedente, constituir escenarios de equidad de género y paz sostenible? Esta tesis explora esta relación, de una forma que una aproximación cuantitativa no lo permitiría, a través de un estudio de caso a profundidad sobre el acuerdo de paz en Colombia.

El acuerdo de paz en Colombia ha recibido comentarios positivos gracias a su abordaje incluyente y por el grado de inclusión, sin precedentes, de mujeres. Naciones Unidas, movimientos de mujeres alrededor del mundo, el padre fundador del concepto de paz sostenible, John Paul Lederach, y el Comité del Premio Nobel de Paz elogiaron el abordaje incluyente de este acuerdo tras su firma el 24 de agosto de 2016. Solo el tiempo dirá si estos elogios fueron justificados y si este acuerdo incluyente llevará a Colombia a una paz sostenible. No obstante, la investigación teórica exploratoria –teórica y empírica- puede arrojar algunos indicios. Dado que la equidad de género ha sido catalogada como un factor importante de paz sostenible, esta tesis intenta encontrar los componentes del acuerdo de paz colombiano que indiquen un incremento en la equidad de género, y a través de esta una paz más sostenible. La inclusión de las mujeres en el proceso de paz, así como la creciente seguridad humana de las mujeres en el área rural, han sido identificadas como los insumos principales de equidad de género en el país.

Como se mencionó anteriormente, esta investigación consiste en un estudio de caso cualitativo sobre los niveles y maneras en que las mujeres son incluidas con el fin de explorar la medida de inclusión de mujeres en el proceso de paz, y más específicamente, se presta a atención a la pregunta de si los retos y necesidades de la seguridad humana de las mujeres en el área rural se incorporan en el acuerdo de paz. Los datos que responden a estas preguntas fueron recolectados durante un trabajo de campo de tres meses. También fueron realizadas once entrevistas a profundidad a mujeres que trabajan en el campo de empoderamiento femenino y una entrevista grupal con cinco mujeres desplazadas que actualmente viven en *Ciudad de Mujeres*.

Los resultados de las entrevistas a profundidad me permitieron entender el grado de inclusión de mujeres en las negociaciones de paz en Colombia y cómo su inclusión fue el origen e ímpetu de la posibilidad de incrementar la equidad de género en Colombia. La construcción de una paz sostenible comienza con el proceso de paz: particularmente, la participación de las mujeres y el mejoramiento de su seguridad y sus condiciones de vida contribuyen a ello. El nivel sin precedentes de inclusión de las mujeres llevó a la incorporación sistemática de la mayor parte de sus necesidades y retos en seguridad humana –que fueron identificadas por las mujeres que trabajan en organizaciones de empoderamiento y las mujeres de *Ciudad de Mujeres*- en el acuerdo de paz.

No obstante, a diferencia de la significativa correlación entre el análisis comparativo de Hudson *et al.* (2014) y el Reporte sobre Paz Positiva (2017), aún existen retos importantes por superar en el marco de este acuerdo con el fin de alcanzar un nivel superior de equidad de género. Las mujeres que trabajan en empoderamiento femenino temían que no hubiera garantías para la continuidad de la aproximación incluyente de las fases de negociación del acuerdo. Específicamente, ellas previeron retos al implementar este acuerdo en las áreas rurales, dado que esto requiere una inclusión horizontal y, para que este se logre, muchas mujeres del área rural deben ser empoderadas y protegidas.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

Summary

U vindt een Nederlandse samenvatting in de eerste bijlage

There is a growing recognition, both in academic as well as in policymaking circles, that inclusive peacebuilding is needed to reach sustainable peace (Castillejo, 2017). In the literature evidence that gender equality has a statistically significant relationship with sustainable peace (Hudson, *et al.*, 2014). In this respect the Positive Peace Report of 2017 stated that ‘gender equality has a consistent and demonstrable relationship with peacefulness across many studies and data sources’ (IEP, 2017, p.53). The relationship is even consistent throughout different regime types and geographical regions (IEP, 2015). Since the majority of the evidence of these relationships is based on comparative country analysis of quantitative data, it would be interesting to study whether this relationship can also be found when looking at it from a micro qualitative perspective. Global correlations do not provide the answer as to how this relationship works, it does not provide causal explanations. Qualitative research at the local level would be able to contribute to a more precise description of this relationship.

Does an inclusive peace agreement, with an unprecedented degree of inclusion of women, have the building blocks to build gender equality and sustainable peace? This thesis explores this relationship, more than a quantitative approach would allow, namely through an in-depth qualitative case study of the Colombian peace agreement.

The Colombian peace agreement has been praised for its inclusive approach and the unprecedented degree of women inclusion. The UN, women movements around the world, the founding father of the concept of sustainable peace, John Paul Lederach, and the Nobel Peace Prize Committee praised the inclusive approach of this agreement after its signing on August 24th, 2016. Only time will tell whether this praise was justified, and that this inclusive agreement will indeed, lead to sustainable peace for Colombia. Nevertheless, it might be possible though explorative – theoretical and empirical – research, to provide us with some first indications. Since gender equality has been put forward as an important factor of sustainable peace, this thesis tries to search for the components in the Colombian peace agreement that might indicate an increase of gender equality, and through this a higher chance to reach sustainable peace. Women inclusion in the peace process and notably increasing rural women’s human security have been identified as the main building blocks to increase gender equality.

Like mentioned above, this research consists of a qualitative case study into the level and ways women are included to explore the extent of women inclusion in the peace process and more specifically attention is given to the question whether rural women human security needs and challenges are incorporated within the peace agreement. The data to provide answers to these questions have been gathered during a three-month period of fieldwork. Eleven in-depth interviews with women who work in the field of women empowerment (WWE’s) have been conducted and one in-depth group interview with five internally displaced women who currently live in *Ciudad de Mujeres*.

The results of the in-depth interviews enabled me to understand the degree of inclusion of women in the Colombian peace negotiations, and how their inclusion was the origin and impetus for the possibility to increase gender equality in Colombia. Building sustainable peace begins with the peace process: in particular, participation of women and the improvement of their safety and living conditions contributes to this. The unprecedented degree of women inclusion, led to the systematic incorporation of the greater part of the human security needs and challenges - that were identified by the WWE’s and the women from *Ciudad de Mujeres* - in the peace agreement.

However, unlike the significant correlation of the comparative country analysis of Hudson *et al.* (2014) and the Positive Peace Index (2017), there are still some important challenges to be overcome for this peace agreement to lead to an increased level of gender equality. The WWE’s feared that there was no guarantee of the continuation of the inclusive approach of the negotiation phase would also continue in the later stages of the implementation of the peace agreement. More specifically, they foresaw challenges when implementing this peace agreement in the rural areas, since this requires horizontal inclusion and for that to be successful, many rural women have to be empowered and protected.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

List of abbreviations & Spanish words

AUC	United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia
ELN	Ejército de Liberación Nacional
FARC-EP	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia–Ejército del Pueblo
GDP	Gross domestic product
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
GPI	Global Peace Index
IEP	Institute for Economics and Peace
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bi, Transgender & Intersexed
PPI	Positive Peace Index
UN	United Nations
UN women	United Nations entity for gender equality and the empowerment of women
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UP	Union Patriótica
WWE	Women who work in the field of Women Empowerment

Basta Ya!	Enough already!
Círculo de Mujeres	Circle of women
Ciudad de Mujeres	City of women
Departamentos	Regions
Mesa de Mujeres	Women roundtable
La Liga de Mujeres Desplazadas	The league of displaced women
La violencia	The violence
Instituto Nacional de Medicina Legal y Ciencias Forenses	National institute for legal medicine and forensic sciences
Muerte a Secuestradores	Death to the Kidnappers
Pero	But
Union Patriótica	Patriotic Union

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

Chapter One: Introduction

Imagine, you are a proud Colombian woman, fled from former guerrilla territories after a horrific attack of about 450 paramilitary soldiers. You are struggling to make a living, having lost your brothers, father, and husband. Currently, you live in a slum in Cartagena making sure that your three sons don't have the same destiny as their father, who was killed in one of the bloodiest massacres in Colombia, El Salado. One day when selling your avocados in the colorful city centre you pass a huge crowd, dressed fancy in white, all cheering and celebrating. You ask one of these women: 'what is the fuss about?'. She tells you that they are celebrating that there will be peace in Colombia! Your first emotion is happiness, but then a strange feeling pops up. Will there really be peace? Will that peace last? Will your three sons enjoy a peaceful future? Will everyone in Colombia live in peace? Will there be no fear of recurrence of the violence that has shredded your life apart? Only time will teach us the outcomes of these questions, but let's hope so.

To understand her doubts, we have to rewind a few decades, to be precise about fifty-two years. The Colombian government has since then been in conflict with – among others - Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP). The war claimed at least 8.554.638 registered victims, including 991.139 people killed and over 7 million displaced (Unidad para las Víctimas, 2017). In the most violent period (1996-2002) one single kidnapping took place every eight hours on average. Other common war crimes were forced displacement, homicide, mutilation by mines, torture, child recruitment, land deprivation, sexual assault, threats and attacks, forced disappearance and theft of property (ibid. accessed on October 22nd). Needless to say, these crimes seriously disrupted Colombian society.

Then finally, in the spring of the year 2011, the first steps were taken to end the conflict. The leader of the FARC-EP came to the Colombian President with the wish to end the conflict through negotiations towards a peace deal. After secret negotiations near the Colombian-Venezuelan border, the two sides agreed to move to a foreign location, Havana, Cuba. The government and FARC-EP agreed to bring in a neutral and experienced mediator, Norway. On August 26th, both parties signed the *Acuerdo General para la terminación del conflicto y la construcción de una paz estable y duradera* (Crisis Group Latin America, 2012). This agreement formed the initiation and the roadmap for the formal peace process. After five years of negotiating, then revising the original deal because of a no-vote in the October 2016 national referendum, the president of Colombia, Juan Manuel Santos and the FARC-EP leader Timoleón Jiménez – known as Timochenko – signed the definitive peace agreement 'el Acuerdo Final para la Terminación del Conflicto y la Construcción de una Paz Estable y Duradera', on the 24th of November 2016. For this achievement, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the Colombian people and their president, Juan Manuel Santos.

Colombian women began to push for their inclusion in the peace process when it became clear that their concerns and position in society were being largely overlooked. In October 2013, around 500 women from all across Colombia came to Bogotá and took part in the National Summit of Women and Peace. And you could say with great success. Because of the push of these Colombian women, the Colombian peace agreement ended up having an unprecedented amount of women involved in the process. No other peace agreement ever included women in this many ways; there were women from both sides taking a seat at the peace table; victims and women activist groups were invited to Cuba to share their concerns and put their specific perspectives on the table to be given extra attention; and last but not least there was a Gender Sub-Commission which consisted of women from both the government and the FARC-EP parties, which ensured that a gender perspective was included when discussing the points on the agenda (Sánchez, 2016; UN Women, 2015). The role of women in the Colombian peace negotiations was fundamental and has been recognized internationally as an example for other peace processes (Sánchez, 2016). This international recognition and a Nobel Peace Prize on top of that, begs the question whether this inclusive peace agreement is indeed an example of other peace processes. After all, the real challenge is yet to come: the implementation of this inclusive peace agreement.

This research searches for the possible effects of the Colombian peace agreement on the position of women in Colombia. Before stating anything about the possible effects of the Colombian peace agreement, an image of the inclusivity will be sketched in two different ways. First, through studying the peace process and the different ways women were included according to the peace table. And second, to contribute to a deeper perspective on the inclusivity of the peace agreement, women who work in the field of women empowerment were asked to shine their light and perspectives on the inclusivity of the Colombian peace agreement. Next, to the view on the inclusivity of the peace agreement, their thoughts and presumptions on the future effect of the peace agreement will be given. The women who work in the field of women empowerment know what factors of the lives of Colombian women who were victimized by the conflict need uplifting. And what factors need to be addressed in order for the gender gap in Colombia to become smaller. And finally, the challenges that are to be overcome when implementing an agreement which has to increase gender equality in Colombia.

Since 'women who work in the field of women empowerment' is a mouth full, and will be used a lot throughout this thesis, an abbreviation will be used when referring to these women who work in the field of women empowerment. In the upcoming

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

texts, they will be referred as WWE's, coming from Women who work in the field of Women Empowerment. In the methodology chapter, a further explanation of who these women are will be given.

1.1 What is known?

The Cold War was not the same temperature throughout the world. After the end of the Cold War, the occurrence of intra-state wars increased. In response, in 1992 the United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali called attention to a new concept, peacebuilding, through his 'Agenda for Peace' (M. Doyle, 1998). Boutros-Ghali stated that 'the absence of war and military conflicts amongst states does not in itself ensure international peace and security' (ibid., p. 2-3). He defined peacebuilding as the 'action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict' (Boutros-Ghali, 1992). Peacebuilding was introduced as an approach that included all these activities. Although peacebuilding remained a concept with many shapes (Jennifer, 2007), and the exact definition differs depending on the author, actor or aim, it always takes place in post-conflict countries as an intervention. When peacebuilding processes and activities are addressing the root causes of the conflict and thereby improving the human security of the people who suffered in the conflict, sustainable peace could be reached.

The main goal of contemporary peacebuilding is to reach sustainable peace (Lederach, 1997). Sustainable peace is a peace that searches for a long-term solution to the conflict, instead of only laying down arms and stop the fighting (ibid.). In order to reach truly sustainable peace, this process should involve 'a wide range of activities and functions that both precede and follow formal peace accords', including 'processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships' (ibid. p. 20). This sustainable peace could be described as long-term positive peace, building on Galtung's (Galtung, 1969); (Galtung, 1996) distinction between positive peace and negative peace. Galtung argued that 'negative peace can be conceived as the absence of violence, absence of war and the absence of fear of violence – and positive peace as the integration of a human society' (Galtung, 1969). Positive peace is about the restoration of broken relationships and a constructive conflict resolution that keeps the need of the whole population in mind. A sustainable positive peace would indicate that the whole population lives in long-term peace which is not solely about the absence of war but about the presence of a social system that ensures non-violent interactions and which addresses conflict by peaceful means in a positive and non-violent way.

However, these theoretical notions are easier said than done. How do you stop a war and make sure that it does not reoccur when the international community, like the UN, looks the other way and e.g. stops their funding? And, how do you build a peace that is not solely focussing on the absence of an armed conflict, but a peace that can be described as a sustainable positive peace? The answers to these questions are multi-layered and complex. This thesis will contribute a small portion of knowledge to these questions.

One notion, which is addressed as common knowledge when reading articles about reaching and maintaining sustainable peace is a solid foundation for peace in society (Institute for Sustainable Peace, 2016; O'Reilly, 2014; Nderitu & O'Neill, 2013; Paffenholz, 2014). Some authors argue that inclusive peacebuilding could contribute to this solid foundation for peace. When every relevant group within the conflict feels represented during the peace process (Nderitu & O'Neill, 2013; O'Reilly, 2015; Thania Paffenholz, 2014) Nderitu & O'Neill, 2013; World Bank, 2011), there will be a shared intent to implement this agreement (Iqbal, 2016). The concept of inclusive peacebuilding is thus a wide concept, addressing the representation of many social groups and aspects.

However, how do you reach this solid foundation? Within the literature on inclusive peacebuilding, a dominant part concerns the equal participation of women in the peace process. According to these authors, reaching this equal participation is challenging since a common aspect of conventional and traditional peacebuilding is that men tend to dominate the substantial roles within the processes and women are merely seen as victims of war violence (O'Reilly, 2015). Authors on inclusive peacebuilding in the field of gender studies state that when women are not integrated into the process this foundation could never be reached since they are half of the population (Nderitu & O'Neill, 2013; O'Reilly, 2015). However, there is a growing policy-level recognition and strong evidence that meaningful inclusion of women increases the chance on a successful implementation (Castillejo, 2017, 2016; Case, 2016; Paffenholz, 2015; Hudson, *et al.*, 2014; World Bank, 2011; Gizelis, 2009).

Based on these theoretical notions, this would indicate a bright future for Colombia. The country that has been in conflict for over fifty years, has recently signed a peace agreement which has been praised for its inclusiveness (PRIO Centre on Gender Peace and Security, 2016). Until now, there is no clear example of a peace agreement that led to sustainable peace (Beardsley, 2008; Newman & Richmond, 2006; Pfeiffer, 2015b), however, will Colombia bring change to this statement? The senior advisor in the Section for Peace and Reconciliation at the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs – who was the mediator in this peace process –, stated that 'the Colombian peace agreement has integrated a gender perspective the most' (ibid. p.2). It will take some years before we can determine whether there will be sustainable outcomes of this inclusive peace agreement.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

However, we can already investigate what, according to the literature, are important elements that indicate sustainability, and then search whether those elements are present in the Colombian peace agreement. Through this, a prognosis could be given.

There are several ways to indicate the peacefulness of a nation. One way is through the Global Peace Index (GPI). The GPI ranks the world's nations by their 'absence of violence' and 'absence of the fear of violence'. However, in this thesis we do not search for the – undoubtedly important – prospects of negative peace in Colombia. Through this research, we want to search for the prospects for a sustainable positive peace in Colombia. In 2007, the Institute for Economics & Peace has launched an index where a positive peace can be measured on a macro level, the Positive Peace Index (PPI). This PPI ranks 163 countries on eight identified pillars that indicate positive peace: equitable distribution of resources; free flow of information; sound business environment; high level of human capital; acceptance of the rights of others; low levels of corruption; good relations with neighbors; well-functioning government (2015).

Whereas international relations studies use indicators like poverty, resource scarcity or a democracy deficit need to be tackled in order to reach sustainable peace (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004), this thesis takes another approach. When comparing the PPI to the fifth sustainable development goal 'achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls' (UN, 2016) only three of its eight pillars consider gender in their scaling, namely, 'Acceptance of the Rights of Others', 'High level of Human Capital' and 'a Well-Functioning Government' (Annex II) (IEP, 2017b). Whether this is enough or not is a whole other debate, however, for this thesis, it was decided to focus on the gender element of sustainable positive peace. This was done for the following reasons.

Various studies have shown the -statistically significant- importance of taking gender equality into consideration when studying sustainable positive peace. The Institute for Economics & Peace, together with the Institute for Social studies have found in their 'Gender Equality Index' (GEI), that positive peace can be statistically significantly linked to better measures of female inclusion and gender equality. They have found that this linkage is also broadly consistent across regime types, income levels and geographical regions (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2015). Hudson *et al.* (Valerie Hudson et al.) have compared micro-level gender violence and macro-level state peacefulness, and have found - in a database of over 350 variables of 175 countries¹ - that gender inequality is linked to national security. This evidentiary base has shown a strong correlation of this linkage and has found that the amount of gender equality has an effect on a nation's wealth, health, and stability (Valerie Hudson, 2015). And above that, they have found that GDP, Aids, civil war, and level of democracy are all influenced by domestic gender relations (*ibid.*; Romeri-Lewis, 2016). These indices have not indicated the causal relationship of this correlation but have shown that the relationship between gender equality and a nation's peacefulness is statistically significant (Valerie Hudson et al., 2014). This significant relation between gender equality and peacefulness will be addressed through the 'women-and-peace' pillar.

The 'women-and-peace' pillar has been operationalized in two different ways. Since increasing gender equality is significantly correlated with peace, two ways of empowering women to become equal to men have been put forward: inclusion of women in the peace process and increasing women's human security. First, the inclusion of women has been identified as a way to increase gender equality since Melander (2005), Bolzendahl & Brooks (2007), Kittilson (2008), and Celis (2008) have shown through their research, that an increase in women engagement at national processes led to more women-friendly policies, increased acknowledgment of women's rights and led to an increase in social spending. However, the increasing of gender equality does not come from merely top-down policy making, building gender equality from the bottom up can be seen as another useful approach. Women were/are the majority of the Colombian conflict civilian victims, they were the majority of civilian deaths, the majority of internal refugees and are victims of sexual violence or other gender-based violence (Haq, 1999). In addition, they have unequal access to opportunities like education, justice and services like health care (*ibid.*). When building the human security of local/rural women, these women will become more empowered and will feel protected, since these are the core factors of human security as identified by the United Nations Human Security Unit (2009). By providing these victims with the human security tools for 'survival, livelihood and dignity' (CHS, 2003, p. 4), like equal access to education, justice, and (mental) health care, the women will be more capable to build themselves up to change agents, peacebuilders and women who will tackle the male dominance in politics (Haq, 1999). And this completes the circle of the 'women-and-peace' pillar.

This study searches for the amount of which this 'women-and-peace' pillar is present in the Colombian peace agreement. To what extent do the WWE's recognize the inclusion of women in the Colombian peace negotiations to be meaningful, and does the Colombian peace agreement have the building blocks to protect and empower the female rural victims of the conflict? Does the Colombian peace agreement have the 'women-and-peace' pillar's building blocks to decrease the gender gap and therefore increase their chance to reach sustainable peace? These questions will be answered through this research.

¹ <http://www.womanstats.org/data.html>

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

1.2 Research purpose and questions

This thesis will examine, through exploratory research, whether support can be given to the literature on inclusive peacebuilding. It would be interesting to know more about the effects of an inclusive peace agreement, since several authors on the topic, claim that it leads to a bigger chance on sustainable peace (Nderitu & O'Neill, 2013; O'Reilly, 2015; Paffenholz & Ross, 2015). The findings of this thesis will be based on a case study: the Colombian peace agreement which will be put in the light of the 'women-and-peace' pillar. In short, the Colombian peace agreement which has been praised for its inclusiveness will be analysed for the presence of two building blocks for sustainable peace; its women inclusion and its potential for increased human security for women.

Linking the Colombian peace agreement with the 'women-and-peace' pillar will provide predictions and insights into possible sustainable outcomes. The Colombian peace agreement has been tested for its compatibility with the 'women-and-peace' pillar through in-depth conversations with women who stand close to both the national peace agreement process and the needs and challenges of rural women, women who work in the field of women empowerment (WWE's). Through in-depth conversations with these women and living in Cartagena, Colombia for a three-month period, I have aimed to build empirical knowledge on inclusive peacebuilding and its potential to reach sustainable peace through the 'women-and-peace' pillar building blocks; 1) women inclusion in the peace process and 2) potential for increased human security for women. This was done through a) the creation of an overview of the existing literature concerning peace agreements, sustainable peace, inclusive peacebuilding and the relation between women and peace. And b) by providing insights of the Colombian case through in-depth conversations with Colombian women who work in the field of women empowerment that devoted their careers to both creating an inclusive peace process and making sure the rural women victims were not overlooked in the peace process. And by finally c) linking these insights to existing literature in order to further develop the academic knowledge of inclusive peacebuilding and its possible sustainable outcomes. In these ways, this thesis aims to contribute to an enriched understanding of the inclusiveness of the Colombian peace agreement and the contribution of the inclusiveness of a peace agreement (and the role of women in these processes especially) to the human security of rural Colombian women. In order to achieve these goals the following research question has been formulated:

How inclusive is the Colombian peace agreement in the eyes of Colombian women who work in the field of women empowerment and what could be learned from the Colombian case about the impact of inclusive peacebuilding on gender equality?

To answer this main research question the following sub-questions have been formulated:

1. To what extent can the Colombian peace agreement be seen as inclusive according the peace table?
2. To what extent can the Colombian peace agreement be seen as inclusive according to women who work in the field of women empowerment in Cartagena?
3. To what extent are the human security needs and challenges of rural women around Cartagena incorporated in the Colombian peace agreement?
4. What is its expected effect of the peace agreement's women inclusion and the incorporation of human security needs of rural women on the ability to increase gender equality?
5. What challenges are to be overcome for an inclusive peace agreement to lead to increased gender equality?

In order to answer these research questions, a three-month period of explorative research in Cartagena, Colombia has been conducted. This thesis used a single case study approach, offering the opportunity to look for an in-depth picture of the views of WWE's. The third chapter of this master thesis entails an extensive overview of the choices made and the justifications for that choices.

1.3 Scientific and societal relevance

When conducting academic research, the common reason is to fill a so called knowledge gap. However, when conducting research in social sciences the question *why* to fill this knowledge gap is more important than merely filling such a gap. Therefore the relevance of this research will be described below.

1.3.1 Scientific relevance

When a peace agreement has been signed, relapse in conflict is no exception (The World Bank, 2011). In the 2000s, over ninety percent of conflicts arose in countries which have been in conflict before (ibid). In addition, contemporary conflicts increasingly target civilians, including women and children (Kaldor, 2007). As a means to address this increase of civilian targets and the high chance of relapse calls for building a sustainable and inclusive peace have grown louder (Barsa, Holt-Ivry, & Muehlenbeck, 2016). However, the complete impact of women's participation in peace processes remains poorly understood (O'Reilly et al., 2015), there are many quantitative and anecdotal studies that have shown the value of adding women to the

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

peace process (Caprioli, 2000; Caprioli & Boyer, 2001; Regan & Paskeviciute, 2003; Hudson *et al.*, 2014). Statistical significant evidence that women's empowerment and gender equality are linked with stability and peace has been found in the biggest database on the status of women (Hudson, *et al.*, 2014). Research by above-mentioned authors has shown that meaningful engagement of women in peace processes increases the chance of sustainable outcomes.

However, these above-mentioned studies are of a quantitative nature which are merely able to state macro outcomes. As a consequence women are presented as a homogeneous group, overlooking and not acknowledging their differences. Contexts, needs, experiences and challenges that women experience, differ when zooming in on the national level, or local level. Therefore, these macro qualitative studies might indicate differences between nations, however, they do not show the heterogeneity of women in the nation, local or even individual level. This research zooms in, in two different ways. For one there will be zoomed into a single nation, Colombia. Colombia is not picked randomly. The Colombian peace agreement, which has been signed on November 24th, 2016, has been called the most inclusive peace agreement to date. There was an unprecedented amount of women inclusion and even the Nobel Peace Prize was given out to this process. In the next few years, the first signs of the effects of this peace agreement can be studied and hopefully, Colombia will finally know, after more than five decades, sustainable peace. Another aspect which this research zooms in on, are female victims who live in rural areas around Cartagena. And because of zooming in twice, new insights can be gathered.

Since the Colombian peace agreement has only been signed a year ago, this research has not been able to determine whether inclusive peacebuilding contributed to sustainable outcomes, however, it studied the Colombian peace agreement through linking it to two building blocks for sustainable peace, women inclusion and gender equality. Through this research, we could say something about whether this particular peace agreement has the building blocks to reach sustainable peace according to this 'women-and-peace' pillar. The main goal of this research is to provide an academic foundation that contributes to the theoretical and empirical understanding of inclusive peacebuilding. This research tries to develop up the concept by critically questioning it.

This study explores the first effects of this peace agreement, the one of hope for peace. The two main elements of the 'women-and-peace' pillar will be studied, the inclusion of women in the drafting of the peace agreement and the expected effects on the human security of rural women as perceived by WWE's. This could be important since a state's peacefulness could be measured through the position of women and girls in society (Valerie Hudson *et al.*, 2014). When these 'women-and-peace' pillar building blocks are in place, it could be a good indicator of sustainable peace in Colombia. Through this research, both concepts, inclusive peacebuilding and the 'women-and-peace' pillar are studied thoroughly and in a couple years, this research could contribute to the evaluation of these concepts. In a few years, the effect of the 'women-and-peace' pillar building blocks within this peace agreement can be studied, and this study has outlined the extent to which they were present in the Colombian peace agreement.

1.3.2 Societal relevance

There will be no single formula for a peace agreement with guaranteed success. However, when providing empirical knowledge of successes and failures of peace agreements it could contribute to future discussions on what design to use for other peace processes. An overview of challenges and bottlenecks in past processes could provide future WWE's and peacebuilders some points that might be worth exploring in their own context. In addition, these WWE's whom I had in-depth conversations with gave me some insight in the challenges that might pop up when implementing this peace agreement, and these insights could be meaningful for policymakers who are currently implementing the peace agreement in local contexts.

Beyond the understanding of the theoretical mechanisms underlying peace processes and peace agreements, this understanding can contribute to extending the societal impact of the academic knowledge. Through building knowledge and adapting the mechanisms that came out of this knowledge, future peace processes and agreements can be aided to be more successful. Through building an understanding of these mechanisms and the needs and requirements for sustainable peace, future processes can build upon that knowledge and create a durable peace in their own country. Understanding how inclusive peace agreements impact a community and create more stability and more sustainability of the implied peace helps to amend where necessary and to understand how to create more successful and durable peace agreements elsewhere.

This research will portray the challenges, bottlenecks, and lessons learned in two indicators for sustainable peace, women inclusion and increased gender equality. This research will show through empirical evidence how the inclusion of women works in practice and how women experience this. It also investigates whether a peace agreement can effectively integrate the interests of local people into a national peace agreement and whether it can, therefore, be expected that the national peace agreement connects locally. The involvement of local WWE's gives a picture of the impact of a peace agreement on different levels of society. Therefore the results of this research have relevance in implementing peacebuilding programmes across the world as they show what is necessary to connect national agreements with local issues. There is no blueprint or roadmap to do so, but the outcomes of one agreement can help the other. This research helps to understand how the national and local

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

objectives can potentially be unified and it creates societal relevance for other peacebuilding situations where different levels influence the success of peace agreements.

Lastly, negative impacts and limitations could be identified through this research and be prevented or predicted in the future as to adapt the choices made and approaches followed to create the best possible outcomes. By identifying potential negative facts this research can thus impact societies actively addressing peace by indicating potential downfalls.

1.4 Outline of this thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. After the introduction, the second chapter will entail the theoretical background, which will focus on the four core concepts of my thesis, which subsequently are: peace agreements, sustainable peace, inclusive peacebuilding and the challenges of reaching a sustainable peace through inclusive peacebuilding. From these core concepts, the theoretical framework will be extracted and the main research question and sub-questions will be presented. The third chapter entails the presentation, explanation, and justification of the methodology selected for this research.

Then in the fourth chapter, we will travel to Cartagena, Colombia. The findings of the field research in Colombia will be analyzed and portrayed. Finally the fifth chapter, the conclusions will be given. The conclusion consists of a discussion of the findings of this research which will lead to an answer to the main and sub-questions of this research. In addition, it will give an overview of the contributions and limitations of this research and finally an overview of my recommendations for further research.

Chapter Two: Theoretical background

The overall goal of this study is to examine the possible effects of the Colombian peace agreement through linking it to the two pillars of the 'women-and-peace' pillar: women inclusion in peace processes and the human security of rural women who are affected by the Colombian conflict. In order to reach this goal, the core terms regarding this relation will be clarified and in addition, the concept of inclusive peacebuilding will be explained. The core concepts are operationalized and critically scrutinized. The examination of the core concepts will lead to the building up of a theoretical framework and research questions. In the result section, these research questions will be answered by linking theory to the empirical data that have been collected during my fieldwork in Colombia.

The following chapter will consist of five parts. The objective of the first four parts is to introduce and discuss relevant theories and their core concepts: peace agreements, sustainable peace, inclusive peacebuilding, the 'women-and-peace' pillar and the challenges that are foreseen when reaching a sustainable peace through inclusive peacebuilding. The main goal of the second part is to summarize the relevant theories and provide insight into the knowledge gaps through formulating questions. The answers to these questions will lead to an answer to the main research question.

2.1 Peace agreements: Theories and concepts

History shows that in the majority of civil wars, peace is reached when one warring party reaches victory over the other (Hartzell, 1999). The Cold War brought forward a significant increase in civil wars, yet the peace-making process developed itself a little more 'peacefully'. This peaceful way of peace-making occurred because of the rise of international initiatives to put a stop to these conflicts (The World Bank, 2006). These international initiatives saw it as their task to help these countries/parties involved reach peace, and through institutions like the United Nations (hereinafter UN), they started mediating in these conflicts (UN Department of Public Information, 1992). Around fifty percent of the world's internal conflicts and civil wars that have erupted after the Cold War have been terminated in these mediated negotiations which led to the signing of a peace agreement (Sisk, 2004).

Ouellet and Yawanarajah (2003) define the term peace agreement as follows: 'A peace agreement is a contract between two or more parties to significantly transform a violent conflict in a constructive and sustainable way'. The UN differentiates between various types of peace agreements that can be reached during a peace process; a cessation of hostilities or a ceasefire agreement, a pre-negotiation agreement, an interim agreement, a comprehensive and framework agreement and an implementation agreement (Policy Planning Unit Department of Political Affairs, retrieved September 2017). When drafting a peace agreement key representatives are identified and the conflicting and/or fighting parties move the conflict to another arena; the peace table (Hartzell, 1999). The conflicting parties then try to overcome the divides by negotiating their differences (Paffenholz, 2016). When the parties agree on the significant issues, a document is formed and signed by the leaders of the parties in conflict. This thesis is written about the Colombian peace agreement between the Colombian Government and the FARC-EP Guerrilla group. This agreement can be identified as a full peace agreement since: First, both parties decided to shift from the violent military arena to the peaceful arena; the peace table in Havana, Cuba. Second, because the peace agreement seeks to resolve all major issues between the parties. The peace agreement process ended when the heads of the peace table announced the final agreement in August of 2016. The signing of this agreement brought an end to the internal conflict that lasted for more than five decennia. The section 4.1 & 4.2 of the results chapter of this master thesis gives an elaborate review of the Colombian conflict and its peace process.

Previous research has shown that conflicts that ended in peace agreements have a higher chance of sustainable peace than conflicts that end without such an agreement (Fazal, 2014; Fortna, 2004). However, this does not mean that every peace agreement has a chance to lead to durable peace. Generally, peace agreements have proven to be volatile and fragile, and even the most ambitious negotiations (Paffenholz, 2016), have often failed prevention of repetition of violence. This renewed violence often occurred between the very parties that were seated at the peace table (Paffenholz, 2016). This volatility and fragility can be explained by the fact that drafting a peace agreement and implementing such agreement brings along many challenges. It is important to look more precisely into the conditions of a peace agreement that contribute to a more stable and sustainable peace. Let us have a look at the relevant theory that might help us to discover these conditions.

2.1.1 So -how- does it work?

When it comes to peace agreements, there are two dominant schools of thought: the instrumental and the constitutive school (Arnault, 2006). The instrumental school states that the final peace agreement is just one of the many stages of a conflict resolution process. The implementation should not be an exact replica of the peace agreement; there should be room for opportunities that emerge during the implementation phase (ibid.). The instrumental school acknowledges that the drafting of

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

a peace agreement does not go without its struggles and errors. When there is no room for deviation during the implementation process, there is the chance that these errors show in the implementation process. Wallensteen (2015) has argued that it is necessary to understand the limits of a peace agreement and that it is merely another step in the direction of conflict resolution.

In contrast to this point of view, the constitutive school states that there is a blueprint for peace (Arnault, 2006; Badran, 2014; Howard, 1981). The constitutive school sees the final peace agreement as the most important facet of the peacebuilding process. The strengths and weaknesses of peace negotiations will be reflected in the final peace agreement and its outcomes (ibid.). That is to say, a proper way of negotiations will result in sustainable peace, and a negotiation with deficiencies will result in everything but that, and will increase the danger of an unstable or failing peace. This constitutive school of thought stresses the fact that there should be: “precision of wording, technical feasibility, international legitimacy and a detailed implementation timetable” (ibid. p.1). Badran (2014), has set up an index that evaluates the overall quality of the design of a peace agreement, and then shows how this design has an effect on the durability of peace created through this peace agreement. If the design/blueprint has been set up correctly, there is one good way to implement the agreement and when implemented exactly how the blueprint has been set up, a durable peace can be reached (ibid.).

Throughout the last decade, the constitutive school had to deal with several critiques. First, that there is inadequate attention to differences in domestic culture (Paris, 2010). The hardest part of reaching peace is not the drafting of a peace agreement or getting the conflicting parties together, it is the implementation phase at the local level (Iqbal, 2016). Translating these signed documents into local realities has proven to be difficult, to say the least. In Colombia for example, there have been 52 years of conflict. Several generations do not know how it is like to live in peace. There are people in Colombia that think that conflict is a kind of natural state of being (In-depth Interviews & Conversations during my travels). Many of them still have difficulties to believe that their situation can really be changed (Waldmann, 2007; In-depth Interviews & Conversations during my travels). It might be hard to convince the Colombian population that a peace agreement between the government and the FARC-EP and disarmament of this guerrilla group, could change their country and tackle many of the consequences of the conflict that local populations had to deal with on a daily basis. The consequences of the conflict like displacement, sexual violence, homicides etc. are not erased when signing a peace agreement. However, the constitutive school states that when set up correctly, a peace agreement can lead to peace. When looking for an example of a peace agreement that ‘was set up correctly’ and has led to sustainable peace, one conclusion could be drawn, there is none. Let me illustrate this statement; according to a research of the World Bank (The World Bank), 90 percent of conflicts that erupted in the 2000s, took place in countries where previously a peace agreement was signed to end a previous conflict. Some examples:

- The comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict, where the United Nations launched an operation that has left the countries local communities in a kind of partial peace where a few years later a coup took place (Ashley, 1998).
- The Dayton Peace Accords of the Bosnia Herzegovina conflict. While there is a peace agreement in Bosnia Herzegovina, society is still divided both at the national and local level between the Bosnians, Serbs and Croats continue to be a problem to date. Twenty years after the end of the violent conflict, ‘peace’ is still not a word which came to mind when I talked to the people in Bosnia Herzegovina during my study excursion, even though there has been an absence of armed conflict.
- The Bosnia-Herzegovinian peace agreement is even blamed to have indirectly led to the tragic emergence of a renewed violence in Kosovo (Kriner, 2011).
- In an event of the Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, the panellist from Yemen, Afghanistan, and Sri Lanka who have all been important actors in the peace agreement process in their country talk about why their peace agreement failed to secure sustainable peace. The conclusion, in many cases forming a peace agreement about the political conflict, is not the hardest part, the implementation in local communities is.
- El Salvador, Guatemala, Namibia, Croatia and Mozambique all experience this exact struggle, the implementation of their peace agreement did not lead to a peace at the local level (M. W. Doyle & Sambanis, 2000).

Many countries that were affected by conflict have managed to stop the violent conflict through negotiations and signing a peace agreement, however, few were able to erase the conflict in their country and build a peace that can be described as sustainable (Beardsley, 2008; Newman & Richmond, 2006; Pfeiffer, 2015a).

Secondly, the effects of a conflict are not the same for different communities (Myrtilinen, Naujoks, & El-Bushra, 2014). Different individuals can experience conflict in quite different ways, and to repair their traumas and past experiences, every single individual has to be able to find a way to do so. The way conflicts affect the lives of persons is dependent on many factors like region, gender, education and exposure to violence. The International Monetary Fund’s report showed the strong difference between the different regions in Colombia. On an economic level, the top 5 departments have doubled their GDP per capita the last fifteen years while the bottom 5 departments experienced a decline of about 13 percent (IMF, 2017). In addition, Colombian people who live in the big cities Bogotá, Medellín, Cali, and Cartagena have experienced different

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

consequences of the conflict than people who lived in the rural areas of the Cauca region. There is also a difference in between the bigger cities; Medellín and Cali have suffered a lot under the reign of the big drug cartels, but Cartagena had as a consequence thousands of displaced people to look after. Cartagena has been put forward as a peaceful city in Colombia, however, there is a big difference between the neighborhoods. The Colombian social finance system works in a way that neighborhoods are divided into 6 categories. The poorest people live in the 1st and 2nd neighborhoods, where societal assistance is provided, this is paid by the people who live in the richest people who live in the 5th and 6th neighborhoods. The people who live in the 3rd and 4th neighborhoods do not receive any assistance. When having lost everything, financial assistance is crucial, therefore displaced people are mostly assigned to the lowest two. However, this is also where criminal and drug gangs are the rule makers. They move from one trauma creator to another. When looked at from an individual perspective, a Bogotá-based lesbian secondary school teacher from a wealthy family has other restrictions and different freedoms as a heterosexual garage owner in a nearby village that was under guerrilla rule. Both their needs and challenges will be different during and after the conflict.

Thirdly, there is no universal effect of peace either. A well-known example is one of the indigenous tribes in Cauca, Colombia. The leaders of these tribes do not think much of truth-telling, prison sentences or fines. The Colombian government lets them have their own justice system on their own grounds. Punishments vary from whipping, hitting or physical labour, and all in the eyes for everybody to see so they find justice in public humiliation. The FARC-EP guerrillas are still afraid when thinking that they ever fall into the hands of some indigenous tribes in the amazons, it will mean their death. Peace has no universal effect since every person has different views of what peace means. Some people see it as the absolute absence of violence, and others might think they live in peace when the armed groups have stopped the violence.

2.1.2 This thesis: Instrumental perspective

This thesis argues from an instrumental perspective, for two main reasons. First, because of the differentiated impact of the conflict in a country, different regions have different priorities when implementing a national peace agreement in their local realities. There is no blueprint for the entire country. A peace agreement should be translated to each region. In Colombia there are for instance regions that have coped with a tremendous amount of violence and others had to deal with the consequences of that violence through providing shelter for the numerous refugees. Second, the complexity of the consequences of a conflict should not be underestimated. A peace agreement that includes issues like economic stability, transitional justice, striving for gender equality will be very ambitious, to say the least. These issues are considered important for sustainable peace, but are these factors reachable through a peace agreement? This raises the question whether you could even expect a peace agreement to bring such change. This question becomes worth even more when my search for successful examples of a peace agreement that led to a sustainable peace was unsuccessful. This thesis tries to provide this question with a little more knowledge about one specific example of a peace agreement namely, an inclusive one with a big amount of women inclusion. Only time will tell whether this kind of peace agreement is suitable to build a sustainable peace, however, this research will study this peace agreement on the basis of building blocks of sustainable peace that are known in the literature.

The Colombian peace agreement has been, as mentioned before, described as inclusive. Authors that have written about inclusive peacebuilding, claim that the chance for a sustainable peace is bigger when the peacebuilding process is inclusive. This study searches whether this particular peace agreement has the building blocks that are crucial for sustainable peace. However, before going into these building blocks for sustainable peace, the next part of this chapter will first discuss the concept sustainable peace.

2.2 Sustainable peace

When conducting a study on the conditions for sustainable peace, it is important to know what you are striving for. Therefore, it is important to look more precisely what this sustainable peace entails and where the origin of the concept lies.

The term peacebuilding was put forward by Johan Galtung (1969, 1996) who called for structures that address the root causes of violent conflict. Galtung distinguished two different kinds of peace; positive peace and negative peace. Galtung argued that ‘negative peace can be conceived as the absence of violence, absence of war – whereas positive peace is the integration of human society’ (Galtung, 1969). Next, to the difference in peace, he divided violence in three different typologies: direct, structural and cultural violence (ibid.). When relating peace to violence he stated that negative peace is the absence of direct violence, whereas positive peace is the complete absence of violence. In a just society which lives in harmony and equality, there is no direct, structural and cultural violence. Negative peace is about the absence of war, conflict, violence, and repression. Positive peace, on the other hand, is not about the absence of things, but about the presence of certain concepts namely, tranquillity, harmony, well-being, shared human values, human bonds and shared feelings of humanity (Herath, 2010).

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

The start of peacebuilding in official and political discourse took place in 1992 when United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, put forward his Agenda for Peace (Boutros-Ghali, 1992; M. Doyle, 1998). Boutros-Ghali defined peacebuilding as ‘action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict’ (Boutros-Ghali, 1992). He asked attention to the fact that ‘the absence of war and military conflicts amongst states does not in itself ensure international peace and security’ (ibid.). He wanted to modify traditional peacekeeping measures, which consisted mainly of sending soldiers to protect the ceasefire so that the peace negotiations could take place. According to Boutros-Ghali, conflict resolution should be “preventative diplomacy, peace-making, and peacekeeping” (ibid.). Boutros-Ghali’s Agenda for Peace shifted the goal of United Nations peace missions, which became more ambitious, UN soldiers and officials were not only in conflict areas to secure the ceasefire, they acted upon other issues such as organizing elections.

John Paul Lederach (Lederach), stated that many of the post-cold war conflicts can be characterized by ‘deep-rooted and long-standing animosities that are reinforced by high levels of violence and direct experiences of atrocities’ (Lederach, 1997). This led to the introducing of the concept sustainable peace. His definition is:

‘The nature and characteristics of contemporary conflict suggest the need for a set of concepts and approaches that go beyond traditional statist diplomacy. Building peace in today’s conflicts calls for long-term commitment to establish an infrastructure across the levels of a society, an infrastructure that empowers the resources for reconciliation from within that society and maximizes the contribution from outside. In short, constructing the house of peace relies on a foundation of multiple actors and activities aimed at achieving and sustaining reconciliation.’ (Lederach, 1997, p. xvi)

Therefore he searched for an answer to the question how it is possible to bring about a fundamental transformation and to obtain sustainable reconciliation in divided societies (Keating & Knight, 2004). He argued that the main challenge to peacebuilding is not to get the parties together at the peace table, but to sustain reconciliation in these divided societies (Lederach, 1997). Peacebuilding should involve ‘a wide range of activities and functions that both precede and follow formal peace accords’, including ‘processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships’ (ibid. p. 20). When done correctly, conflict in society will be peaceful. When there are institutions in place where the divided parties can turn to like a fair justice or political system, their differences do not have to become violent, they can be solved in a nonviolent arena. They don’t have to turn to the streets like in civil-war, they gather signatures, file a motion or go to a judge. And if they don’t do so themselves, they can be forced to do so. This sustainable peace could be described as long-term positive peace.

After searching for successes in bringing sustainable positive peace through the signing and implementation of a peace agreement, one question can be asked: is it even possible? El Salvador and Guatemala are named as successes, however, when searching for examples of failures, these countries are named among the examples where there is no local foundation for the peace agreement and therefore social integration of the peace agreement experiences many struggles (M. W. Doyle & Sambanis, 2000). Again this question, can you really expect that a document signed by national leaders and elites to substantially reform an entire society which is in conflict into a society that lives in a sustainable positive peace? Or should there be another approach to reach sustainable peace? The next part of this chapter will give an overview of the ideas and solutions for this question, but first, the challenges that have to be overcome are portrayed.

2.2.1 Challenges for reaching sustainable peace through a peace agreement

In the previous paragraph, I asked the question how a sustainable peace can be reached, and whether a peace agreement is a suitable way to reach a sustainable peace. The main conclusion was that it might be challenging at least. Before asking Colombian WVE’s this question I addressed the existing literature on challenges to reach sustainable peace through top-down interventions like peace agreements. And the literature was quite clear.

2.2.1.1 Implementation at the local level

In Lederach’s article on sustainable peace (Lederach, 1997) he emphasizes that ‘the greatest resource for sustaining peace in the long term is always rooted in the local people and their culture’ (Ibid. p.94). It is therefore unfortunate that the most important challenge that came out of the reviewed literature is the fact that, peace negotiations that lead to national settlements often face their greatest challenges at the local level (Manning, 2008; Odendaal, 2013). When no one other than the conflicting parties is included at the peace negotiations and overlooking the rest of the population, struggles can be expected while implementing this peace agreement (Case, 2016; Clare Castillejo, 2016; Gizelis, 2009; O’Reilly, 2015). Translating the centrally negotiated agreements into the very diverse local contexts asks for ‘serious logistical and technical challenges’ (Manning, 2003).

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

This said, let me rewind a little bit. Up till now in this literature chapter alone, the word local has been mentioned fourteen times. However, I have never explained what I mean by this word. I have read a lot of articles of authors that mentioned the word local, without even stating what they meant by it. This could cause confusion since in some articles the local was the national government and in others, it were rural farmers that had little knowledge of national politics. Therefore, I would like to explain what I mean when I say 'local' or 'rural' before I continue. It is not new to talk about 'the local' in peacebuilding articles, I have read articles who talked about the local context, local communities, local ownership and local leaders. Hanna Leonardsson and Gustav Rudd (Leonardsson & Rudd) have found two different views regarding the question, 'what is the local?'. In their conclusion they state that there are two main definitions to be identified: the first definition of 'the local' focuses on the 'sub-national arena as an actor in peacebuilding' and the second definition of 'the local' focuses on 'everyday events and the inclusion of local agencies in peacebuilding for varieties of peace' (ibid. p.834). This thesis takes another approach, there is no definition per se but an explanation. When talking about rural women or the local level, I mean people, outside of the political sphere, in the rural areas where violence has been a daily challenge during the conflict. The rural women that are mentioned in this thesis do not live in the capital, or in any big city for that matter, they do not have easy access to facilities like secondary schools or hospitals, they lived under guerrilla or paramilitary rule and have been forced to work for them. Many of these rural women have lived through a life filled with a history of violence, gender-based and/or sexual violence and forced displacement. Therefore you could almost state that this thesis is not about rural women per se, but about rural women victims.

Now that is clear, let's go back to the challenge, implementation at the local level. This is often because of the fact that local realities are often different than expected (Manning, 2003). Manning was not the only author who was skeptic about these top-down interventions; Odendaal (Odendaal), Richmond (Newman & Richmond), Autessere (2014), Mac Ginty (2008) and Paffenholz *et al.* (2015) were equally outspoken to reject the blind implementation of top-down practices in local communities. In the case of a civil war, neighbours could be each other's enemies with their own unresolved social and political grievances. These grievances can make the peace process fragile at the local level. When there is impunity and a weak rule of law following the peace agreement, people could take their grievances in their own hands and take care of their anger outside of the legal justice arena (Donais, 2009; Odendaal, 2013). The solution for this challenge, of how to eradicate the problems of implementation at the local level, could be local ownership as opposed to national and foreign ownership (Odendaal, 2013) and a combination of bottom-up and top-down efforts (Lederach, 1997). However, a whole new set of challenges pop up when striving for this solution: 'how?'. How do you integrate bottom-up and top-down efforts in a peace agreement and how is this local ownership reached? This inclusion of the local level to reach local ownership brings forward a whole new set of challenges.

2.2.1.2 Including the local level

Despite the fact that the focus of peacebuilding recently lies in local ownership and there are numerous articles on why this is important, there is a tendency to see the domestic government as 'the local actor' (Donais, 2009). The definition of local ownership which has been used by academics like Donais (2009) and Nathan (2007) is, 'the principle that key local actors and constituencies within the post-conflict state must play a leading role in the design, management, and implementation of peacebuilding processes if they are to be sustainable' (Donais, 2009 p. 756). The words 'within the post-conflict state' is where I want to put the emphasis on in this thesis.

Richmond and Michel (2012) found that the needs, everyday activities, interests and past experiences of the local population do not always overlap with the norms, goals, and practices of the foreign peace builders. In this case, the authors speak of foreign peace builders, however in what way do the needs, everyday activities, interest, and past experiences overlap with the norms, goals, and practices of the national peace agreement? When incorporating the local voice, there could be some friction in between these two. For example, when looking at the opposing parties in Colombia, the LGBTI community and the conservative supporters of Alvaro Uribe². The Colombian highest court has legalized same-sex marriage and therefore lost the trust of many conservative Colombians (Casey, 2016). While the LGBTI community was glad that their voices were heard, the Conservative Colombians were not as pleased. When the Colombian government organized a referendum in October, Alvaro Uribe together with his supporters, showed their distrust by voting NO. An employee of the ministry of internal affairs in Bogota told me that she thought that the Colombian population was not ready yet for such change. These deeply rooted norms and values were not changed that easily,

In addition, another challenge that has been found by Autessere (2014), is that there is a lack of resources at the local level, to organize a structured integration of the local level. Autessere states that resources have to be made available to make that happen. There should be a process that searches for the manner this will be implemented, how do you integrate the local level, and who should be the one taking a seat at the table. There have to be resources available at the local level in order to figure out this process. Autessere (2014) found through her research that local stakeholders 'lack financial and logistical resources to

² Former President of Colombia 2002-2010

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

accomplish their goals, and that they have no choice but to request outside help' (ibid. p. 101). This dependency to outside help was at the expense of the local voice because these 'helping' organizations and/or foreign governments had their own ideas about how this should be done (ibid.). These national and foreign donors have never achieved peace for others, people and the societies themselves create the systems and ways to resolve their own conflict and differences (Barnes, 2006). Again this notion that people themselves are the ones that able to overcome their differences and resolve their own conflict. However, this brings along another challenge, how do local people organize themselves without the help of these financial donors? When there are no strong institutions that are accessible to rural people at the local level how is this possible?

2.2.1.3 Absence of strong institutions

Another challenge for reaching sustainable peace through a peace agreement is the absence of strong institutions to resolve conflicts (Manning, 2008). In a pluriform society - there is to say a with multiple ethnic, linguistic, religious or racial groups and communities- discussion about day-to-day issues is inevitable. There always be discussions concerning everyday life like for example: which religious festivities become a public holiday, and which ones are not? These discussions could lead to conflicts in a society, even in peaceful societies. However, such conflicts do not need to get violent. In societies, like the Netherlands, these conflicts are taken to democratic arenas to come up with solutions. In less peaceful societies or non-democratic societies these arenas are not or hardly available to the local population. For that reason, peace agreements often aim to (re)build these political and social institutions that will manage, facilitate or even prevent these conflicts in a nonviolent arena (Doyle & Sambanis, 2000). There is to say, by facilitating a place where opposing parties can discuss and resolve their issues together in institutions intended for that purpose (ibid.). In Colombia, for example, the FARC will become a political party. However, when these kind of institutions will be built in local communities, other challenges pop up. How can you make sure that these institutions are not seen as standard top-down enforced actions that enable the national government to enforce their views and systems on the local populations? This will not guarantee local ownership.

2.2.1.4 Peacebuilding organisations at the local level

In addition, there is the challenge of taking into account the knowledge and demands of local peacebuilding organisations and other civil society organisations that have been building peace since the beginning of the conflict (Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 2015). These organisations have their ways and practices and rarely embrace the national accord with its project designs without their own reservations. These local institutions do have the information that could boost the implementation process, namely what challenges have to be overcome when implementing the peace agreement at the local level in which they have tried to build peace for decades. Unlike any other actors in the peace process, these local institutions and organisations for peace have the ability to understand both sides. These local organisations are able to see the complexity of forming a peace agreement, however, they also see the simple needs of the local population that are identified by themselves. However, integrating civil society is not that easily done and brings with its own challenges. First, these local organisations, lack resources, infrastructure, and knowledge to reach the peace table. International NGOs are more than willing to take these problems away by funding local leaders and educating them to let their voice heard (Anam, 2001). However, this raises potential problems with regard to the miss-match between international norms and local communities, however, this problem will not be discussed further in this master thesis. Another challenge of incorporating civil society into peace processes is the fact that they are no homogeneous group either. Local civil society organisations have their own differences and struggles and are not as easily overcome.

2.2.1.5 Who should participate in the peace process?

In theory, many of the above-mentioned challenges would be solved if every individual would be represented in the peace process (Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 2015). Through the use of local roundtables and fora where every person can have a say and representatives bring their collective opinions to the peace table, the formation of a solid foundation of the peace agreement could be guaranteed. The consequence would be twofold, the local voice will be integrated and therefore local ownership is guaranteed, and in its turn, this will lead to a solid foundation across the whole society and the peace agreements implementation will have fewer challenges at the local level.

Unfortunately in practice, when in a civil war, there is no place for every single individual to have a say, and for every local norm and value to be integrated when searching for peace. In addition, there is no guarantee for success since conflicts and disagreement at the local level can be deeply rooted and too difficult to be solved at local level fora and roundtables. So how do you make sure that everybody sees him or herself in the solutions for the conflict? How do you draft a peace agreement in a way that every single local individual and community feels represented? And is this even possible? It is a hard task to decide who should participate in a peace process (Paffenholz, 2014).

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

When incorporating more actors besides the conflicting parties, negotiations have the chance to get too complicated, since all kinds of views have to be taken into account and compromises have to be made. This inclusion is perceived as important because of when their concerns are brought in to the negotiations, conflict drivers that are underneath the surface can be challenged and maybe even ameliorated (Zeilzer, 2013). However, when incorporating the views of e.g. political movement organizations, religious leaders, the LGBTI movements, women rights organizations, and organizations that strive for the rights of indigenous people in the peace negotiations can bring along many of conflict of interest. Take equal marriage, for example, obviously, the LGBTI movements will strive for acceptance of equal marriage, and see a peace agreement as an opening for societal change. Their main opponents will be conservative political movements and the religious leaders, that have to take their constituencies into account that will not be as pleased with equal marriage as the LGBTI movements. However, when the LGBTI community has lobbied to put this issue on the table, it will guarantee complicated and long conversations.

Hence, it is important to obtain a thorough understanding of the balance between 1) integrating every group of society and 2) being able to reach and implement a final peace agreement. The peacebuilders and government officials in Colombia claim to have found this balance since they state that their peace agreement is inclusive. As stated earlier, the Colombian peace agreement was drafted with an unprecedented women inclusion and in addition, victims were central in information provision to the peace table. This way of peacebuilding has a name, inclusive peacebuilding. In the next part of this chapter, a thorough discussion of this concept inclusive peacebuilding and its challenges will be portrayed.

2.3 Inclusive peacebuilding

Inclusive peacebuilding can be described as striving to include as many interests as possible of every group in a society in the peacebuilding process and has been put forward by several authors (O'Reilly, 2014, 2015; Nderitu & O'Neill, 2013). A common thought among these authors is that in order to reach sustainable outcomes, all relevant actors should be integrated (Paffenholz & Ross, 2015). To explain the concept of inclusive peacebuilding, it is best to illustrate it with a fictional example.

Imagine this, there is a civil war in an imaginative island of around 100 persons. There are unlimited identity markers in a society as e.g. class, education, religion, however, this conflict was about the land of the island. In this territory, four groups were fighting for land and therefore the relevant actors were the government supporters, opposing guerrillas, the indigenous tribe that has been living there for ages in a small village that had nothing to do with the conflict. The government and the guerrillas are fighting each other in about who has the power on the island, however, they do this on the agriculture land of the indigenous. One day as the leader of the indigenous tribe sees that some of his boys and girls are joining the guerrillas. Enough is enough, he wants to put a stop to the conflict. So he goes and talks to the leaders of the government and the guerrilla. The three men agree that they do not want any more casualties, however, their people are still fighting. They read an article on 'how to build peace in your community' and read that a solid foundation is necessary in order to reach peace. This means that every relevant group of the conflict sees himself in the solutions.

At first, the leader of the government and the guerrilla say: 'ok, let's meet up, five of your guys and five of mine, tomorrow at the beach'. The indigenous leader stands with astonishment. He says: 'He! It was my plan to begin with, and it is our land you are fighting about! We should be included, otherwise, conflict is inevitable but then it will be us against you!'. The leader of the government and guerrillas see their point and start the division of the peace table. However, the guerrilla leader says to the indigenous leader: 'three of your women and seven of your men joined me so they are actually both! This should be taken into account'. This is the division of their island.

	Women	Men
Government	25	25
Guerrillas	12	8
Guerrillas/Indigenous	3	7
Indigenous	12	8

Table 1. Division of the fictional island (see figure 1)

Like mentioned before this country consisted of 100 people (Table 1 & Figure 1), but they all agree that including all of them in the discussions is not efficient. They read about representative democracy and therefore 10 representatives are chosen to discuss the future of their country. However, peace can only be sustainable if everybody feels that they were represented in the peace talks. This means, the 52 percent of the 10 representatives should be women and 48 percent should be men. In addition, 3 people at the peace table have to be indigenous. The political divide in the country makes it that the table will consist of 5 government devotees, 3 guerrillas and 2 people who are not on either side of the conflict. This is easier said than done, but in a rather simple example of 100 persons, the peace table should look a little like figure 2.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

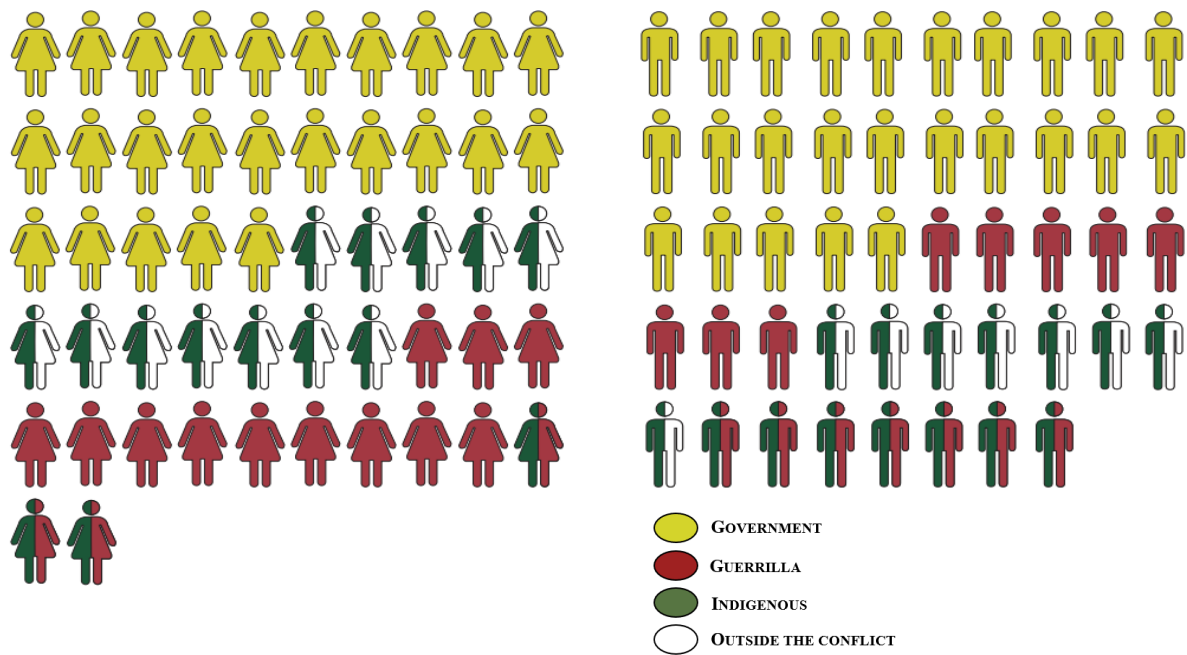


Figure 1. The entire population divided by gender, political orientation and position in the conflict

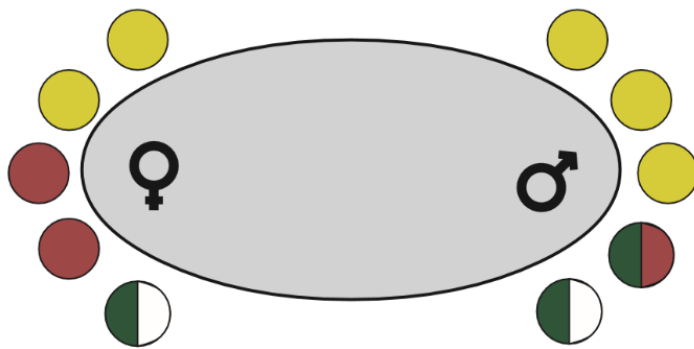


Figure 2. A possible formation of the peace table

2.3.1 Challenges of inclusive peacebuilding

In theory, when a peace agreement is inclusive, it would no longer be a top-down intervention which was one of the main challenges of the implementing a peace agreement (Paffenholz et al., 2015; Odendaal, 2013; Tom, 2013; Richmond, 2012; Newman & Richmond, 2006;). When incorporating voices from the local community like in the above-mentioned example, this challenge could be overcome. However, in the example above, the identity markers are simplified, in a real inclusive peace agreement, there are many more identity groups/communities that will lobby for their say in the process. In a real conflict the situation is not about 100 stick figures but in the case of Colombia about 48.650.000 real individuals with their own complicated set of identity markers and scars of the conflict.

It raises the question whether inclusive peacebuilding is at all possible and whether it might be a little utopian. One of the possible challenges that can pop up is that inclusivity can lead to unrealistic expectations. In a divided society like Colombia, including different groups can mean that you will never reach an outcome or policy since these groups will not be able to find a compromise. An example; the Colombian government and the FARC-EP invited LGBTI movements to Havana to talk about their needs and challenges when building peace. While the LGBTI community was glad that their voices were heard, the Conservative Colombians were not as pleased. Colombia is considered a highly conservative country and when in April 2016 the highest court legalized same-sex marriage and removed difficulties for homosexuals to adopt children, the peace deal with the FARC-EP was a bridge too far. In the last few months of the peace agreement process, leading up the referendum, the

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

opponents of the peace agreement used this decrease of conservatism in Colombia to their advantage. Their leader, former president of Colombia Alvaro Uribe, stated that his camp worried about family values and that the agreement supported non-traditional views on sexual orientation. This approach created or better yet re-lighted a cultural conflict in Colombia, the ones opposing the peace agreement because of a decrease of their family values and the ones that were striving for the peace agreement to be implemented were put off as people who wanted mixed bathrooms and were accused of 'gay colonization'. The peace deal and the fight over the LGBTI rights became linked. You could say that inclusive peacebuilding eradicates some challenges of top-down peacebuilding, however, other unforeseen challenges pop up.

The first challenge is about the time frame. A 'normal peace agreement process', where the fighting parties come together to come up with a peace agreement takes at least a couple of years. In the case of an inclusive peace agreement process it may take ages since you have to; identify which parties are relevant enough to be welcome to take a seat at the peace table; making sure that the parties send representatives that are a just representation for their group; facilitate that all parties are free to lobby for their own issues; and then make sure that all these parties agree. Related to this is the challenge of stability of the process (Castillejo, 2017). When adding more parties to the process, all these multiple voices might have as a trade-off that the stability of the process is at stake. If there is a high level of difference and resistance by the parties, coming to a peace agreement might be impossible. An example is, just like the example above, the dilemma to include religious, conservative or traditional actors, who might be able to play an important role in the implementation of the peace since they have a big constituency, however, they could 'perpetuate patterns of exclusion' (ibid., p.4).

The second challenge is the question who decides the identity markers in which the population is divided? And which of them are chosen to divide the peace table? There are more identity markers to a person than their gender, political orientation, and income level (ibid.). It could be that a Muslim who studied at university could have more in common with a Christian who studied university, than with a Muslim who has only finished elementary school. In addition, why should this Muslim who only finished elementary school feel represented when a Muslim who completed university has a seat at the peace table? Does this person know his realities and problems which needs solving? The risk of inclusive peace building is that people are put in one box and are represented by that box only (Castillejo, 2017). In the case of Colombia, women are represented in an unprecedented number of ways. However, are all demographics, classes and ethnicities invited equally? This equal representation has been tried at the political level, namely, consociationalism, where people were divided in the conflicting ethnicities. The challenges of this so called consociationalism, will be portrayed later on in this chapter. However, the main challenge was the fact that like in Bosnia, Northern Ireland, and Lebanon, it ends the conflict, but it has never resulted in sustainable positive peace, it even obstructed progress. Why and how this progress is obstructed will be further elaborated in the next part of the chapter.

The third challenge is the question of responsibility. When drafting the plan for 'normal' peace negotiations, some choices have to be made, like where do they take place, what to discuss and what is the time frame? All of these questions have to be taken into account and choices can have a drastic influence on the outcomes. When drafting a plan for inclusive peace negotiations, the question 'who decides which parties are welcome to take a seat at the peace table?' and 'who has the power to make sure that the people representing their 'group' are seen as a representation of their constituency?' come up. The persons who decide who is welcome to take a seat at the peace table and who are 'not so relevant' have tremendous power. Furthermore, it is not enough that all relevant groups are included, the people who are welcome to take a place at the peace table should also be perceived as legitimate, representative (Paffenholz, 2014; Paffenholz & Ross, 2015) but foremost capable (Dudouet & Lundstrom, 2016). Another issue in the selection process of legitimate and representative people is how to make sure that these people will not go for personal gain. A perfect 'inclusive peace agreement' might have as a consequence that the implementation process might go a little smoother, but drafting the way negotiations are taking place, forming the peace table and the peace agreement will be a complex process not without its struggles.

Another challenge for the implementation of a peace agreement put forward by Doyle & Sambanis (2000) is one of the absence of strong institutions. In order to implement an inclusive peace agreement, these strong institutions are even more needed. A fair implementation process for all groups must be controlled and legislated. They argue that only through strong institutions a continuous peace among these different groups would be possible.

Like mentioned before, there are many challenges to reach a sustainable peace, and after the presentation of all challenges above, the solution that has been put forward to tackle these challenges, namely inclusive peacebuilding, has its own clouds on the horizon. As a result, much can be gained by moving away from the abstract and utopian pictures painted in publications on inclusive peacebuilding and analyse a case in which inclusive peacebuilding was attempted in order to understand its benefits and limitations. This study tries to make a start through a case study of a peace agreement of which is claimed to be the most inclusive in history; the Colombian peace agreement between the Government and the FARC-EP. It would be interesting to know more about the effects of inclusive peacebuilding, since several authors on the topic, claim that it leads to a bigger chance on sustainable peace (O'Reilly, 2014, 2015; Nderitu & O'Neill, 2013; Paffenholz & Ross, 2015). However, does an inclusive peace agreement make reaching a sustainable peace more likely? Since this peace agreement is still at an early stage of

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

implementation, it is not possible to answer the question whether this peace agreement leads to sustainable peace. However, we could say something about what, according to the literature, are important building blocks that indicate sustainability, and then search whether those building blocks are present in the Colombian peace agreement. Through this, a prognosis could be given. In the next part of this chapter, the building blocks for sustainable peace are identified and the two building blocks that are used to analyse the Colombian peace agreement are presented; women inclusion in peace processes and increased gender equality.

2.4 Building blocks for sustainable peace

There are many ways to measure the level of a nation's peacefulness. The Global Peace Index (GPI), has been the first to study and rank the world's nations by their peacefulness. The GPI ranks 163 nations based on the 'absence of violence' and 'absence of the fear of violence'³. As mentioned before, this is in line with Galtung's concept, negative peace (1967). While understanding relative levels of violence could be useful, it does not provide an understanding of what elements are needed to build and foremost maintain a peaceful society (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2015). When searching for the answer whether a country has a positive and sustainable peace, this index could not provide you with an answer. Therefore in 2007, the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) has developed a Positive Peace Index (PPI) which ranks 163 countries on the eight pillars that need to be in place for a positive peace⁴:

- equitable distribution of resources;
- free flow of information;
- sound business environment;
- high level of human capital;
- low levels of corruption;
- good relations with neighbours;
- well-functioning government;
- acceptance of the rights of others.

However, after some research, another important pillar has been identified: the 'women-and-peace' pillar which measures the level of women inclusion and human security of women. According to the positive peace report 2017, 'gender equality has a consistent and demonstrable relationship with peacefulness across many studies and data sources' (IEP, 2017, p.53). The Institute for social studies' indices of social development 'Gender Equality Index' has suggested that peace can be linked to higher levels of gender equality. This association is broadly consistent across regime types, income levels and geographical regions (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2015). And in the WomenStats database, - which will be extensively discussed later on in this chapter - Hudson et al. (2014) have found that gender equality is statistically linked to peacefulness. Although gender is incorporated in some of the eight pillars which have been identified by the Institute for Economics and Peace, like in the acceptance of the rights of others, high level of human capital and well-functioning government (Annex II), based on above mentioned indices and studies, I argue that it must be a pillar of its own. The extent of which the eight above mentioned pillars are present in Colombia will be measured and studied by the Institute for Economics & Peace. This study will focus on its own ninth pillar, the 'women-and-peace' pillar which focusses on gender equality and women inclusion and retrieved its name from the 'women-and-peace' pillar which has been put forward by Hudson et al. (2014).

The ninth pillar will be explained and studied through the case of Colombia. Through searching for this ninth pillar in the Colombian peace agreement, two main contributions will be made. First, next to the eight pillars of the PPI, Colombia's situation will be measured by one more. Second, since the pillar will be measured through in-depth conversations with women at the local level, the measurements will not be answered through ticking of boxes, but through qualitative information.

The upcoming part of this chapter will explain the ninth pillar which has been identified to portray the expected effects of the Colombian peace agreement, the so-called: 'women-and-peace' pillar. The 'women-and-peace' pillar is a theoretical and empirical argument for considering women inequality when studying violence, conflict, and peace (Ibid.). Like mentioned before, this concept differs from the traditional security approaches but has shown its value both in theoretical and empirical research.

2.4.1 The 'Women-and-Peace' Pillar

The largest compilation of data about the status of women in the world, 'the WomenStats database'⁵ consist of over 350 variables of 175 countries. Hudson *et al.* (2014) have studied this data base and found through comparing micro-level gender violence and macro-level state peacefulness, that gender equality is statistically linked to national peacefulness. After studying 'the WomenStats database', they concluded that issues which are often put forward in international relations articles like, the

³ In the year 2017, Colombia ranked 146 out of the 163 nations (IEP, 2017a).

⁴ In the year 2017, Colombia ranked 67 out of the 163 countries (IEP, 2017b).

⁵ <http://www.womanstats.org/data.html>

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

democratic peace theory, GDP, Aids, overpopulation and civil war are highly influenced by gender relations within a country (Valerie Hudson et al., 2014; Romeri-Lewis, 2016). In this evidentiary base a linkage has been found between gender inequality and wealth, health, and stability of a nation (Valerie Hudson, 2015). These are some of their findings when analysing the WomenStats database:

- Related to economic prosperity
 - The smaller the gender gap, the higher the GDP per capita of a nation;
 - The smaller the gender gap, the higher national economic growth.
- Related to health
 - The smaller the gender gap, the lower are the child mortality rates;
 - The smaller the gender gap, the lower the national AIDS rate
 - The smaller the gender gap, the lower infectious disease;
 - The smaller the gender gap, the higher the general life expectancy.
- Related to state conflict
 - The smaller the gender gap, the lower the level of gender based violence;
 - The smaller amount of gender based violence, the higher the chance that a nation is conform international norms.
 - The smaller the gender gap, the lower the chance to be involved in an inter-state conflict.
- Related to governance
 - The smaller the gender gap, the lower levels of perceived and actual corruption in the government;
 - The smaller the gender gap, the higher women's representation in government;
 - The smaller the gender gap, the more attention is given to aspects like, social welfare, fighting corruption and improving legal protection for its citizens.
- Related to formal peace negotiations
 - The more women are included in formal peace negotiations, the participants are more likely to be glad with the final outcomes;
 - The more women are included in formal peace negotiations, the more likely for the and the peace agreement is more durable.

All of above notions show that when women are included in govenance or peace negotiations and when women's human security is higher, it has positive outcomes for gender equality. In addition, research by among others Maria Caprioli (2003; 2005; (Melander, 2005) has shown that a state's peacefulness can be best predicted by how well women are treated, even better than a state's democracy level or GDP. Francesch *et al.* (Francesch & al., 2009) have shown that gender inequality is a good predictor for conflict, since they have found that 69 percent of armed conflicts today, occur in areas where the gender inequalities are high to severe. Analysis showed that when women are included in peace negotiations and final dicisionmaking, the most marginalized groups interests are better represented (Dharmapuri, 2011). And it goes a little furter than that, the inclusion of women in peace processes 'makes it more likely that more members of a society will benefit from the stabilization efforts.' (ibid. p. 65).

Conclusion, the higher the gender equality, the lower the chance that a country will experience internal conflict. And this is exactly what the 'women-and-peace' pillar entials. Through exploring the women-and-peace pillar, the Colombian peace agreement will be examined for its gender sensitivity in both women inclusion in the process and the effect that the agreement can have on the human security of women. This might be interesting since the security of women and the security of a nation state have been linked, searching for these indicators in the newly signed Colombian peace agreement could be interesting. Linking the women-and-peace pillar to the Colombian peace agreement will be done in two ways. First, by studying the women inclusion in the Colombian peace agreement process. And second, whether the inclusion of women at the national peace process, has an effect on the position of women in general. When the Colombian peace agreement has the building blocks to increase gender equality and the women inclusion, it could indicate possible sustainable outcomes for this peace agreement. The following section will elaborate on this 'focus on women', through a discussion of the existing literature on the effects of integrating women in peacebuilding.

2.4.2 Women inclusion in peace processes

Perhaps for the reasons outlined above, publications on inclusive peacebuilding tend to focus on the integration of women in peacebuilding. More often than not, men dominate the formal roles within the conflict and in its peacebuilding processes (Marie O'Reilly, 2016). In many cases, men are the ones who take up their guns; men are the ones who negotiate how to reach a cease-fire, and men are the main peacekeepers and negotiators (ibid.). And when war is over and the peace agreement is to be

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

implemented, they will be the (elected) formal leaders and politicians, because they have built the structure where peace was built upon (Hunt & Posa, 2001). Of course there are women taking part in these activities; however, when looking at conflicts globally there are only a few (ibid.) This means that the inclusion of women is not guaranteed when transforming a conflict. The following paragraphs will give an overview of the existing literature on integrating women in peacebuilding and its importance. After this overview, I will give a more critical view on the challenges that come with dividing society into these two homogeneous groups, men, and women.

Innumerable studies strive to prove the positive effects of women integration. Many authors have contended that meaningful engagement of women (e.g. a seat at the peace table or a gender-subcommittee) during a peace process and the implementation process, increases the durability of peace agreements (Aoláin, Haynes, & Cahn, 2011; Case, 2016; Clare Castillejo, 2016; Gizelis, 2009; Melander, 2005; Marie O'Reilly, Ó Súilleabháin, & Paffenholz, 2015). In addition, the more women included in the various processes of the peace negotiations, Paffenholz (Paffenholz et al.), found that these peace agreements will have a higher likelihood to be implemented. Another long-term effect of women inclusion is the increased advancement of human and women's rights (Melander, 2005). Another aspect of female inclusion in peacebuilding is that has been concluded is that since peace processes are mainly man dominated, gender equality in a peace process could indicate a less hierarchical cultural environment (Inglehart, Norris & Welzel, 2002; Paxton 2009). The International Peace Institute (2014) states that traditionally matters like territory, power and the building of a strong state are dominant in peace talks, but after research of 40 peace agreements, they found that when women were welcome to take a seat at the peace table matters like justice, equality, reconciliation, education, and health were discussed more often (ibid.). Similar conclusions are drawn outside of the field of peace studies. For example, an increase in the number of women legislators was found to lead to an increase in social spending, a decrease in poverty (Bolzendahl and Brooks 2007; Bolzendahl 2009; Brady 2009; Swiss, Fallon & Burgos, 2012), more acknowledgement of women and children's rights (Kittilson, 2008; Meyer, 2003; Schwindt-Bayer, 2006), and more women-friendly policies (Celis, 2008; Childs & Krook, 2009). Others have found that in societies where women have a higher economic and social status and where their representation in politics is high, countries are less likely to end up having a violent conflict (Caprioli 2003; Melander, 2005; Aolain, Haynes & Cahn 2011)

Such claims that women's participation and influence is crucial for a sustainable peace are underlined by United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. This resolution is a strong engagement of the United Nations concerning issues of women, peace, and security. This often called 'ground-breaking document' (Cohn, 2004) was signed unanimously by every member of the Security Council.

“Resolution 1325 is a watershed political framework that makes women – and a gender perspective – relevant to negotiating peace agreements, planning refugee camps, and peacekeeping operations and reconstructing war-torn societies. It makes the pursuit of gender equality relevant to every single Council action, ranging from mine clearance to elections to security sector reform” (Shepherd, 2011).

Another important facet is put forward by Guzmán-Rodríguez and Yepes (Yepes & Rodríguez), who argue that peacebuilding has to recognize that women and men have different ways of experiencing conflict. They suffer a different kind of violence and discrimination (ibid.). Rodríguez and Yepes (2010) also found that women and men experience different difficulties when entering the (transitional) justice system. They state that in societies where machismo is present, like in Colombia - or in any society for that matter -, justice institutions are mostly male-dominated. Women experience many obstacles to enter this justice system due to two reasons; first, because they have limited access to mental assistance and are because they are more likely than men to experience trauma and fear (Moser & Clark, 2001). Rodríguez and Yepes (2010) argue, that to overcome this difference women should be able to have a say when plans for peace are made. They know best what they need and therefore should be integrated into the peace process. A gender focus in transitional justice could take away these obstacles that women experience to enter the justice system (Moser & Clark, 2001). Concluding, there are many indications that women inclusion in peace processes has positive consequences for the implementation and durability of peace agreements, the advancement of human rights, and an increased focus on important matters like equality, education, reconciliation, and health.

This highlights the importance of a gender perspective in peace processes. However, the difficulty is in designing appropriate approaches for integrating such a gender perspective, beyond 'just adding women and stir' (Dharmapuri, 2011, p. 56). According to Paffenholz (2014) women 'make up half of the world's population and therefore striving for their inclusion is justified', forcing them into peace processes without any knowledge of the side effects could be dangerous because when something goes wrong, it could be blamed on the inclusion of women and the parties in conflict will not include them anymore.

2.4.3 Rural women's human security

Up till now the inclusion of women in peace negotiations, agreements, and their implementation process has been discussed. However, the 'women-and-peace' pillar existed of two building blocks, women inclusion and human security of women. This

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

part of the literature chapter will entail an overview of the existing literature on human security in relation to gender and gender equality.

In 1992, UN Secretary General Boutros-Boutros Ghali stated that there was a need to address 'root causes of conflict, spanning economic, social and political issues' (United Nations Human Security Unit, 2009). A shift was necessary from the 'selfish pursuit of state or elite security to human security in general' (Heidi Hudson, 2005). When the Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme came out in 1994, seven threats which needed addressing for human security were identified (Haq, 1999; Tehranian, 1999; United Nations Human Security Unit, 2009). These seven threats were: economic security; food security; health security; environmental security; personal security; community security; and political security. Human security is a people-centered approach which protects individuals for their well-being. When these economic, social, and political issues would be addressed there would be an integrated approach to human security (ibid.). The Commission on Human Security has argued that human security and state security are linked, 'human security and state security are mutually reinforcing and dependent on each other, without human security, state security cannot be attained and vice versa' (CHS, 2003). In order to increase the human security of local women in Colombia, the peace agreement should provide the building blocks for human security which are: protection and empowerment (United Nations Human Security Unit, 2009). Another typical focus and difference of human security in comparison with traditional security is the fact that it addresses the neglect of gender differences (Haq, 1999; Heidi Hudson, 2005). Because human security focusses on the individual, security concerns of both men and women are not overlooked and therefore the differences became clear. Women form the majority of civilian deaths, the majority of refugees and are victims of sexual violence or other gender-based violence (Haq, 1999). In addition, they have unequal access to opportunities like education and services like health care (ibid.). When addressing the human security of women, women rights become human rights. Through building human security, gender equality can be reached when empowering women through, access to health, access to education and political participation. Like Hudson et al., (2014), Haq has found that 'gender equality is seen as a necessary precondition for peace and security' (Haq, 1999, p. 106)

In this thesis these two building blocks are addressed as two different things, however, they are interconnected. Like how e.g. Melander (2005), Bolzendahl & Brooks (2007), Kittilson (2008), and Celis (2008) have shown in their research, an increase in women engagement at national processes led to more women-friendly policies, more acknowledgment of women's rights and led to an increase in social spending. All of which will undoubtedly have a positive effect on the human security of women. However, increased human security could also lead to an increased women inclusion. When women have equal access to education and equal job opportunities than men, this will eventually lead to more highly educated women who are able to stride for their inclusion and will have the tools and opportunities to do so.

2.4.3 Critique on the 'Women-and-Peace' pillar

According to Hudson *et al.* (2014), gender equality is a strong predictor both theoretically and empirically for sustainable peace. Including women in a meaningful way, increases the chance that women issues get a more important role in the negotiations, peace agreements are more likely to be implemented and they are more likely to lead to a sustainable peace. However, the data on which they base themselves is of quantitative nature, and the correlation is not clear. It could be that peacefulness brings gender equality and that it is not possible to create peacefulness through tackling gender inequality. Since these findings are of quantitative macro nature, the question arises if you could take their findings, and copy-paste them in every context. Are the effects of including women the same in every context? And, perhaps more importantly, are women as homogeneous when zooming in at the level of a nation? This is the main issue which came to my attention when studying the concept of inclusive peacebuilding, women are not as homogeneous as stated in these above-mentioned articles. Women-and-peace publications pay little attention to the heterogeneity of women. It is not enough to just 'add women and stir' (Dharmapuri, 2011, p. 56) and to merely 'acknowledge gender equality and foregrounding women's needs in peace processes' (Heidi. Hudson, 2009, p. 256). In addition, integrating women into the process does not come without risks and trade-offs (Clare Castillejo, 2017).

The Colombian peace negotiations have been called an example for future peace processes because of their equal representation of women and men. However, one question arises, what kind of women were integrated into the process? There were women who had a seat at the peace table; delegations of female victims came to Havana to share their stories; and there was a Gender Sub-Commission who looked at the texts of the peace agreement through a gender lens. However, were these women a representative sample of Colombian women? Were identity makers like social class, age, religion, ethnic origin, education level and place of residence taken into account when choosing the women who were welcomed in Havana? These identity markers like social class, age, religion and ethnic origin are a clear division between women. A woman who owns land or heads a household, is a complete different social group than a woman that does not own land and a woman who lives in a conservative family with a man who makes all the decisions. Women do not all want the same thing, and do not have the same issues that need to be addressed. For instance, some guerrilla women spoke publicly against the peace agreement since they were considered equals in the guerrilla armies but when they have to re-integrate in Colombian society they will have fewer rights and have to start building their lives all over again (Tavakolian, 2017).

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

The articles that praise the Colombian negotiations talk about women in general and the founders of the ‘women-and-peace’ thesis where the ‘women-and-peace’ pillar has been based upon, do not make this divide either. They see women from the macro perspective. When dividing a country's population into groups that are based upon non-fluent identity markers, inclusive peacebuilding should be flexible. Ladner (Release), found that when integrating a broad spectrum of groups into the peace negotiations, constant shifts in influence, alliances, motivations, ideas, and interests of key players and agents must be taken into account. Since there is a lack of literature on the challenges that have to be overcome when including women as one single ‘homogeneous’ group, parallels have been searched when forming a democracy based on another identity marker, ethnicity.

2.4.2.1 Parallel with consociationalism

This division in ‘homogeneous’ groups has been tried before on an ethnic level, and the outcomes were rarely positive. Peace agreements in Lebanon, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Northern Ireland have adopted consociationalism (Lijphart, 1969), instituting a political system in deeply divided societies that ensure ‘representation for certain formerly excluded groups’ (Kennedy, Pierson, & Thomson, 2016) through power sharing between elites from the different social groups. In a consociational structure, the different groups get collective rights, proportional representation, veto rights and segmental autonomy (Lijphart, 1969) (Malloy, 2013). Since there are few articles about the divide between men and women as homogeneous groups, I searched for the challenges that have been found when this divide is made on an ethnic level. Intrastate conflict and peace has been studied through focussing on social conditions that lead to an internal conflict (Gurr, 1970). Domestic culture has been used extensively when studying the causes of conflict (among others: Gurr, 1994; Ellingsen, 2000). Since aspects of culture are addressed as the causes of conflict, one cause is largely absent in the studies, gender inequality as a driver for conflict (Caprioli, 2005). Unfortunately, articles that explain peacebuilding in the light of gender inequalities remain largely absent. Peacebuilding in the light of ethnical differences has been conducted, this approach has been called consociationalism. Therefore, in the next paragraphs, I will explain the parallels that I found and what can be learned from the critique on consociationalism when incorporating women in national peacebuilding.

A prominent critic of the consociational approach to peacebuilding is Donald Horowitz (2008; 2002). His criticism starts with the argument of Lijphart about the fact that ‘leaders are motivated by a desire to avert the danger of mutual destruction’. Horowitz (2002) asks himself why leaders of a group that holds the majority in a society, would prefer a consociational democracy to a majoritarian democracy. When in a majoritarian democracy they would always have the bigger vote. In the case of women integration in peacebuilding you could ask yourself, why would men, who clearly hold the dominant position in politics and peacebuilding integrate women, so that their voice will be augmented?

Another criticism on consociationalism which has parallels with inclusive peacebuilding and the ‘women-and-peace’ pillar is the securing of categories (Merkel & Weiffen, 2012). The inclusion of different groups has been put forward as an answer to this heterogeneity (Lijphart, 1969), however, this can lead to securing of categories. In the cases where this consociational system has been used, ethnic categories were secured. However, Merkel and Weiffen (2012) found that this could lead to the discouragement of non-ethnic politics with the risk of deadlock and stagnation as a consequence. In the case of gender, when women are set as a separate category, it could lead to overly complex legislation since everything has to be gender neutral or different for other genders. Especially since gender is no dichotomy anymore. Differences among citizens in status, culture and wealth have been difficult to cope with when forming policies. When gender will be added to this equation, it could lead to too complex policies that when translated to local realities have a hard time being implemented. As shown in the example of the challenge on inclusive peacebuilding; the Colombian peace deal and the fight over the LGBTI rights became linked and eventually the NO-vote prevailed in the referendum because of that. When policies are linked to a specific group, other groups could feel left out and oppose the policy.

Another doubt whether consociationalism could work which has parallels with the women-and-peace pillar is the fact that identity groups should be able to ‘produce’ or ‘deliver’ capable leaders to guide the process in the right direction (Clare Castillejo, 2017). When inclusive peacebuilding is defined through *horizontal inclusion*, bringing together elites of every group, this might not be a problem (ibid.). However, since there is a shift to *vertical inclusion* that indicates that the broader population will be included in peacebuilding, delivering capable individuals to the table could become a problem.

Many women rights activists, peacebuilders and WVE's are hindered to boost their participation in peace processes. There might be an inability to exercise meaningful influence because “participation only translates into influence on decision-making if accompanied by effective empowerment mechanisms” (Dudouet & Lundstrom, 2016, p. 30). Even when there are quotas in place to include women, it does not guarantee their impact. Several obstacles were found in the literature; Most political parties are male-dominated and women's political participation and equality are low on their agenda. Or women are intimidated and face threats from both male participants and insurgents (Kellow, 2010). Often gender issues get ghettoized by politicians of conflict countries. When gender issues are looked at separately, they are more often put forward as something that can be addressed later (Schrich & Sewak, 2005). The UN has created gender units within every programme, this is gender

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

mainstreaming in peacebuilding. But the same institution is heavily criticised about the lack of women mediators in their peace-making programmes (IPI, 2013). Another challenge is the fact that in conflict areas women are often pulled in many directions, they have big responsibilities in the public but also in their private sphere (Zeilzer, 2013).

2.4.2.2 Other critiques

Another critique on the ‘women-and-peace’ pillar is the fact that when women are represented at the peace table, practice has shown that it does not automatically indicate equal power or policies that are gender sensitive (Philips, 1999). The thesis is formed based on macro analysis however, when looking at the country level of for example, in Burundi there is an 30% quorum of female representation, however, these women do not have the power to for example remove patrilineal laws for inheritance (Byrne and McCulloch 2012). Another example is the one of Malaysia and Sri Lanka (Morris, 1999). Sri Lanka has a better standard of living and higher literacy levels among women, however, in Malaysia there are more women in the government (ibid.). When women are political representatives there are two risks. First, there is the question whether these women whom are participating in politics have something to say. Better said, are they appointed to talk about family issues and health issues, or can they open their mouths when security and economic issues are discussed? Secondly, are these women really interested in helping women on the local level with issues like gender based violence and land inheritance problems, or are they more focussed at their own political agendas or issues that they themselves as women with a higher education struggle with like the so called ‘glass ceiling’ and being the ‘excuustruus⁶’ in a board

The Colombian peace agreement has been put together with a great amount of women inclusion, so it would be a good case to search for the gaps which have been identified above. Can the Colombian peace agreement still be called inclusive when you look at the women who were included from a heterogeneous perspective? Does the inclusion of women in national peace processes have any effect on the position of women in the country? Does the Colombian peace agreement the building blocks that are needed to eradicate gender inequality? Only time will tell, however, gathering explorative data in Colombia could be interesting. These women speak both arena’s languages, the one of the local women and the one of the peace table and UNSC Resolutions. They might be able to give some interesting perspectives on the future. But before the results of the in-depth interviews with these women will be presented, a summary of this chapter will be given and from there the research questions will be presented.

2.5 Summary & Research Questions

Above the core concepts of this study have been portrayed and discussed and now the second part commences. Like indicated in the title of this section, first a summary of the literature review will be given. And second, the research questions will be portrayed.

2.5.1 Summary

John Paul Lederach (1997) argued that the main challenge to peacebuilding is not to get the parties together at the peace table, but to sustain this reconciliation in divided societies. This sustainment of reconciliation is called sustainable peace (ibid.). This thesis went a little further than that to state that it is not merely a sustainable peace that needs to be reached, but a sustainable positive peace (Galtung, 1969). The question arose whether a peace agreement is a suitable way to reach this sustainable positive peace, and many challenges like the implementation at the local level were portrayed. Many of the challenges that a peace agreement had to deal with when trying to reach sustainable peace could be overcome if there was a solid foundation across society for the peace agreement. But how do you reach this solid foundation? How do you draft a peace agreement in a way that every group in society feels represented? Many authors like Clare Castillejo (2017) and Thania Paffenholz (2014), stated that it would be challenging at least. The process could get too complicated because of too different interests of all groups in society (Castillejo, 2017). What identity markers would be chosen to make up the division of the peace table, and how do you make sure that these people are perceived as legitimate and representative by their constituencies (Paffenholz & Ross, 2015)? Are people as homogeneous that you can divide them by their gender, ethnicity, race, or education level? And will every ‘category’ be able to deliver equally capable representatives (Castillejo, 2016)?

Analysis of an inclusive peace agreement such as the Colombian peace agreement could really provide answers to the question whether an inclusive peace agreement could reach gender equality and through that a sustainable peace. Since this peace agreement is still at an early stage of implementation, it is not possible to answer the question whether this peace agreement leads to sustainable peace. However, when consulting the relevant literature on sustainable peace portraying the known building

⁶ An ‘excuustruus’ is a Dutch pejorative for a woman who is only tolerated in a function to avoid the shame of sexism (Translated from the Dutch Dictionary, van Dale).

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

blocks which have to be in place to reach sustainable peace, and then searching whether these building blocks are present in the Colombian peace agreement, you could say something about the prospects of this agreement. In this research, two building blocks for sustainable peace have been identified through linking the PPI, the GEI and the data of the WomenStats database.

There is a growing amount of academic evidence, on the ability of inclusive peacebuilding to increase the chance of sustainable peace, as opposed to other ways of peacebuilding (O'Reilly, 2014, 2015; Paffenholz & Ross, 2015; Hudson *et al.* 2014; Nderitu & O'Neill, 2013). This has led to an increased policy-level recognition and a shift in the practice of peacebuilding (Castillejo, 2017). Authors have particularly focused on the inclusion of women, claiming that the meaningful inclusion of women is the reason why inclusive peacebuilding works (Hudson, *et al.* 2014). In addition, research by among others Maria Caprioli (2003; 2005) and Sven Melander (2005) has shown that a state's peacefulness can be best predicted by how well women are treated, even better than a state's democracy level or GDP. This resulted in the 'women-and-peace' thesis which implied that there is a statistically significant correlation between gender equality and national peacefulness (Hudson *et al.*, 2014). The Postive peace index of the Institute of Economics and Peace, has identified eight pillars, but none of them are focussing on the gender aspect of peace. Therefore, this thesis contributes the ninth pillar, the 'women-and-peace' pillar. The 'women-and-peace' pillar consists of two building blocks, women inclusion in the peace process and its potential to increase the human security of women. Through these building blocks, gender equality can be built up from the top-down and the bottom-up.

Some nuance has been added to this approach. The above-identified building blocks, the inclusion of women and increasing human security, were identified through a macro analysis of gender and peace. When zooming in at the country level, you will not be able to see women as a homogeneous group. Since there were few articles with a critical perspective on women inclusion as a homogeneous group, parallels were searched between the divisions in homogeneous groups in racial or ethical identity markers. The division in homogeneous groups in a racial or ethnical way is done in a consociational democracy (Lijphart, 1969). This political system, ensures representation for formerly excluded groups (Kennedy *et al.*, 2016) in divided societies. In this system elites form the different social groups are sharing the power through collective rights, veto rights, proportional representation and segmental autonomy (Lijphart, 1969). The risk of this approach where you divide people into homogeneous categories is dangerous since it could lead to a stagnation (Merkel & Weiffen, 2012). Furthermore, there is the fact that women of all classes should be able to produce or deliver capable leaders to ensure this 'group of women' is able to lead the process (Castillejo, 2017). However, unfortunately, there are some women specifically from poor areas that are facing threats when trying to participate politically (Kellow, 2010). And finally, since Colombia is a conservative country, female social leaders are often pushed in two directions, first the one of their public responsibilities and the other one is a more private matter since they are often considered as the caretakers of their homes and children.

How complex this negotiation process might be, the Colombian government and the FARC-EP think to have found a solution to this complicated process. The Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting peace has been signed on the 24th of November 2016. And like you can read in the title, it states that its goal is to build a stable and lasting peace. So how did the Colombian government and the FARC-EP think this can be reached? By stating that 'the process required the participation of all, without distinction' (Crisis Group Latin America, 2012). The Colombian peace agreement has been called the most inclusive peace agreement to date. Through a three month period of fieldwork in Cartagena, Colombia, the building blocks of the 'women-and-peace' pillar have been put next to the peace agreement through in-depth interviews with women who work in the field of women empowerment. Since they had a thorough knowledge of both building blocks, they were able to give some interesting perspectives on the future.

2.5.2 Research questions

This research will contribute to a new perspective on the Colombian peace agreement, the perspective of women who work in the field of women empowerment. These women helped to obtain valuable insights into the inclusivity of the Colombian peace agreement. In addition, these WWE's will contribute to the knowledge on whether this peace agreement has the building blocks for sustainable peace; gender equality, operationalized as women inclusion in the peace process and the increasing of human security of local women. Since there is limited knowledge concerning this relationship, this research will add knowledge to fill this knowledge gap. By questioning whether the engagement of women in the peace process (inclusive peacebuilding) will have a direct effect on the women that are in need, will, therefore, contribute to the knowledge on how to build a sustainable peace.

2.5.2.1 Main research question

When the Colombian peace agreement is indeed, inclusive, and would contribute to the human security of Colombian women and thereby increasing gender equality, Colombia would be a step further in building a sustainable positive peace. Since this

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

study is based on the knowledge of WWE's that work in women movements which are located in Cartagena and surroundings, the main research question is as follows:

How inclusive is the Colombian peace agreement according to Colombian women who work in the field of women empowerment and what could be learned from the Colombian case about the impact of inclusive peacebuilding on gender equality?

2.5.2.2 Sub-questions

The following part of this chapter will entail the sub-questions that will contribute to the final answer to the main research question. The main goal of this master's thesis was to study the concept inclusive peacebuilding in the way it contributes to sustainable peace. In the literature review, several pillars have been identified which need to be in place for sustainable peace. This thesis focusses on the 'women-and-peace' pillar, which states that gender equality is an important, if not crucial, precondition of sustainable peace. This is in line with the concept inclusive peacebuilding, and therefore a good pillar to study. Before anything could be said about the relation between an inclusive peace agreement and elements that could contribute to sustainable outcomes, it was first of all necessary to obtain clarity regarding the level of inclusiveness of the case study of this research, the Colombian peace agreement. This has been done in two ways. First, a picture has been sketched of the women inclusion of the Colombian peace agreement. Here the numbers and ways of women inclusion will be portrayed. This led to the first sub-question of this master's thesis: *To what extent can the Colombian peace agreement be seen as inclusive according to the representation in the negotiation process?*

The second sub-question and one of the main contributions of this research is that women who work in the field of women empowerment shine their light on the inclusivity of this often praised peace agreement. One of the building blocks of the 'women-and-peace' pillar was women inclusion in the peace process. And therefore it was important to ask women who wanted to be included in the process to what extent they actually felt included and to what extent this peace agreement can be called inclusive according to them. This led to the first sub-question: *To what extent is the national peace agreement of Colombia inclusive according to Colombian women who work in the field of women empowerment in Cartagena?*

After a thorough literature review concerning inclusive peacebuilding and sustainable peace, gender equality came out as one of the pillars to reach sustainable peace. The 'Gender Equality' Index of the Social Studies Institute and the WomenStats database which provided the base for the 'women-and-peace' pillar, and show clearly that gender equality is linked to a higher national security level. This 'women-and-peace' pillar has been divided between two building blocks: women inclusion in the peace process and the other building block for sustainable peace was the human security of women. When empowering women in the field of education, health and justice gender inequalities which are present in Colombian society will be able to decrease. This can be summarized as increasing the human security of women. Again, the answer to the question whether the human security of local women will increase after and/or during the implementation of this peace agreement is a matter of time. However, when searching for elements of human security that need lifting according to local women themselves, in comparison to the points made in the agreement, insights could be provided in the capabilities of this agreement. Thanks to the empirical research I did to the views of WWE's at the rural level, an inventory could be made of the needs and challenges of local women. This will answer the second sub-question which is related to the second building block of the 'women-and-peace' pillar: *To what extent are the human security needs and challenges of rural women around Cartagena incorporated in the Colombian peace agreement?*

Fourth, after a clear picture has been sketched of the inclusion of women in the peace process and the amount of incorporation of the human security needs and challenges of women in the peace agreement, this research goes a little further. The WWE's shared, what according to them, was the expected effect of the inclusion of women and the incorporation of the human security needs and challenges, on the ability to increase gender equality in Colombia of the peace agreement. Therefore, the women who work in the field of women empowerment have shared their prognosis of the successes or challenges of this peace agreement and its implementation. This led to the following question: *What is its expected effect of the peace agreement's women inclusion and the incorporation of human security needs and challenges of rural women on the ability to increase gender equality?*

Finally, to obtain a clear view of the thresholds and bottlenecks for this peace agreement to lead to sustainable peace I wanted to explore what kind of challenges can be identified when implementing an inclusive peace agreement. This was important since the literature was clear on the fact that reaching these local women does not come without its struggles. This led to the following sub-question: *What challenges are to be overcome for an inclusive peace agreement to lead to an increased gender equality?*

Before the results of the empirical research are discussed, the third chapter of this master thesis will consist of the explanation and justification of the methodology used to answer this main research question. Also arguments for the selection of the

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

Colombian peace agreement as the case study for this research will be given. And in addition, the methods used to answer each of the sub-questions are elaborated. Finally, the approach to how the transcripts of the in-depth interviews are analysed is portrayed.

Chapter 3: Research methodology

As indicated in the title, this chapter will give an overview of the methods used in this research. This chapter will portray the methods which have been chosen to reach the goal of this research, which is to develop new and deeper insights into the concept of inclusive peacebuilding and its relation to sustainable peace. The following paragraphs will give, subsequently, an explanation and justification of the use of a qualitative ethnographic case study approach; a discussion of the data collection process; and finally an overview of the analytical methods that have been applied.

3.1 Explanation and justification methodology

To gain more understanding about the relation between the inclusiveness of a peace agreement and the effect on local women, a qualitative ethnographic case study has been conducted. In this following section, an explanation of the concepts qualitative research, ethnographic research, and case study research will be given. In addition, the reasons behind the use of these concepts will be portrayed.

3.1.1 Why qualitative

In this section, the definition, advantages, and limitations of qualitative research will be portrayed. In addition, the choice for a qualitative research design to answer my main research question will be elaborated.

There are two main designs for research, quantitative and qualitative research. When conducting quantitative research, the researcher tries to measure concepts through the collection of usually a quite large number of cases. Its goal is to generalize the results from the sample to e.g. an entire population. Qualitative research is more descriptive of nature and focuses on interpretations, experiences, and significance. Usually, qualitative research is interpretive. The goal is not so much to test theories, but rather to gain insight into the different interpretations and beliefs that people have and the meaning they attribute to certain events or phenomena. The results of qualitative data are, unlike the tables and graphs in quantitative research, displayed by means of verbatim descriptions. Through this kind of research, the researcher tries to seek for the understanding of how things work or how people feel and why they behave in the exact way they do. Therefore contributions can be made to the development of concepts.

For this research, I have chosen a qualitative research design. The benefit of a qualitative approach is that I was able to have an open-ended view that could be changed and/or adapted when conducting my fieldwork. Since the research design was flexible, the WWE's were able to add information in the case they thought I was missing information or did not ask the right question. Before going to Colombia I had some knowledge about the field, however, these women were experts and were able to sketch a more concrete picture of the situation. This would enhance the depth and richness of the insights which I would encounter during my time in Cartagena. When conducting quantitative research, the researcher is less flexible since they work with strict interview guides with little room for deviation. Since they display their findings through statistical analysis and correlations there is almost no room for deep background stories. If you are a woman you are more than often put in the data like the number 2, your education level is reduced to a number on a scale and how you feel about your education level as well. When asking open-end questions, like 'what challenges do you expect when implementing the Colombian peace agreement?', reducing the answers to numbers will reduce the information which has been provided. Flexibility in the way you can display information when asking these questions is therefore important.

Finally, the according to me biggest advantage of qualitative research is the fact that it is possible to portray a complete description of the subject, without limiting your interviewees responses (Collis & Hussey, 2003) Through talking to the WWE's and observing their practices underlying opinions, motivations and perspectives could be understood and documented. Like mentioned before, I thought this was important because I wanted the results to flow out of the minds of the women movement workers instead of my mind when drafting the interview guide. The women themselves were free to add questions and really express their views. Because of the setup of my research design, the WWE's were not limited to express their views and feelings. The aim was to get inside their practices and study the way they see the relation between the inclusivity of the peace agreement and the needs and challenges of local women.

3.1.2 Why ethnographic?

Within qualitative research, there are many methods that can be chosen. For this research, ethnography deemed to be the most appropriate. In this section, I will first explain the concept of ethnography. Second, I will elaborate on why this approach was the best to answer my main research question.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

Ethnography is an approach that can be used to study social life (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). Ethnographers gather their observations through direct engagement with the people they study (Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008). The ethnographer does this through living and/or working with the people she or he is trying to understand. Data is gathered through ethnographic fieldwork. This fieldwork means that you collect data in the place where the research subject is located. This ethnographic fieldwork can be described as an important feature of ethnography and is the way to collect ethnographic data. More often than not the researcher starts conducting her or his fieldwork without clear hypotheses or even without a clear research question. This was the case in this research as well. When preparing for my field research before going to Colombia, I had a different set of questions and assumptions than when I got back from my fieldwork. During my fieldwork, a whole new set of ideas was generated through the conversations with the WWE's, and since this was my own project, I was free to change the course of my research. Since I learned more with every interview, every next interview was even more valuable than the last one. Before going to Colombia I knew that ethnographic fieldwork can be seen as a cyclical process or a recursive analysis (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). This means that I formulated questions and drafted theoretical models based on these questions before my fieldwork period. During the data gathering period, I constantly thought about what this data meant and whether it matched the initial questions and theory. Since my knowledge grew with every interview, I felt that looking back at the questions and adapting them to the knowledge I retrieved was important. Through this, the data became more thorough, and the theory behind the questions and more fitting. Because of this flexibility, the depth of the data which is captured could be increased. Why? Well, when conducting research in - for the researcher - unknown territory, the most insightful questions come when in conversation with the people your study is about. There are two different perspectives within ethnography: the etic and emic perspective (Kottak, 2006). When researching from an etic perspective, the ethnographer her or himself argues what she or he thinks is important (ibid.). When researching from the emic perspective, you investigate how local people think (ibid.). This thesis attempts to have an emic perspective since I really want the views and perspectives of the WWE's.

This section explains why the ethnographic approach is the right way to study the relation between inclusive peacebuilding and the possible positive effects on local women. Rather than setting out several hypotheses, I tried to keep an open mind and explore the possible effects of the Colombian peace agreement on gender relations in Colombia at first hand (Hammersley, 2005; Reeves et al., 2008). The ethnographic approach, was according to me, the best method to answer my research question. There are many ways of doing research, however, I felt that going to the source to get the information on which I will base my findings were important. There is a lot of knowledge on the way gender equality relates to peacebuilding and about peace agreement processes. However, in this case, the newly signed peace agreement of Colombia, there was little. Therefore it was not possible to base my research on secondary data since there was none. The armchair approach would not provide the insights that are needed to answer my research question. From the start of the process, I felt that it was not possible to write about the effects on women without talking to them.

One of the main critiques on ethnography as a way to collect scientific data, is the question related to external validity. When trying to search for answers to the question whether an inclusive peace agreement has the building blocks to increase gender equality, it is important to study a case where the peace agreement was in fact inclusive. Colombia is the first and widely praised inclusive peace agreement to date. Whether the women who work in the field of women empowerment feel so too, is another question -which will be answered in this thesis-, but the number and ways women have been included in the peace agreement is unprecedented. Therefore, this case has a strong internal validity. The research methods and the case I have picked to answer the main research question will enable me to answer the main research question. The internal validity of this case will be further elaborated in the next paragraphs of this chapter.

However, Colombia remains Colombia and the results will not be translatable to other contexts without any questions or changes. Therefore the external validity is limited. This does not say that this research is not able to contribute to general theory on inclusive peacebuilding and gender equality in relation to peacebuilding. On the contrary, Colombia will be the case where this relationship can be studied. Throughout this research, I will never state that the outcomes for this case can explain the general relation between inclusive peacebuilding and increased gender equality. However, the challenges that have been faced during the process when including women; the perceived inclusivity through the eyes of WWE's; and, the challenges that they think which will pop up during the implementation are valuable lessons for future peace negotiations.

3.1.3 Why a case study

A qualitative ethnographic case study is used to answer the research question that leads this study. In this part of the chapter, I will discuss the concept case study. In this section, the definition, advantages, and limitations of a case study will be portrayed. First, I will argue why I saw the value of a case study as a research strategy to answer my main research question: How inclusive is the Colombian peace agreement in the eyes of Colombian WWE's and what could be learned from the Colombian case about the impact of inclusive peacebuilding on the human security of local women? And second, the main limitation of my research will be portrayed, namely that there has been only one single case study.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

There are several well-known researchers that studied the concept 'case study'. The most prominent among them Robert K. Yin (2009) defined a case study as follows: "A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." (Yin, 2009: p. 18). Through this, the researcher will be able to look at this phenomenon in its own context and through this, particular insights can be gathered into contemporary phenomena (ibid.). The strength of the use of a case study is the fact that it is suitable for answering 'how', 'who' and 'why' questions. In addition, Meredith (1998) has described another strength of a case study research design namely, that relevant theory can be generated from the insights which are gained through studying actual practices. Common methods of research are in-depth interviews, focus groups and participant observation. Now, why did I choose this particular method for my research? The main research question starts with 'how' and this falls into the category of questions for which a case study is suitable. In addition, the signing of the Colombian peace agreement and it being inclusive makes it possible to study it through a case study since it is a contemporary phenomenon. Furthermore, I think it is important to study the relations like one of this thesis from the perspective of people who live in that reality. Only they can explain how these relations affects their lives.

Unfortunately, I was only able to conduct one single case study for my master thesis research. The main limitation of being able to do a single case study is the lack of external and internal validity. First the one of external validity; Are the results which I obtained from this specific sample, able to make predictions about the relation of including women in a peace agreement and the work of women peace-builders in other areas? The external validity of this research is limited because I could only address one case, however, it is the first step towards further research. At the end of this master thesis, I will, therefore, give several recommendations for further research. And from an internal validity perspective, it would perhaps be preferable to do a comparative case study, where I would study one specific example without women inclusion and one with women inclusion. Unfortunately, I did not have the time and financial resources to do so. Below I will discuss the selection process of my case and will argue and reflect on how this single case study was the best one concerning the above-mentioned limitations.

3.2 Case study selection process

The case study selection process went as follows. In order to study the relationship between inclusive peacebuilding and the effect on the human security of local women, a comparative case study approach would be preferable. This would mean conducting research on both an agreement where there was no women inclusion and one with a fair amount of women inclusion, unfortunately, due to restrictions both timewise and financially this was not possible. However, there are also arguments that a single case study is considered the way to understand the relationship between inclusive peacebuilding and gender equality. Since this research searches for the relation between this two concepts through the eyes of one group of people, Yin (2003), argues that a single case study the best choice. Since inclusive peacebuilding is relatively new and the Colombian case is the peace agreement that can be called the most inclusive peace agreement to date, it can be seen as a new phenomenon. Diving in this new case could generate new insights that can be tested in other cases after this one. Harry Eckstein (1975) has developed the idea of a crucial case. A crucial case is a case that "that must closely fit a theory if one is to have confidence in the theory's validity, or, conversely, must not fit equally well any rule contrary to that proposed" (p. 118). Since the Colombian peace agreement is the most inclusive peace agreement to date and aims to build a stable and durable peace in Colombia with an unprecedented women inclusion, it can be seen as the crucial case for this relationship that will be studied. In addition, because of the fact that I used my time and resources to study one single case study, I was able to search for deeper connections and different perspectives of this case. If I conducted a comparative case study research, I had to focus on two cases at the same time and had to take into account difference in context.

Therefore, for this research, Colombia deemed the best fit. Colombia has a signed peace agreement with a fair amount of women inclusion. Therefore it is a perfect case to provide answers to the question what it means for the human security of local women when a peace agreement is inclusive. Fortunately and unfortunately, this was an easier process than anticipated, since there are limited peace agreements with a fair amount of women inclusion. Coincidentally, when searching for a case, newspapers reported a historical moment in which a 52-year-old conflict would possibly come to an end through the signing of a peace agreement, namely between the Colombian government and the FARC-EP. Fortuitously, I spoke the language and there were sufficient places with limited security issues where research could be conducted.

The Colombian peace process and agreement can be seen as a good fit for two reasons: it has been called an example of women inclusion and women were the majority of the victims. First, a discussion will be given as why it was a good example of women inclusion and after that, I will explain in what way women were victimized in the Colombian conflict. After many demonstrations of 500 influential Colombian women, not in only one, not in two but in three ways it was made sure that women got a say in drafting the peace agreement. First, by placing female government officials at the peace table. Second, through sessions with female victims; and third, through the setting up of a gender-subcommittee which looked at the peace agreement while raising a hand for gender-specific issues. Through these three ways, women were integrated into the drafting of the

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

Colombian peace agreement. This makes it a suitable case for this research, and the possible consequences for local women's human security. The other reason why the Colombian case is a good fit is because the majority of victims were women, and therefore the human security of women decreased in the Colombian conflict. The Colombian war is known for sexual violence and using the female body as its battlefield, and has left a lot of women as the head of a household (Schouten, 2010). Therefore it is a good example to search for the answer to the question whether the inclusivity of the peace process shines through all the way down the social ladder. Questions like: 'are the needs and challenges of local women incorporated sufficiently in the peace agreement?' and 'Do the local peace builders think that the implementation will be successful and that all Colombian women will benefit from this agreement?' will be answered in this research.

3.2.1 Living in Cartagena

In order to answer my research question, I travelled to Cartagena, Colombia for a three month period from January 2017. During these months I had eleven in-depth interviews with women working on peace, helped where I could in a local women organisation and attended weekly *Circulo de Mujeres* (women circles) where many women came together to talk about social issues and their own struggles and challenges of everyday life. The choice to spend three months in Cartagena instead of traveling around Colombia was made for three reasons. First, the university only approved conducting research in areas with little or no security issues. When looking at the map of Colombia of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands there are four colors, green, yellow, orange, and red. These colors stand for their travel advice which are:

Green	No special safety risks
Yellow	Travel with caution since there are safety risks
Orange	Only necessary travel since there are serious safety risks
Red	Do not travel

Table 2. Travel advice colours Dutch ministry of foreign affairs

In Colombia, many parts are addressed as red and orange (Annex III). Cartagena, however, was green at the time of arrival and yellow at the time of departure. Thus, doing my research in this area had limited security issues. Second, due to the fact that Cartagena has been relatively peaceful during the 52 years of conflict and the fact that there is relative acceptance of women's rights organizations, many WWE's from all over Colombia settled down in this city.

Cartagena was my home for a three month period. During this time I have helped some organisations with some administration or ICT issues. Because of that, I was able to build relations with women who worked at these organisations and was invited to dinner and birthday parties at their houses. Through this special way of meeting these women, I was able to get a close picture of their lives and this helped me to be more sensitive in the interviews and to add some questions for next interviews since some of these women really spoke their mind at the dinner table but not so much in the interviews themselves. Even after adding the last question which was: Do you have anything else to add to this interview? Most of the time these women told me that this was not the case. However, after a drink or two, some more interesting and/or sad stories popped up. Like the threats, these women have experienced in past time. One of the women who I talked to had to flee the country once with her entire family because of limited safety. Another story was about a friend of an interviewee who was a social leader in her community. Her son and nephew were assassinated after she did not give in to the blackmail. In addition, these women travel a lot through other parts of Colombia for their work and told stories about threats against their lives and even their families when traveling to the more dangerous areas. Because of this interviewing them will give a broader picture than only the situation in Cartagena. Because of the fact that there were many WWE's living in Cartagena, there was a roundtable where they discussed the shortcomings of their agendas and even came up with a mutual agenda. I got to speak with all these women and attend a meeting.

As mentioned before, in ethnographic research it is important to live amongst the people you study. I wanted to get to know Colombian society from a women's perspective. I wanted to know their struggles, what they loved and how they lived. Because of the fact that I lived in Cartagena, I was able to grasp a little bit of their lives. This contributed to my research in a way that was priceless. Living and working amongst these women contributed to a broader and deeper understanding of the lives of women in Cartagena and surroundings. Since I thought this was important I chose to live with a family instead of renting a room where I would live alone. Next, to doing my research I have attended *Circulos de Mujeres* where women from all classes came together to talk, discuss, followed workshops and at the end we always meditated together. These women talked among other things, about the importance of economic independence from men, exploring their femininity and spirituality. Meeting with these women thought me a lot about what it means to be a woman in Colombia, foremost about living in such a male-dominated society. Furthermore, I was invited to join a meeting of the women peacebuilders and WWE's roundtable and was able to ask these women whether they wanted to help me with my investigation by talking to me individually. Five women agreed to it and belong to the 11 women where I had in-depth interviews with. Two of these women invited me into their homes to have dinner with their families. Finally, I attended a demonstration of pregnant women rights. One of my interviewees

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

organised a demonstration. Pregnant women and women with their children came together and literally screamed for their rights.

Because of the fact that I lived with Colombians and attended *Circuitos de Mujeres* and that demonstration I could place some things in perspective. Next, to learning a lot about women in Colombian society, my Spanish got better and I learned that Colombian women are somewhat different than Dutch women when communicating. For one I learned how to approach the Colombian women and that waiting for three hours for an appointment is not an exception. Colombian women rather say yes and then never reply again than to say no to your face. During my time in Cartagena, I had 25 appointments for interviews, and finally, I conducted only 12. The limited amount of interviews is one of the main limitations of my research, however, I feel safe to say that these 11 interviews and the surprise group interview gave an extensive amount of information, and I believe they are sufficient to answer the research questions.

Because of all these reasons, Through studying this case study this research tries to verify whether women inclusion in the peacebuilding processes has a positive effect on the human security of local women who are affected by conflict, through the eyes of the women who devoted their lives to women empowerment and inclusion, WWE's. The reason why I chose this specific group to answer my questions will be further elaborated later in this chapter.

3.3 Security protocol

Since I was doing my field research in a post-conflict country, where violent armed groups still cause a great amount of violence and criminality, Radboud University urged me to fill in a security protocol. So before traveling to Colombia, I critically studied the security situation of doing research in Colombia and traveling alone as a woman⁷. The Dutch Ministry of Foreign affairs listed Colombia as a country with security risks and so I felt that this preparation was necessary. Before arrival in Colombia I notified the Colombian embassy that I was going to conduct research to women inclusion in the peace process. They told me it was good that I notified them and they wanted to keep informed as I was making progress in my research. Another aspect of preparing for my field research I talked to two scholars who have done extensive field work in Colombia; Donny Meertens⁸, based in Bogota and Mijke de Waardt⁹, based in Amsterdam. They told me about the security issues for women in Colombia doing their work and security issues for myself. Another issue which they told me about is not to talk to anybody on the streets about my research. The newspapers were full of death threats and or murders committed against women working on women's rights and social leaders who strived for human rights. This led to being very careful in the first few weeks and being very scared once. In Cartagena, I decided that I wanted to live with a Colombian family and therefore went looking for a place to rent. Finally I lived with an adorable family who rented 3 rooms in their house to Spanish speaking people since they only spoke Spanish. This led to very interesting conversations with many Colombians who were traveling to Cartagena. During my first week, one of the rooms was rented to a government official with his family. Because of stories of my former thesis supervisor during her time in Rwanda, I got scared and thought they were there to control me. This turned out to be a little paranoid. When talking to the women in Cartagena, they reassured me that in Cartagena there were no security risks for me, and after that, I felt more comfortable.

During my stay in Cartagena, Colombia I was able to freely walk the streets alone during the day and even though at night it became a little more risky, when staying close to other people it was ok. That is to say, when avoiding several neighbourhoods. I was ready to go home and tell all my friends and family about the perfectly safe vacation destination when on my last day in Bogotá, around 4 o'clock on a Sunday, two men approached me with a knife. Just finished buying all my souvenirs for friends and family I was not really eager to give away my bag. And since I had to fly the next day, a cell phone was not a unnecessary attribute either. Little did I know how calm I was able to remain during the negotiations of what these guys were going to take from me. Finally I got them to be pleased with the money in my little bag. Three months talking about peace negotiations in Spanish paid off.

3.4 Data Collection

After fieldwork preparation in the Netherlands, the fieldwork period took place in Cartagena and surrounding areas during a three month period starting on the 5th of January 2017. During this period, as mentioned, eleven in-depth interviews with

⁸ Donny Meertens, did her PhD in Social Science in Nijmegen and has a long history in Colombia. Currently she is a Political Science and International Relations professor in Bogota and she has been a co-founder of their school for gender studies. She was able to give me many insights on gender inequality in Colombia and furthermore gave me some contacts who could help me in Cartagena.

⁹ Mijke de Waardt, is a researcher/teacher of the Faculty of social sciences at the Free University in Amsterdam. She has conducted extensive field research in Latin American countries like Peru and Colombia. When talking to her she had just returned from field research in Colombia and therefore she could give me some advice on how to approach women in Colombia.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

women peace builders were conducted. The WWE's work in diverse fields of women empowerment such as; women rights, healing female victims, political participation and representation and economic independence. When describing the relation between an inclusive peace agreement and possible benefits for local women's human security, it is essential to take the insights of the local women into account. At first I thought this was not possible due to two reasons; First, because of the fact that I deemed it as unnecessary for these women to relive their horrible stories for the sole purpose to write a master thesis and second, the security situation in the areas where most women victims lived in Cartagena and surroundings, restricted me to travel these places. Also, because of the fact that I wanted to talk about both the human security situation of local women and the possible effects of the peace agreement, knowledge of both fields would be preferable. Unfortunately, the local women victims themselves often have little knowledge about the national processes. Therefore, I chose to talk to the best option to get a hold of knowledge about this situation, women who work with or for local women victims. They themselves were local women too, and many times the reason why they came to work in this field was the fact that the Colombian conflict victimized them or their surroundings. However, there was a fortunate possibility to talk to local women by accident, when visiting a project for displaced women. Later on in the 'selection of interviewees' section of this data collection part, I will elaborate on this 'surprise' group interview and on the choice for WWE's. But first I will discuss the key data source for this research, in-depth interviews.

3.4.1 In-depth interviews

As described above, the key data source of this research are the qualitative in-depth conversations with women who work in the field of women empowerment in Cartagena. In order to be prepared for the interviews, I have chosen to talk to these women through semi-structured interviews. An interview guide has been constructed which has been adapted for every individual situation (Annex IV). In addition, space was left for the interviewee to influence the course of the interview. This often resulted in interesting additional information and different insights, which I would not have retrieved when choosing a fully structured interview guide with no room for deviation. The main reason for the choice for this method was the fact that in order to dig deep in the relation between women inclusion in a peace agreement and its effects, I thought that they themselves could better lead me through the interview by their answers, than preparing a list of questions and not provide them the space to add extra information. Therefore, they were given the space to speak freely and add possible interesting questions.

Another reason for the choice for in-depth interviews over group interviews or focus groups where you interview several women at the same time, was the issue of privacy. When living in an environment with security issues and women rights being slight taboo, I quickly noticed that anonymity is preferred. Because of that, I had to be flexible and meet them in their houses or offices for interviews, some even proposed us to meet in a bar so it would not be known by their work or families that they were giving away information on their work and personal life. This is one of the reasons I have chosen for in-depth interviews over other methods of data collection and to make sure potential security concerns were limited. Moreover, unfortunately, all of the women I interviewed still experience some or many threats and therefore I guaranteed their anonymity. Thus, cannot provide the reader with an exact list of the names and organisations. Therefore, on the next page, I will give an overview of the kind of organisations they worked at and the functions which they had within this organisation.

#	Kind of organisation	Function
1	Pacifist organisation	Director
2	Women empowerment projects in the business sector	Director of Female Colombian Coffee Organisation
3	Women empowerment projects in the public sector	Women prison reintegration officer
4		FARC-EP women reintegration government official
5	Victim help organisation	Social worker
6		Social worker
7	Mental health of female victims	Psychologist
8		Yoga and spiritual teacher for gender-based violence victims
9	Displaced women organisation	Social worker
10	Women roundtable	Secretary/professor at university
11	International Women NGO	Social Worker
12	Local women who lived at <i>Ciudad de Mujeres</i>	Group interview with 5 displaced women

Table 2. Overview of interviewees

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

3.4.2 Selection of interviewees

In this section, the selection process of interviewees will be further elaborated. All interviewees mentioned in the table above are women that work in the field of women empowerment. All of these women contribute in one way or the other, to an improvement of the lives of women who have been affected by the conflict in various ways. There are two clear reasons behind the choice to interview these women. Firstly, these women are able to go to places where I would never be able to go, they speak to women far in the territories around Cartagena where paramilitaries and guerrillas are still present. They know the needs of these women, the demands of these women and the challenges which these women face. Security issues aside, if I would have interviewed the women in the territories, talking about the implementation of the UNSCR 1325, about the processes of the peace agreement and the amount of women inclusion I would get a lot of questioning faces. Unfortunately, this is the case, since most of the local women are not aware of what is being done for them.

Since I try to portray the relationship between the processes which have taken place at the national and international level and the needs and challenges of local women it is important to talk to people who know both sides. Of course, it would have been a complete story if I had the views of these local women too, however, some of the women who I have interviewed could speak from two viewpoints since they themselves were affected by the conflict in various ways as well. Unfortunately, this is also a consequence of the fact that I had limited time because when I would have had some months more in Colombia, the possibility of visiting more local women could have risen. For one because I would have had the opportunity to build up more contacts, I could have travelled to other areas or cities where the access was easier but foremost, because of the fact that I would have been more experienced. When talking to the WWE's who were victims of the conflict, like Maria from El Salado, I felt so uncomfortable. For one I felt that it was unnecessary for her to repeat her story for me, so I could be able to finish my master's thesis and second, I felt like I did not have the capability to hear her story. Too little experience and influence to do something for her.

The only local women who were solely victim and did not work in this field, that I have spoken to was, in fact, a coincidence since I travelled to Ciudad de Mujeres (city of women) since this was a project of one of the NGO's I conducted an interview with. After a 3-hour bus ride with my assistant, we arrived at the village, specially built for displaced women. Through another contact, I was able to make an appointment with the spokeswoman of the village. However, she forgot the appointment and let me wait for one and a half hour in the playground for the children. There were many women there with their children and asked me what I did in their village. When I gave the response they all started talking about their lives to me and said that they wanted to join the interview. Since what they all said was very interesting I made a quick decision and asked the spokesperson whether some of them could join. Finally, the spokesperson told everyone that 4 women who did a course on UNSCR 1325 could join the interview. So, the interview with the spokesperson of the Ciudad de Mujeres turned into an interview with 5 local women. Although it was not planned, it was very interesting. Since Ciudad de Mujeres is a project of an NGO based in Cartagena, these women were trained extensively about their rights, UNSCR 1325 and the national peace process. Because of the fact that they had knowledge of these things they had interesting insights. Moreover, it gave me the opportunity to talk to the female victims where WWE's did their work for. I have been invited to their houses, for dinner, a cold ice tea or just to show how proud they were of having a home in their own village. These displaced women shared with me their life stories and the horrible things they went through before coming to Cartagena. Actually, these women were an even better fit for my research than the WWE's, but as mentioned before, because of security issues there was no other option for me then to choose the second best option, women who work in the field of women empowerments.

Back in the Colombian city, Cartagena, there was a big pool of WWE's to fish from since there are many women working on women empowerment in this region. As mentioned before it was important to talk to women who are close to the relation between the 'local' women, but also had knowledge of the national peace-making language, so to say the bridge between the two. Another selection criteria was that they represented different NGO's, and were not all international or only local NGO's. When saying something about WWE's in general, it helps if your interviewees range from a woman who runs an NGO which consists of 4 people to one who works in a field office of one of the biggest women issues related NGO of the world. This is important because since WWE's aren't a homogeneous group either, they come from different backgrounds and may have different opinions on the subject. To get a better picture of the possible relation, all groups should be taken in to account.

As mentioned before, I had email contact with several NGO directors who were living in Cartagena. From previous conversations with women who did research in Colombia, I knew that it was not possible to make appointments for a month away. The Carthaginian women work with a schedule as far as one week maximum (for appointments like this anyway). So when I arrived in Colombia, I bought a local sim card, collected their numbers from emails and started calling them. Since it was the beginning of January (Colombians tend to have Christmas vacation until last week of January) it was very hard to get a hold of them. But after two weeks I arrived in Cartagena and spoke to all of them in a week through the phone. They agreed to help me with my investigation and were very interested. However, these women did not have the time or were not that

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

interested to talk to me themselves. They explained it by stating that they have given so many interviews and felt that it was enough. However, they did give me contacts of other people. So there I was, again, with several telephone numbers.

When finally talking to some women, I took the snowball sampling approach and asked whether they knew more women working on peace in their community. Because of this approach, I did not get to talk solely to women who have a website and contact with these five big organisations, but also with the women from small initiatives who work in the territories around Cartagena. The characteristics that mattered for the selection of interviewees is that they work on peace for Colombian women, either in a direct way with a peacebuilding organisation or in an indirect way through economic, social and/or mental empowerment of women who were affected by conflict. As mentioned before the women which I interviewed were all representatives of different organisations working on women's participation in peace and with women who have been affected by conflict. The interviews have been conducted in their own language in order to limit language barriers. There have been 11 individual in-depth interviews and one 'surprise' interview with five local/displaced women. As mentioned before, I had 25 appointments in total for in-depth interviews, but many women said yes and did not come to the appointments or cancelled last minute (I was already prepared for this through the conversations with experienced scholars). However, I think that these 11 women were also able to give a good picture of the situation.

3.4.3 Detailed overview sub-questions

In this section, a more detailed overview of the used methods to gather information for each of the sub-questions will be given. First I will present the sub-question which has been formulated in the theoretical framework, then I will state how I answered them in the results and analysis chapter.

1. *To what extent can the Colombian peace agreement be seen as inclusive according to the peace table?*

The Colombian peace agreement has been called inclusive by the peace table itself, by experts and by international organisations like the UN. Before going into the perspectives of women who work in the field of women empowerment, an overview will be given of the ways that women were included in the peace agreement. To reach this goal, I followed the peace agreement process closely prior to doing fieldwork. This has been done through reading Colombian journals regarding the issue, following the process, reading the peace agreement, reading the reports of the gender-subcommittee and when in Bogotá I talked with two influential women who were closely involved in the process (Donny Meertens and an NGO employer who wished to remain anonymous).

2. *To what extent can the Colombian peace agreement be seen as inclusive according to women who work in the field of women empowerment in Cartagena?*

One of the main contributions of this master thesis is the fact that the Colombian peace agreement has been looked at from the perspective of women who work in the field of women empowerment (WWE's). These WWE's were asked how they see the inclusivity of the peace agreement. To answer this sub-question, the answers of the in-depth interviews will be outlined and discussed. Before asking the women to what extent they perceived the Colombian peace agreement to be inclusive, the WWE's were asked whether they knew the concept *inclusive peacebuilding* and if not, they would get an explanation.

3. *To what extent are the human security needs and challenges of rural women around Cartagena, incorporated in the Colombian peace agreement?*

The indicator used to measure the possibility that this peace agreement's implementation will lead to sustainable peace was the 'women-and-peace' pillar (Hudson, et al., 2014). This thesis consists of two pillars; inclusion of women in peace processes and increased gender equity. The first pillar, the inclusion of women in peace processes, has been answered by the first sub-question. The increased gender equity will be answered with the second and the third sub-question.

In the Colombian war, women have been the majority of the civilian victims (Restrepo, 2016; RUV, 2017). They were among other things forcibly displaced, raped and as you have read in the El Salado testimony, had to watch their husbands and sons get killed. Many Colombian women went from taking care of the kids and cleaning the house to the head of household and cost winner. The indicator used in this thesis, state's stability requires a small gender gap. This smaller gender gap can be reached through uplifting the human security of female victims. When the needs and challenges of these women are integrated into the peace agreement, their human security is more likely to increase. Therefore to answer this question, the peace agreement and its process have been studied for the incorporation of the needs and challenges of rural women's human security.

During the in-depth interviews with the WWE's and with the five women who lived in *ciudad de mujeres*, I was able to ask the question whether they experience the needs and challenges which I have found in the literature. In addition, I have asked them whether other challenges play a role in their lives.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

4. *What is its expected effect of the peace agreement's women inclusion and the incorporation of human security needs of rural women on the ability to increase gender equality?*

This sub-question has been answered through the in-depth interviews with the WWE's. When reading about the peace agreement, and its women inclusion, you could expect that a lot of the needs and challenges for increasing human security of rural women are incorporated. However, whether it would be enough to really increase the human security and that gender equality would be increased remains questionable. Therefore I asked this question to the women peace builders since they had a clear picture of the needs and challenges, past implementations of the Colombian government related this topic and they had knowledge of the peace agreement. Secondly, I have checked their answers through the interview with the five local women who lived in Ciudad de Mujeres. Through this interview, I was able to ask their opinion on whether their needs and challenges are incorporated into the agreement enough. And what measures should be taken for their needs and challenges?

5. *What challenges are to be overcome for an inclusive peace agreement to lead to increased gender equality?*

This exact question has been asked to the eleven women of the in-depth interviews and to the five women of the group interview. Because of this, I could see whether the WWE's and the local women from the surprise group interview gave the same answers. A side note is important, when using Galtung's definitions of violence, all women have experienced one or more kinds of violence. Half of the respondents have shared stories of direct violence like sexual abuse, death threats or forced displacement. And others have shared being discriminated or that they felt unsafe in some periods. In conclusion, you could state that all of them are also victims of the conflict, in a direct, structural and/or cultural way. Therefore, I added their own challenges as well. These challenges were then linked to the challenges which I found in the literature review.

3.5 Analysis

In order to study the qualitative data from the in-depth interviews, first transcripts were made of the Spanish interviews and after that, they were translated into English. After all the data was translated, the essence of the collected data was obtained by reviewing the transcripts for every sub-question. Through doing this I was able to classify the data and show the relevant relations and how they are interconnected (Dey, 1993). When reading the interviews some other interesting issues popped up and when I thought they contributed to this research I added them to the results section. This approach left room for the voice of the interviewee, just like the semi-structured interviews. After the review for every sub-question, I read everything I noted and again read all of the interviews again with the main research question in mind. This was the 9th time I read all of the interviews, I feel comfortable to say that currently, I know them by heart.

The choice to review the interviews, instead of using coding has a preference since there were only 11 interviews. Using coding as a analyse method ensures a systemic approach to search for answers in the data. However, since I conducted the interviews, transcribed the interviews (with some help) and translated the interviews, I already had a clear picture of patterns in the data. There was a clear view and I thought I was able to review them without a coding manual. Through laying the transcripts next to the sub-questions, I was able to sort the data. It enabled me to portray the different opinions and attitudes regarding the specific questions. This way of analysing has been used so that the connections which exist in practice can be laid next to the connections expected in theory. In addition, my above-described fieldwork experiences will be taken into account. The question, whether an inclusive peace agreement has a positive effect on the lives of local women and on the work of WWE's who are working on women empowerment and indirectly on building a sustainable peace, can be answered. The following chapter will entail an overview of the results for each sub-question drawn up in order to answer the main research question.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

Chapter 4: Results & Analysis

Through a review of the existing literature and analysis of the transcripts of the in-depth interviews, this research develops new and deeper insights into the relationship between inclusive peacebuilding and gender equality. This is done through studying the effects of the Colombian peace agreement, on rural female victims. The majority of the Colombian conflict victims are women, and they are mainly from rural areas (Historical Memory Group, 2015). When talking to these women and with the women who work in the field of women empowerment, their perception of peace is not so much about the disarmament of the FARC-ep, and eradicating direct violence of the conflict, their perception of peace is equal rights as their fellow men, economic opportunities, land ownership rights and mental health support for the victims of (sexual) violence. Hudson *et al.* (2014) have found in their analysis of the biggest data set on women and peace, that gender equality and peace have a significant correlation. When the Colombian peace agreement helps the female victims who were hit the hardest to reach a dignified life, this could be a good indicator of the ability of the peace agreement to build a sustainable peace. This research searched for the ways the Colombian peace agreement will help these women, which mechanisms are put in place and to what extent women were involved in the process. In this chapter, the data that has been collected will be presented and afterward discussed and reflected upon.

This chapter portrays and debates the insights which have been gathered through a three month period of fieldwork in Colombia. The following part will start with a short explanation of the Colombian conflict and will be followed with an overview of the Colombian peace process which led to the signing of the peace agreement. After this overview the first sub-question will be answered which entails the perception of the inclusiveness of the Colombian peace process by the peace table itself. This first sub-question will be answered through desk research of press releases, the reports of the Gender Sub-Commission, analysis of the actual peace agreement, and statements of parties which were involved like the Government of Norway and the United Nations. After this, the results of the empirical research will be discussed in the order of the four remaining sub-questions. The second sub-question of this research was: 'To what extent can the Colombian peace agreement be seen as inclusive according to women who work in the field of women empowerment in Cartagena?'. The third sub-question was about the integration of the human security needs and challenges of rural women, into the Colombian peace agreement. This will be done through answering the third sub-question: 'To what extent are the human security needs, demands and challenges of local women that are identified by WWE's, incorporated in the Colombian peace agreement?'. Fourth, the WWE's have shed their light on both women inclusion in the peace process and the possibility of increasing human security of rural women through the peace agreement. They will answer the question: 'What is its expected effect of the peace agreement's women inclusion and the incorporation of human security of local women on gender equality?'. And finally, the results for the last sub-question will be answered. This section will entail the challenges that have to be overcome when an inclusive peace agreement should lead to increased gender equality and human security for local women. The answers to these five sub-questions will finally lead to the answer of the main research question which is: '*How inclusive is the Colombian peace agreement in the eyes of Colombian women who work in the field of women empowerment and what could be learned from the Colombian case about the impact of inclusive peacebuilding on gender equality?*'. The answer to this question will be given in the fifth chapter of this thesis.

When conducting qualitative research into a social phenomenon, through in-depth interviews with individuals, it is important to keep in mind that each interviewee has a different social background. For this research, I have talked to women that have completely different lives. For example, I talked to a woman who lived in a penthouse in the richest area of Cartagena while another woman lived in a slum which was 1,5 hours by public transportation from the city centre. However, all these women have in common that they work in the field of women empowerment in a direct, or indirect way. In addition, independent of their educational background, they all had thorough knowledge concerning, the implementation of UNSCR 1325, the inclusiveness of the peace agreement, and of the human security needs and challenges of the rural women. Another aspect of this research which is important to be aware of is the fact that the knowledge of these women does not come merely from their work. There are two other reasons that explain their knowledge about the human security needs and challenges of women. First, because they themselves are women that lived through the Colombian conflict. While working in women empowerment organisations, they have their own needs, demands and challenges, they will not always be the same as the women that have lived under guerrilla or paramilitary rule, but they are as important. Since if these women are experiencing challenges when helping female victims, their work will be less successful. Furthermore, all of the women I have talked to are victims of the conflict since threats and sometimes even death threats are part of their professional life. In addition, half of the 16 women that I talked to, were victims themselves of e.g. sexual violence, gender-based violence, forced displacement, and although it was not physical serious death threats. When using Galtung's distinction between kinds of violence, all of them are victims of violence. Some of them in a direct way, some in a structural or cultural way, all are victims in some capacity. Two of them casually told me they were abducted once. One woman who I have interviewed, has shared her horrific experience of how she survived the El Salado massacre. In order for you to really grasp the intensity of this conflict, I have summarized her story when discussing the Colombian conflict in paragraph 4.1.1.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

4.1 The Colombian Conflict

Colombia is a country with an elaborate history of internal conflict. Like every other war, the Colombian war was a complex one and it is impossible to summarize it in a few words. But since my thesis is about the peace process, an explanation of the Colombian conflict cannot be omitted. My knowledge of the Colombian conflict is extracted from multiple days reading about it online and about talking about it in Colombia with friends. In addition, I have read all the articles of Fernan Gonzalez who is a well-known conflict analyst of the Colombian conflict. Most conflict analysts state that the current conflict started with the two-party system, the Liberal Party, and the Conservative Party. These two parties were leading the country and were both dominated by elites. Their views and ideologies began to crystallize in the 19th century. For almost a century and a half, these parties remained in power, and there is one fact that can be agreed upon, neither of them was representing the interests of Colombian society. Others say the Colombian conflict started in the mid-1960s when the Colombian government attacked peasant communities. The Colombian army considered these local communities as communist. As a response, the FARC-EP was brought into life. This political exclusion was one element that started the current Colombian conflict. The first time that this elitist dominance in politics was challenged was by Jorge Eliecer Gaitan. He was a leader that can be described as nationalist and very charismatic. He was the voice of the Colombian people, who wanted land reform and social inclusion. The assassination of Gaitan led to the Bogotazo; an eruption of violence in Bogota, Colombia's capital. In this mass violence, thousands were killed. The specifics of his assassination are still not clear, however, the fingers point in the direction of the political elites that wanted to stop a political opening for democratic processes. The hope that arose with Gaitan among Colombians, was destroyed by his assassination. The decade that followed his assassination is known as la Violencia, this was the most violent decade in the country's history. Over 200.000 people were killed (González, 2004).

The violence continued, corruption played a big role, and every effort for opposition was eradicated with help of illegal paramilitary groups. One example of this eradication is the one which took place in the 1980s; The FARC-EP, together with the Colombian Communist Party, tried to enter the political arena, and build a political party to address their needs in parliament instead of with arms (Pizarro, 2011). And you could say they were successful, the openly communist political party gained 350 local council seats, 23 deputy positions, 9 seats in The House, 6 seats in the Senate and 4,6% of the presidential vote (Freeman, 2014). During the negotiation of a peace agreement with the Colombian government, the Union Patriótica (UP) or the Patriotic Union, underwent an attack of a combination of right-wing paramilitary groups, drug dealers, and the government. It could be seen as a systematic process of disappearances and assassinations (ibid.). Jaime Parado, the UP presidential candidate in 1986, was assassinated by a 14-year-old member of the Medellin Cartel. There are no exact numbers, however between 1986 and 1990, around five thousand members of the UP were assassinated, among others, another candidate for the presidency.

The perpetrators of the Colombian conflict were not always clear since members of all groups committed human rights violations. Next, to the inter-group conflicts, there were also many connections and collaborations with each other. A short example; the guerrilla groups earned their money by kidnapping government officials and wealthy landowners who were funding the paramilitary groups. They started working for the drug cartels by forcing local farmers to grow coca leaves. The Colombian government has been known as a corrupt one and were infiltrated by both the drug cartels and the wealthy landowners. Government officials were bought, soldiers had their price and it goes without mentioning that safety for the Colombian people was scarce. In response to the kidnappings of the guerrillas, the Medellin drug cartel together with some paramilitary armies formed a group that took their faith and justice into their own hands. Their name was Muerte a Secuestradores (Unidad para las Víctimas) (English: Death to Kidnappers). MAS can be seen as a paramilitary group supported by drug cartels, United States corporations, Colombian politicians, and rich landowners. They wanted to protect their economic and political power and fight the kidnappings that were mainly done by guerrilla movements such as FARC-EP and M-19 to get money to maintain their armies.

As you might have concluded already from the texts above, the main parties of the Colombian conflict (see figure 3) were the Colombian government, leftist guerrilla groups (e.g. FARC-EP, M19 and ELN), illegal right-wing paramilitary groups and the drug cartels (e.g. the Cali cartel and the famous Medellin cartel with their leader Pablo Escobar).

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?

The case of Women in Colombia




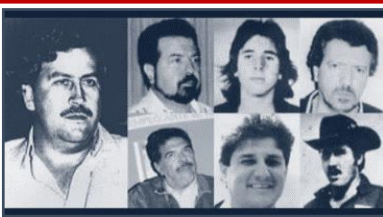
	Colombian Government
	Leftist Guerrilla groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia - Ejército del Pueblo - ELN - EPL - FARIP - M-19 (until 1990) - MOEC - MAQL - ERG - PRT
	Paramilitary groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - American Anti-communist Alliance - Muerte a Secuestradores - Asociación Campesina de Ganaderos y Agricultores - United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia - Special vigilance and private security services - Peasant Self-Defenders of Córdoba and UrabáLo - Los Urabeños - La Oficina de Envigado - Libertadores del Vichada
	Drug cartels <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cali Cartel - Medellín Cartel - Norte del Valle Cartel - North Coast Cartel - Ejército Popular de Liberación

Figure 3. Parties of the Colombian conflict

In addition, there were two main international actors of the conflict: the United States who provided arms to both the Colombian government and paramilitary groups to fight the guerrillas, and multinational companies who wanted to claim territory for recovering oil and other raw materials. The reasons why the different groups are fighting each other is different for every group. The FARC-EP and other leftist guerrilla movements are claiming to fight for the poor people in Colombian society and strive for social justice through communism. The paramilitary groups claim that they are reacting to the threats of the guerrilla groups who are kidnapping their relatives. The Colombian government claimed to want to provide stability and to seek to protect the rights of its citizens.

To sketch a picture of the devastation of the war, I will portray some of the numbers in the National Centre of Historical Memory 434-page report named: '*Basta Ya! Colombia: Memories of War and Dignity*' (Historical Memory Group, 2015; Malagón, 2014). The Colombian internal conflict lasted for around fifty-five years and has claimed at least 220.000 lives. In the conflicts most violent period (1996-2002) a kidnapping took place every eight hours on average. The reports also show the number of massacres between the years 1980 and 2012: in total there were 1982 massacres; 1.166 by paramilitaries; 353 by guerrillas; 295 by government forces and the other 168 by unknown parties. The conflict and its violence had posed and continues to pose an extensive toll and the Colombian people. There have been homicides, massacres, sexual violence, threats, disappearing's, kidnappings and many more human rights violations. The total number of internal refugees in Colombia is

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

6.044.200 people (Internal Displacement Monitor Centre, 27 August 2017). A common type of violence used in the Colombian conflict is sexual violence against women (Schouten, 2010). The registry of the *Instituto Nacional de Medicina Legal y Ciencias Forenses* shows that all of the groups of the conflict are responsible for the sexual violence against Colombian women (Herrera & Tovar, 2005). Since cold numbers do not allow for you to see the tragedy of the conflict on the Colombian people I will provide you with a testimony of a Caribbean woman.

4.1.1 El Salado testimony¹⁰

During my fieldwork, I came in contact with Maria, a woman who once lived in a village 14 km from Cartagena; 'El Salado'. El Salado was located in-between a guerrilla and a paramilitary base. For a long time, El Salado was considered a red zone, which means the risk of violence was very high and if you do not live there or really have to be there, avoid it. Between the 16th and 21st of February in the year 2000, the bloodiest escalation of mass violence of the Colombian war was perpetrated. Maria and I have talked for 2 hours about her life, her work, and her experience of being a young woman living in El Salado, this is her story. After a long reign of the guerrillas, one morning they started to leave El Salado. Maria told me that the local population asked themselves why, and Maria felt like something worse was going to happen. And it did...

A number of 450 paramilitaries of the United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia (AUC) stormed into their village and installed an execution site at the local basketball field. On the 18th of February, they went into people's houses and gave the men numbers from 1 to 60. These 60 men were then summoned and their women were raped and tortured. One by one the men were beheaded while in the background the paramilitaries were drinking alcohol and dancing to loud music. After a while, they started to play football with the heads of the beheaded men, and all of this took place in front of their families. They were forced to watch.

The paramilitaries were punishing them for helping the guerrillas. The government did nothing, the international community did nothing. There was a roadblock of government soldiers only a few kilometres away, but they stayed and showed everybody the other way. The AUC was even allowed to freely fly helicopters above El Salado. The citizens of El Salado have never seen justice for the crime committed against their lives. Until now only one government marine has been sentenced by a judge for the fact that he did not do anything to help the people from El Salado, while it was his duty. After the massacre, there was a total exodus and El Salado turned into a ghost town. Many of them began a new life in Cartagena. The surviving victims of the massacre suffered among other things from traumas, depression and sleepless nights. When arriving in Cartagena another issue popped up: there were so many displaced people in Cartagena that there was no room for them in the better neighborhoods, so they were put in the neighborhoods where the drug cartels and gangs were powerful. Since most of the men were killed in the massacre, women filled the part of the head of household. They had to protect their sons from falling into the hands of the powerful drug cartels and their daughters from sexual violence on the streets. The women had no education since in El Salado the men were working and the women were taking care of the children, house, and land. After she saw the people in El Salado still struggled in Cartagena, Maria set up a little NGO for them to fight for their rights and livelihoods. She saw the women of El Salado were struggling and wanted to help. Because of the peace process, some of them were able to return to El Salado. But when they came back all of their land was taken by a big concrete company. They would not give back their land and again blood was spilled. The government did nothing, yet again. After many protests last summer, the concrete company was 'punished' by the government. They had to build a school in El Salado. However, because of this company so many people lost their house, their land and even some relatives. Maria told me that when seeing this company build a school, without having to pay anything, the only word she could describe it with was 'devastating'.

4.2 Colombian peace process

After many failed peace processes, the largest rebel group FARC-EP reached out to the new president of Colombia Juan Manuel Santos in April of the year 2011. After the reign of Alvaro Uribe, the previous president, the guerrilla group was weak and ready to talk about peace. After secret sessions, the two parties agreed that they would move to another country and ask Norway to mediate between the two parties during the official public phase of the negotiations. On September 24th of 2011, both President Juan Manuel Santos and the FARC-EP leader, Timoleón Jiménez, announced the formal start of the negotiations to build a sustainable positive peace¹¹ (Segura & Mechoulam, 2017). Several days later, both sides announced their negotiating

¹⁰ Testimony is retrieved from the fifth interview, the dates and numbers were then looked up and checked on the website about open truth of the Colombian conflict. <http://www.verdadabierta.com/victimarios/435-la-masacre-de-el-salado->

¹¹ The government embraced these concepts, developed originally by John Galtung and John Paul Lederach.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

teams which both consisted of only men¹² (ibid.). The five year long negotiations in Havana consisted of three main stages (figure 4).



Figure 4. Stages of the Colombian peace negotiations (image retrieved from: Mechoulan & Segura, 2017)

Finally, in September of the year 2016, the Colombian government and the FARC-EP reached an agreement to end more than fifty years of conflict. Peace in Colombia at that time seemed more likely than ever since the Colombian government was also in peace negotiations with the second largest guerrilla group ELN. However, there was one more step, the Colombians were invited to vote in a referendum. On the morning of October 2nd, 2016, people woke up to vote SI or NO, to support the peace agreement or to refuse its implementation. In the afternoon it became clear that by a narrow margin and a high degree of abstention, the NO vote prevailed. The NO voters, among them some of my interviewees, stated that the final agreement ensures that the members of the FARC-EP who have committed misdemeanours would be pardoned, while others who committed serious crimes would be sentenced. Those who told the whole truth and who were committed to repairing the victims lives, would pay between five and eight years of community work, and those who were delayed or did not pay would get between five and 20 years in prison. This would apply not only for FARC-EP but also for the security forces of the state and the civilians involved.

Two months after the referendum, the FARC-EP leader Timoleon Jimenes and Juan Manuel Santos the Colombian president signed a modified peace agreement in Havana, Cuba. The new agreement introduced 50 changes like the community work punishments for FARC-EP soldiers have been enhanced with area restrictions, mandatory work schedules, and living conditions will be controlled. And finally, the peace agreement was passed by Congress. President Santos decided to skip a new referendum and go straight to the Congress where he knew the majority would support the peace deal. As you might imagine, this generated a polarization in the country. During the first months of implementing the agreement, there was a big polarization between the SI-voters and NO-voters. Those who voted against the peace agreement were disappointed because finally the peace agreement was ratified with legislative and judicial power. The changes that were made in the final peace agreement were not enough according to many of the NO-voters. Furthermore, the Colombian population felt overlooked. When talking to people during my time in Colombia, many of the people stated that they wanted to see whether the changes would have changed the peoples mind. However, they were not invited to vote again.

Some WWE's stated that this signing of the peace agreement caused a polarization of both the population and civil society. There were some interviewees who stated that the implementation of the peace agreement will be an imposition of the views of the government, because of the results of the referendum. In the first interview, my interviewee told me that the fact that the government has not organized a new referendum, illegitimacy, and loss of credibility in the government has been created.

The theory chapter introduced the 'women-and-peace' pillar, which indicates that gender equality is an important feature to reach sustainable peace. The pillar consists of two building blocks. The first building block is called *women inclusion in the*

¹² The government was represented by former Vice President Humberto de la Calle, business sector leader Luis Carlos Villegas, former National Police Chief General Óscar Naranjo, former Armed Forces Chief General Jorge Mora, National Security Adviser and newly named Peace Commissioner Sergio Jaramillo, and former Environment Minister Frank Pearl. The FARC-EP was represented by Iván Márquez, Ricardo Téllez (a.k.a. "Rodrigo Granda"), Andrés París, Marco León Calarcá, and Simón Trinidad. (Segura, 2017)

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

peace process and is best described as the more women included in a peace agreement process, the higher the gender equality and the higher the chance that the peace agreement will lead to sustainable peace. The second building block concerns *the human security of women*. Contemporary conflicts have an increased amount of civilian victims, and women are often deliberately used as targets (Schouten, 2010). Violent acts like sexual abuse and rape are common in contemporary conflict and the majority of the internal forcibly displaced are women (UNHR, 2017). The challenges that these internally displaced women face is the fact that they tend to remain close to their homes and become caught in the cross-fire (ibid.). In the Colombian conflict, the majority of civilian victims and internally displaced are women (Restrepo, 2016; RUV, 2017). Increasing their human security would be the start of giving these women a chance for a dignified life. When the implementation of this peace agreement would lead to an increased human security of women, the gender gap will decrease since they will grow to be more capable, and will have more opportunities such as equal access to education, access to health care, and able to build economic independence (Haq, 1999). Through all this, the existing gender gap in Colombia could decrease. And like Hudson et al. (2014) have shown in their research, the smaller the gender gap, the greater chance for a nation to live in sustainable peace. The following section will entail the first building block of the ‘women-and-peace’ pillar in relation to the Colombian peace agreement, women inclusion in the peace process.

4.3 The first building block of the ‘women-and-peace’ pillar: Women Inclusion in the Peace Process

The following paragraphs will provide answers to the first two sub-questions of this research. Both sub-questions are related to the first building block of the ‘women-and-peace’ pillar, women inclusion in the peace process. The difference between these questions is the point of view which is used to explain women inclusion in the Colombian peace process. The first sub-question will be answered by assessing the inclusivity through the eyes of the peace table and close involved parties like the Norwegian government and the United Nations. The second sub-question will have a more critical approach since the process will be looked at from an outsider’s perspective, namely the view of women who work in the field of women empowerment.

4.3.1 View from the peace table

The first sub-question of this research is ‘to what extent the Colombian peace agreement has been called inclusive by the peace table?’. The following paragraphs will entail a presentation of the facts and figures of the peace table itself and of international parties involved like the Norwegian government and the United Nations. This presentation of facts and figures is necessary so that the reader has knowledge of the peace process when reading the answer of the second sub-question, where the views of the WWE’s on the inclusivity of the Colombian peace agreement will be portrayed.

Soon after the Colombian peace process started in 2011, it became clear that there were few women involved in the drafting of the peace agreement. Therefore, early in 2013, around 500 representatives of about 700 organisations and social movements from all regions of the country met at the national summit for women and peace in Bogota. Supported by UN women, the women of the National Summit agreed on three main points; first, they urged that women movements should support the peace process. Second, they insisted on the participation of women in all stages and platforms of the process. And finally, the peace table should have a committee that focusses on the gender elements. They strongly advocated for the fact that the different ways women were affected by the conflict should not be overlooked. This Gender Sub-Commission should overlook the whole process through a gender lens and if there would lack gender sensitivity they would be there to raise their hand. All 500 women of the National summit, searched for a way to make sure that the final peace agreement of Havana had a gendered approach, and with success. The women contributed to the inclusion of women in three important ways¹³.

This success started on November 26th, 2013, when the Colombian president Juan Manuel Santos welcomed two female government representatives - María Paulina Rivero’s and Nigeria Rentería - to take a place at the peace table (El Tiempo, 2013). Another accomplishment was set in motion on September 7th, 2014, when the Gender Sub-Commission was brought in to life. The creation of a Gender Sub-Commission is in itself an unprecedented fact in the world’s peace processes¹⁴ (Salvesen & Nylander, 2017). Women movements all over Colombia have pushed for their inclusion, however the turning point was initiated by an employee of the Office of the High Commissioner for Peace. This employee publicly expressed her opinion that ‘five years from now, the Colombian case will be used as the example that overlooked and totally ignored gender issues’ (ibid., p. 16) The Gender Sub-Commission consisted of representatives from the government and the FARC-EP. The mandate of the Gender Sub-Commission was:

1. Guarantee the inclusion of a gender perspective in the partial agreements made in Havana, Cuba. In order to achieve better living conditions for all women in Colombia

¹³ A video on women inclusion in Colombia: <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/es/2017/03/las-mujeres-y-la-paz-en-colombia/>

¹⁴ “Establishing such a formalised mechanism to include the gender perspective in peace negotiations was unprecedented ... In the peace process in Sri Lanka a Subcommittee for Gender Issues (SGI) was established in 2002 ... In this case the committee consisted of women outside the peace delegations who reported directly to the peace table. When the peace talks collapsed in 2003 the SGI also stopped working (Samuel, 2010).” (Salvesen & Nylander, 2017, p. 3)

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

2. Study the partial agreements again, this time in the light of the needs and rights of women, and present the proposals to the conversation table
3. Enable a dialogue with social women's organisations and movements as well as the LGTBI community, with the purpose of learning and recognising their proposals.¹⁵

The Gender Sub-Commission incorporated a more gender-inclusive language in the text of the drafting commission, and added substantial issues like the creation of a working group in the Special Jurisdiction for Peace, that focussed mainly on sexual violence (Bouvier, 2016). To ensure the fact that the voices of women were included, the Gender Sub-Commission invited several delegations of women to Havana (Salvesen & Nylander, 2017). Women's organisations and LGBTI delegations were invited to the Gender Sub-Commission during the spring of 2015. This invitation of delegations was inspired by the third way of including women in the peace agreement, namely the invitation of victims to Havana.

Several delegations of victims visited the dialogue table – of which 60% were women – to tell their stories. These female victims have shown that they were not solely burdens, but they showed that they had crucial parts of Furthermore, 18 women and LGBTI organisations, 10 Colombian experts on sexual violence, international experts on sexual violence and female ex-guerrillas from various parts of the world talked to both of the parties, to give their advice to the peace table (UN Women, 2015). The female ex-guerrillas told how they experienced the peace process in their country, so that the Colombian implementers can take their challenges into account (Salvesen & Nylander, 2017).

In a statement of the FARC-EP, they told that women have suffered the biggest and hardest consequences in the context of the conflict. Nicole Rothwell (2017) cited the FARC-EP press release for the international women day in 2014, short after the initiation of the gender sub commission: “The new Colombia should be built on guarantees for women's participation, fair wages, elimination of violence and discrimination of all kinds, land entitlement, sexual and reproductive rights, gender equity policies and recognition of each and every women as political subjects who are building his new society”¹⁶.

Due to this recognition of both parties which led to a fair amount of women inclusion, the texts of the three partial agreements were amended to have a more inclusive language. The word ‘gender’ alone is mentioned fifty-five times in the peace agreement documents. It became an agreement with key points such as female political participation, integral rural reform, a solution to the problem of illicit drugs and special care of female victims. The peace table identified these four points as key to tackle the root problems of the conflict. These four key points and their link to women will be further elaborated in the next paragraph.

4.3.1.1 View from the peace table: achievements of the inclusion of women

On July 23rd, 2016, the results of the Gender Sub-Commission have been presented by the Colombian government's delegate to the Sub-Commission, Maria Paulina Riveros (Grogg, 2016). Before presenting the main contributions and accomplishments of the Gender Sub-Commission, she presented the four points of recognition by the peace table concerning gender (Equipo Paz Gobierno, 2016). Below, a translated summary will be given. First, the peace table recognised that a society where women are actively involved is a more democratic society. Second, the peace table recognised that the women play an important role in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and peacebuilding. Their leadership and equal participation is necessary and essential. Third, the peace table recognized the fact that the consequences of the infringements of international humanitarian law and violations of human rights are more serious when committed against women and girls. And finally, women victims should be recognized as citizens. The end of the conflict is the opportunity for women victims, with their ability to transcend the pain and traumas to become peacemakers. Because of the fact they achieved this recognition by all members of the peace table, they were able to accomplish a final peace agreement with an unprecedented gender sensitivity. Seven main accomplishments of inclusion of the gender focus in the peace agreement have been identified (Equipo Paz Gobierno, 2016).

The first accomplishment is the one of facilitation of participation of women in spaces of representation, decision making and resolution of disputes. The peace agreement stated that the decision-making bodies that will be created because of the peace agreements will have a balanced participation of women and men. The government has promised to facilitate women political participation and has guaranteed access to the different institutions and their higher ranking authorities. In addition, they promised to strengthen and provide financial help for women's and LGBTI organisations.

Second, there will be special attention to the prevention and protection of specific risks for women in the implementation. Territorial deployment of psychological care for emotional recovery of victims, including the particular effects of sexual violence must be improved (ibid.). In addition, protection and security protocols for women who are elected in areas which can

¹⁵ Retrieved from: <https://FARC-epace.org/index.php/genero1> on 22 august 2017

¹⁶ Unfortunately the original source has been deleted from the FARC-EP website. Therefore a link to Nicole Rothwell's article will be given: <http://www.warscapes.com/reportage/women-lead-colombia-peace-after-five-decades-war>

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

be dangerous due to the fact that they are worst-affected by the violent conflict (ibid.). In addition, women who are members of the political opposition, leaders of political parties and human/women/LGTBI rights defenders must be protected. An evaluation that considers the specific risks to which they are exposed will form the guidelines for the implementation of their protection.

The third accomplishment of the Gender Sub-Commission is the fact that there will be an effort to strengthen women's organisations in their political and social participation. Their leadership must be made visible and full dialogue with the public authorities must be made possible. The capacities of rural women's organisations will be taken into account during the implementation.

The fourth accomplishment of the Gender Sub-Commission, is the fact that the peace agreement guarantees the economic, social, and cultural rights of women. The gender approach will be taken into account in measures of economic support, overcoming poverty and the stimulation of local economies. The presence of women and girls in the education system will be guaranteed, as well as the provision of specific health care for girls, women, and people with diverse gender identities (ibid.).

Related is the fifth accomplishment of the Gender Sub-Commission is a recognition that women have different and foremost specific needs in Colombia's main economy, namely agriculture (Justice for Colombia, 2016). The peace agreement stipulated that measures should be taken for women. The purpose is to overcome the obstacles faced by rural women for formalization and access to their property by making their rights to land ownership explicit, through a fair distribution of the Land Fund, subsidies for purchase and credit (Equipo Paz Gobierno, 2016). When determining land issues there must be equal representation of women in the high-level bodies where the decisions are made. And women at the local level are to get training, education and legal advice about their rights.

The sixth accomplishment concerned illicit crops. First, the agreement puts forward a gender perspective on the national intervention programme on the growing and selling drugs. There is to be a focus on the relationship between sexual and domestic violence and drug consumption. Another section of the peace agreement is about including women as 'active subjects' in the consultation process concerning the guarantee of women's livelihoods and voluntary crop substitution.

And finally, a gender approach has been taken into account when dealing with victims of the conflict. Access to truth, justice, and measures against impunity will be created through a gender working group within the Commission for the Clarification of Truth. This Truth Commission will be set up to clarify the consequences and foremost the causes of the armed conflict. The gender working group will investigate how women were affected specifically, through special gender hearings. The members of security forces, guerrillas and others who financed or requested crimes will undergo an investigation into issues like sexual violence. This is important since there will not be amnesty provided to people who are guilty of sexual violence, forced displacement, and recruitment of children and the abduction of minors.

A careful answer can be given to the first sub-question of this research. Yes, the Colombian peace negotiations have been the most inclusive peace negotiations to date. The word 'gender' is mentioned fifty-five times in the documents of the final peace agreement, however, as stated by many authors like Iqbal (2016), Pfeiffer (2015), Beardsley (2008), and Newman & Richmond (2006) the signing of a peace agreement is only the beginning. This is in line with the main conclusion which can be taken when reviewing articles of authors like Gimena Sánchez (2017; 2016), a leading human rights advocate in Colombia, there is no guarantee of this inclusivity to be taken in to account when implementing this agreement. She writes in her article that 'Colombia needs to take a gendered approach in the implementation phase in order to make the peace last' (Sánchez, 2016, p. 1). It will be no surprise that the WWE's who were based in Cartagena had the same conclusion.

4.3.2 View from the WWE's perspective

"The gender commission really forced the government to include women but obviously it wasn't enough, women like me who work at the local level really see what is needed, the women who were taking a seat at the peace table had to make compromises with men and had other issues in their mind like their own political agendas." - Translation 2nd interview

The answer to the first sub-question is clear, the opinion of the peace table and its Gender Sub-Commission is that the Colombian peace agreement is inclusive. They were proud to present that women were included in three different ways and that the Gender -Sub-Commission had great influence and accomplished great things. After the discussion of the process that made the Colombian peace agreement inclusive according to the peace table itself, this thesis contributes another perspective, the one of women who work in the field of women empowerment (WWE's). The second sub-question of this master thesis was: 'To what extent can the Colombian peace agreement be seen as inclusive according to women who work in the field of women empowerment in Cartagena?'. This answer will be given through analysis of the in-depth interviews with the women who work in the field of women empowerment. These WWE's, have dedicated their career to increase women inclusion and

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

better livelihoods for women. These women had different - and foremost critical - views concerning the inclusivity of the peace agreement process. Their critical views are interesting to take into account since their knowledge on what this women inclusion at the national level process will indicate for the women who were victimized by this conflict.

One of the first questions in the in-depth interviews with the women peace builders was this exact question, 'what do you think about the extent of inclusivity of the peace agreement?'. This question really paved the way for the rest of the interview since their answers were quite clear. Before conducting fieldwork I followed the Colombian process with great interest since the inclusion of women was unprecedented. At first I thought the WWE's would be proud of their countries process and that I would hear a lot of praise. However, the WWE's were not as optimistic as the papers, articles, and videos that were released when doing desk research to the peace process before my visit to Colombia. Two¹⁷ of them made the notion that they thought it was interesting that I as a Dutch woman came to Colombia to talk about women in the peace process and they said it was no coincidence, the Colombian process has been praised for their women inclusion in the international arena. The women told me that they predicted that my picture of this peace agreement will be changed after conducting all the interviews and hearing their opinion about the agreement instead of reading it in statements of the UN and the Nobel peace prize committee. In addition, they wanted me to realize that it was them, the Colombian women movement organisations that had to push for this inclusivity. They all pointed out that this inclusivity was thanks to the National Summit where so many WWE's came together. They stated that after the summit both the government and the FARC-EP saw it as necessary to get together with women in order to reach a sustainable peace.

When asking these women about the Colombian peace process that led up to the signing of the peace agreement, many of them answered that they have mixed feelings related to the process. All of them were glad that, finally, after 52 years, the FARC-ep and the Colombian government have been able to reach a peace agreement. It brought hope for the future, but all of them stated that it was only the beginning. The mixed feelings became clear when discussing which women integrated into the process. The WWE's were positive about the contributions of the Gender Sub-Commission. When looking at the objective numbers and percentages of women inclusion in this peace process, they stated it was way better than past processes. They told me that they have read the same the papers and saw the same statements of the Nobel Prize committee and the UN like I did, however, they argued that remaining critical and active was important at a time like this. Of course, they were present, dressed in white during the signing of the peace agreement in Cartagena. As you might know, Colombians are excellent in throwing a good party. However, the next morning, one WWE¹⁸ told me, she was already sitting at her desk, preparing for the next step, the implementation. The WWE's told me there was no doubt that the peace table did their best to incorporate the women's voice into their process. However, the women who I have interviewed came with two points of discussion/critique when answering the question to what extent they would call the peace negotiations inclusive. First, they stated that there was still insufficient female inclusion in the drafting of the peace agreement and plans for implementation. And second, there were too little women from the local level. Below, a more elaborate discussion of both points will be given.

4.3.2.1 Equal inclusion of women and men in the implementation phase

First, the interviewees stated that there was still an insufficient level of equal inclusion of women and men in the process that led to the signing of the peace agreement. Like true activists, they told me that their job would not be done until women are represented equally as men. The two signatories of the peace agreement were men, and the majority of the table were men as well. Although one-third of the peace table officials were women, the WWE's would have been happier when it would have been half, like the Colombian population. They told me that there was a clear contrast in relation to the Gender Sub-Commission, which consisted of eleven women and one single man. This unequal representation of men and women in the commission was a big point of critique of the WWE's. Gender issues are not a women's task some of the WWE's told me. When asking them whether men could do the work they are doing, they told me that for their work you have to be very sensitive and since the women who need empowering are often victims of sexual violence, their trust in men is not that high. They told me, however, that when a man has gained their trust by helping them, it might have great success. However, they pointed out an error in my follow-up question, empowering female victims was not the same as taking a seat in a Gender Sub-Commission. It is a must that Colombian men do also see the added value of gender equality, only then the real gender equality can be reached¹⁹. Therefore, it would have been better if the Gender Sub-Commission would have had more men so that the women who were victimized because of men, see that other men are helping them to become more empowered²⁰.

"At first the Gender Commission was only women and then they decided that there had to be men too, which I found supremely interesting because men also have to start talking from women's rights, only then the real changes are possible." – Translation
7th interview

¹⁷ 1st and 11th interview

¹⁸ 6th interview

¹⁹ Seventh and tenth interview

²⁰ 3rd, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th interview

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

The other issue that popped up in many of the interviews that apart from a gender workgroup for the truth commissions there is no gender commission for implementation. This was the biggest bottleneck according to the WWE's, when there is no Gender Sub-Commission for implementation, there is no guarantee that the gender approach of the peace agreement will see the light of day in the implementation. The women fear that when there is no such committee the implementation of 'women issues' will be pushed forward and finally forgotten²¹. This meant according to them that the civilian population together with civil society have to do a lot of lobbying and ensure that this gendered approach is really implemented.

4.3.2.2 Equal inclusion of local women

"There are local women who are participating, however, very few manage to reach the space where the real decisions are made. The women who have reached the space where they could really let their voice be heard have shown that they were very capable" – Translation 6th interview

The second point of critique was the fact that the women who were welcome to take a seat at the peace table and in the Gender Sub-Commission were mainly highly educated women who lived in urban areas. These women had strong political connections and according to some WWE's, their own political agendas. There have been women movements who were invited to Havana to talk to the Gender Sub-Commission, and some were even invited to speak to the officials who were seated at the peace table. However, women who work at the local rural level, like some of the women I talked with²², had little to no access to -influence- the peace table. Even the WWE's who worked at a big international NGO²³ stated that the social leaders in rural communities had three thin bottlenecks, that prevented them to get involved in the peace agreement: lack of trust, security, and resources.

The first bottleneck was the lack of trust in the government and their own capabilities. This lack of trust was built up because of the fact that they grew up in a dominant patriarchal culture where women were believed to be unable to participate politically. Up in the elitist levels of national politics, there is an upcoming awareness of capabilities of women because of international efforts, however, this has not reached the rural areas around Cartagena. Because of the fact that their surroundings did not believe in their capabilities, these women themselves do not believe in themselves either. This is, according to the WWE's, the greatest obstacle that prevents them from accessing the political arena. And since this is a deep cultural root, it is hard to overcome it.

The second bottleneck was the lack of security, experienced by the women who work in the far of rural areas, and by the women social leaders they work with, increased after the signing of the peace agreement. The first focus of the implementation was mainly on the demobilisation of guerrillas and paramilitaries, and through that, the safety of these women has drastically reduced. This sounds bizarre, but the guerrillas and paramilitaries were an armed force in the area and since they are gone, other groups entered the area and were able to commit serious crimes, which unfortunately are comparable with the crimes that the paramilitaries and guerrillas have tortured them with. However, since it is not known who these perpetrators are, according to the interviewees they are known as:

"The black hand of the peace process" – Translation 2, 4,5,7,9 & 11 interview

The final bottleneck that obstructed the female local/rural social leaders to get involved in the national process, which was identified by the WWE's, was the fact that they had limited resources to do so. The WWE's told me that they knew many women who lived in the rural areas that would have been able to blow the peace table away with their stories. However, these women had no resources to make themselves noticed by the peace table. Many women movement organisations, like some where the WWE's worked, trained these rural social leaders, granted subsidies to them so that they could travel to Havana. However, many capable women could not travel due to, having to take care of their children and land. The needs and challenges that these women face, and the women from their communities were put forward by others who were able to travel. However, precisely these women, with no resources, no trust and lack of security were the ones that needed to be telling their stories in Havana.

²¹ All interviews

²² 2nd, 5th, 6th, 9th, 11th, and group interview.

²³ First and eleventh interview

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

4.3.3 Answer to the second sub-question

“Anne: “Was it important to add women into the peace process?”

Interviewee: “Of course, they had to! Women have been especially affected by the armed conflict. It includes sexual violence, disappearances of their family members, displacement, illicit recruitment of their under aged children and husbands and extortion by the armed groups. 56% of the registered victims of the Colombian conflict are women!” -Translation 4th interview

The second sub-question of this research was the question: To what extent can the Colombian peace agreement be seen as inclusive according to women who work in the field of women empowerment in Cartagena? When reading articles of international scholars or documents of institutions like the United Nations, there was nothing but praise for the peace negotiations. The Colombian peace agreement was ‘ground-breaking and historic’ (The Guardian, 2016), ‘Unprecedented and a beacon of hope in a dark year for human rights’ (Herman, Parmentier, & Wouters, 2016) and never before were there this many women in this many stages of the process (Women for Women international, 2016). However, when talking to my interviewees in Colombia another image popped up. Just like the national and international praise, the interviewees stated that the number of women integrated into the process was impressive. The WWE’s all wanted to add that this would not have been without the pushing, elbowing²⁴ and the organisation of women’s movements and organisations. Because of their efforts, women were invited to take a seat at the peace table and the gender subcommittee of five members each from the FARC-EP and the Colombian Government was brought into life. In addition, women have contributed a lot, and played an important role in the delegations the victims of the conflict that visited the peace negotiations. Sixty percent of the victims that visited Havana were women. This would not have been possible if the victim organisations would not have put themselves forward. Because of Colombia’s strong women movement collaboration, many women rights activist, peacebuilders and women like them, who work in women empowerment, were able to boost their participation. And because of these effective empowerment mechanisms, their influence is noticeable when reading the Colombian peace agreement. Just like Dudoet and Lunstrom (2016) argued in their article, “participation only translates into influence on decision-making if accompanied by effective empowerment mechanisms” (p.3).

Next to all this praise, the WWE’s came with two main limitations when talking to them about this ‘impressive’ inclusion of women; the fear losing this gendered approach in the implementation phase and the missing demographic: women from the local level, who live in rural areas²⁵. The main point that the women kept making during all of the interviews was that the fact that the inclusivity of the peace negotiations and agreement will have been for nothing, if the implementation lacked this inclusive approach. The problem of this fear about the lack of implementation of this peace agreement does not come out of the blue. The Colombian government does not have the greatest track record when implementing laws and UN resolutions with gender as its main theme²⁶. Research to past processes in other contexts shows that translating the peace agreements that have been drafted in national spheres are up for ‘serious logistical and technical challenges when being implemented at the local level’ (Manning, 2003). Many authors found that meaningful engagement of women during the peace process, increases the chance for the peace agreement to be implemented and lead to durable peace (Melander, 2005; Gizelis, 2009; Aolain, Haynes & Cahn, 2011; O’Reilly, 2015; Case, 2016; Castillejo, 2016), however, when loosing this approach during the implementation, and not increasing the gender equality in Colombia, one important pillar for sustainable peace will be missing (Hudson *et al.*, 2014).

The second limitation, which was about the missing demographic, is in line with the challenges of inclusive peacebuilding. The main identity markers in which the peace negotiations were divided were: position in the conflict, gender and victims. When zooming in on these three identity markers, the overlap and heterogeneity of these identity markers will become clear. Not every demographic of victims have been invited to the peace table, and neither every demographic of the gender identity marker. The WWE’s were convinced that the peace table, often referred as ‘the government’ in the interviews, had to do more to include the rural female social leaders. According to all the WWE’s none of the women at the peace table could represent the demands of women at the local and rural level. They were powerful women, well educated women, and respected women. But not the local women they worked for, who lived in rural areas. Like Dharmapuri (2011) stated in her article, you cannot just ‘add women and stir’ (*ibid.*, p. 56) and expect the outcomes will be visible in the implementation. The WWE’s opinions were in line with Heidi Hudson’s article (2009) and stated that there should be acknowledgement of the importance of gender equality in the implementation through foregrounding the needs of female victims. The WWE’s were not leaving their comments without a solution for the bottlenecks they have identified throughout the interviews. This was the solution which they came with:

²⁴ Making one’s way by pushing their elbow to reach the front of the crowd

²⁵ All interviews

²⁶ Directly mentioned in the seventh, eight and tenth interview, however other WWE’s have mentioned it as well in the interviews.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

“a Gender Sub-Commission for implementation working together with local communities and overseeing their practices for implementation.” – Translation 1st interview

This Gender Sub-Commission should have the legislative power to remind every implementer that the gender approach of this agreement was important for the sustainability of peace in Colombia. The interviewees feared that when there was no such committee, these ‘women/gender issues’ will be put aside again²⁷.

After these eleven in-depth conversations with women who work in the field of women empowerment, you could say that the WWE’s have their reservations about the inclusivity of the peace agreement. However, they do recognise the fact that it has been the most inclusive peace agreement to date and that the Colombian government together with the FARC-EP, recognized the importance of including women in the process. They hope this recognition will continue during the implementation phase, however, they fail to see guarantees.

“The Colombian peace agreement has been praised for its inclusiveness, let’s hope that we will be praised for the inclusiveness in the implementation as well” – Translation 11th interview

4.4 The second building block of the ‘women-and-peace’ pillar: women’s human security

“When we really want a lasting and stable peace, it is necessary that women have a dignified life with security not only physical but also economic security. Women should be considered and above all that their contribution is taken into account.”
- Translation 8th interview

The theory chapter introduced the ‘women-and-peace’ pillar, which consisted of two building blocks to increase gender equality: women inclusion in the peace process and women’s human security. The following part is about the second building block of this ‘women-and-peace’ pillar, women’s human security. The ‘women-and-peace’ pillar states that the smaller the nation’s gender gap, the greater chance that the nation lives in peace (Valerie Hudson et al., 2014). Translated to the case of this master thesis: in the case that the Colombian peace agreement implementation leads to increased gender equality, the greater chance that its implementation will lead to sustainable peace. The WWE’s have identified the factors that need addressing in order to increase the gender equality in rural areas near Cartagena. Below these factors will be presented. The needs and challenges that are experienced and faced by rural women are in line with some of the seven threats of the concept of human security (Haq, 1999; Tehranian, 1999; United Nations Human Security Unit, 2009). The seven threats of human security as identified by Mahbub ul Haq (1999) are: economic security; food security; health security; environmental security; personal security; community security; and political security. When addressing these threats, the human security for women will be augmented and women rights will grow stronger (ibid.). Through this, and the inclusion of women in the peace process and politics, gender equality in Colombia could be built up.

The third sub-question is about this second building block and will be discussed in the following sections. The sub-question was: ‘To what extent are the human security needs and challenges of rural women around Cartagena incorporated in the Colombian peace agreement?’. The answer to this sub-question will be formed through a discussion of the identified needs, demands and challenges that rural women experience in their daily life that need addressing in order to increase their human security.

4.4.1 The human security needs, demands and challenges

The third sub-question of this master thesis was: To what extent are the human security needs and challenges of rural women around Cartagena incorporated in the Colombian peace agreement? The answer to this sub-question will be portrayed in two parts. First, the needs and challenges that have been identified through the in-depth interviews with the WWE’s, supplemented with the information which was provided through the interview with women that lived in *Ciudad de Mujeres*²⁸ will be portrayed. Second, the integration of these needs and challenges in the peace agreement will be outlined and discussed.

Before going into the needs and challenges of rural women that have been identified by the WWE’s and the women from *Ciudad de Mujeres*, one remark must be given. During the comparison of the answers of the WWE’s and the women from *Ciudad de Mujeres*, an interesting fact popped up. The needs and challenges that have been mentioned in the interviews, were all mentioned at least seven times. The WWE’s were quite consistent in their reflection on the human security needs and challenges.

²⁷ All interviews

²⁸ Group interview

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

During the conversation, about their needs and challenges, the women from *Ciudad de Mujeres* wanted to give me a picture of their lives. Each of them shared their story of how they came to live in *Ciudad de Mujeres*. They told me what happened to them and why they struggle with the fact that the FARC-EP guerrillas will receive amnesty and help to get jobs and education. The women who lived in *Ciudad de Mujeres*, told me that they are traumatized. They told me that they feel that they need to be helped by the government, and that they deserved reparations. When listing their needs and challenges, some of them became emotional since they did not feel like their wounds could be healed.

“The armed groups were in our farm, they raped the women and tied the men so that they had to watch. I was able to flee, with my daughter. Before I had six kids, 5 boys, and one girl. My daughter and I fled to the north of Colombia, Cartagena. However, since Cartagena was too dangerous, we came in contact with an NGO that was able to place us in the city of women. Although the city of women had to be a secure place, another tragedy happened in my life. My only daughter was raped and then murdered.” – translated transcript of the audiotapes of the group interview

“Many of us, lost our spouses, some even their children, including the girls” ... “Many of us have been raped, some have even been abused and were impregnated by these rapes, others were never able to have children again, others were never able to have harmonious, pleasant, or joyful sexual intercourse” ... “the people who did this broke my heart in a thousand pieces.” – translated transcript of the audiotapes of the group interview

Two of the women told me that it felt like every penny of the peace agreement implementation goes to help the people of the FARC-ep. They told me that after all the misery that they had to go through, e.g. the violent and forced displacement, they still had no guarantee of a better life. But the ex FARC-ep guerrillas were able ‘to hand in their weapons and receive an education’. The women looked horrified when telling me this story. Some of the women who live in the *Ciudad de Mujeres* were FARC-ep members in the past, they told me. They married someone in the FARC-ep, and when he husbands died they went through horrible situations. They told me that they are very happy with the fact that they live together with women who all went through the same misery that they did. Nowadays *Ciudad de Mujeres* is a safe haven for these women. However, this was not always the case:

“We built a centre where all the women of the city of women could gather. However, after a year, the centre was set on fire by unknown men. But we continued, we rebuilt it again” – translated transcript of the audiotapes of the group interview

“The demobilization of the AUC paramilitary group, backfired since many of them joined drug trafficking groups. These groups constantly threatened women movements. We had a lot of violence in our village when building it up. Many of our family members, were killed or never to be seen again. And the worst, our guard Julio Miquel Espita, a husband of one of the women was killed and left on our doorstep as a warning. However, his widow was the first to continue the building of the *Ciudad*.” – translated transcript of the audiotapes of the group interview

They told me that they are aware of the fact that they are fortunate, that they are now able to live in peace because of the help of this NGO. However, there are many more women like them, they told me, who did not have the opportunity to be heard. We get psychological support individually and as a new community. The women want protection, and they want their protection to be guaranteed by the government. They do not want their protection to be words that remain on papers, but that they will be brought into action. Their worst preoccupation, is the fact that all that what they have fought for, all the women movements and organisations, that it will have been for nothing. That the pretty words on paper, will remain what they are, words.

Before my visit to the *Ciudad de Mujeres*, I already conducted some interviews. However, only after this visit I could understand or at least try to understand what human security needs and challenges these women face. The women told me about their wish to study, to start their own business and their greatest wish that their children will never go through what they went through. The WWE’s confirmed that what these five women had told me, were indeed the main needs and challenges that they saw during their work. The WWE’s added one more, access to physical and mental health care. The women from *Ciudad de Mujeres* did already receive this help, however, women in other areas did not. When finally putting all the needs and challenges together, four main factors were identified to increase the human security of female victims: economic independence²⁹, access to education for them and their children³⁰, access to justice³¹, and access to physical and (mental) health care³².

The first set of needs and challenges that rural women face in their human security is economic independence and economic security. The main economy in Colombia is agriculture, and therefore, both the WWE’s and the women of the *Ciudad de Mujeres* stated that a focus on equal access to land and laws that enforce inheritance rights of women who want to return to their lands is important. The rural women need this to change, however, since they have to go up against powerful multinationals who claimed their land, they do not know how to address these problems. This is related to the third factor, access to justice,

²⁹ 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 & group interview

³⁰ All interviews

³¹ 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10 & group interview

³² 1 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 11

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

they need empowerment trainings and access to justice to claim what is rightfully theirs. According to the WWE's, the peace agreement should give them the tools to take on such a big party that has claimed their land.

“Many of the women that fled their homes during the 90's should be able to return to their homes, however, these homes have been taken away by other people or by multinationals that have claimed their land, this is a big problem” – Translation 9th interview

In the case of other ways to create economic independence, the WWE's told me that there should be empowerment and education programmes that provide women with the skills that to set up their own business. The WWE's explained to me that many of the women are knowledgeable enough to become independent and get a secure income, however, their traumas and mental health issues inhibit them to act.

The second factor that summarizes the needs and challenges of rural women in order to increase their human security is equal access to education for them and their children. The group of women who lived in *Ciudad de Mujeres* really saw their kids' education as key for a sustainable and peaceful future. Not only the fact that there should be equal access for girls to education, but also for their boys to get a good education so they would not fall into the hands of criminal (drug) gangs. The WWE's added to this, that it was important for these women to have a dignified life as well. The majority of women who they work with have the wish to attend university or get a degree where they can get a job that among other things can pay for their children's education. Two³³ of the WWE's who were victims themselves like Maria from El Salado³⁴, had to quit their own education because of trauma and because of the fact that they had to pay for education fees for their children. The WWE's stated that it was important for women being able not to worry about the education of their children.

“I just want that my children will never be displaced again, and foremost I want peace and education for my children” - Translation 2nd interview

Equal access to justice was the third need and challenge as identified by the WWE's and the women from *Ciudad de Mujeres*. When explaining this through the human security framework of Haq (1999), this was important for their economic and food security, personal security, but also the security in their community. The WWE's told me that the greatest fear of these women is the fact that the violence will reoccur. Their needs and demands for justice and access to justice are big. Equal access to justice was important because they felt that this would guarantee that they would live a fair life. If they were treated badly once again, they could address it by going to the police or court, at least in a way without using violence. The WWE's told me that before they started talking with women about sexual violence, the majority of women would not talk about it. However, after training them and raising awareness about the fact that e.g. rape, discrimination, and domestic violence was illegal, and you could go to the police or court when this happened, empowered these women in a big way. In addition, claiming ownership of their lands is important for these rural women. Owning land means being able to grow your own food and even economic security could be guaranteed if they would be able to sell their crops or start a business on their land. Several WWE's stated that their efforts to raise awareness for justice was important, however, there were two challenges that arise in the current situation, in practice, it was not as easy. Teaching these women about their rights and teaching them to be empowered does not help if at the end their claims are not taken seriously or not heard at all. The Colombian justice system is male-dominated and some WWE's put forward the lack of gender sensitivity of the justice system. Another challenge was the fact that the offices were hard to reach for women who live in faraway territories³⁵.

Unfortunately, the WWE's stated that addressing these needs and demands will not solve all the consequences of the Colombian conflict. Many of the women have been victimized by sexual violence or forced labour for drug criminals. These traumas of conflict have to be addressed when addressing the human security of women. Therefore, the fourth human security factor that needs uplifting is the accessibility of (mental) health care. The WWE's stated that human security of the future does not stand on its own, the wrongs of human security in the past have to be taken into account. Therefore access to physical and mental health care is an important facet to increase the human security of these women.

“Violence against women has deepened in the context of conflict and women need to heal and begin to live a peaceful life; currently, we have to deal with femicides and sexual violence, and I think that in order to stop this kind of violence we have to organize ourselves.” – Translation 7th interview

In addition, the WWE's identified two challenges of their own that hinder their efforts of increasing gender equality in rural communities; continuation in local governments concerning the implementation of 1325³⁶; and the creation of autonomous

³³ Fourth and eleventh interview

³⁴ Fifth interview

³⁵ Fifth and group Interview

³⁶ Majority of the WWE's

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

security systems for human rights defenders³⁷. This challenge comes along with the need for security that all women have expressed. Not specifically for themselves, but for women social leaders all around Colombia.

4.4.2 Answer to the third sub-question

In order to answer the third sub-question, all of the above mentioned human security needs and challenges will be put next to the documents of the Colombian peace agreement (High Commissioner for Peace, 2016). An overview will be given as to what extent the human security needs and challenges are addressed in the peace agreement. In addition, the views of the WWE's on this incorporation will be given. One of the critiques on the 'women-and-peace' pillar was the fact that its knowledge came mainly from macro analysis which compared gender equality in between nations, and linked it to the nation's peacefulness (Castillejo, 2017; Paffenholz, 2015; Hudson, *et al*, 2014). In order to address this critique in this research, there has been zoomed in from women in general to rural women who were victimized by the Colombian conflict. Not every woman has experienced the same traumas, needs the same help or experiences the same challenges, however, this overview has been provided by women and experts in the field of women empowerment, and therefore, it sketches a sound and substantial picture of the needs and challenges.

4.4.2.1 Economic independence

The first factor of human security needs and challenges that needed addressing according to the WWE's and the women who lived in *Ciudad de Mujeres*, was economic independence. The peace agreement has the reducing of extreme poverty high on their agenda (p. 25). There will be a fund which has been put in place to 'achieve democratization of access to land, for the benefit of peasants and especially female peasants' (p. 14). On the twelfth page of the peace agreement it is written that 'women should have equal access as men to the right of property, the productive activities and the financial and infrastructure conditions of housing' (p.12). And women who are the head of household will be prioritized (p. 29). On the point of economic independence through agriculture and the transition from (forced) growing of drugs to other crops, the women peace builders were quite positive³⁸. The national intervention programme was according to them explicit enough to be implemented in rural areas. The relationship between drug consumption and sexual and domestic violence has been recognized and included in the national programme. And the vulnerability of individuals and communities that relied on the architecture sector will be reduced through national programmes (Food and Agriculture Organisation, 2017). The WWE's told me that the community leaders, among which women social leaders, will receive training of risk management.

The WWE's were not sure about the economic independence of women who do not own land or work in another field. The peace agreement stated that local economies would be stimulated to hire female workers (p.24), however, discrimination is still a big problem in the rural areas concerning women who go to work. One WWE told me that her husband used to be against her going to work because it would look bad on him, since the community would then think he could not provide for her husband³⁹.

However, some of the WWE's stated that when there was absence of violence, rural women's mobility would increase. They could travel to the cities to sell their crops or handcrafts. Now they needed the help of people with strong cars to bring their crafts to the city centre to be sold. For example, a friend of mine who lived in Cartagena, visited a small village every month to pick up the artisanal wine and bags which were made in the village and sold them on the monthly *Festival de Amor Conciente* stands in Cartagena. The profits were then divided by her and the people from the village. She told me she did this since these women who make the products in the village were not able to travel to Cartagena since it was sometimes dangerous.

4.4.2.2 Access to education for them and their children

The WWE's were really positive about the incorporation of the need for education for rural women and their children. Education has been mentioned several times in the Colombian peace agreement, and according to the WWE's will be used as the main tool to build sustainable peace in Colombia. The agreement considered it as a public service (p.11), a public good (p.13), and a fundamental right (p.75). The peace agreement guaranteed that pre-school, primary and secondary education will be free (p. 26). And the peace agreement added that there will be 'construction, reconstruction, improvement and adequacy of the rural educational infrastructure, including the availability and permanence of qualified teachers and access to information technologies' (p. 26). In addition, there will be flexible models of education which will be adapted to the needs of the different communities and the rural areas. And finally, vocational training for women will be promoted all throughout Colombia. In the implementation of the peace agreement, the focus will lie on illiteracy among children; there will be student loans during university and technical, agricultural universities will be expanded, and this will help to develop the rural areas.

³⁷ Seventh and tenth interview.

³⁸ Second, Third and Eighth interview

³⁹ Second interview

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

4.4.2.3 Access to justice

Justice and truth-telling are two holistic factors of the Colombian peace agreement. There will be a Truth Commission that will search for the truth behind the Colombian conflict and will advise on how to avoid a relapse into the conflict. Concerning the access to justice for rural women, the peace agreement argued that it would contribute to 'ensuring an effective administration of justice in cases of gender-based violence ... and sanctions that will commensurate with the seriousness of the act' (p.79). In addition, they ensured the 'dismantling of criminal organizations and bring them to justice for homicides and systematic violence in particular against women' (p.80). Several WWE's stated that their efforts to raise awareness of justice were important, and that they were glad it was incorporated in the peace agreement. However, they saw two challenges that could arise in the current situation. Training and teaching these women about their rights and teaching them to be empowered does not help if at the end their claims are not taken seriously or not heard at all. The Colombian justice system is male-dominated and some WWE's put forward the lack of gender sensitivity of the justice system. Another challenge was the fact that the offices were hard to reach for women who live in faraway territories⁴⁰.

4.4.2.4 Access to physical and mental health care

Related the need for access to physical and mental health care, the peace agreement takes into account that there is a difference between men and women as to requirements of health care (p.26). The WWE's and the women from *Ciudad de Mujeres*, were quite negative about the incorporation of female victims in the peace table. One of the WWE's⁴¹ said that, yes, there were a lot of female victims of sexual violence present in Havana. However, access to mental and physical health care was obviously not a main factor in the peace agreement. She stated that victims that dealt with a past of sexual violence, would not get the help they need. Victims of sexual violence were invited to speak their mind in Havana, however, although this might have helped these particular victims, it did not do anything for the innumerable victims of sexual violence throughout Colombia. The interviewee told me that the women where she worked with, are very glad about the fact that their perpetrators won't receive amnesty for their crimes, however, when they will not get mental help, they will keep on struggling in life because of this trauma. The women who lived in *Ciudad de Mujeres* told me that they would have been glad with a national programme for victims for sexual violence. They themselves live under the care of an NGO, however, they stated that there are a lot of women who do not have this luxury. The WWE's state that a national programme should be built that provides assistance for organisations such as the organisation of interviewee number six. This interviewee has a small place where women who have been victimized by sexual violence come together. Through meditation and yoga, she helps these women to get in touch with their femininity again. She told me how much she sees these women grow during this trajectory. However, unfortunately, some women have to stop because of the fact that they cannot afford this kind of treatment anymore. The interviewee lets some of them still attend the meetings, but she urges that this is not the solution to this problem. A national programme should be put in place to help all victims of sexual violence. Especially the ones that are known victims of sexual violence by government officials or soldiers⁴².

The WWE's stated that it would be a good step forward if funding would be made available for these local programmes. The women from *Ciudad de Mujeres* argued that they had a lot of support since they all lived together. They had the opportunity to talk to each other and through this conversations process their pasts. However, when you don't have anyone to talk to, this might be hard. Therefore, a national programme on this topic could be very valuable⁴³. When talking to the WWE's and to the five local women who lived in the *Ciudad de Mujeres*, one conclusion could be taken, again: it mostly depends on the implementation. When a Gender Sub-Commission for implementation would be put in place, they would undoubtedly come up with such a solution⁴⁴. Like Myrntinen, Naujoks and El-Bushra (2014), mentioned in their article, the effects of a conflict are not the same throughout the different regions, the conflict reparation should be looked at from an individual perspective.

4.4.2.5 Incorporation of the needs and challenges experienced by the WWE's themselves

Overall, the WWE's were positive about the integration of the rural women's needs and challenges. Concerning the needs and challenges that were faced by the WWE's themselves, they had to say that at least one of them was incorporated in the peace agreement. The peace agreement discusses the fact that there will be put special emphasis on the protection of women that have been affected by the criminal organizations (p. 79). Next to their protection, 'social leaders in rural areas will be put in an individual and collective protection program, which will have a differential and gender approach' (p.41). The WWE's were still a little hesitant to believe that something will happen, especially since the number of homicides or how they call them femicides of female social leaders drastically increased after the signing of the peace agreements. The agreement between the government and the FARC-ep, 'reaffirm that the contribution of women as political subjects in public life is vital for the

⁴⁰ Fifth and group Interview

⁴¹ First interview.

⁴² Eighth interview

⁴³ Group interview

⁴⁴ Eighth interview

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

strengthening of democracy and the maintenance and promotion of peace.’ (p.55). The WWE’s hoped that this recognition would lead to increased knowledge of UNSCR 1325 by local municipalities.

The answer to this third sub-question, is a confirmation of many academic articles. The fact that many of the needs and challenges of the rural women near Cartagena are incorporated in the peace agreement, could mean one thing, inclusive peacebuilding, the meaningful inclusion of women in peace process contributes to the understanding of human security needs and challenges of rural female victims. And inclusive peacebuilding can lead to a peace agreement that incorporates the needs and challenges of rural female victims. Now the peace agreement has been evaluated on both women inclusion in the negotiations and the presence of human security needs, the two building blocks will be combined. Is the presence of the two building blocks in the peace agreement enough to increase the gender equality in Colombia? The WWE’s were asked to think about this question and have given their ideas, opinions and prognosis. Their answers will be portrayed through the answer on the fourth sub-question in the next section.

4.5 Combining the building blocks: what is the chance of increasing gender equality in Colombia?

The fourth sub-question was: ‘What is its expected effect of the peace agreement’s women inclusion and the incorporation of human security needs of rural women on the ability to increase gender equality?’. The WWE’s expressed their views on whether the women inclusion together with the incorporation of the human security needs and challenges of women victims, is enough in order to increase gender equality in Colombia. Will the rural women who live near Cartagena benefit from this agreement? First, a summary will be given of their views on women inclusion and the incorporation of human security needs and challenges. And then their final answer to the question will be given.

“No, I don’t think so, maybe for future generations, but the women who suffered the most will not be helped by this agreement” - Translation 8th interview

“If it is really implemented like written down in the peace agreement, there is no doubt that we will benefit from this agreement, at least our children will” - Translation 6th interview

On inclusion of women in the process, the WWE’s were quite positive. Like Segura and Mechoulam (2017) mentioned in their article, they could not deny the fact that the Colombian peace process was the most participatory peace process in history. The WWE’s told me that when comparing this agreement with past agreements, this agreement explicitly refers to the fact that women should be able to get ownership of their land. In addition, the gender work group of the Truth Commission would not have been possible without the lobby of the Gender Sub-Commission. Special hearings will be organized for women who were victimized by the conflict. Another aspect which can be ascribed to the female inclusion of the negotiations, is the fact that there will no amnesty for sexual violence. However, they had two concerns. The first concern was the fact that there was no guarantee of continuation of this gendered approach in the upcoming implementation phase. And the second concern was, that an important identity marker was missing when looking at the people who were taking a seat at the peace table or in the Gender Sub-Commission, the rural women.

To address their second concern the second building block will be of help. Since there were no rural female victim signatories, or rural female victims seated at the peace table, it was interesting to see whether the previously identified needs and challenges are present when reading the peace agreement. The WWE’s were positive about the incorporation of the needs and challenges, however, slightly critical or even cynical about the implementation phase. Since this was a peace agreement between the government and the FARC-ep, the needs and challenges of the female ex FARC-ep combatants were clearly taken into account in this peace agreement: reintegration programmes were to be designed to respond to the needs of demobilised women, they would get opportunities for work, education and psychological support if needed (Nylander & Salvesen, 2017). Some of the women who live in *Ciudad de Mujeres* stated that the fact that ex FARC-ep soldiers were receiving concrete job and educational opportunities, and they were not, it was a like a knife in their heart⁴⁵. But what would happen with the victims of the Colombian conflict, the ones that were victimized by the FARC-ep guerrillas, Colombian government soldiers or paramilitaries? In the implementation phase, priorities will be set, and the WWE’s fear that female victims will not be among them. Many delegations of the conflicts victims were able to share their stories in Havana. Sixty percent of these victims were female The WWE’s stated that many of the needs and challenges of the rural women were integrated into the peace agreement.

Throughout the interviews, with every question, with exception of their own introduction, they were able to put the need for a Gender Sub-Commission for the implementation phase on the table. This was logical under the circumstances that the in-depth interviews were conducted. The peace agreement had been signed 2 to 3 months ago and the WWE’s were very wary about

⁴⁵ Group interview

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

the peace agreement opposition and about the fact that in 2018 elections were held. If there was no Gender Sub-Commission for implementation with legislative power by then, the newly elected government could wipe the gender aspects of the peace agreement of the table. Another point that was put forward as to why a Gender Sub-Commission was important is the fact that there would be a place where women have the ability to raise innovative solutions in peacebuilding⁴⁶. And lastly it allows for half of society to participate actively in these implementation processes⁴⁷.

“Women, despite being victims, are the ones who are building up their lives and the lives of their children” – Translation 10th interview

“Women will have to be very attentive that the implementation will prioritize the rights of women and girls, this will be our main challenge” – Translation 6th interview

The literature on this topic stated that since the year 2000 there has been drastic changes because of the UNSCR 1325. This resolution has helped the women to back their voice in peacebuilding and peace negotiations. The WWE's stated that their work has changed because of that, but whether this peace agreement will affect their work, one conclusion can be drawn there was no unity about it. Some women stated that this agreement is unprecedented in the inclusion of women and that they were really proud of it. But every single women peacebuilder had a 'pero...' (Translation: but...). Again this *pero* was mainly about the implementation.

4.5.1. Effect on working in the field of women empowerment

The first point many women made during this part of the interview was the fact that they stated that working on women empowerment became easier at the professional level and at the same time much harder to be a women working in this field at the personal level. It became easier professionally, since they had UNSCR 1325 in the one hand, and the Colombian peace agreement in their other when pushing for continuation of this gendered approach. The two documents brought the WWE's together and enabled them to grow to be much stronger. However, at the same time it became much harder to be a women working in this field on a personal level since there were a lot of threats to their person. Almost every single women I have spoken to has told me about the threats they received and insults they had to coop with.

“I have been called a lesbian, an attention whore, a man-hater and people judged me for taking all the attention in the peace agreement away from building peace but for my own women agenda.” - Translation 5th interview

“I believe that taking power is dangerous wherever and whenever you do so, those who hold power do not want to change the status quo. The ones who try to make radical changes will always feel the threat of being eliminated. However, as long we do not touch upon the patriarchal structure of the state, we might as well do nothing. There are risks, threats and even murders of social leaders, but we cannot hide under the bed, we have done that for far too long.” - Translation 6th interview

They felt as women empowerment produced resistance in Colombian society. They explained it through portraying the division of power in Colombia. The majority of Colombian elites are the conservative Colombians that will do anything to protect their status quo and Christian values⁴⁸. Through funding right-wing paramilitaries they try to maintain this status. Some WWE's even stated that the Colombian elites do not gain anything when peace is built in Colombia.

“Democracy and equal rights will destroy the view from their castle which they have built” - Translation 10th interview

The University professor who was very active in several women empowerment organisations told me that her analysis of the assassinations of the female social leaders (she called it femicides), were clear, these assassinations were strictly leaders that stood for equal human rights for every Colombian. Furthermore, they were not merely seen in areas under paramilitary or guerrilla rule, also in areas where drug gangs were in power. Like mentioned before, the assassins were called 'the black hand', since they often did not know who the perpetrators belonged to.

With every question I have asked these women, about their personal life, about their work, about their views for the future, the main answer was again and again: women should be integrated in the peace agreement implementation process for it to be sustainable. Two⁴⁹ of the interviewees told me that no matter how scary it gets, and how close the murders on social leaders come, they will not stop. Because when they stop, they told me that would be exactly what the 'black hand' wants. The other interviewees were not that outspoken but through the rest of the interviews I saw there was no lack of passion to continue their work.

⁴⁶ 4th, 8th and 10th interview

⁴⁷ 11th interview

⁴⁸ Tenth interview

⁴⁹ Sixth and ninth Interview

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

“I think that in the aftermath of the peace agreements there will be more encounters among women peacemakers. There will be some spaces of participation that will be opened, however, there will be a lack of follow-up by the state and civil society, and this may cause that these spaces are once again closed. There should be a gender-subcommittee for implementation” – Translation 9th interview

The security issue will definitely affect their work but according to them, their work became even more important now⁵⁰. The women who worked for the rights of pregnant women kept on making inside women jokes while talking about serious issues, she stated that they had to keep on pushing for their inclusion, keep on pushing for a Gender Sub-Commission for implementation and keep on pushing for the lives of women who could not push themselves, she said:

“we women do not stop pushing during labour, we do not let the love of our life die, just because of the fact that we are weak at the moment. You can compare this fight for our inclusion like our baby, we will not stop until we have it in our arms”⁵¹.

4.5.2 Answer to the fourth sub-question

One conclusion can be taken when summarizing their views on the peace agreement, they are addressing the peace agreement from an instrumental perspective (Wallenstein & Sollenberg, 1997). They stated that the peace agreement, as it's written down is a comprehensive peace agreement with a lot of women inclusion and probably because of that sensitive for gender issues and women's human security needs and challenges. However, they argue that there will be a lot of challenges for the implementation phase, and they are scared these challenges will lead to an eradication of the gender sensitivity. They see a lot of factors that need to be touched upon by the peace agreement in order for Colombia to know gender equality and sustainable peace. Like Paffenholz *et al.* (2015), Odendaal (2013), Mac Ginty (2008), and Newman (2006), they were outspoken about the fact that blind implementation in local communities will not be enough, the WWE's foresee a whole cultural change. For this cultural change, the awareness and recognition of Colombian society concerning the importance of gender equality should grow. They stated that there should be awareness that when human security needs of Colombian women are fulfilled, these women are empowered, and will be able to raise the future generation. When providing children from torn, displaced or traumatized families with good education, their chance to benefit from peace in Colombia will be greater.

“The children of today will be our future leaders, teachers, doctors and peacekeepers, we should put all our effort in raising them in absence of violence” – Translation 6th interview.

The WWE's add a lot of issues that need addressing in the implementation phase, and foresee many challenges. To address these issues and challenges, they think that it is important to guide the implementation phase through the help of a Gender Sub-Commission for implementation. When this Gender Sub-Commission is in place, and has legislative power to push the implementers towards an inclusive implementation, this peace agreement would be able to lead to sustainable peace according to them. However, they are still hesitant to state this because up till now, the promising peace agreement implementation has not yet met their call.

The women peace builders stated that this peace agreement could maybe to sustainable peace, but it will never do so when overlooking the needs and challenges of rural women, women who are victims of sexual violence, women who are victims of assassinations of their husbands and children, women who are victims of displacement and women who are victims of discrimination. They stated that they figured out the causal relation, and stated that sustainable peace did not lead to increased gender equality, but that increased women inclusion, and increased human security for women built up gender equality and thereby sustainable peace. There will never be sustainable peace without gender equality. In a few years their causal relation can be tested.

The founder of sustainable peace, John Paul Lederach (2016) wrote a piece in the New York Times about the Colombian peace agreement. He writes that the Kroc institute has developed the Peace Accord Matrix database⁵², which is able to systematically study 34 comprehensive peace agreements that are/were aiming to reach sustainable peace. Lederach writes that the matrix of the Colombian peace agreement suggests that it 'sits atop the 10 most comprehensive agreements of the last 25 years' (ibid. p 1).

That, the fact that there has been an unprecedented amount of women inclusion and the fact that almost all needs and challenges of rural women are integrated in the peace agreement, is proof that the Colombian peace agreement rimes with the increasing amount of academic articles on inclusive peacebuilding. You might say that this growing amount of policy-level recognition of inclusive peacebuilding as *the* approach to peacebuilding is yet again confirmed, however, there are still a big cloud at the

⁵⁰ Interview 1, 4, 5, 6, 9 & 11

⁵¹ Fifth interview

⁵² <https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/>

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

horizon, the implementation phase. After analysing negotiations which can be described as inclusive, there are several challenges that became visible.

There is an increasing policy-level recognition and commitment of the international community to promote inclusive peacebuilding (Castillejo, 2017). The amount of evidence of the importance of a solid foundation throughout society and the inclusion of all relevant groups for sustainable peace, is growing (ibid.). Lessons learned and best practice stories and approaches are promoting inclusion of all groups. Research by the World Bank (2011) showed that all post-cold war conflicts that adapted an inclusive peacebuilding approach, avoided relapse into conflict. Paffenholz (2015), has studied forty peace processes for the graduate institute of international and development studies, and found that when women were included in a meaningful way, the agreement was more likely to be reached and implemented. And in his article, Kaplan (2015) has argued that 'Inclusiveness is the most important priority for transitions because, however, difficult in practice, it is the only realistic way for fragile states to break the dysfunctional societal and institutional patterns that hold back change' (ibid. paragraph 10). All evidence on inclusive peacebuilding can be put in perspective when realizing all of it is through quantitative analysis of macro indices and matrixes. This research has searched for the micro aspects of inclusive peacebuilding, zooming in on one country and one very specific identity marker, rural female victims of the Colombian conflict who live near Cartagena. Next to the challenges that are already known in literature, this research contributes the challenges faced at the local level when implementing an inclusive peace agreement. The dilemmas and challenges that were put forward by the WWE's and the women that live in *Ciudad de Mujeres*, relating their inclusive peace deal will be portrayed in the next section.

4.6 Challenges for the 'women-and-peace' pillar through inclusive peacebuilding

The fifth sub-question of this research was: what challenges are to be overcome for an inclusive peace agreement to lead to increased gender equality? Although a review of the first Peacebuilding and State building goal (PSG1)⁵³ by van Veen and Dudouet (2017), found that when there is more inclusivity, input and output are assumed to be better and legitimate' (ibid. p. 10), Dudouet and Lundström (2016), found that this assumption is not based on qualitative information. Through a comparative research between post-conflict countries, they found that a higher political and social inclusiveness, does not directly mean more inclusive policies or benefits for the entire population. And the WWE's agree, there should not be an assumption, there should be action. Below, the concerns of the WWE's concerning the challenges for the inclusive peace agreement to lead to gender equality and sustainable peace are portrayed.

"There is a Colombian expression about women: when trying to reach a goal in our society, women are rowing against the current of the river, men do not experience this kind of struggle, they have the current of the river helping them" – Translation
3rd interview

Like mentioned before, the Colombian peace process has been praised for its inclusion of women and has been put forward as an example for future peace processes (Guardian, 2016; Herman, Parmentier, & Wouters, 2016; Lederach, 2016). However, the WWE's were not as confident that sustainable peace could be reached without overcoming several important challenges. Ultimately, the main challenge which has been identified by all the WWE's is the continuation of gender sensitivity during the implementation phase of the peace agreement. All of them expressed their worries about challenges for the implementation of the peace agreement at the local level and rural areas⁵⁴ and for the continuation of the gendered approach⁵⁵. When finalizing this chapter, the Norwegian center for conflict resolution released a rapport on the challenges of inclusive peacebuilding (Castillejo, 2017). When putting the challenges which were identified and experienced by the WWE's there was a lot of overlap. In addition, the theory chapter identified some challenges as well, and also with these challenges overlap has been concluded. Therefore, the reliability of their answers, became even more solid.

The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (2015) has found that the externally prepared agreement cannot be implemented in rural communities if these rural communities cannot have a say and state their reservations. Local institutions and organisations for peace could bridge this challenge since they have the trust of the local population (ibid.). However, in practice, this is not always true. One thing which I came to notice during my fieldwork is the fact that there is a strong and vocal women's movement in Colombia, and when searching for directors of the big Colombian NGO's in Bogota, they were almost all female. However, there is one tricky point which I noticed during the 3 months of researching them and talking to them, they were not unified. There are many issues of the conflict or the building of peace that separates these women's movements rather than that they would be united.

⁵³ Legitimate politics: Foster inclusive political settlements and conflict resolution.

⁵⁴ All interviews

⁵⁵ All interviews

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

When searching for interviewees in Cartagena, my first interviewee gave me the advice to not introduce myself linked to a specific organisation. This specific organisation was not loved by every other organisation and I could therefore, miss some important interviews. These WWE's have a world of their own. My first interviewee told me that women movements organisations have their own struggles to coop with like 'battles for funding and dealing with politics'⁵⁶. The greater part of the women I talked to were a member of the *Mesa de Mujeres*⁵⁷. These women spoke with the same words and definitions, they were more organized and were a unified front the solution of a Gender Sub-Commission for implementation. The women who were not linked to this *Mesa*⁵⁸ were unorganized, divided and mostly led by emotions. Most of them came with some additional challenges in comparison with the women of the *Mesa*, and I believe this is because of the fact that most of them were, victims of direct violence like sexual violence, forced displacement and abduction. This difference became most clear when talking about the ability of themselves to reach the peace table. The women who were linked with *Mesa de Mujeres* felt more able to contribute and influence the peace agreement.

All interviewees told me that in order for the gendered approach to be implemented, the women movement had to be on the same line. If they would continue with unresolved issues among themselves, they might lose credibility. The organisations which were not linked to the *Mesa de Mujeres*, stated that the *Mesa* should be more open and collaborative. Only then they would become a more unified front when dealing with the implementation in their region.

That aside, the WWE's were hesitant that gender equality will be built through this agreement if there would be no guidance of a national sub-Commission. This Gender Sub-Commission would be able to help local communities with the struggles they face in their own implementation, and will foresee and guarantee the continued gender sensitivity in the implementation phase.

4.6.1 Answer to the fifth sub-question

The fifth sub-question entailed the challenges for this inclusive peace agreement to lead to an increased gender equality and sustainable peace. The WWE's have shared their answers to the above-mentioned question. Again, like their critique on the inclusion of women in the peace process, there were the two categories of challenges: implementation in the rural communities, and the continuation of the gendered approach of this peace agreement. Below, an answer to the fifth sub-question will be given through the discussion of the challenges that were identified by the WWE's, linked to the challenges which have been found in the literature. The WWE's were very passionate about how they saw a perfect implementation and when asking them about possible challenges for the implementation which should be taken into consideration, they were unstoppable. A remarkable thing was that most of the time they all agreed with each other. When analysing the mentioned challenges, the similarity between their answers was striking.

4.6.1.1 Challenges for the continuity for a gender approach during the implementation phase

Like mentioned before, the Gender Sub-Commission has had a big influence in the language and points made in the peace agreement. The language of the peace agreement is more inclusive than ever, and there are multiple points on the agenda that are there especially for women. The WWE's, however, had their reservations about the continuation of this gendered approach in the implementation phase. Like Paffenholz (2015) has found in her research, 'most attention goes into the inclusivity of the negotiation phase, however, many processes fail, or substantial gains of inclusive negotiations get lost during implementation' (ibid. p. 3). The WWE's were afraid that gender might be de-linked from the national implementation process and that the 'more pressing and important' issues will be put forward. The majority of the WWE's argued that they knew gender issues are not as pressing as disarmament of the guerrillas, but some of them⁵⁹ underlined this:

"Disarmament of the FARC-EP is a gender-sensitive feature of the implementation. There are many female members of the FARC-EP that need guidance of how to adapt in regular Colombian society. The gender sensitivity should be present in every step of the implementation." - Translation 6th interview

Just like Schich & Seak (2005) and Rodriguez & Ypes (2010) have portrayed in their research, the WWE's saw the differentiated impact conflict has on men and women. Trauma and fear are more likely to be experienced by women according to Moser and Clark (2001) and this was also the case when looking at the rural women, the WWE's told me. The WWE's saw that access to justice and health care facilities was very low for women who were living in the affected areas. They tried to ensure that help got to every woman who needed them, but felt that without a continuation of the gendered approach during the implementation, this peace agreement was not going to help them to do so.

⁵⁶ First interview

⁵⁷ 3, 6, 7, 8, 10 & 11

⁵⁸ 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, and the women from *Ciudad de Mujeres*

⁵⁹ 1st, 2nd, 4th, 6th, 9th, and 10th interview

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

For example, women experience different obstacles when trying to boost their participation in peace processes. Like Zeilzer (2013) mentioned in her article, women have big responsibilities in the public sphere of their community but also in the private sphere. This is absolutely the fact in the conservative areas in Colombia. For these WWE's that mainly work with social/local leaders there were many obstacles, but not as many as for the women who have no to little education and live in an old-fashioned household where the woman takes care of the children. In addition, women who try to boost their participation have to fear for their own safety, but also the safety of their family when trying to make their voices heard played a role. This is one of the main reasons that women who live in rural areas keep quiet. Protection for these women is limited and there is still stigmatization of human rights defenders. These human or women rights defenders are linked with the Colombian guerrillas, and therefore seen as a threat. The peace agreement stated that they wanted to increase the political participation of women. Of course, the female peacebuilders were very happy with this, but they think that the government does not foresee the challenges that will come with it. Women have to be trained, empowered to even join politics and the obstacles that are always arising for women to access politics should be eliminated. This will be harder than they think since these are cultural obstacles. One of the obstacles for women is the fact that they live in a patriarchal society where it is still common for the women to stay at home and take care of the children. Money from the parents goes to the boys to go to college and the girls marry early. The problem is the fact that many of these mothers and daughters still believe that women cannot do politics. Women think that they do not know politics and will not be able to serve. Yet another obstacle for the political participation is the one of discrimination, which still is a big problem in Colombia. One of the women I have talked to stated that "women are not taken seriously and are not able to climb the social ladder as easily as men because the men are afraid of us" (Translation 10th interview). The point of political participation of women will be one of the main struggles and a Gender Sub-Commission could introduce national mechanisms for the protection of these women like is written down in the agreement.

"Society does not believe that women can participate politically and when they want to enter the political arena they get different questions than men, like how do you combine your work with your children? A man will never get this question."
– Translation 9th interview

In addition, the WWE's told me that they wanted to underline that women are not solely victims of the fact that they are not included as much as their fellow men. Women themselves carry the responsibility for the fact that there are limited women in higher levels of politics. One WWE told me that there are more than 50% of women in Colombia if all of these women would vote for women, would stand up for their rights and their inclusion, the administration and government would have to change the current proportion in its offices. However, women still vote for men, and do not know their rights, or don't bother to stand up for them because they think that they have other issues to worry about. Of course telling women to vote for women is a step away from democracy, however, she told me, there is evidence that women are good politicians, and that when women are included in policy making, the policies will become more gender sensitive.

"Also the Colombian women don't see women at the top. The department of Bolivar consists of a 50 percent men and 50 percent female proportion, however, the departments' government is not built up like this. Women still vote for men" -
Translation 3th interview

"Patriarchy has given greater credibility to men." – Translation 9th interview

Their lack of trust of the WWE's in the government to implement this peace agreement with an inclusive approach did not come out of the blue. They were quite negative about the track record of the Colombian government when implementing gender-related policies.

"When looking at the track record of the Colombian government when implementing UN resolutions for women, I do not think that this agreement will be any different. Of course, I hope so, but it will probably be us helping the women who really need it and the government will be busy demobilizing guerrillas and taking care of the economic stability of the country. Women issues will come after that, but then it will be too late because we have set up the infrastructure for these women" -
Translation 7th interview

Coming back to the subject of UN Security Council resolution 1325, the implementation track record of the Colombian government is not something they can be proud of. The Colombian representatives in New York signed the UNSCR 1325 in the year 2000, however, the implementation of this resolution hasn't started officially. There is no National Action Plan as is required for such implementation and the first efforts to implement the resolution were not by the government but by an NGO called La Liga Internacional de mujeres por la paz y libertad (LIMPAL). The problem with this implementation was that it was not supported by the state and therefore it was not possible to obtain resources. When several NGO's who were collaborating on this issue were handing in a proposal for the implementation of UNSCR 1325, the mayor and its officials were asking them about the resolution, they never heard from it.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

“Even the women who work at the municipality were looking at us like, what are you talking about?” -Translation 9th interview

The second accomplishment of the gender-subcommittee is the fact that it revised the agreements concerning the theme of land and rural development. They pushed for the recognition of the different conditions and specific needs women face in Colombia's main economic sector, namely agriculture. Because of the push of the Gender Sub-Commission, there will be an integral rural reform. The peace agreement stipulated that measures should be taken for women, such as equal access to land, land ownership rights and credit. When determining land issues there must be equal representation of women in the high-level bodies where the decisions are made. And women at the local level will get training, education and legal advice about their rights. However, a law has been signed to ensure this, a long time ago, but it failed to be implemented at the local level. The WWE's are doubtful whether this accomplishment will shine through at the local level⁶⁰. Women in bigger cities with resources can access the justice system and claim their rights, but in the faraway territories such claims are unthinkable⁶¹. There is no knowledge about their rights. Again, the peace agreement states that there should be equal representation of women in the high-level bodies where decisions are made, but who should these women be? One interview is the owner of Mu-Café, a coffee company especially built up so that women can change their crops from coca leaves to coffee. She built up empowerment programmes for rural women. However, she stated that she was discriminated in every meeting she had at the national forum for coffee farmers. “Women should not participate in this kind of field”, and “it's a disgrace that you leave your kid with your husband in order to pursue your career” she heard more than once. She stated that if you wanted to be taken seriously as a women, you had to work with an international coffee organisation or you should have worked with an big international organisation and then afterwards come back and make a name for yourself, but women are not taken seriously. So she asked herself, how can women be integrated into these high level bodies, when the men they have to work with will not take them seriously⁶²?

“They were also victims of the fact that there was no registered ownership of the land since their husband were no longer with them. The women were not able to have ownership over their property.” - Translation 7th interview

Related to the third achievement, the eradication of drugs as a safety hazard. Women always associate drugs as a problem that affects their children and if it affects their children it also affects them. The WWE's stated that there should be mental care for women whose children came in contact with drug cartels and there should be other sources of income and pleasure for youngsters⁶³. Many of the WWE's have worked with women who tried to pull their children from the powerful world of drug trafficking, and they stated that this was not possible without struggles and challenges. When challenging these powerful and foremost violent people in drug trafficking, their safety was often not guaranteed. A great challenge pops up when trying to fight the world of drugs and guaranteeing safety. In addition, the WWE's identified challenges relating the subject of protection⁶⁴. As mentioned earlier, after signing the peace agreement, the threats and killings of social and women leaders augmented. Currently, there are constant threats to social leaders who strive for human and women rights. Unfortunately, it did not remain threats, many women have been sexually violated and even 127 homicides have occurred since the signing of the peace agreement, only because of the work they do (Rothwell, 2017). One of the women I interviewed told me that the nephew and son of her friend were killed because of the fact that their mother/aunt was working for women rights in the Afro community.

“a dear friend of mine is a social leader in a small village near Cartagena, her son and nephew were killed recently with a note saying that their mom and aunt should be taking care of them instead of herself” – Translation 5th interview

There are several explanations for this fact as put forward by the interviewees. The first one is that the FARC-ep is no longer an armed group in the rural communities. Living under the rule of FARC-ep was from time to time dangerous, however they also provided protection. During the rule of the FARC-ep women were able to be more outspoken, than when they left. When the FARC-ep demobilized, the opportunity arose for other armed groups to take over their territories. The second explanation which was put forward was that there are some ultra-right groups that are against the things these WWE's stand for. For example, there is a stigmatization of defenders of human rights, it is believed that human rights defenders in Colombia are guerrillas.

Then there is the issue of special care for female victims. The Colombian government has a dark history of treating the female victims of for example discrimination and sexual violence⁶⁵. The WWE's gave me an example, they told me about the Law 975 in Colombia which has been signed in 2005. Law 975, provided a legal framework to facilitate the demobilization of

⁶⁰ 4th and 8th interview

⁶¹ 11th interview

⁶² 7th interview

⁶³ 11th and group interview

⁶⁴ All interviews

⁶⁵ 1st, 2nd & 9th interview

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

paramilitaries in Colombia. This law had no gender component in its implementation. WWE's saw this as problematic since female paramilitaries had many difficulties when demobilizing. Life outside of the armed groups is very different and they have to reintegrate in a society where women are not as equal as when they were in the armed groups. With this peace agreements disarmament and demobilization of the FARC-EP, The WWE's were afraid that again, the FARC-EP women were going through the same problems as the female AUC paramilitaries. The WWE's told me that there will be a working group for women who are in this situation, nonetheless, all the interviewees stated that this would not be enough. These women need justice and a safe return to society, but for most they will need a better livelihood, safety for themselves and for their children. A women working group will not be enough to enforce this, local action will be needed. WWE's where pleased to hear that one thing was very clear, no amnesty for people who are guilty of sexual violence. When there would be impunity for this facet of war, female victims would never know justice. In addition, they told me that the fact that there will not be any amnesty for people who are guilty of forced displacement and recruitment of children and the abduction of minors, also helps the female victims to move on with their lives.

4.6.1.2 Challenges for the implementation in the rural communities

Castillejo (2017) states in her article that there is clear evidence that the women who are seated at the peace table are often close allies of the current political leaders, who are conservative and not likely to speak up against the male elites. In addition, she found that international NGOs and donors are more likely to empower the movements that are capital-based and who speak English (ibid.). This elitist approach is often visible in peace agreement negotiations. Only the highly educated will be able to take a seat at the peace table, and the movements with good connections in wealthy foreign countries will be able to gain visibility of the peace table. The WWE's argued that because of the fact that the peace table invited delegations of social leaders and victims from all areas in Colombia, this challenge will be less of a problem in Colombia. However, the challenge begins now, from this vertical inclusion, where the elites of every group of Colombian society was able to speak their mind and represent their constituencies, the implementation of this inclusive peace agreement will need to include in a horizontal way (Browne, 2015). And the WWE's were hesitant to state that this horizontal way of implementation will be a success and that all Colombian women will benefit from this peace agreement, without the continued push for the gendered approach during the implementation.

Implementation at the local level will come with its challenges. Notwithstanding, the large number of women who were included in the peace agreement process and the fact that the peace agreement had a big overlap with the identified human security needs and challenges. During the interviews, I have asked them what challenges they foresee for the implementation of the peace agreement at the local level and what challenges they see when working with the rural women. The WWE's have stated that at the national and even the international level the women are praised for their collaboration in the national peace agreement, however, the issue now is to let it shine through all the way to the women at the local level. There are many challenges to overcome so that the human security of all Colombian women will increase.

"Yet another problem is the one of resources, the fact that the most troubled women are in faraway territories. To help them we have to travel far, and since the infrastructure is bad, everything from transport to food is very expensive" - Translation 6th interview

The main challenge which was put forward by all the women I have interviewed is the lack of resources experienced by influential rural women who could be the leaders of the local implementation of a gender approach. These Influential women or female social leaders at the local level were not given the resources to spend time on their involvement in peacebuilding in their community, and to travel to the places where people were meeting. In addition, in Colombia women are supposed to take care of the children and the house. Traveling to conferences on the topic is not possible because they cannot leave their children, house, and land alone. The WWE's stated that it was important that these women from all around Colombia would come together to share stories of success and share stories about challenges and their struggles. When the peace agreement has to be implemented in all communities, horizontal inclusion of these rural women leaders is essential. They have earned the trust of the local (female) population and will be able to set ground for the implementation and the building of sustainable peace.

"The problem is that the gender perspective has not been mainstreamed in the different administrations. Women's issues are handled and left in offices that work for women, but other offices that do not work on the issue of women do not have the tender perspective because they think that is for the office of women." – Translation 8th interview

Another challenge where you could see the frustration in the eyes of the women when they were telling me about it, was the lack of continuity. The WWE's were afraid that the political will of local municipalities to implement the agreement in the local communities. They saw this as problematic since the inclusivity of the peace deal would have been for nothing if it stranded at the local level. They told me that they as women movements and civil society groups will have to monitor the local implementation. If not for the lack of political will, it will be because of the fact that the local government staff is not knowledgeable to implement a gender approach in politics. In the past they have shown to be incapable to implement those

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

programs and projects that are established for women. There was no continuity since every election at the local level brought forward new officials. These new officials did not know about the UN Security Council resolutions and about the women peace builders had been accomplishing the last few years. When a new college of government officials has been elected in the municipality, the process starts all over again. The new officials do not know about UNSCR 1325 and its accomplishments in Colombia. There is no continuity and every time the WWE's are the one to explain the resolution and what the municipality is doing in this field to the new officials. Again this resolution has to be explained to these new governmental officials. Every single interviewee spend about 5 minutes talking about their frustration about this. After four years, the politicians had promised new things, and every time the new politicians wanted to move another direction. Like mentioned before I really saw the frustration on their faces when telling me about this lack of continuity.

Another party which is not to be overlooked when implementing the peace agreement in the local communities, are the heads of the churches. Religion in Colombian culture is very dominant and the role of the church is important in almost everybody's life. Fake news is something the whole world seems to be struggling with, Colombia is no exception. Since many conservative Colombians were not ready for cultural changes like acceptance of same-sex marriage or a peace deal with the Marxist group FARC-EP, leaders of the conservative party tried to get them to vote NO in the referendum. This led to convincing their constituency, the conservative Colombians, that the peace deal was a step in the wrong direction for Colombia. The fact-checking website in Colombia⁶⁶, found that Alvaro Uribe was using miss-information to convince people not to vote SI in the referendum. Things like, the FARC-EP will receive government aid of almost two million pesos for five years in a row, none of the FARC-EP combatants will spend a day in jail and the leader of the FARC-EP could become president of Colombia. These false facts have surely have had an impact on the outcome of the referendum, and will keep on being a challenge when implementing the peace agreement. Implementing the progressive agreement in conservative areas will be challenging and the WWE's fear it will impossible without the help of the churches. When arriving in Cartagena, I had a conversation with a founder of an important NGO in Cartagena⁶⁷. She asked me whether I could shift my research to the influence of the Protestant churches on the peace agreement, she was very worried that they would obstruct the implementation.

The government is not solely the perpetrator of the failure to implementing resolutions and laws. In the year 2011, the Colombian government ratified a law which is about victims and land restitution (1448). This law recognized that women had a degree of vulnerability of women, which was different from men. It also stated that there should be a gender-sensitive approach as to promote the participation of women in land restitution. The government took into account that women are historically recognized in Colombia for weaving networks and for the recovery and protection of their communities after a violent conflict. This law recognizes the disproportionate and singular effect of the violent conflict on women and girls, but also for indigenous people, disabled people and older adults. While this law has been signed, the implementation of this law with this gender sensitive approach remains short in many municipalities. In this case, the government has made a big effort that the law is implemented, however, six years after the creation of this law, the municipalities still do not apply the law with this gender sensitivity in mind, nor do they encourage the participation of women and girls⁶⁸. The WWE's told me that they are also blaming this on the elites that have the mayor in their pay check.

Like portrayed above there is one conclusion, there are many challenges and obstacles for the Colombian peace agreement to increase gender equality. There are many obstacles for women that live in rural areas surrounding Cartagena to really benefit from this agreement. It raises the question whether a peace agreement should have this goal, is a peace agreement able to change an entire system and/or culture? Even if it is inclusive like the Colombian peace agreement, can you expect it to have such outcomes? It is easy to say for the women at the peace table and in the gender-sub-committee that there will be benefits for every Colombian women and girl. But where do they base this on? Like mentioned several times now, the track record of the Colombian government implementing laws and resolutions on women and girls is not something to be proud of. The WWE's do not think it is impossible to reach sustainable peace in their country, without addressing the gender inequalities that are at the foundation of society. However, something told me that they are not going to give up, they told me that the peace agreement is only the beginning.

The answers to this five questions through the placement of empirical results in the theoretical framework ensured that we can now form a well-founded answer on the main research question of this master thesis. This, together with a discussion of the contributions, limitations and recommendations for further research and policy, will be the main goal of the next chapter.

⁶⁶ <https://colombiacheck.com/>

⁶⁷ Who actually refused to be interviewed

⁶⁸ 6th interview

Chapter 5: Conclusion & Discussion

The overall purpose of this master thesis was to explore the concept of inclusive peacebuilding, and to investigate to what extent it contributes to increased gender equality and sustainable peace. The reason for this exploration was the growing recognition in both policymaking circles and academic scholars in the field of peacebuilding, that sustainable peace should be built with an inclusive approach (Castillejo, 2017). The importance of a solid foundation throughout society and the inclusion of all relevant groups, is increasingly recognized to be a main building block to solve contemporary conflicts and build a sustainable peace (Castillejo, 2017; Paffenholz, 2015; Kaplan, 2015; Hudson, *et al.*, 2014; World Bank, 2011). In addition, since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, the support for and understanding of the inclusion of women, and gender equality has significantly increased (Nylander & Salvesen, 2017). Hudson *et al.*, (2014) have found a relationship between gender equality and the peacefulness of a nation. And Paffenholz (2015) found through the comparing of forty peace processes, that the meaningful inclusion of women increases the chance on a successful implementation.

Inclusive peacebuilding is supposed to lead to a higher chance on sustainable peace (Castillejo, 2017; Kaplan, 2015; World Bank, 2011). And the higher the degree of gender equality, the higher the chance that a nation has sustainable peace (Paffenholz, 2015; Hudson, *et al.*, 2014). However, these above-mentioned studies have not been able to explain the causality or the modus operandi between the inclusive peacebuilding, gender equality and sustainable peace. Therefore, this research searches for the relationship between inclusive peacebuilding and gender equality at the micro level.

To study this relationship from a micro level three months of ethnographic fieldwork in Cartagena, Colombia have been conducted. Through in-depth interviews with eleven women who work in the field of women empowerment and with five internally displaced women who lived in *Ciudad de Mujeres*, it was made possible to formulate an answer to the main research question:

How inclusive is the Colombian peace agreement according to Colombian women who work in the field of women empowerment and what could be learned from the Colombian case about the impact of inclusive peacebuilding on gender equality?

This final chapter consists of two sections. In the first section, an answer will be given to the main research question. The second section will entail an overview of the contributions that were made by this research; the main limitations of this research will be discussed; recommendations for future research will be given. Finally, policy recommendations will be provided for both the implementation of the Colombian peace agreement and future inclusive processes in other contexts.

5.1 Gender equality through inclusive peacebuilding

In this section, an answer will be formulated to the main research question: How inclusive is the Colombian peace agreement according to Colombian women who work in the field of women empowerment and what could be learned from the Colombian case about the impact of inclusive peacebuilding on gender equality? This will be done through breaking up the question in three parts. First, the inclusiveness of the peace agreement as perceived by the Colombian women who work in the field of women empowerment will be portrayed. Second, the expected ability of the Colombian inclusive peace agreement to increase gender equality will be discussed. And finally, the relation between inclusive peacebuilding and gender equality will be portrayed and the factors that are needed to strengthen this relationship will be outlined.

5.1.1 The inclusiveness of the Colombian peace agreement

In November 2016, a peace agreement has been signed to end the violent conflict between the Colombian government and the FARC-EP, which lasted for over fifty years. The Colombian peace agreement has been praised for its inclusivity and its goal to reach a stable and durable peace (Den Norske Nobelkomite, 2016; Lederach, 2016). This peace agreement does not only provide a solution to end the violent conflict, but also to build a peace that is just, and one that acknowledges the needs, rights and challenges of both women and men (Nylander & Salvesen, 2017; Rothwell, 2017). The Colombian peace negotiations, which resulted in the Final Agreement has had the biggest degree of inclusion of women inclusion in peace negotiations to date. From the beginning, there was a clear emphasis on the importance of the fact that the peace negotiations require the participation of all groups in Colombia (Crisis Group Latin America, 2012). After a year of peace negotiations, women movements felt that their concerns were not taken into account, and started to push for acknowledgment of their concerns and their meaningful inclusion in the peace process. Finally, in October 2013, they organized the National Summit of Women and Peace in Bogotá, where over 450 women from all areas in Colombia gathered. Their motto, which they communicated to the negotiators in Havana: 'we did not want peace to be made for us, but to be the peacemakers' (UN women, 2015, p.1). They demanded recognition of their ability to contribute to the peace agreement process. After the National Summit, both parties,

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

the Colombian government, and the FARC-ep, appointed female representatives to take a seat at the peace table. One-third of the delegates in Havana were women, which is high above global averages (ibid). In the summer of 2014, delegations of victims of the conflict were invited to come to Havana, sixty percent of the delegations were women. And finally in September 2014, in order to ensure a gender approach in the peace agreement, a Gender Sub-Commission was brought into life. Based on all these aspects, calling this an inclusive peace agreement seems to be justified.

However, curiosity as to which this above-portrayed praise would also be confirmed when asking women at the local/rural level inspired me to do this research. When asking the WWE's to give their perspective on this inclusive approach, a lot of frowning faces were the result. The WWE's were aware of all the positive international attention to this peace agreement, as to it being the most inclusive peace agreement to date. Some of them thought it was interesting that even a Dutch girl traveled all the way to Colombia to talk about their 'incredible' peace agreement. The WWE's were not as outspokenly positive as the Gender Sub-Commission, the peace table itself and the Norwegian government who was the mediator of the peace process. The WWE's argued that when it comes to the unsuccessful track record of the Colombian government when implementing United Nations Security Resolutions and laws about gender-based violence or women land inheritance, their predictions of the continuation of this inclusive approach was not guaranteed after the signing of this peace agreement. The WWE's saw no guarantee that the inclusive character of the negotiation phase would continue during the future implementation process. The solution that all the women brought forward when answering how they see this peace agreement lead to sustainable peace, is that a Gender Sub-Commission should be appointed to guarantee the continuation of the gender/inclusive approach during also the implementation. A more elaborate explanation of what this Gender Sub-Commission would entail will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

In addition, they pointed out that there was no true inclusiveness. First, because the majority of the peace table was still male, and the two signatories of the peace agreement were of the male gender as well. The Gender Sub-Commission however, consisted of eleven women and one single man. The WWE's expressed their worries about this last notion. Gender equality is not a women's issue only. Unfortunately, in practice, this is more often than not the case, even in the peace negotiations with an unprecedented degree of women inclusion.

5.1.2 The importance of the ability of the Colombian agreement to increase gender equality

Sustainable peace can be defined by the absence of all three kinds of violence, direct, structural and cultural violence (Galtung 1975). The literature shows a significant correlation between gender equality and sustainable peace (Hudson, *et al.* 2014; IEP, 2017; Caprioli, 2005). And the concept inclusive peacebuilding, is supposed to lead to a higher chance on sustainable peace (Castillejo, 2017; O'Reilly, 2016; Kaplan, 2015; World Bank, 2011). This research searched for the interrelatedness between these two variables, inclusive peacebuilding and gender equality. Does inclusive peacebuilding have the ability to increase gender equality? Structural violence against women is often sustained because dominant hierarchies, it becomes part of culture, norms and values. This process leads to the concept cultural violence (Galtung, 1990)⁶⁹. This might explain why the conservative Colombians were not as pleased with the peace agreement, norms that can be defined as cultural violence are namely often found in religion (Caprioli, 2005), "Cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right -or at least not wrong" (Galtung, 1990: p.291 cited in Caprioli, 2005). Gender inequality is a form of structural and cultural violence, and in order to reach sustainable peace, all forms of violence must be absent. There is no sustainable peace without gender equality. Therefore inclusive peacebuilding should have the mechanisms to increase gender equality as a means to reach sustainable peace.

This thesis has identified two building blocks that need to be in place in order to increase gender equality through inclusive peacebuilding: the meaningful inclusion of women in the peace process and the increasing of women's human security. First, the meaningful inclusion of women in the peace process, indicates that the hierarchy of a patriarchal society has already been diminished. Next to the meaningful inclusion of women, there is another factor that needs to be addressed to increase gender equality, the incorporation of the specific needs and challenges women face. Some authors say that when women are included in policy making processes, these processes are more likely to be gender sensitive. They would lead to an increase of social policies to reduce poverty (Swiss, Fallon & Burgos, 2012; Bolzendahl 2009; Brady 2009), there would be more acknowledgement of women's rights (Kittilson, 2008; Schwindt-Bayer, 2006) and policies would be more women friendly (O'Reilly, 2016; Childs & Krook, 2009; Celis, 2008). However, Dharmapuri (2011) stated that it is not that easy, 'just adding women and stir is not enough' (ibid. p. 56). These above-mentioned outcomes of women inclusion are not the outcome meeting quotas and inviting your close female relations to take a seat at the peace table. Mechanisms should be built for the meaningful horizontal inclusion of women and integrating a gender perspective throughout the whole process (Aolain, Haynes & Cahn, 2011; Caprioli, 2005). In order for women to be empowered and gender equality to increase, basic human security factors

⁶⁹ This might explain why the conservative Colombians were not as pleased with the peace agreement, norms that can be defined as cultural violence are namely often found in religion (Caprioli, 2005)

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

‘survival, livelihood and dignity’ (CHS, 2003, p. 4), should be addressed in the peace agreement. This can be reached through the equal access to education, justice and (mental) healthcare for every women. When there is equal human security, the opportunities to become change agents and powerful politicians, will tackle the dominant power division (Haq, 1999).

In conclusion, the two building blocks that should be in place in order for inclusive peacebuilding to lead to an increased gender equality are meaningful women inclusion and increasing the human security of women. A presence of these building blocks completes the peacebuilding triangle, which consist of inclusive peace, gender equality and sustainable peace.

5.1.2 Inclusive peacebuilding and gender equality, lessons from Colombia

The framework to increase gender equality which that has been provided by the Colombian peace agreement has been called solid (Nylander & Salvesen, 2017). However, there are a few lessons that can be learned from the Colombian case.

The first lesson is related to the meaningful inclusion of women. The Colombian case showed that it was not so much the meaningful inclusion that contributed to the inclusiveness of the Colombian peace agreement, but that the emphasis should be put on the horizontal inclusion of women. Through this, you can kill two birds with one stone. First, women will be included in the peace process, and second, women from all levels of society have been included in the process which increases the chance of a solid foundation throughout society.

Second, the women movement in Colombia is strong, and has shown through its collaborative effort in the National Summit on women and peace, that they were able to unite across the widely various ideological and political ideas. The women who work in the field of empowerment argued that this union of women movements will become even more important when implementing this peace agreement. Like the literature has stated multiple times, reaching an inclusive peace agreement is one thing, translating it to the local realities and implementing the peace agreement is the hardest part (Beardsley, 2008; Newman & Richmond, 2006; Pfeiffer, 2015a). The fact that the peace agreement negotiations were inclusive does not automatically make the implementation process inclusive as well. Two main features need to be in place for the Colombian peace agreement to really contribute to the gender equality levels in Colombia. For one, a Gender Sub-Commission should be appointed, which is able to guarantee the continuation of the gendered approach during the implementation phase. The inclusiveness of the peace agreement is only the beginning, and the WWE’s stated that they hoped that just like the praise for the inclusiveness of the peace agreement negotiations, the implementation will be praised for its continuation of the inclusive approach. Second, and this is one of the main conclusions made by the WWE’s, horizontal inclusion is not possible without the protection of social leaders and people who work as women rights defenders. The signing of the peace agreement was followed with an increase of assassinations and threats against human rights defenders and social leaders. To be precise, 186 social leaders have been assassinated since the beginning of 2016 and over 500 threats have been registered.

There is one main conclusion of this research that cannot be overlooked; a peace agreement alone is not able to change a whole system and culture, neither will changes occur in an instant, this takes time and effort. This research argues from the instrumental perspective stating that there is no blueprint for peace, however, there can be made a division between good and bad choices in a peace negotiation. There are some manners that might be better than the other since they have more foundation in society. Some manners have the ability to be implemented to facilitate sustainable peace, and others limit this. An inclusive approach could be the answer, yet there is still a lot that has to be studied.

5.2 Contributions, limitations and future research recommendations

In this part of the chapter, an overview will be provided of the contributions, limitations and recommendations for future research.

5.2.1 Contributions

The main contribution of this research is that through qualitative research to a case of inclusive peacebuilding, a more precise description of the relationship between inclusive peacebuilding and sustainable peace could be provided. The significant correlations that rolled out of the quantitative country analysis, have failed to provide a description on the causality of the relationship between gender equality and sustainable peace. This research however, has looked at the processes of inclusion from a micro perspective, and has provided a bottom-up perspective on the inclusiveness of the peace agreement and its effects on the local level. The results of this research have shown that there is a difference between the perspective of women who work in the field of women empowerment, and the perspective of the peace negotiations

Since there is a growing push of the international community for inclusive peace processes, the second contribution of this research is the understanding of the effects of inclusive peacebuilding at the local and rural level. One of the main challenges of reaching sustainable peace through a peace agreement is the implementation in the diverse local contexts (Castillejo, 2016; O’Reilly, 2015; Odendaal, 2013; Richmond & Michel, 2012; Donais, 2009; Manning, 2003). The results of this research have

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

shown that inclusive peacebuilding does not necessarily lead to local ownership. In the case of the Colombian peace negotiations, there has been close attention to integrating a broad spectrum of Colombian society into the peace negotiations, and even then, when asking the Colombian people to vote SI or NO in a referendum for the implementation of the peace agreement, the majority voted NO, and there was a big percentage of abstention. Like Clare Castillejo (2017) has found, the results of this research have shown that it is important to acknowledge the difference between vertical and horizontal inclusion when setting up a peace negotiation with the goal to create local ownership. Creating local ownership is possible when the peace agreement has been horizontally inclusive. This indicates that people from all relevant groups should be able to participate in the peace process and that the peace table should not consist merely out of the elites of these groups. In the case of the gender inclusion of the negotiations, women from all layers of society should be able to contribute to the process. The results of in-depth conversations with women who work in women empowerment show that only then, the effects of the inclusivity of the peace agreement will be noticeable when implementing the peace agreement in local and rural communities. This horizontal inclusion does come with several challenges. First, in order for women to participate in a peace process, they must be able to do so with a guarantee for their safety. Second, they have to be empowered and receive training in order for them to be able to function to their best capacities in the peace building arena. If these women are not given the tools and capacity training, their contributions will be not as visible as the women who have a high education level and years of experience in the world of politics. This is related to the third challenge, just like Autessere (2014) found in her research, there is a lack of resources at the local level to organize a structured integration of the local level. Often the organisations and women movements that are visible for foreign donors are the ones who are able to empower their constituency (Anam, 2001). However, these women movements are often located in the capital and speak fluent English, and according to the WWE's they are not able to provide a good representation of all Colombian women. And finally, the last challenge that might be a result of horizontal inclusion, the stability of the process, as also put forward by Castillejo (2017). An important trade-off is the fact that when you include multiple groups with different deeply rooted norms and values, the process might become unstable. However, this challenge is surmountable, as shown by the signing of the Colombian peace agreement.

5.2.2 Limitations

This section will portray the limitations of the methodology and results of this research. One of the main limitations of this research was the fact that I was only able to search for the relationship between inclusive peacebuilding and gender equality in a single case study. However, notwithstanding the limitation of a single case study approach, precisely because of the fact that I chose to conduct one single case study, I was able to contribute a more precise description of this relationship in Colombia. In addition, the Colombian peace negotiations were the most inclusive negotiations to date, therefore, it was the perfect case to search for this relationship.

Another limitation of this research was the limited amount of interviews conducted and the selection of interviewees. Because of the timeframe in which the fieldwork took place, a limited amount of interviews have been conducted. First, because of the fact that at the time of fieldwork, the peace agreement had only been signed two months ago, the WWE's who lived in Cartagena were really busy. Another reason for the fact that they were really busy was the fact that I arrived in Cartagena just after the Christmas vacation. Many of the WWE's were out of their offices for a month, and therefore had a lot of catching up to do.

The third limitation was the way I sampled the interviewees and whether this was a representative sample for WWE's in Cartagena remains unknown. The women who I have had the honor to talk with were all working in the field of women empowerment. Their work varied enormously, they could be women helping female victims of sexual violence to process their traumas or leading the reintegration of women who were incarcerated because of crimes which they committed related to the consequences of the Colombian conflict. This difference between the women I talked to, turned out to be a strength of the research as well since it has contributed to a diverse pallet of opinions and challenges, which deepened the results of this research.

Related to the selection of interviewees, I would have been able to sketch a complete image of the contributions of the Gender Sub-Commission if I would have been able to talk to members of the Gender Sub-Commission of the Colombian peace process. The same applies to the overview of the human security needs and challenges of Colombian rural women. The human security needs and challenges of rural women, which have used in this research, were based upon interviews with women who work in the field of women empowerment and five internally displaced women who live under the care of an NGO. There is some doubt on whether those women were able to grasp the real needs and challenges that rural women face. Because of security issues, I was not able to travel to the rural areas in the Bolivar department. If I would have been able to consult women who live in the rural areas in the department of Bolivar, of which Cartagena is the capital, I would have been able to sketch a superior picture of the human security situation of rural women.

Finally, the most obvious limitation of this research is the fact that it has been conducted a few years too early. The choice for the Colombian peace agreement as the case for this research is well founded, it is the most inclusive peace agreement to date. However, since the Colombian peace agreement has only been signed a year ago, the effects of its implementation are not yet

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

clear. Therefore this research had to base its findings on the expected effects of abilities of this peace agreements. In a few years, the real effects and abilities of this peace agreement will become visible. This is, therefore, a good bridge to the discussion of the recommendations for future research.

5.2.3 Recommendations

This thesis will give several recommendations for future research. The most important recommendation is related to the above-mentioned limitation concerning the timeframe in which this research has been conducted. In five years or so, the real effects and abilities of this peace agreement on gender equality and sustainable peace will become visible. It would, therefore, be interesting to repeat this research in five or ten years' time, to (longitudinally) compare the expected effects of the peace agreement with the real effects that have been taken place.

Another recommendation is to conduct a qualitative comparative case study to this relationship. As mentioned above, a limitation of my research was the fact that I have only been able to conduct a single case study. Although this enabled me to search for a more precise description of the relationship between inclusive peacebuilding and its ability to address gender equality in Colombia, future research could conduct a qualitative comparative case study to this relationship. The differences and nuances that exist in this relationship, could be portrayed when studying this relationship through a qualitative comparative case study approach. In the next section I will provide policy recommendations for other contexts, however, it would be possible that certain findings of this research are only applicable to the case of Colombia, and are not relevant for other contexts.

Another recommendation for future research is applying a different level approach when selecting interviewees. The data on which the conclusions of this research are based are from one data source, women who work in the field of women empowerment, and women who are helped by a women empowerment movement. If this research were to be conducted again, I would recommend a multi-level approach when selecting the interviewees. This would indicate conducting interviews at the level of the peace table, for instance, the women who were seated at the peace table or in the Gender Sub-Commission; the women who work in women empowerment; and women at the rural level.

5.3 Policy recommendations

Finally, in this last section, some concrete policy recommendations will be provided to two different parties: the implementers of the Colombian peace agreement and the governments and/or organizations who are negotiating towards a peace agreement in other contexts.

5.3.1 Policy recommendations for the implementation of the Colombian peace agreement

Finding the way to build peace after a fifty-two-year-old conflict which has left '220,000 dead, 80,000 missing, and more than 7 million displaced' (Segura, 2017 p. 34), will be an immense task. Based on in-depth interviews with women who work on women empowerment in Cartagena, Colombia, a concrete policy recommendation for the implementation of the final peace agreement has been formulated.

Although there is a strong women movement in Colombia, there are fundamental issues that separate them rather than unite them (Nylander & Salvesen, 2017). The women to which I have spoken during my fieldwork in Colombia argued that they were able to overcome their differences during the National Summit on women and peace in Bogotá because they had one common goal, peace in Colombia. However, now the peace agreement has been signed, their collaboration and union that was built during the negotiations, should not go to waste now the agreement has been signed. Their push for the establishment of the Gender Sub-Commission as a piece of the formal negotiations has proved to be an effective instrument to reach an inclusive peace agreement. Paffenholz (2015) has found that the meaningful engagement and inclusion of women, increases the chance on a successful implementation. The assumption that higher inclusiveness during the negotiation phase leads to inclusive policies and benefits for the entire population, has been refuted by research of Dudoet and Lundstrom (2016). And research into forty peace processes, by Paffenholz (2015), has shown that: 'most attention goes into the inclusivity of the negotiation phase, however, many processes fail, or substantial gains of inclusive negotiations get lost during implementation' (ibid. p. 3). Therefore, based on evidence in the literature and the concerns of the WWE's, the recommendation for the Colombian government and other implementers of the Colombian peace agreement, is to appoint a Gender Sub-Commission of the implementation phase. This Gender Sub-Commission would be able to guarantee the continuation of efforts to build an inclusive peace.

As the Colombian population and the international community and myself are closely watching the outcomes of the peace agreement through the implementation, one main threshold will soon knock at the door, the elections of the future government of Colombia which will be held in 2018. To the future government of Colombia, the ability of the Havana process to lead to sustainable peace will be in your hands.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible? The case of Women in Colombia

5.3.2 Policy recommendations for other contexts

The experiences of the Colombian peace agreement with an inclusive approach, are able to offer valuable insights and lessons learned for other peace processes. Implementing a peace agreement which has been negotiated behind closed doors, which has made no effort to build a solid foundation throughout society, will not be able to solve contemporary conflicts. This is no longer an activist statement, but a widely recognized fact, both in academic and policymaking circles. Two policy recommendations for other contexts have been formulated.

First, horizontal inclusion is a better way to provide the solid foundation on which a peace agreement can be built. Merely including the elites of the relevant parties will not necessarily build a solid foundation. However, even though, the peace negotiations incorporated all relevant groups, views and opinions; and has had an unprecedented amount of women inclusion, and has been granted a Nobel Peace Prize, there is still no guarantee that the population will accept your peace agreement, as has been seen in the October referendum of the Colombian peace agreement.

Second, based on the concerns of the WWE's from Colombia, I strongly recommend to thinking about mechanisms for the guarantee of continuation of the inclusive approach during the implementation phase. Past inclusive processes have shown that the assumption that an inclusive negotiation phase equals an inclusive and sustainable peace is not correct (Dudoet & Lundstrom, 2016). Like the WWE's in Colombia told me, we do not want an assumption, we want action.

This thesis has been finalized, a year after the signing of the Colombian peace agreement. And at this moment, the implementation is in full effect. Given this exciting time of implementation of the Colombian peace agreement, a continuation of monitoring the inclusive approach and its effects would be interesting. After having in-depth conversations with women who work in the field of women empowerment, I'm sure, they got their foot in the door of the peacebuilding process, and they will stay. In a few years, five or ten, the real and effects of this inclusive peace agreement will become visible, and I hope, for my interviewees, and the rest of Colombia, that after 52 years of conflict, a sustainable positive peace has been reached.

Bibliography

- Anam, S. (2001). *Peacebuilding: The Shift towards a Hybrid Peace Approach. University of Mataram.*
- Aoláin, F. N., Haynes, D. F., & Cahn, N. (2011). *On the Frontlines: Gender, War, and the Post-Conflict Process. Oxford university press.*
- Arnault, J. (2006). *Good agreement? Bad Agreement? An Implementation Perspective Princeton University Press, center of international studies.*
- Ashley, D. (1998). *Safeguarding peace: Cambodia's constitutional challenge. Between war and peace, Accord: Cambodia.*
- Badran, R. (2014). *Intrastate Peace Agreements and the Durability of Peace. Conflict Management and Peace Science, 31(2), 193–217.*
- Barnes, C. (2006). 'Tejiendo la red: el rol de la sociedad civil en la construcción de la paz. *Caritas Espanola.*
- Barsa, M., Holt-Ivry, O., & Muehlenbeck, A. (2016). *Inclusive Ceasefires: Women, Gender, and a Sustainable End to Violence. Insititue for inclusive security, <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Inclusive-Ceasefires-ISA-paper-Final-3.10.2016.pdf>.*
- Beardsley, K. (2008). *Agreement without Peace? International Mediation and Time Inconsistency Problems. American journal of political science, 52(4), 723 - 740.*
- Boutros-Ghali, S. G. B. (1992). *An Agenda for Peace: Spearheading of Reform Culture at the United Nations. Center for UN Reform Educaton, <http://centerforunreform.org/?q=node/242>.*
- Bouvier, V. (2016). *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process. US Institute of Peace and UN Women, available at www.usip.org/sites/default/files/Gender-and-the-Role-of-Women-in-Colombia-s-Peace-Process-English.pdf.*
- Case, K. (2016). *Implementing a more inclusive peace agreement in south sudan. Institute for inclusive security.*
- Casey, N. (2016). *El resultado del plebiscito revela profunda tensión entre corrientes progresistas y conservadoras. The New York Times es, <https://www.nytimes.com/es/2016/10/11/el-resultado-del-plebiscito-revela-profunda-tension-entre-corrientes-liberales-y-conservadoras/?action=click&contentCollection=Americas&module=Translations®ion=Header&version=es-LA&ref=en-US&pgtype=article>.*
- Castillejo, C. (2016). *Women political leaders and peacebuilding. Norwegian peacebuilding resource centre report.*
- Castillejo, C. (2017). *Dilemmas and experiences of international support for inclusive peacebuilding. Norwegian peacebuilding resource centre report, October 2017 report.*
- Celis, K. (2008). *Substantive Representation of Women: The Representation of Women's Interests and the Impact of Descriptive Representation in the Belgian Parliament (1900–1979). Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, 26(2), 85-114.*
- Childs, S., & Krook, M. L. (2009). *Analysing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors. Government and Opposition, 44(2), 125–145.*
- CHS. (2003). *Human Secuirty Now. available at Http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org/humansecurity/files/chs_final_report_-_english.pdf.*
- Cohn, C. (2004). *Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A Path to Political Transformation? Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, 204*
- Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2004). *Greed and grievance in civil war. oxford economic papers - new series, 56(4), 563-595.*
- Collis, J., & Hussey, R. (2003). *Business Research: A Practical Guide for Undergraduate and Postgraduate Students. Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire.*

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

- Crisis Group Latin America. (2012). General Agreement for the Termination of the Conflict and the Construction of a Stable and Lasting Peace. *Colombia peace at last?, English version*: http://www.altocomisionadoparalapaz.gov.co/herramientas/Documents/Changes_NewPeaceAgreement.pdf.
- Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. (2015). Inclusive peacebuilding: recognised but not realized. *Development Dialogue*, 63.
- Dharmapuri, S. (2011). Just Add Women and Stir? *Peace Women: Parameters Quarterly*, 41(1), 56-70.
- Donais, T. (2009). Empowerment or imposition? Dilemmas of local ownership in post-conflict peacebuilding processes. *Peace & Change*, 34(1), 3-26.
- Donais, T. (2009). Haiti and the dilemmas of local ownership. *International Journal*, Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com.ru.idm.oclc.org/doi/pdf/10.1177/002070200906400310>.
- Doyle, M.W. (1998). "Discovering the Limits and Potential of Peacekeeping.
- Doyle, M.W., & Sambanis, N. (2000). International peacebuilding: a theoretical and quantitative analysis. *American political science review*, 94(4).
- El Tiempo. (2013). Nigeria Rentería y María Paulina Riveros llegan a los diálogos de paz. Available at: <http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-13224005>.
- Equipo Paz Gobierno. (2016). María Paulina Riveros habla sobre la inclusión del enfoque de género en los acuerdos de paz. *Website: Todos por un nuevo país*. Available at: <http://equipopazgobierno.presidencia.gov.co/prensa/declaraciones/Paginas/maria-paulina-riveros-inclusion-enfoque-genero-acuerdos-paz-colombia.aspx>.
- Fazal, T. M. (2014). The Fall and Rise of Peace Treaties [Agora: The End of Treaties?]. *American society of international law Unbound* at <http://www.asil.org/blogs/fall-and-rise-peace-treaties- agora-end-treaties>.
- Food and Agriculture Organisation, U. N. (2017). Colombia resilience programme 2017-2020: FAO's commitment to the peace agreement and resilience in Colombia <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i7584e.pdf>.
- Fortna, V. P. (2004). Peace Time: Cease-Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace. *Princeton University Press*.
- Francesch, M. C., & al., e. (2009). 'The Gender Dimension in Peacebuilding', Chapter 6, Alert 2010! Report on conflicts, human rights and peacebuilding, E. *scola de Cultura de Pau, Barcelona*, 139-148.
- Freeman, D. E. (2014). Patriotic Union. *Colombia Reports*, <https://colombiareports.com/patriotic-union-union-patriotica/>.
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, peace, and peace research. *Journal of Peace Research*.
- Galtung, J. (1996). Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization. *International Peace Research Institute, Oslo. Sage Publications. London*.
- Gizelis, T. I. (2009). Gender empowerment and United Nations Peacebuilding *Journal of Peace Research*, 46(4).
- González, F. E. (2004). The Colombian conflict in historical perspective. *Conciliation resources Accord*, <http://www.c-r.org/accord-article/colombian-conflict-historical-perspective>.
- Grogg, P. (2016). Colombia Includes Gender Focus for a Stable, Lasting Peace. *Inter Press Service News Agency*. Available at: <http://www.ipsnews.net/2016/07/colombia-includes-gender-focus-for-a-stable-lasting-peace/>.
- Haq, K. (1999). Human security for women. *Published in the volume 'The Worlds Apart', by Majid Tehranian, I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, London*.
- Hartzell, C. A. (1999). Explaining the stability of negotiated settlements to intrastate wars. *Journal of conflict resolution*, 43(1), 3-22.
- Herath, O. (2010). A critical analysis of Positive and Negative Peace. *Department of Philosophy, University of Kelaniya*.
- Herman, O., Parmentier, S., & Wouters, J. (2016). The Colombian peace accord: a beacon of hope in a dark year for human rights *Leuven Centre for global governance studies, Frame*.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

- Herrera, C., & Tovar, V. (2005). Women and armed conflict, report on social and political violence against women in Colombia. *UNCHR ACNUR & PCS*.
- Historical Memory Group. (2015). BASTA YA! Colombia: Memories of War and Dignity. *Bogotá: CNMH*.
- Horowitz, D. L. (2002). Constitutional Design: Proposals versus Processes. In A. Reynolds (Eds.), *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*. Oxford: *Oxford University Press*.
- Howard, M. (1981). War and the Liberal Conscience. *Oxford University Press, Oxford*.
- Hudson, H. (2005). 'Doing' Security As Though Humans Matter: A Feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security. *Security Dialogue*, 32(2), 155–174.
- Hudson, H. (2009). Peacebuilding Through a Gender Lens and the Challenges of Implementation in Rwanda and Côte d'Ivoire. *Security Studies*, 18(2), 287-318.
- Hudson, V. (2015). Leveling the Field: A Global Inventory of Gender Equality for Women. *World politics review*, <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/16572/leveling-the-field-a-global-inventory-of-gender-equality-for-women>.
- Hudson, V., Ballif-Spanvill, B., Caprioli, M., & Emmett, C. F. (2014). Sex and World Peace. *Columbia University Press*.
- Hunt, S., & Posa, C. (2001). Women Waging Peace. *Foreign Policy*, 124, 38-37
- IEP. (2017a). Global Peace Index 2017. Available at: <http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2017/06/GPI17-Report.pdf>.
- IEP. (2017b). Positive Peace Report 2017. Available at: <http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2017/10/Positive-Peace-Report-2017.pdf>.
- IMF. (2017). Colombia : 2017 Article IV Consultation-Press Release; Staff Report; and Statement by the Executive Director for Colombia. *International Monetary Fund Report*, file:///C:/Users/Annev/Downloads/cr17138.pdf.
- Institute for Economics & Peace. (2015). Pillars of Peace: Understanding the key attitudes and institutions that underpin peaceful societies. Available at: <http://www.gppplatform.ch/sites/default/files/Pillars%20of%20Peace%20Report%20%20IEP.pdf>.
- Iqbal, M. (2016). Negotiating an Agreement is Difficult: Implementing it is Much Harder. *Aisia Peacebuilding Initiatives*, http://peacebuilding.asia/bangsamoro_agreement_difficult/.
- Jennifer, M. (2007). Can Peacekeepers Be Peacebuilders? *International peacekeeping*, 14(3), 323 - 338.
- Justice for Colombia. (2016). Gender subcommittee presents conclusions on land, political participation and illicit crops. <http://www.justiceforcolombia.org/news/article/2231/gender-subcommittee-presents-conclusions-on-land-political-participation-and-ill>.
- Kaldor, M. (2007). New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era. *Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press*.
- Keating, T., & Knight, A. W. (2004). Building Sustainable Peace. *United Nations University Press & University of Alberta Press*.
- Kennedy, R., Pierson, C., & Thomson, J. (2016). Challenging identity hierarchies: Gender and consociational power-sharing. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 18(3).
- Kittilson, M. C. (2008). Representing women: The adoption of family leave in comparative perspective. *Journal of politics*, 70(2), 323-334.
- Kottak, C. (2006). Mirror for Humanity. *McGraw-Hill, New York*, 47.
- Kriner, M. (2011). Intrastate Conflict Resolution: Case Studies and Applications for a Globalized World. *Global Studies Student Paper*.
- Lederach, J. P. (1997). Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies. *GSDRC Applied Knowledge Services, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, DC*.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

- Leonardsson, H., & Rudd, G. (2015). The 'local turn' in peacebuilding: a literature review of effective and emancipatory local peacebuilding. *Third World Quarterly*, 36(5), 825-839.
- Lijphart, A. (1969). Consociational Democracy. *World Politics*, 21(2), 207-225.
- Mac Ginty, R. (2008). Indigenous peace-making versus the liberal peace. *Cooperation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association*, 43(2), 139-163.
- Malagón. (2014). Informe ¡Basta Ya!: ¿pasos hacia la construcción de la paz en Colombia? *World peace foundation*, https://sites.tufts.edu/reinventingpeace/2014/01/13/informe-basta-ya-pasos-hacia-la-construccion-de-la-paz-en-colombia/#_ftn1.
- Malloy, T. H. (2013). Minority issues in Europe: rights, concpets, policy *Frank & Timme GmbH Berlin*.
- Manning, C. (2003). Local level challenges to post-conflict peacebuilding. *International peacekeeping*, 10(3), 25-43.
- Manning, C. (2008). Local Level Challenges to Post-conflict Peacebuilding. *International peacekeeping*, 10(3).
- Melander, E. (2005). Gender Equality and Intrastate Armed Conflict. *International studies quarterly*, 49(3), 695-714.
- Merkel, & Weiffen. (2012). Does Heterogeneity hinder Democracy? *Comparative Sociology*, 11, 387-421.
- Meyer, L. (2003). Prejudice, Social Stress, and Mental Health in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Populations: Conceptual Issues and Research Evidence. *Psychol Bull*, 129(5), 674-697.
- Moser, C. O. N., & Clark, F. C. (2001). Victims, Perpetrators or Actors: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence. *University of Chicago press books*, Available at: <http://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/distributed/V/bo20852839.html>.
- Myrntinen, H., Naujoks, J., & El-Bushra, J. (2014). Re-Thinking Gender in Peacebuilding. *International Alert*, Available at: http://international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Gender_RethinkingGenderPeacebuilding_EN_2014.pdf.
- Nathan, L. (2007). No Ownership, No Commitment: A Guide to Local Ownership of Security Sector Reform. *University of Birmingham*, http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/no_ownership_no_commitment_v2.pdf.
- Nderitu, A., & O'Neill, J. (2013). Getting to the Point of Inclusion: Seven Myths Standing in the Way of Women Waging Peace. *Official Background Paper for the 2013 Oslo Forum*.
- Newman, E., & Richmond, O. (2006). 'Peace building and spoilers. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 6(1), 101 - 110.
- Nylander, D., & Salvesen, H. (2017). Towards an inclusive peace: women and the gender approach in the Colombian peace process. *Website Norwegian Centre for Conflict Resolution*
- O'Reilly, M. (2015). Why women? Inclusive securtity and peaceful societies *Prism*, 6.
- O'Reilly, M. (2016). Inclusive Security and Peaceful Societies: Exploring the Evidence. *Prism*, 6(1).
- O'Reilly, M., Ó Súilleabháin, A., & Paffenholz, T. (2015). Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes. *International peace institute*.
- Odendaal, A. (2013). A crucial link: local peace committees and national peacebuilding'. *United States Institute of Peace*.
- Paffenholz, T. (2014). Broadening participation in peace processes: Dilemmas & options for mediators. *Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue*.
- Paffenholz, T. (2014). Civil Society and Peace Negotiations: Beyond the Inclusion-Exclusion Dichotomy. *negotiation journal*, 30(1), 69 -91.
- Paffenholz, T. (2016). When Peace Agreements Fail to Secure Sustainable Peace: Learning from Yemen, Afghanistan and Sri Lanka. *Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative*, Available at: <http://www.inclusivepeace.org/content/when-peace-agreements-fail-secure-sustainable-peace-learning-yemen-afghanistan-and-sri-lanka>.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

- Paffenholz, T., Prentice, A. P., & Buchanan, C. (2015). Fresh Insights on the Quantity and Quality of Women's Inclusion in Peace Processes: Expert views on findings from the "Broadening Participation" and "Civil Society and Peacebuilding" Projects. *Graduate institute geneva, centre on conflict, development and peacebuilding policy brief*. Available at: <http://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/GenderPolicyBrief.pdf>.
- Paffenholz, T., & Ross, N. (2015). Inclusive peace processes –an introduction. *Development Dialogue*, 1, 28 -33.
- Paris, R. (2010). Saving Liberal Peace-building. *Review of International Studies*, Volume 36(No.2), 347.
- Pfeiffer, S. (2015a). Building up a peace infrastructure for Colombia: lessons from implementing the Victims Law. *Norwegian peacebuilding resource centre report*.
- Pfeiffer, S. (2015b). Territorial peacebuilding in Colombia: the opportunity to do what has not been achieved before. *Norwegian peacebuilding resource centre report*.
- Policy Planning Unit Department of Political Affairs. (retrieved September 2017). United Nations Peace agreements database search. Available at: <http://peacemaker.un.org/document-search>.
- PRIO Centre on Gender Peace and Security. (2016). Gender and Inclusion in the Colombian Peace Process. *PRIO Gender, Peace and Security Update, Peace Research Institute Oslo*(4), Available at: http://file.prio.no/Publication_files/Prio/PRIO%20GPS%20Update%202016%202020Issue%202204.pdf.
- Restrepo, E. M. (2016). Leaders against all odds: Women victims of conflict in Colombia. *Palgrave Communications*, 2(16014).
- Richmond, O. (2012). The dilemmas of hybrid peace. *e-international relations*.
- Romeri-Lewis, N. W. (2016). Review of Sex and World Peace. *Journal of Political Science and Science Education*, 12(1), 108-110.
- RUV. (2017). Registro único de víctimas. Available at: <http://rmi.unidadvictimas.gov.co/?q=node/107>, accessed 22 October 2017.
- Sánchez, G. (2016). Colombia Needs to Take a Gendered Approach to Make Peace Last. *PassBlue independent coverage of the UN*, Available at: <http://www.passblue.com/2016/01/18/colombia-needs-to-take-a-gendered-approach-to-make-peace-last/>.
- Schouten, L. (2010). Breaking the Taboo: The struggle for justice and reparation for victims of sexual violence in the Colombian conflict. *Utrecht university*.
- Schrich, & Sewak. (2005). The Role of Women in Peacebuilding. *Issue paper: Global partnership for the prevention of armed conflict*.
- Schwindt-Bayer, L. A. (2006). Still Supermadres? Gender and the Policy Priorities of Latin American Legislators. *American journal of political science*, 50(3), 570-585.
- Shepherd, L. (2011). Sex, Security and Superhero(in)es: From 1325 to 1820 and Beyond. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13(4), Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14616742.14612011.14611659>.
- Sisk, T. D. (2004). Peacemaking in civil wars: obstacles, options and opportunities *Occasional paper series*, No. 20(2).
- Tavakolian, N. (2017). Women Fighters of the FARC. *Magnum Pro*, Available at: <https://www.magnumphotos.com/newsroom/conflict/women-farc-guerrillas/>.
- Tehrani, M. (1999). Worlds Apart: Human Security and Global Governance. *In association with the Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research*.
- The Guardian. (2016). Colombia signs historic peace deal with Farc. *The Guardian*, Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/24/colombia-signs-historic-peace-deal-with-farc-rebels>.
- The World Bank. (2006). Civil society and peacebuilding: potential, limitations and critical factors. *Social Development Department & Sustainable Development Network, Report No. 36445-GLB*.
- The World Bank. (2011). World Development Report 2011. *Washington, DC*, 2-3.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

- UN. (2016). Gender Equality: Why it matters. Available at: http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/5_Why-it-Matters_GenderEquality_2p.pdf.
- UN Department of Public Information. (1992). Yearbook of the United Nations. 34.
- UN Women. (2015). Women take the reins to build peace in Colombia Available at: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2015/5/women-build-peace-in-colombia>.
- UNHR. (2017). Questions and Answers about IDP's. *United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner*, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/IDPersons/Pages/Issues.aspx>.
- Unidad para las Víctimas. (2017). Así ha avanzado la reparación a las víctimas <https://www.unidadvictimas.gov.co/>.
- United Nations Human Security Unit. (2009). Human security in theory and practice: An Overview of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security Available at: http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/human_security_in_theory_and_practice_english.pdf.
- Wallensteen, P. (2015). Understanding Conflict Resolution. *Sage publishers*.
- Wallensteen, P., & Sollenberg, M. (1997). Armed Conflict, Conflict Termination, and Peace Agreement. *Journal of Peace Research*, 34(3).
- Women for Women international. (2016). The role of women in the colombian peace negotiations. Available at: <http://www.womenforwomen.org/node/987>.
- Yepes, R. U., & Rodríguez, D. E. G. (2010). En búsqueda de un concepto transformador y participativo para las reparaciones en contextos transicionales. *Revista Colombiana de Derecho Internacional*, 17, 231-286
- Zeilzer, C. (2013). Integrated peacebuilding: innovative approaches to transforming conflict. *Hachette UK*.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

Annex I: Dutch

Nederlandse samenvatting

Er is een groeiende erkenning, zowel in academische als politieke beleidskringen, dat inclusieve vredesstichting benodigd is om duurzame vrede te bereiken (Castillejo, 2017). In de literatuur vinden we een significant bewijs dat gendergelijkheid een significante relatie vertoont met duurzame vrede (Hudson, *et al.*, 2014). In de Positive Peace Report van 2017 staat dat ‘gendergelijkheid een consistente en aantoonbare relatie met vrede heeft in meerdere studies en data bronnen’ (IEP, 2017, p.53). Deze relatie is zelfs consistent voor meerdere en verschillende regimes en geografische regio’s (IEP, 2015). Aangezien het meeste bewijs voor deze relaties gebaseerd is op het vergelijken van meerdere landen op basis van kwantitatieve analyses, is het interessant om te bestuderen of deze relaties ook te vinden zijn als er vanuit een kwalitatief micro perspectief gekeken wordt. Globale correlaties geven geen antwoord op de vraag hoe deze relatie werkt, het geeft geen causale verbanden. Kwalitatief onderzoek op local niveau zou eventueel een bijdrage kunnen leveren aan een meer preciezere omschrijving van deze relatie.

Heeft een inclusieve vredesakkoord, met een ongekennde mate van inclusiviteit van vrouwen een goede basis om gendergelijkheid en duurzame vrede te bouwen? Deze scriptie onderzoekt deze relatie, meer dan een kwantitatieve studie zou kunnen, door een in-diepte kwalitatieve studie van de Colombiaanse vredesakkoord.

Het Colombiaanse vredesakkoord is geprezen voor zijn inclusieve aanpak en een ongekennde mate van vrouwen inclusiviteit. De VN, vrouwenbewegingen over de hele wereld, de grondlegger van het concept van duurzame vrede, John Paul Lederach, en de commissie van Nobel Prijs voor de Vrede heeft de inclusiviteit van dit akkoord geprezen nadat dit op 24^{ste} Augustus 2016 getekend werd. Alleen tijd zal ons leren of deze prijs gerechtvaardigd is en of dit inclusieve akkoord to een duurzame vrede in Colombia zal leiden. Desalniettemin, het lijkt wel mogelijk dat – theoretisch en empirisch – onderzoek ons mogelijke indicaties kan geven. Aangezien gendergelijkheid is neergezet als een belangrijke factor voor duurzame vrede, probeert deze scriptie te zoeken naar componenten in de Colombiaanse vredesakkoord die een indicatie kunnen geven voor verhoging van gendergelijkheid, en hierdoor dus een grotere kans op duurzame vrede. De inclusiviteit van vrouwen in het vredesproces en de aanzienlijke toename van ‘human security’ van plattelandsvrouwen zijn geïdentificeerd als de hoofdbouwstenen voor een toenemende gendergelijkheid.

Zoals hierboven vermeld, bevat dit onderzoek een kwalitatieve case studie waarin gekeken wordt in hoeverre en op welke manieren vrouwen inbegrepen zijn, om de omvang van het inbegrepen van vrouwen te onderzoeken en meer specifiek aandacht te besteden aan de vraag of de human security behoeften van de vrouwen die op het platteland leven meegenomen zijn in het vredesakkoord. Om antwoord te kunnen geven op deze vragen zijn er gegevens verzameld tijdens een periode van drie maanden van veldwerk. Elf diepgaande interviews met vrouwen die werken op het gebied van vrouwen empowerment (WWE’s) zijn uitgevoerd en een diepgaand groep interview met vijf intern ontheemde vrouwen die momenteel in *Ciudad de Mujeres* wonen.

De resultaten van de in-diepte interviews hebben me geholpen om de ongekennde mate van inclusiviteit van vrouwen in de Colombiaanse vredesonderhandelingen te begrijpen, en hoe hun inclusiviteit de oorsprong en drijfkracht de toename van gendergelijkheid in Colombia heeft bevorderd. Het bouwen aan duurzame vrede begint met een vredesproces: in het bijzonder, de deelname van vrouwen, het verbeteren van hun veiligheid en leefomstandigheden bevordert dit proces. De ongekennde mate van inclusiviteit van vrouwen in het vredesakkoord heeft geleid tot een systematische opname, van een groter deel van ‘human security’ behoeftes en uitdagingen die door de WWE’s en *Ciudad de Mujeres* geïdentificeerd zijn.

Echter, ongeacht de significante correlatie van het betreffende landen analyse van Hudson *et al.* (2014) en de Positive Peace Index (2017), zijn er nog steeds een aantal belangrijke uitdagingen die overwonnen moeten worden door dit vredesakkoord om voor meer gendergelijkheid te zorgen. De WWE’s vreesden dat er geen garantie voor de voortzetting van de inclusieve aanpak zoals in de onderhandelingsfase ook zou doorgaan in de latere fases van de implementatie van het vredesakkoord. In het bijzonder, ze voorzagen de uitdagingen bij het implementeren van dit vredesakkoord in het platteland. Aangezien dit horizontale inclusiviteit nodig heeft om succesvol te zijn, veel plattelandsvrouwen zouden beschermd en in staat stellen onafhankelijk te zijn.

An Inclusive Peace Agreement and Sustainable Peace: is it possible?
The case of Women in Colombia

Annex II: Gender equality & Positive peace Index

Page 20 of the positive peace report 2017

TABLE 2 POSITIVE PEACE, THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS (SDGS) AND THE PEACEBUILDING AND STATEBUILDING GOALS (PSGS)

Positive Peace factors measured by IEP cover all of the proposed SDGs as well the PSGs.

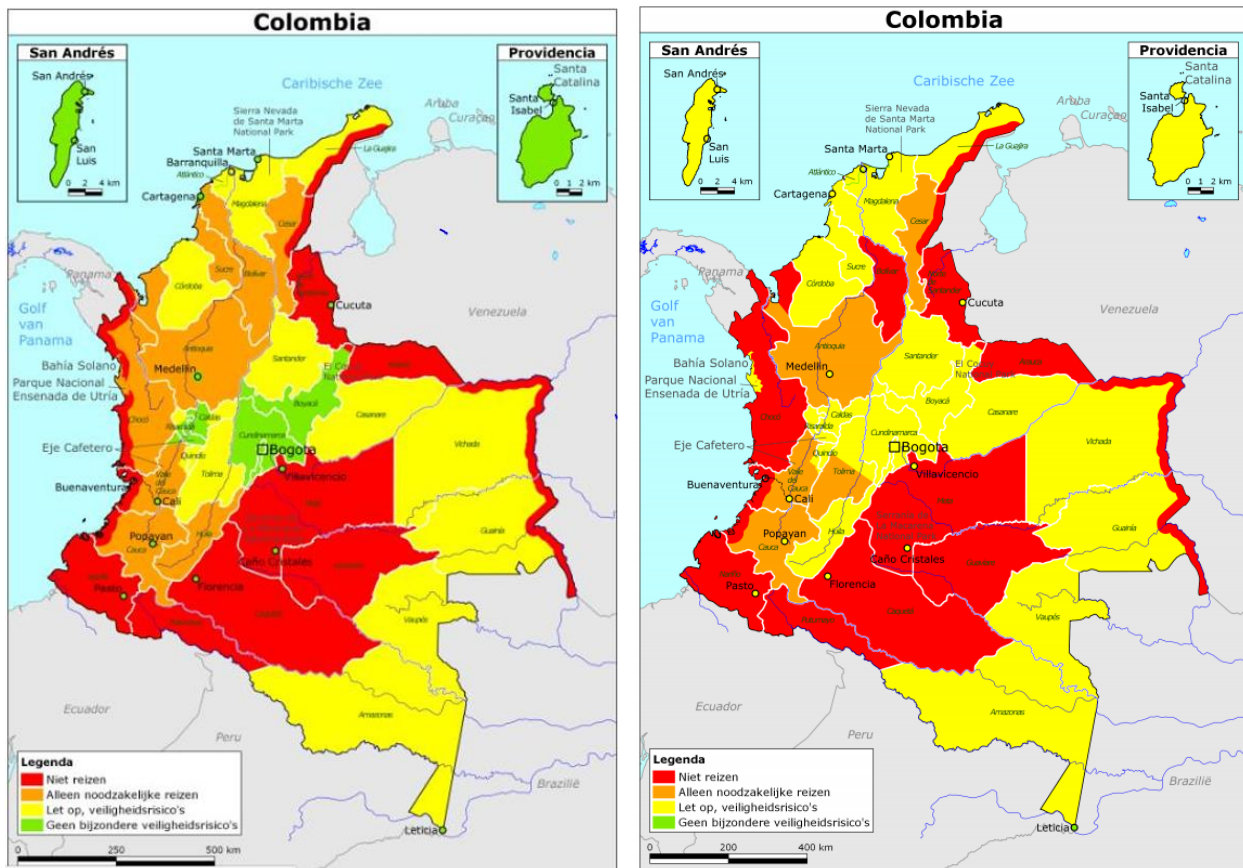
GOALS	ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES	FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	HIGH LEVEL OF HUMAN CAPITAL	LOW LEVEL OF CORRUPTION	SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	WELL-FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT
End poverty in all its forms everywhere		✓						
End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture		✓					✓	
Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages	✓	✓			✓			✓
Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all	✓	✓			✓			✓
Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	✓				✓			✓
Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all		✓			✓			✓
Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable, and modern energy for all					✓		✓	
Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation					✓		✓	✓
Reduce inequality within and among countries	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓
Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable	✓	✓			✓			✓
Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns					✓			✓
Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts		✓		✓	✓			✓
Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development		✓						✓
Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt		✓		✓				✓
Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓
Economic foundations	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Justice	✓				✓	✓		✓
Legitimate politics	✓		✓			✓		✓
Revenues and services	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Security	✓			✓				✓

Annex III: Security situation of Colombia

Travel advice map of Colombia by the Dutch ministry of Foreign Affairs

4th of January 2017

10th of April 2017



Annex IV: Interview guide (English translation)

Getting to know the interviewee

1. Can you tell me something about yourself?
2. and about the work you do?
 - a. What does your participation in peacebuilding mean for you?
 - b. What kind of themes and activities do you participate in?
 - c. What made you want to work for peacebuilding ?

Status of gender equality in Colombia

3. How do you see gender equality in Colombia
4. How do you see women inclusion in Colombia in the implementation of 1325?
5. How do you see general women inclusion in Colombia?

-- Explanation of inclusive peacebuilding --

Colombian peace agreement

6. How do the WWE's in Cartagena feel about the peace agreement?
7. To what extent were women integrated in the drafting of the peace agreement?
8. Was women inclusion in the agreement important?
9. To what extent is the national peace agreement of Colombia inclusive?
10. And why?
11. Was women inclusion in the agreement sufficient?
12. How do you see women inclusion in the Colombian peace agreement?

Supposed effect of Colombian peace agreement

13. How does this peace agreement affect your work?
14. How does this peace agreement affect your daily life?
15. How do you feel about the agreement on a personal level?
16. Do you feel protected by the peace agreement?
17. Do you feel supported in your work through this agreement?
18. Do you think that there will come positive changes in your job because of the peace agreement?

..on local women

19. Does the inclusive peace agreement capture the needs, demands and challenges of ordinary Colombian women whom are affected by the conflict?
20. Are the needs, demands and challenges incorporated enough?
21. Do you think local women will benefit from the inclusion of women in the peace agreement?

Challenges

22. What struggles do you see when working with local women?
23. What challenges do local women have? Do you see challenges of the inclusion of women in the implementation process?
24. Do you have anything to add to this interview?

Annex V: Photos of fieldwork



Liga de Mujeres Desplazadas heeft 3 nieuwe foto's toegevoegd.

15 februari · 🌐

Febrero 15 / 2017

La estudiante Anne van de Donk, estudiante Holandesa, visita la ciudad de la mujeres, esto con el objetivo de entrevistar a sus lideresas y conocer sobre nuestro proceso organizativo.

