ASSESSING GENDER PERSPECTIVES IN PEACE PROCESSES WITH APPLICATION TO THE CASES OF COLOMBIA AND MINDANAO

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I. Introduction

Peace processes traditionally involve the main parties to the conflict.[1] The aim is to end the violence but other groups and wider society affected by the conflict are often excluded.[2] This exclusion is in part due to the complex nature of peace processes. The inclusion of entire societies in negotiations is neither practical nor plausible, and inclusive peace processes are associated with greater risks of failure.[3] The inclusion of additional actors can also risk marginalizing certain groups, such as powerful elites, which have the capacity to spoil the type of peace that is attained and can make political settlements in post-war transitions volatile.[4] The fear of risking the outcome of a final agreement by involving more actors than the main conflict parties often leads to exclusionary processes.[5] In this regard, there are always

[1] This paper defines the main parties to a conflict as the veto players, which have divergent aims that must be satisfied in order to end the conflict. In essence, if their needs are not satisfied, they have the ability to continue the war unilaterally and can block an agreement. See Cunningham, D. E., 'Veto players and civil war duration', *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 50, no. 4 (Oct. 2006), pp. 878–79.

[2] Other groups, often classified as civil society, are commonly seen as separate from the state and the political sphere. These include voluntary organizations such as religious groups, women's organizations, human rights groups and trade unions. However, direct participants in the violence, e.g. young male and female perpetrators of violence, are also often excluded from the formal and informal peace processes. For more information see Nilsson, D., 'Anchoring the peace: Civil society actors in peace accords and durable peace', *International Interactions*, vol. 38, no. 2 (2012), p. 246.

[3] The term 'inclusive peace process' often refers to the inclusion of civil society actors. However, this paper focuses on the skewed gender balance in peace processes and argues the need to increase the level of participation by women and other excluded gender identity groups and that gender sensitivity in peace processes is an important element in achieving inclusive processes. See Nilsson (note 2), pp. 247–48.

[4] Cheng, C., Goodhand, J. and Meehan, P., *Synthesis Paper: Securing and Sustaining Elite Bargains that Reduce Violent Conflict*, Elite Bargains and Political Deals Project (UK Stabilisation Unit: London, 2018), p. 79.

5 Nilsson (note 2).

SUMMARY

● In order to make peace processes more inclusive, increased participation by women and other excluded groups has been emphasised for decades, as well as the need to adopt a gender perspective within peace processes. However, the discussion has tended to focus on counting women and treating women's participation as synonymous with a gender perspective. Defining what a gender perspective is and how it could be applied throughout a peace process has remained largely unexplored.

This paper seeks to address these lacunae by drawing on current frameworks, proposing a definition of a gender perspective in peace processes and introducing a way of operationalizing this definition. The suggested indicators are used to assess two recent peace processes: the Colombian peace process and the Mindanao peace process in the Philippines. This assessment provides a practical application of the conceptual framework and raises new questions about how the concept can be further measured and assessed.

trade-offs between exclusion and efficiency in peace negotiations and peace processes more broadly.

Exclusionary peace processes were challenged in the 1990s, however, when the notion of peacebuilding as something implemented 'from above' was increasingly criticized, leading to an improved focus on strategies to include the whole of society.[6] Inclusive approaches were advocated based on normative arguments that different groups and actors, including women and civil society, have an equal right to participate, as well as pragmatic arguments that the participation of certain groups and actors increases the legitimacy of and public support for the process as well as the sustainability of a ceasefire.[7] Nonetheless, most peace processes today are still top-down, elite-driven exercises that contribute to marginalization and exclusion. Gender, which cuts across all identities, often functions as a basis for such exclusion.[8]

In order to make peace processes more inclusive, activists in women's organizations and civil society organizations (CSOs) working on human rights and peacebuilding have been pushing for decades for increased participation in peace processes by women's groups and other excluded groups, while also highlighting the need to adopt a gender perspective

Most peace processes today are still top-down, elite-driven exercises that contribute to marginalisation and exclusion

within peace processes. The absence of women has been given particular attention in international commitments such as United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security (WPS) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), as well as in the growing research field studying these commitments and their implementations. The focus on women's participation in peace processes has recently led to several initiatives and efforts to promote increased representation, of which the launch of regional women mediators networks and new tools and guidelines on how to increase women's representation in these contexts are examples.[9]

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6 Galvanek, J. and Planta, K., *Peaceful Coexistence? 'Traditional' and 'Non-traditional' Conflict Resolution Mechanisms* (Berghof Foundation Operations: Berlin, 2017); Darby, J. and MacGinty, R., *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Peace Processes and Post-war Reconstruction*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 361; and Puechguirbal, N., 'Discourses on gender, patriarchy and resolution 1325: A textual analysis of UN documents', *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2010), p. 179.

7 Paffenholz, T. and Ross, N., 'Inclusive peace processes: An introduction', Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, *Development Dialogue*, no. 63 (2015), p. 29; and Paffenholz, T. et al., *Preventing Violence through Inclusion: From Building Political Momentum to Sustaining Peace* (Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies: Geneva, Nov. 2017).

8 Although many scholars still define gender based on a binary understanding that only includes male or female, this paper applies a non-binary definition of gender. By gender, this paper includes not only men and women but all gender groups, such as e.g. transgender people, whose sense of personal identity and gender does not correspond with their birth sex, and intersex people born with any of several variations in sex characteristics. Gender refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with having a gender identity and the relationships between and within genders. More information can be found on the websites of UN Women, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/conceptsandefinitions.htm>, and UNOHCR, <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=20739&LangID=E>.

9 The Nordic, African and Mediterranean regions and the Commonwealth countries each launched a women's mediation network in 2015, 2016, 2017 and 2018 respectively. See Nordic Women Mediator; African Women Mediators; Mediterranean Women Mediators Network; and Women Mediators across the Commonwealth.

However, such policy debates and practices tend to focus on counting women in peace processes and treating women's participation as synonymous with a gender perspective. Despite the growing understanding that mere participation should be differentiated from meaningful participation and representation that can influence the process, a headcount or the presence of women is still often understood as a sufficient condition for inclusive peace processes and infusing a gender perspective into them.[10] Resolution 1325, which is regarded as a crucial instrument that injects a gender perspective into security forums, 'calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective'.[11] While the resolution provides some examples of what a gender perspective means in the context of a peace agreement, such as addressing the specific needs of women, supporting local women's peace initiatives and ensuring the protection of women's rights, it does not define what it means to apply a gender perspective to peace processes. Some scholars have attempted to define what a gender perspective might mean in different aspects of a peace process.[12] How a gender perspective can be applied throughout the entire process, however, is still largely unexplored.

Policy debates and practices tend to focus on counting women and treating women's participation as synonymous with a gender perspective

This paper seeks to address these lacunae by drawing on current frameworks, proposing a definition of a gender perspective in peace processes and introducing a way of operationalizing this definition. In order to do so, four conceptual elements of what a gender perspective in peace processes is and some indicators for assessing them are introduced. These indicators are then used to assess two recent peace processes: the Colombian peace process and final agreement signed in 2016; and the peace process in Mindanao, the Philippines, and the comprehensive agreement signed in 2014. This assessment provides a practical application of the conceptual framework proposed below and raises new questions about how the concept can be further measured and assessed.

II. Background

Why inclusive peace processes?

In the 1980s, relatively successful peace processes (see box 1) that led to peace agreements in Namibia, Nicaragua and Zimbabwe created the illusion that peace agreements alone were sufficient to avoid relapse into conflict. This was also reflected in the literature of the era, which focused on how to persuade the parties to a conflict to sign an agreement.[13] This linear

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[10] Without meaningful participation, the influence of women and other gender identity groups on processes and outcomes can hardly be expected. In addition, there should be no assumption that all (or only) women can or would wish to bring a gender perspective to peace processes. Women are not a homogenous group and other gender identity groups can also bring a gender perspective.

[11] United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 of 31 Oct. 2000, para. 8.

[12] Many scholars are repeatedly cited below, e.g. Christine Bell and Thania Paffenholz; see also Langlois, L. L., 'Gender perspective in UN Framework for Peace Processes and Transitional Justice: the need for a clearer and more inclusive notion of gender', *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2018).

[13] Stedman, S., Rothchild, D. and Cousens, E. (eds), *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Lynne Rienner: Colorado, 2002), p. 1.

Box 1. What is a peace process?

Even though efforts to resolve conflicts have existed for as long as there have been conflicts, a formal peace process is a relatively new concept. The term was widely used in the mid 1970s to describe United States-led efforts to negotiate peace between Israel and its neighbours. It is often understood as a phased, step-by-step process for negotiating and nurturing peace.

Source: Quandt, W. B., Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab–Israeli Conflict Since 1967 (Brookings Institution: Washington, DC, 1993), p. 1.

understanding of conflict resolution was challenged in the 1990s, following the failure of peace agreements in Angola, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka and Somalia. In these cases, the failure of peace agreements not only meant the resumption of armed conflict but also led to an escalation of violence.[14] The common failure seen in these cases—state-building from above and that the signatories to the peace agreements primarily consisted of the main parties to the conflict—led to a period of transformation and advocacy for strategies for reconciliation to include the whole of society and local actors in the conflict resolution process.[15]

Besides the justice of allowing different groups in society an equal right to participate, research indicates that peace processes that include civil society reduce the risk of a relapse into conflict.[16] One theoretical explanation for this relationship is that inclusive peace processes can function as a way to prevent spoilers.[17] Stephen Stedman argues that spoilers are one of the most important environmental sources of failure in peace processes.[18] Civil society actors can put pressure on conflict actors outside the peace agreement and, in this way, contribute to the reduction of violence in society. Civil society actors can also play a role in increasing the costs to warring actors of continuing violence after a settlement by generating increased support for a peace process in society, thereby making it harder for the actors to obtain support for violent acts.[19]

In Liberia, women were successfully mobilized to put pressure on the rebel groups and the Liberian Government during the Accra peace talks in 2003. Women's organizations mobilized to protest against the slow pace of the negotiations and to remind the parties to the conflict of the civilian costs of the war. These protests outside the negotiations, where women threatened to block the doors until the parties came up with an agreement, also provided legitimacy to the representatives of civil society who were participating in the formal negotiations.[20] The case of Liberia illustrates how civil society actors outside the main negotiations can have an impact on the process and shows the importance of including actors other than the main conflict parties.

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[14] Stedman, S., *Implementing Peace Agreements in Civil Wars: Lessons and Recommendations for Policymakers,* IPA Policy Paper Series on Peace Implementation (International Peace Academy: New York, 2001).

[15] Galvanek and Planta (note 6); and Darby and MacGinty (note 6), p. 361.

[16] See Yousuf, Z., 'Navigating inclusion in peace transitions beyond elite bargains', *Conciliation Resources* (May 2018); and Nilsson (note 2).

[17] Nilsson (note 2), p. 258.

[18] Stedman, Rothchild and Cousens (note 13), p. 668.

[19] Nilsson (note 2), p. 250.

[20] Paffenholz, T., 'In theory civil society and peace negotiations: Beyond the inclusion-exclusion dichotomy', Negotiation Journal, vol. 30, no. 1 (Jan. 2014).

Women are often excluded from peace processes, reflecting the fact that the majority of the actors in conflicts are men and the masculine nature of conflict and peace.[21] Numerous studies have shown that people with different gender identities experience conflict differently. For example, violence and armed conflict exacerbate gender-based violence, particularly the use of sexual violence by armed actors as a strategy of war.[22] For many decades, in an effort to make peace processes more inclusive towards women and other gender minorities, activists from women's and civil society organizations have pushed for increased and meaningful participation in peace processes. They have also promoted gender sensitivity in peace processes that takes account of the societal and cultural factors involved in gender-based exclusion and existing gender relations. Inclusion and gender sensitivity in the context of peace processes emanate from the need to mainstream gender and transform the root causes of violence, as well as the need for the meaningful inclusion of women in all aspects of peace negotiations, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. The exclusion of a gender perspective works to the detriment of peacebuilding efforts and has serious implications for the type of post-conflict society that emerges and those who can participate in it.[23] The literature on political settlements also shows that the exclusion of certain groups and gender perspectives results in post-agreement political settlements which are unable to transform the root causes of gendered violence and continue to exclude and marginalize groups with particular gender identities.[24] The positive contributions of women to peacebuilding have been documented extensively by researchers and are far-reaching.[25]

> *Excluding a gender perspective is detrimental to peacebuilding efforts and has serious implications for the type of post-conflict society that emerges*

The women, peace and security agenda

The WPS agenda is regarded by many as the most significant global framework for increasing the role of women in peace and security (see box 2). It has its intellectual foundation in feminist international relations

[21] The significant underrepresentation of women is a major focus of this paper. However, this in no way indicates an exclusive focus on women as a gender group or a lack of acknowledgement of other gender identity groups. By 'other gender identity groups', this paper refers to the groups excluded from male-dominated peace processes based on their gender identity, sexual orientation or age, such as boys and young males, and gender and sexual minorities (see also LGBTI groups below).

[22] Strachan, A. L. and Haider, H., *Gender and Conflict: Topic Guide* (GSDRC: University of Birmingham, 2015), p. 9.

[23] Langlois, L. L., 'Gender perspective in UN Framework for Peace Processes and Transitional Justice: The need for a clearer and more inclusive notion of gender', *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, vol. 12 (2018), p. 157.

[24] Close, S., *Gendered Political Settlements: Examining Peace Transitions in Bougainville, Nepal and Colombia* (Conciliation Resources: London, May 2018); and O'Rourke, C., 'Gendering political settlements: Challenges and opportunities', *Journal of International Development*, vol. 29, no. 5 (2017), pp. 594–612.

[25] See e.g. Charlesworth, H., 'Are women peaceful? Reflections on the role of women in peace-building', *Feminist Legal Studies*, vol. 16, no. 3 (2008), pp. 347–61; George, N. and Shepherd, L. J., 'Women, peace and security: Exploring the implementation and integration of UNSCR 1325', *International Political Science Review*, vol. 37, no. 3 (June 2016); Shepherd, L. J., 'Victims of violence or agents of change? Representations of women in UN peacebuilding discourse', *Peacebuilding*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2016), pp. 123–35; and Hudson, N. F., 'UNSCR 1325: The challenges of framing women's rights as a security matter', Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre policy brief (Mar. 2013).

Box 2. What is the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda?

The WPS agenda consists of eight United Nations Security Council resolutions. The landmark Resolution 1325 was unanimously adopted in 2000, after a campaign by women's and civil society organizations that pushed for a greater awareness of the links between gender, development and conflict. Resolution 1325 injects a gender perspective into various peace and security forums and mainstreams gender throughout the entire security field. The resolution is often divided into four pillars:

1. Participation by women at all levels in peace processes and security policy.
2. Protection of women and women's rights during armed conflict and post-conflict.
3. Prevention of the impacts of armed conflict on women.
4. Peacebuilding, also referred to as relief and recovery, where the specific needs and priorities of women and girls are addressed.

Note: The eight resolutions are UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), Resolution 1820 (2009), Resolution 1888 (2009), Resolution 1889 (2010), Resolution 1960 (2011), Resolution 2106 (2013), Resolution 2122 (2013) and Resolution 2242 (2015).

Source: Pratt, N. and Richter-Devroe, S., 'Critically examining UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2011), pp. 489–503; and Höghammar, T. et al., 'The development of the women, peace and security agenda', *SIPRI Yearbook 2016: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2016), pp. 321–22, 328.

(IR) and critical security studies, and was especially influenced by scholars who challenged the traditional approach to security as male-dominated and state-centric, and highlighted women's exclusion and absence from peace and security forums as a key example.[26]

Resolution 1325 calls on 'all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective'.[27] Despite its contribution to heightening awareness of the significance of a gender perspective in the field of peace and security, however, it does not define what a gender perspective is or how it should be applied in the context of a peace process. The non-specific language in the resolution has contributed to the different interpretations of implementation of the resolution. Scholars and women's rights organizations have highlighted how 'adding women' to existing policies is a narrow interpretation of Resolution 1325 that fails to address power relations, masculine norms and the root causes of women's exclusion, as well as the exclusion of gender minorities.[28] According to Kara Lynn Ellerby, instead of adding gender, Resolution 1325 adds women into existing security practices, institutions and policies, through its reference to 'women, peace and security' rather than 'gender, peace and security'.[29] The way that Resolution 1325 has been interpreted in, for example, national action plans has also been problematized as a form of instrumentalization and the language has been criticized for characterizing women as objects who are 'fragile', 'passive', 'potential victims' and consequently 'beneficiaries and

[26] Enloe, C., *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, revised edn (University of California Press, 2014); and Kronsell, A., 'Gendered practices in institutions of hegemonic masculinity', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2005).

[27] United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 of 31 Oct. 2000, para. 8.

[28] Puechguirbal, N., 'Discourse on gender, patriarchy and resolution 1325: A textual analysis of UN documents', *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2010), pp. 172–87; Shepherd, L. J., 'Making war safe for women? National Action Plans and the militarization of the women, peace and security agenda', *International Political Science Review*, vol. 37, no. 3 (2016), p. 252; and Hagen, J. J., 'Queering women, peace and security', *International Affairs*, vol. 92, no. 2 (2016), pp. 313–32.

[29] Ellerby, K., '(EN)gendered security? The complexities of women's inclusion in peace processes', *International Interactions*, vol. 39, no. 4 (Aug. 2013).

recipients of care'.[30] The framing of women as victims has often made the protection pillar the main focus, overshadowing the other three pillars of the WPS agenda (i.e. participation, prevention and peacebuilding, see box 2).[31]

Although the subsequent resolutions have aimed to reinforce the representation of women as actors and agents, structural causes such as gender-based discrimination that inhibit women acting as agents are still rarely challenged in the analytical frameworks of mainstream international organizations.[32] The 'add women and stir' strategy of increasing the representation of women often leads to women being invited to join peace processes late in the day, without any changes to institutions, discourse or practice. In this sense, the WPS agenda has been criticized by some scholars for maintaining the status quo rather than challenging and transforming the international security agenda.[33]

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The critique of how Resolution 1325 has been implemented underscores the need for a comprehensive understanding of a gender perspective that looks beyond the descriptive representation of women and men, in order to address the differences in the needs of and impacts on, as well as between and within, groups with different gender identities, while also addressing power relations that limit the participation and influence of women, some men and people with other gender identities.[34] A comprehensive understanding of gender would acknowledge that a gender perspective cannot be separated from the overall process since all aspects of a peace agreement are gendered and have gendered implications, including disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) processes, power sharing, the reform of security sector institutions, and post-conflict recovery and development.[35]

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[30] Shepherd, L. J., 'Power and authority in the production of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 52, no. 2 (2008), pp. 383–404; and Shepherd, L. J., 'Sex, security and superhero(in)es: From 1325 to 1820 and beyond', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2011), pp. 504–21.

[31] Olsson, L. and Gizelis, T. I., *Gender, Peace and Security: Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325* (Routledge: London, 2015), p. 8; and Bjertén-Günther, E., Caparini, M. and Jung, Y., 'Delivering as one: Other multilateral mechanisms for sustaining peace', *SIPRI Yearbook 2017: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2017), p. 243.

[32] Shepherd (note 30), 'Sex, security and superhero(in)es: From 1325 to 1820 and beyond', pp. 504–21; and Shepherd, L. J., *Gender, Violence and Security: Discourse as Practice* (Zed Books: London, 2008).

[33] Björkdahl, A. and Selimovic, J. M., 'Translating UNSCR 1325 from the global to the national: Protection, representation and participation in the National Action Plans of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda', *Conflict, Security and Development*, vol. 15, no. 4 (2015), pp. 311–35; Harrington, C., 'Resolution 1325 and post-cold war feminist politics', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2011), pp. 557–75; Skjelsbaek, I., *The Political Psychology of Rape: Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Routledge: London, 2012); Swaine, A., 'Assessing the potential of National Action Plans to advance implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325', *Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law*, vol. 12 (2009), pp. 403–33; and Hudson, H., 'A double-edged sword of peace?', *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 19, no. 4 (2012), pp. 443–60.

[34] Some researchers have also criticized the resolution for reproducing a binary understanding of gender that fails to account for individuals who fall outside the heteronormative construction of who qualifies as 'women'. See e.g. Hagen (note 28).

[35] An extensive body of literature has documented how war and conflict are highly gendered. See e.g. Kovitz, M., 'The roots of military masculinity', ed. P. Higate, *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2013), pp. 1–14; and Kronsell, A. and Svedberd, E., *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices* (Routledge: London, Sep. 2011).

Box 3. What is a gender perspective?

A gender perspective means taking gender-based differences into account when looking at any social phenomenon, policy or process. It focuses particularly on gender-based differences in status and power, and considers how discrimination can shape the immediate needs and long-term interests of diverse groups of gender identities. Applying a gender perspective to policy is a strategy for making each gender's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes so that all genders benefit equally and gender-based inequality is not perpetuated. This definition illustrates that a gender perspective is not only focused on the protection of women but treats power relations between and within genders as relational and dynamic.

Source: European Institute for Gender Equality, 'Gender' and 'Gender equality', Glossary and thesaurus.

III. Assessing gender perspectives in peace processes

What is a gender perspective in a peace process?

The feminist IR literature describes how the state, nation and citizenship have been constructed as male. Gender neutrality is premised on a masculine approach to policies and gender-neutral language is widely used in policies and laws as well as in peace agreements.[36] It is a common misunderstanding that peace agreements which use 'gender-neutral language' will therefore have gender-neutral effects. However, peace agreements like other policies and laws often have differential impacts on different groups in society. A peace agreement that is perceived as 'gender neutral' can nonetheless be shown to be discriminatory against women and other excluded gender groups.[37] This highlights the fact that there is no such thing as a gender-neutral peace agreement. A gender perspective that leads to a more gender-sensitive peace—and a more inclusive peace more broadly—starts with an understanding that policies, processes and peace agreements are gendered (see box 3).

This paper conceptualizes a gender perspective in peace processes by building on the definition first outlined by Christine Bell.[38] Bell's definition of a gender perspective in peace processes and peace agreements takes a fourfold approach to the different levels and phases of a peace process where a gender perspective can or should be adopted. Although the original definition by Bell describes the approach using binary language on gender, this paper broadens the perspective by widening the binary understanding and including the participation and needs of people with non-binary gender identities.[39]

First, the inclusion of women and marginalized groups and their increased meaningful participation in peace processes are central to a gender perspective. The participation of women and other groups that have been marginalized based on their gender identities should be ensured in processes that lead to peace agreements and also addressed in the peace agreement to ensure their participation in transitional and post-

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[36] Bell, C., *Text and Context: Evaluating Peace Agreements for their Gender Perspective* (Political Settlements Research Programme: University of Edinburgh, 2015); and Nderoitu, A. and O'Neill, J., *7 Myths Standing in the Way of Women's Inclusion* (Inclusive Security, 2013).

[37] Nderoitu and O'Neill (note 36).

[38] Bell (note 36).

[39] E.g. Bell defines the first and second dimensions as: (*a*) including women in the processes; and (*b*) addressing women's needs and demands.

negotiation processes.[40] In addition to participation in peace processes and negotiations, gender-balanced representation and involvement in the wider meaning of transitional processes, including post-negotiation processes, is required. Peace agreements need to include consideration of women and groups with other gender identities as decision makers in government and leadership roles, as well as their presence in the implementation of the peace agreement at all levels of society. However, this point must be addressed with due consideration for the intersectional nature of social identities. Intersectionality is defined as 'the critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities'.[41] It reflects the relationships between social identities and power relations and reveals the influence of people's multiple social identities on their beliefs and experiences of a society. There is a need to understand diversity within women's representation in order to appreciate the needs and interests of different groups of women.

It is a common misunderstanding that peace agreements which use 'gender-neutral language' will have gender-neutral effects

Second, a gender perspective should explicitly address the differences in needs and demands between and within genders in the text of peace agreements and subsequent implementation processes. Resolution 1325 states that women and men often have different experiences of conflict and different positions.[42] Different needs must therefore be specifically addressed in order to ensure that gender-based inequality is not perpetuated. This dimension is linked to the protection pillar of Resolution 1325, which highlights the protection of women and women's rights during armed conflict and in post-conflict situations. This is arguably the most common form of inclusion in existing peace agreements. In addition, it is also linked to the prevention pillar, which addresses the root causes of violence and discrimination. Acknowledging the different needs within and among different genders could contribute proactively to reshaping gender power relations in a transitional process, as well as power relations more broadly.[43]

Third, the adoption of a gender mainstreaming approach throughout the language of a peace agreement is required and an evaluation of how the

[40] A common argument for inclusion in the existing literature is that women and men bring different perspectives to the negotiation table and women's participation is important to ensure that 'women's perspectives' are addressed. Other scholars argue that it is important to include women whatever their perspective since women are diverse and have different views. This perspective acknowledges that including women in the process will not necessarily contribute to a gender perspective being addressed.

[41] Collins, H. P., 'Intersectionality's definitional dilemmas', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 41 (2015); Cho, S., Crenshaw, K. W. and McCall, L., 'Toward a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications and praxis', *Signs*, vol. 38, no. 4 (Summer 2013), pp. 785–810; and 'Intersectionality: Theorizing power, empowering theory', *Signs*, Blog post, 6 May 2013.

[42] United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 of 31 Oct. 2000, para. 8, 'Calls upon all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia: (*a*) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction, (*b*) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements, (*c*) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary'.

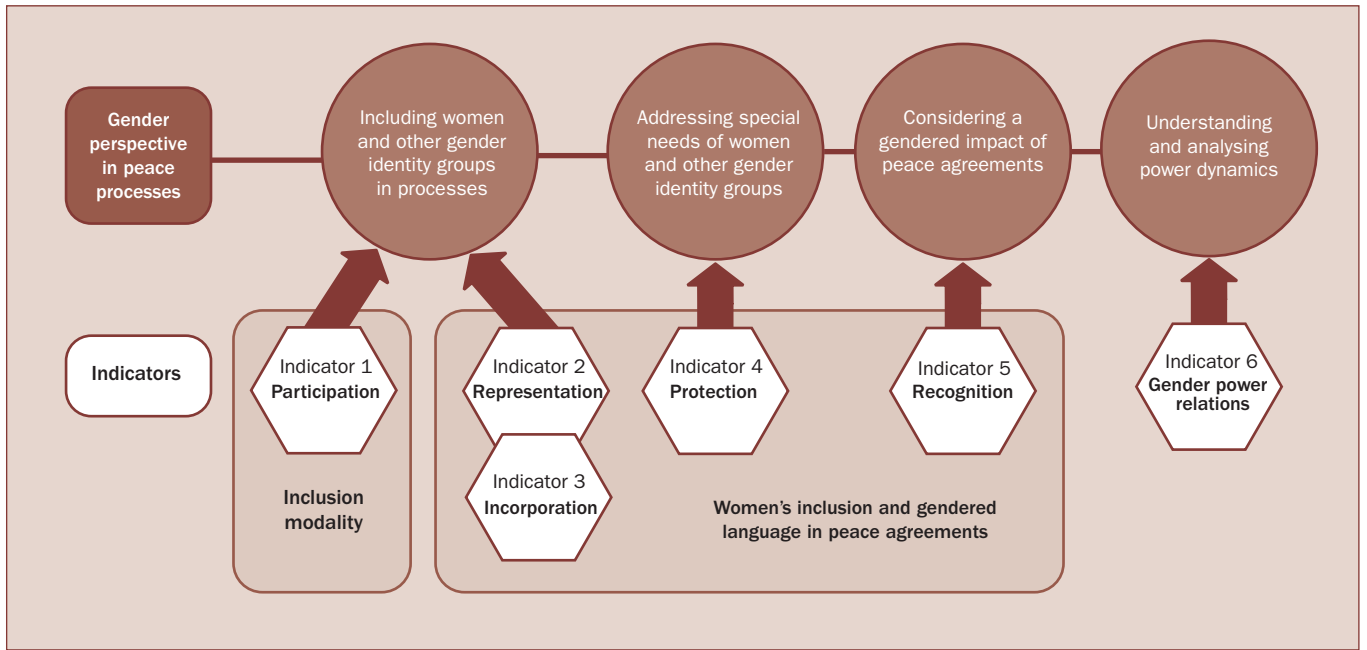[43] Bell (note 36), p. 8.

Figure 1. Four dimensions of a gender perspective and their relevant indicators

Source: Authors' own figure.

different provisions of a peace agreement address the gendered impacts of it. Based on the notion that peace agreements are by no means gender neutral, this dimension requires a more holistic approach to peace agreements that looks beyond gender-sensitive language.[44] It considers how different genders are differentially affected by the provisions of peace agreements that might be described in gender-neutral terms, such as how socio-economic rights are addressed, how the agreement deals with refugees and displacement, and the choice of electoral system.[45]

Fourth, a gender perspective requires an understanding of the power relations between genders, as well as consideration of power dynamics more broadly, and how these gendered power relations relate to the existing conflict. It acknowledges that power imbalances between genders are deeply embedded in society and a root cause of gender-based violence. It requires a multidimensional understanding of conflict based on the relationship between the parties to the conflict and gender, which results in, for example, the overrepresentation of men in political settings and hence elite dominance in the public sector, compared with women's more visible participation in non-elite social movements such as women's movements.[46] A gender perspective is a tool for analysing power structures—both formal and informal—in a broader sense, such as power relations among male, female and other genders, as well as elite or non-elite and domestic or international actors.[47] This profound perspective tackles more fundamental questions about how peace processes are defined and understood, and how to reshape

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[44] Nderoitu and O'Neill (note 36).

[45] Bell (note 36), p. 8.

[46] O'Rourke, C., 'Gendering political settlements: Challenges and opportunities', *Journal of International Development*, vol. 29, no. 5 (2017), pp. 594–612.

[47] Bell (note 36), pp. 8–9.

the negotiation table to make peace processes more inclusive.[48] Furthermore, as Catherine O'Rourke claims, any assessment of power relations requires an investigation of elite interactions with other elites, as well as with different constituencies within the state, and how these relationships can bring about positive change.[49]

As defined above, a gender perspective in peace processes can be applied to four dimensions that address different levels and phases of a peace process. This paper does not aim to create a hierarchy of the qualities of the four dimensions but instead argues that a gender perspective should be approached in a holistic way.[50] According to the definition, a gender perspective in peace processes requires: (*a*) the inclusion of women and all other gender identity groups in peace processes (during negotiations and transitional processes), (*b*) the special needs of women and other gender identity groups to be addressed, (*c*) consideration of the gendered impacts of peace agreements, and (*d*) an understanding and analysis of power dynamics.

A framework for assessing gender perspectives in peace processes

In order to analyse how a gender perspective has been applied to peace processes, this paper suggests a simple framework that is in line with the definition of a gender perspective in peace processes outlined above. Although a peace process may encompass a broader time frame that covers the post-conflict phase, this framework is limited, first, to the process of reaching a peace agreement, including the peace negotiation process, and, second, to the content of the final peace agreement that sets the agenda on how peace will be implemented. This focus makes it easier to evaluate gendered participation in the process of reaching the agreement and the written results of the negotiation process, but does not take account of the implementation of the peace agreement in the transitional period, which would require a longer time frame and a broader scope of analysis. In order to operationalize the definition built on Bell's approach, the analytical framework was developed based on previous research on women's inclusion in peace processes and gendered language in peace agreements (see figure 1).

For each dimension of a gender perspective, the framework sets out specific indicators based on the work of Thania Paffenholz and Ellerby. Paffenholz outlines seven modalities of inclusion that broaden participation in practice: (*a*) direct representation at the negotiation table, (*b*) observer status, (*c*) consultations, (*d*) inclusive commissions, (*e*) high-level problem-solving workshops, (*f*) public decision making, and (*g*) mass action (see annex A).[51]

[48] This was discussed at the Stockholm Forum on Peace and Development, 2018, in the session 'Beyond lip-service: Bringing a gender perspective to the negotiating table'. See *Conference Report: 2018 Stockholm Forum on Peace and Development* (SIPRI: Stockholm, forthcoming).

[49] O'Rourke (note 46), pp. 594–612.

[50] Even if women are represented at the peace table, previous research indicates that their representation does not necessarily lead to advocacy of women's rights at the negotiating table or gender-sensitive language in the final peace agreement. This was evident e.g. from the El Salvador peace process. Bell also emphasizes that even if a peace agreement has applied a gender perspective, it cannot be acknowledged as having fully adopted a gender perspective if women were not involved in formulating its provisions.

[51] Paffenholz, T., *Preventing Violence through Inclusion: from Building Political Momentum to Sustaining Peace* (Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative: Geneva, 2017); and Paffenholz, T. et al., *Making Women Count, Not Just Counting Women: Assessing Women's Inclusion and Influence on*

Paffenholz explains that the modalities are not mutually exclusive but can take place either in parallel or sequentially.[52] The framework also draws on Ellerby's four categories of women's inclusion and gendered language in peace agreements: (*a*) representation, which looks at women as decision makers in formal bodies of government, leadership and peacebuilding committees, (*b*) incorporation, which examines women's inclusion in bureaucracy and peacebuilding bodies that aim for gender balance at all levels, (*c*) protection, which focuses on direct violence, such as physical harm and sex-based discrimination, as well as the safety and rights of women, and (*d*) recognition, which focuses on a gender perspective and the policy requirements for development.[53]

The four dimensions of a gender perspective proposed above can be linked with six indicators, in part drawn from the work of Paffenholz and Ellerby (see figure 1). These linkages are based on relevance by considering the content and phases of peace processes. The six indicators can be used to break down the conceptual language of the four dimensions into practical measures.[54]

Indicator 1, participation, evaluates how women and other gender identity groups have been included in a peace process. The framework incorporates the modalities of inclusion as an analytical tool.[55]

Indicator 2, representation, assesses how the participation of women and other gender identity groups in decision-making bodies has been addressed in the content of the final peace agreements.

Indicator 3, incorporation, assesses how women's and other gender identity groups' inclusion in the bureaucracy and peacebuilding bodies has been addressed in the content of the final peace agreements.

Indicator 4, protection, addresses whether, and if so how, women's and gender minorities' special needs are operationalized by focusing on equality and the safety of women and marginalized groups. However, since special needs can eventually be incorporated into conflict prevention, which addresses the root causes of violence and discrimination, the prevention element is also taken into account by this indicator.

Indicator 5, recognition, is used to assess the gendered impact of a peace agreement, or more specifically the ways in which laws and policies reflect gender- and/or women-centred language.

Lastly, indicator 6, gender power relations, operationalizes the analysis of power dynamics using a discourse analysis of the peace agreement to assess whether it includes language that addresses gender power relations, such as patriarchy, structural power imbalances or discrimination against

Peace Negotiations (Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative: Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies and UN Women, Geneva, 2016).

[52] Paffenholz, *Preventing Violence Through Inclusion* (note 51); and Paffenholz, T., *Broadening Participation in Peace Processes: Dilemmas and Options for Mediators* (Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue: Geneva, June 2014), pp. 13–21.

[53] For more information see Ellerby, K., '(En)gendered security? The complexities of women's inclusion in peace processes', *International Interactions*, vol. 39, no. 4 (2013).

[54] The framework has limitations for assessing different levels of fulfilment of the indicators. E.g. the framework must be further developed for it to be able to assess or measure whether women's needs have been addressed once or ten times.

[55] In this paper, the six indicators are indicated in bold. Other core concepts, such as the types of participation identified by Paffenholz, are italicized.

women and other gender minorities.[56] This point seeks to move beyond a narrow understanding of security to the structures and cultures that cause or perpetuate armed conflict, thereby emphasizing the need for more comprehensive and inclusive conflict prevention strategies.

The framework uses these indicators to assess not just how many women have participated in a peace process, but also different aspects of women's and other gender identity groups' inclusion in peace processes, as well as gender sensitivity in peace agreements. It looks at the ways in which women and other marginalized gender identity groups have participated; to what extent the groups' inclusion in post-agreement mechanisms—both decision-making and peacebuilding bodies—has been ensured in peace agreements; and whether, and if so how, equal rights and the safety of women and gender minorities as well as gender power relations are addressed in peace agreements. This analytical framework was then applied to two peace processes known for being gender inclusive: the Colombian peace process and the Mindanao peace process in the Philippines. The results are exemplified by categorizing them using the four dimensions of a gender perspective in peace processes.[57]

These processes received global attention due to their gendered language in the peace agreements and the substantial participation of women

IV. Unpacking gender perspectives in the cases of Colombia and Mindanao

Background to the peace processes in Colombia and Mindanao

Two recent peace processes, one in Colombia and the other in Mindanao, both addressed intra-state conflicts between governments and non-state armed groups. These two processes received global attention due to the use of gendered language in their peace agreements and, in comparison with other peace processes, the substantial participation of women.

Colombia

The Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace was signed on 26 August 2012. Over half a century of armed conflict between the Government of Colombia and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia–People's Army (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo, FARC-EP) left in its wake a death toll of 220 000 people, 80 per cent of whom were civilians.[58] The end of the first round of informal talks between both parties resulted in a six-point agenda

[56] Addressing power structures and gender relations is understood as a way to create fundamental changes in gender equality, but the frameworks or tools for analysing these relationships in the context of peace processes are limited. The authors acknowledge the absence of a multidimensional analysis of conflicts and peace negotiations in this paper's analysis as a limitation. It does not fully address whether or how power structures are reflected in peace processes, or whether or how the design of a peace process reproduces unequal power structures. For more detail see O'Rourke, C., 'Gendering political settlements: challenges and opportunities', *Journal of International Development*, vol. 29, no. 5 (2017), pp. 594–612.

[57] For the result of the textual analysis of the comprehensive peace agreements, refer to the text analysis charts on the Colombian peace agreement and the Mindanao peace agreements.

[58] Bouvier, V. M., *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process*, UN Women Background Paper (UN Women: New York, 2016), p. 4.

covering the six major disputes between both actors: (*a*) comprehensive rural reform, (*b*) political participation, (*c*) an end to the conflict (a ceasefire and cessation of hostilities), (*d*) a solution to the problem of illicit drugs, (*e*) an agreement regarding the victims of the conflict, and (*f*) implementation and verification mechanisms.[59]

In a plebiscite on 2 October 2016, a majority 'No' decision rejected ratification of the Final Agreement. However, the Constitutional Court indicated that President Juan Manuel Santos retained discretionary power, in order to maintain public order, to negotiate with illegal armed actors to achieve peace. Amendments were adopted and a new agreement reached, as a result of which a revised Final Agreement was signed between both parties on 24 November 2016. This revised Final Agreement retained all of the accords from the rejected agreement listed above.

The gender perspective that was mainstreamed throughout the six points in the original final peace agreement made reference to the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) groups.[60] There were also elements of an ethnic and a territorial focus. This made the Colombian agreement one of the most innovative and inclusive peace agreements ever written.[61] The agreement also emphasized women's decisive role and their equal standing in Colombian society. After the agreement was rejected by a narrow margin, however, changes to the language on gender mainstreaming and sexual orientation were among the enforced revisions.

The large number of references to gender and women in the original peace agreement were a result of the participation mechanisms that feminists built in and strengthened in coordination with the women's movement in Colombia at the local level and the international commitments on gender equality that the Colombian Government had recognized.[62] This level of organization forced the government to acknowledge the importance of women's influence in promoting a gender perspective. As a result, a majority of the references remained in the revised final agreement. Overall, the results of this peace process were possible due to the high level of participation by diverse groups of women as delegates around the negotiation table or alternates to the main negotiators, and in supporting mechanisms to the negotiation process.[63]

Reference to the rights of LGBTI groups made the Colombian agreement one of the most innovative and inclusive peace agreements ever written

[59] 'Summary of Colombia's Agreement to End Conflict and Build Peace', *Presidencia de la República*, pp. 5–33.

[60] LGBTI is an umbrella term that is often used to refer to the community as a whole. It is also common to add A to refer to asexual and/or Q for queer or simply to add plus, as in LGBT+, as an umbrella term for different gender and sexual minorities. Marinucci, M., *Feminism is Queer: The Intimate Connection between Queer and Feminist Theory* (Zed Books: London, 2016); see also Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual Resource Center, Glossary, [n.d.].

[61] *Informe Sobre el Estado Efectivo de Implementación del Acuerdo de Paz en Colombia* [Report on the effective implementation of the peace agreement in Colombia] (Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies: University of Notre Dame, 2017), pp. 12–13 (in Spanish).

[62] González, N. and Osorio, M., 'Negotiating from the margins: The political participation of women in the Colombian peace processes (1982–2016)', *Documentos Dejusticia* 29 (Dec. 2016), p. 66.

[63] At the negotiation tables, there were 3 women negotiators, as opposed to 17 men; 2 women alternates, as opposed to 8 men; and 25 supporting tables comprising women, as opposed to 13 with men. See González and Osorio (note 61).

Mindanao

Since 1972, the indigenous Muslim population, the Moro, and the Government of the Philippines have been engaged in armed conflict in Mindanao, an island in the southern Philippines. In 1976, the Tripoli Agreement was signed after a peace negotiation between the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the Government of the Philippines, which granted a degree of autonomy to the Moro. This is regarded as an important reference point for future peace processes even though, due to the limited level of autonomy it granted, it led to the creation of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in 1984. In 1996, a final agreement on the implementation of the 1976 Tripoli Agreement was signed between the Government of the Philippines and the MNLF. However, the MILF continued its armed resistance.

> *The Mindanao agreement stands out due to its gender focus, consultation mechanisms, and a female chief negotiator*

The negotiation process between the Government of the Philippines and the MILF remained active until 2000, resulting in a number of agreements. After years at the diplomatic stage of peace talks, a mutually acceptable agreement was achieved and the government and the MILF signed the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) on 27 March 2014.[64]

According to Gene Carolan, 'The root causes of the Mindanao conflict pertain to successive administrative policies of ethnic marginalization of the predominantly Muslim Moro people of the southernmost Philippines [the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM)] from the Christian-Filipino mainstream of Philippine society'.[65] The enduring nature of the conflict emphasized the intractability of the problems that the government and the MILF sought to address in the agreement: geography and geopolitics, deep-seated identity-related grievances, territorial and property rights, poverty and the denial of basic human needs, predatory warlords and weak governance mechanisms.[66] In terms of the application of a gender perspective, the agreement stood out for several reasons: (*a*) its concrete and specific development plan with a gender focus and an independent revenue stream to fund it, (*b*) consultation mechanisms to enable women to address specific grievances, and (*c*) the participation of women in decision-making bodies, including Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, the first and only female chief negotiator in history to sign a peace accord.

The CAB incorporates all the agreements signed between the government and the MILF since 1997. To enhance the relevance of the discussion on gender inclusive processes, which was accelerated after the adoption of Resolution 1325 in 2000, and to be in line with the CAB, which incorporated the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB) signed in January 2013 as well its four annexes, this study analysed the CAB and all of its attached

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[64] For more detailed information on the process, see Bell, C. and Utley, V., 'Chronology of Mindanao Peace Agreements', Briefing Paper no. 2, Political Settlements Research Programme, 2015.

[65] Carolan, G., 'Solving the Moro problem: Legalizing the Bangsamoro peace process', *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research*, vol. 8, no. 3 (2016), p. 215.

[66] Hernandez, A., 'Managing intractable identity conflicts: a concert of measures in the Southern Philippines', ed. A Hernandez, *Nation-building and Identity Conflicts: Facilitating the Mediation Process in Southern Philippines* (Springer VS: Wiesbaden, 2014), pp. 149–85.

documents.[67] The FAB and its four annexes and one addendum constitute the following.

1. The Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro initialled on 12 October 2012 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and signed on 15 October 2012 in Manila, Philippines.

2. The Annex on Transitional Arrangements and Modalities, signed on 27 February 2013 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

3. The Annex on Revenue Generation and Wealth Sharing, signed on 13 July 2013 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

4. The Annex on Power Sharing, signed on 8 December 2013 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

5. The Annex on Normalization, signed on 25 January 2014 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

6. The Addendum on the Bangsamoro Waters and Zones of Joint Cooperation, signed on 25 January 2014 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Gender perspectives in the peace process in Colombia

Including women and other gender identity groups in peace processes

In the Colombian peace process, women were represented through four models of participation: (*a*) direct representation at the negotiation table, (*b*) consultations, (*c*) inclusive commissions, and (*d*) public decision making. First, Nigeria Rentería and María Riveros on the government side and Tanja Nijmeijer on the FARC side participated through direct representation at the negotiation table. Just 3 of the 17 negotiators were women, or 15 per cent.[68] Negotiators and their alternates were influenced by consultations.

The Sub-commission on Gender comprised of women's networks from backgrounds including indigenous, rural and Afro-Colombian women

One prominent example was the Sub-commission on Gender, which comprised women's networks from diverse backgrounds including but not limited to indigenous, rural and Afro-Colombian women.[69] Women were also represented through inclusive commissions. The government and social organizations established mechanisms for the future participation of women in politics. This included the implementation of Comprehensive Rural Reform and the accord on illicit drugs, which mentions that communities should participate in issues that affect them.[70] The clauses are concrete in that they require the participation of women and women's organizations' in all decision-making processes. For the indicator on participation, women were also involved in public decision making. The negotiations stipulated that mechanisms should be put in place to allow for the largest participation of civil society possible. Therefore, the government set up three mechanisms between June and November 2013 that involved proposals sent by citizens by physical mail or electronically, direct

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[67] Republic of the Philippines, 'Timeline: The Bangsamoro Peace Process', *Official Gazette*; and Republic of the Philippines, 'Document: The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro', *Official Gazette*, 27 Mar. 2014.

[68] González and Osorio (note 62), p. 69.

[69] González and Osorio (note 62), pp. 68, 72.

[70] González and Osorio (note 62), p. 84.

consultations, and forums for citizen participation.[71] Women participated in all three of the national forums for citizen participation to varying degrees, both as individual citizens and as representatives of women's organizations.

Other aspects addressing women's inclusion in the peace process can be found in the content of the final peace agreement: representation, indicating women as decision makers, and incorporation, putting particular emphasis on the presence of women in the bureaucracy and peacebuilding bodies. With regard to representation, the Colombian peace agreement tackles low levels of representation by acknowledging the structural difficulties that women face in terms of social and political participation. For example, the language in the agreement acknowledges multiple forms of discrimination that women, LGBTI groups and other minority groups face in everyday life. In fact, specific media campaigns and workshops are suggested to tackle this at the societal level.[72] One of the more concrete actions set out by the parties to address the underrepresentation of populations affected by conflict in government was to set up 16 Special Transitory Peace Electoral Districts. These districts will elect 16 representatives to the Colombian House of Representatives for two electoral periods. It is here

Language in the agreement acknowledges multiple forms of discrimination that women, LGBTI and other minority groups face

that women can have a significant impact, given that victims' organizations and women's organizations will be able to help elect representatives who live in conflict-affected territories.[73] The agreement also recognized the importance of women's involvement in decision-making processes, and of concrete methods to involve women in politics. One example recognized the importance of bottom-up structures that include women in making the agreement more sustainable, particularly in conflict-affected zones where elected leaders have a better understanding of the grievances of their communities.

For the indicator on incorporation, the Colombian agreement envisages a greater gender balance in the day-to-day institutions and mechanisms tasked with implementation of the agreement. For example, in chapter 2 on political participation, the agreement seeks guarantees to ensure democratic participation, particularly legal and technical assistance to consolidate the ability of women's organizations to mobilize.[74] Establishing Territorial Councils that include women's participation would be essential in order to monitor and evaluate planning and budgeting for administrative decisions made by the government.[75] The agreement also addresses the need for decision-making spaces for women to enable them to participate in,

[71] Office of the High Commissioner for Peace, 'Progress made within the framework of the mechanisms for communication and dissemination of the conversation tables' (in Spanish).

[72] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 2.3.5. Promotion of a democratic and participatory political culture, signed on 24 Nov. 2016, p. 54.

[73] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 2.3.6. Promotion of the political representation of populations and zones particularly affected by the conflict and neglect (note 72), pp. 54–55.

[74] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 2.2.1. Guarantees for social organizations and movements (note 72), pp. 41–42.

[75] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 2.2.6. Policy for strengthening democratic, participatory planning (note 72), pp. 49–50.

for example, the media in order to disseminate values of equality and non-discrimination, and particularly to address violence against women.[76] On an individual level, the agreement also mentions that a disregard for women and their concerns, particularly in the countryside, requires the mass-issuance of identity cards to stimulate women's participation in electoral processes.[77] Moreover, in acknowledging that female heads of household are often ignored on issues of land ownership, the agreement emphasizes that the beneficiaries of land redistribution should include female heads of household.[78] The peace agreement notes that citizen forums, with the participation of rural women, will function as accountability mechanisms for citizens in rural areas so they can be included in all the decision-making processes surrounding the Comprehensive Rural Reform.[79]

Women's reproductive role and the protection of motherhood are repeatedly mentioned in the Colombian agreement

Addressing the special needs of women and other gender identity groups

For the indicator on protection, which looks at equality and the safety of women and minority groups as well as conflict prevention through the inclusion of actors who have historically been discriminated against, the agreement contains clauses on issues ranging from social development and security guarantees to addressing sexual and gender-based violence. It identifies various types of gender-based violence that go beyond violence against women. For example, chapter 3 on the end of the conflict, which is considered the most important point for FARC-EP, seeks better administration of justice, particularly in cases involving gender-based violence including towards LGBTI groups. In chapter 5, the parties also agree to the creation of a truth commission that will assess the root causes of violent conflict and the impact it has on different groups, particularly women and minorities such as LGBTI communities. The commission aims to raise awareness about historical mechanisms of discrimination.[80]

Women's reproductive role and the protection of motherhood are repeatedly mentioned in the Colombian agreement. For example, it states that health service provision should seek to tackle infrastructure vulnerabilities in rural communities, particularly the difficulties that women face in ensuring their sexual and reproductive health. Particular emphasis is placed on the need to protect pregnant women and children.[81] Further changes include social security protection for rural populations, particularly rural women, in the Progressive Plan for Social Protection and Safeguarding the Rights of Rural

[76] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 2.2.3. Citizen participation through community, institutional and regional media (note 72), p. 46.

[77] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 2.3.2. Promotion of electoral participation (note 72), pp. 51–52.

[78] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 1.1.3. Beneficiary persons (note 72), p. 16.

[79] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 1.2.4. Participation mechanisms (note 72), p. 23.

[80] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 5.1.1.1. Truth, Coexistence and Non-Recurrence Commission (note 72), pp. 139–40.

[81] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 1.3.2 Social development: health, education, housing and poverty eradication; 1.3.2.1. Health (note 72), p. 26.

Workers. This point promotes schemes that focus on family protection and health services during pregnancy and birth.[82]

Women's rights also include other structural factors such as access to education, and the educational inclusion of rural men and women will also take a gender-based approach in granting scholarships to both men and women, while also providing incentives to encourage women to continue studying. Interestingly, given the hyper-masculine society in Colombia, the parties mention that they will provide vocational training for women in areas of work that have traditionally been the domain of men. This could be seen as a way to address patriarchal institutions in the countryside and hence as a mechanism to promote change in day-to-day life.[83]

Considering the gendered impact of peace agreements

A gender-sensitive approach to the transitional process, which is linked to the indicator on recognition, is principally found with regard to legal changes related to various topics such as illicit drug use, preventing the transmission of HIV/AIDS, and expanding land titling and ownership.[84] Legal changes are also designed to be gender sensitive. For example, the agreement's ambition is to apply a gender-based approach and affirmative action to the national policy on tackling illicit drug use by assessing the relationship between illicit drug use and violence against women (e.g. domestic violence and sexual violence) and LGBTI communities. This also includes special measures to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS among the female prison population.[85] Another notable legal change will be the cultural shift away from punitive action and incarceration for drug use to gender-based policies that seek to rehabilitate and integrate drug users back into society.[86] Above all, significant changes in the law related to land titling and ownership by rural women, in particular, which remove the incentives for illicit crop growth and provide rehabilitation mechanisms for addicts, apply a gender lens in terms of responses and actions.

The agreement applies a gender-based approach and affirmative action to the national policy on tackling illicit drug

The agreement also reflects its consideration of the gendered impact of conflict and the peace agreement by promoting instruments for the integration of female FARC combatants. The agreement embarks on a Comprehensive Security System for the Exercise of Politics, which will foster dialogue with the new FARC political party, particularly on effective

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[82] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 1.3.3.5. Rural labour market formalization and social protection (note 72), pp. 31–32.

[83] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 1.3. National plans for Comprehensive Rural Reform; 1.3.2.2. Rural education (note 72), pp. 26–27.

[84] More specific measures are included to address women's rights in terms of land rights, such as land titling and access to subsidies, including a 'special purchase credit' for rural women. Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 1.1.2. Other mechanisms to promote access to land (note 72), p. 15.

[85] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 4.2.1.4 Participatory action plans with territorial-based and population-focused approach (note 72), p. 126.

[86] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 4. Solution to the Illicit Drugs Problem (note 72), pp. 104–25.

dialogue and protection for female members of the new political group.[87] The assumption is that once the rebel group is disbanded, measures will be necessary to protect its former members, particularly women, who wish to enter politics.

Understanding and analysing power dynamics

An assessment of the power dynamics in the Colombian agreement presents some insights into the language used to tackle structural imbalances in society that work to the detriment of women and minorities. Notably, the language in the agreement acknowledges the many forms of discrimination that women and LGBTI and minority groups face in everyday life, while offering solutions to these historical injustices. For example, the inclusion of women throughout the chapter on rural reform is seen as necessary to tackle the unjust structural conditions women face in terms of land ownership— which have historically prioritized men—while offering funding for land exploitation.[88]

Power dynamics are also addressed in the agreement when raising awareness of the mechanisms of structural violence that are detrimental to women and minorities. For example, chapter 5 of the agreement establishes a truth commission to prevent a recurrence of the negative factors that affected women, youth, indigenous people and LGBTI groups, among others, during the conflict. The language used in this section includes phrases such as 'historical mechanisms' and 'inclusive societies' to increase awareness of historical injustices and the importance of intersectionality between issues such as gender and discrimination.[89]

Furthermore, the agreement contemplates the creation of a gender-based task force responsible for verifying that the commission's methodologies are gender sensitive to both women and LGBTI populations.[90] The agreement also establishes a special investigation unit to investigate and prosecute criminal organizations that systematically carry out violence against women and recommends that the unit's staff should have a multidimensional understanding of criminal behaviour that specifically targets women.[91] The aim is to prevent a recurrence of criminal acts that are known to affect women disproportionately. It is also important to note that while the agreement mainstreamed gender throughout all of its chapters, some notable structural factors remain that will require both long-term planning and power dynamics to be addressed.

The agreement aims to increase awareness of injustices and highlight intersectionality between issues such as gender and discrimination

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[87] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 2.1.2.1 Comprehensive Security System for the Exercise of Politics (note 72), pp. 38–40.

[88] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, Towards a New Colombian Countryside: Comprehensive Rural Reform (note 72), pp. 10–13.

[89] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 5.1.1.1. Truth, Coexistence and Non-Recurrence Commission (note 72), p. 140.

[90] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 5.1.1.1.4. Duties (note 72), p. 146.

[91] Government of Colombia and FARC-EP, Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 3.4.4 Special Investigation Unit for the dismantling of criminal organizations (note 72), p. 87.

Gender perspectives in the peace process in Mindanao

Including women and other gender identity groups in peace processes

Women's participation was noted at different levels in the Mindanao peace process, which is probably best known for having women in key positions in it. For example, Miriam Coronel-Ferrer had direct representation at the negotiation table and became the first female chief negotiator in history to sign a peace accord. Her expertise in grassroots activism and gender equality is seen as an important factor that led to the provisions on women's meaningful participation appearing in the peace agreement's section on basic rights.[92] Raissa Jajurie, the first woman to be a member of the official MILF delegation in 2011, served as a consultant and legal advisor to the MILF delegation during the negotiations.[93] The participation of women in key positions beyond the notion of meeting quota requirements during the negotiation process is also argued to have fostered a genuine understanding of the power of women to influence successful peace and development initiatives, particularly in terms of funding the implementation of development projects.[94] For example, lobbying efforts for the inclusion of women's concerns between 2013 and 2014, including accounts submitted by over 2750 women to the Women's Summit in Cotabato, contributed to the drafting of the Bangsamoro Basic Law in April 2013, which provides for the establishment of an autonomous political entity.[95]

Miriam Coronel-Ferrer is the first female chief negotiator in history to sign a peace accord

In addition to direct representation, women participated in the peace process in various ways. A tradition of activism related to political and social issues contributed to mobilization, coalition building, mass communication and lobbying in order to push the women's agenda forward.[96] CSOs were overwhelmingly made up of women.[97] Women also formed different organizations, such as Women for Justice in the Bangsamoro, Babaehon (an indigenous women's group), the Suara Bangsamoro party list and the Bangsamoro Women's Solidarity Forum, among others.[98] The CSOs with specific agendas facilitated open dialogues with their own constituents and consolidated their concerns into a single national agenda through public decision making. These collective discussions involved bottom-up approaches (grassroots to government) and horizontal linkages to build trust and equality among all CSOs.[99] An example of this coordination with consultations is the bottom-up approach of bringing an agenda from local organizations to the members of Women Engaged in Action on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (WE Act 1325), who had access to the negotiation panel and relayed information to the panel members so they could take

[92] Santiago, I. M., *The Participation of Women in the Mindanao Peace Process* (UN Women: New York, 2015), p. 10.
[93] Santiago (note 92), p. 11.
[94] Conciliation Resources, *Operationalising Women's 'Meaningful Participation' in the Bangsamoro* (Conciliation Resources: London, Sep. 2015), pp. 1–18.
[95] Conciliation Resources (note 93), p. 5.
[96] Santiago (note 92), p. 6.
[97] Santiago (note 92), p. 13.
[98] Santiago (note 92), p. 6.
[99] Chang, P. et al., *Women Leading Peace* (Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security, 2015), p. 109.

account of the demands of women in society.[100] The women who led the legal team, the secretariat and two important Technical Working Groups that drafted the details of the chapter on revenue generation and wealth sharing and the chapter on normalization (demobilization and decommissioning) provide further examples of participation in the form of consultations.[101]

On the other hand, the comprehensive agreements in Mindanao describe women's representation only in perfunctory terms. For example, the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro mentions that women have a right to meaningful and non-discriminatory political participation regardless of class, creed, disability, gender and ethnicity in its chapter on basic rights.[102] The Annex on Power Sharing stipulates representation of all Bangsamoro's constituent political units, such as women, in the governance structure of what is to become the Bangsamoro Government and outlines appropriate consultation mechanisms that women can access once they are in government.[103] This point is reinforced in the Bangsamoro Basic Law submitted to the Philippine Congress in 2018, which would see a special allocation of one reserved seat for women in the future Bangsamoro Parliament and at least one woman appointed to the Bangsamoro Cabinet.[104]

Bottom-up approaches and horizontal linkages to build trust and equality among all CSOs were notable in the Mindanao peace process

While the agreements recognize the importance of women's involvement in decision-making processes, the allocation of just two seats in the Bangsamoro Government—one for the executive and another for the legislature—could lead to confrontation between women and women's rights organizations who wish to vie for recognition in the future government. It also limits the opportunity for different views to be represented in government. It is notable that women's efforts at the local level, and efforts by the women's movement in particular, were not addressed in the peace agreement. This demonstrates the cultural barriers faced by women, particularly when it comes to promoting transformations in the long term. Research on women's participation in Mindanao puts these challenges into context, noting that women's engagement with powerholders, particularly men, is difficult. Grassroots organizations in Mindanao were less experienced at lobbying policymakers and the broader discourses on power relations between men and women were never discussed. Thus, women's rights were hardly ever situated as issues that required long-term commitments.[105]

Addressing the special needs of women and other gender identity groups

Although to a lesser degree than the Colombian peace agreement, some clauses found in the Mindanao peace agreements tackle the issue of women's protection and address the special needs of women and other gender identity

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[100] WE Act 1325 is a network of women's groups and peace organizations that led the consultations on the formulation of the National Action Plan to implement Resolutions 1325 and 1820. Chang et al. (note 99), p. 113.

[101] Santiago (note 92), p. 13.

[102] Government of the Philippines (GPH)-MILF, Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro, VI. Basic Rights, signed on 15 Oct. 2012, pp. 7–8.

[103] Government of the Philippines (GPH)-MILF, Annex on Power Sharing, Part 2 Governance Structure, signed on 8 Dec. 2013, pp. 2, 10.

[104] Government of the Philippines (GPH)-MILF, Draft Bangsamoro Basic Law, pp. 24, 41.

[105] Conciliation Resources, *Women's Meaningful Participation in Peace: Lessons from the Bangsamoro (Mindanao, Philippines)*, Learning Paper (Conciliation Resources: London, Jan. 2017), p. 6.

groups. Chapter VI of the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamaro, on basic rights, addresses protection from 'all forms of violence' and the 'right to equal opportunity and non-discrimination'. However, this is a basic principle of human rights and what 'all forms of violence' or the 'right to equal opportunity' means is not defined.

On the other hand, some parts of the agreements also contain provisions on systematic instruments such as a clear funding mechanism and funding quota for women's special needs and gender-equal opportunities. For example, in the clauses on rehabilitation and reconstruction, 'the parties agree to adopt criteria for eligible financing schemes . . . for return to normal life affecting combatant and non-combatants elements of the MILF, indigenous people, women, children, and internally displaced persons' and 'support programs and activities for women in accordance with a gender and development plan' utilizing at least five per cent of official development funds.[106]

The agreement sets a clear funding mechanism and funding quota for women's special needs and gender-equal opportunities

The Mindanao agreements, like the Colombian agreement, also acknowledge women as combatants. Two documents on reintegration state that 'special socio-economic programs will be provided to the decommissioned women auxiliary forces of MILF'; and 'in the utilization of public funds, the Bangsamoro shall ensure that the needs of women and men are adequately addressed'.[107]

Considering the gendered impact of peace agreements

The Mindanao peace agreements only reflect consideration of the gendered impacts of conflict and peace to a limited extent. The clauses discussed above, which address normalization and propose support programmes in the post-agreement period with a clear funding scheme, show that the gendered impacts of the conflict were taken into account at some points in the negotiation of the peace agreement.[108] However, how gender will be mainstreamed into the implementation of the peace agreement is only partially addressed.

Understanding and analysing power dynamics

While there are no clauses in the Mindanao agreements that explicitly address power dynamics, there is a special focus on basic human rights and social justice. By highlighting a human security approach to normalization in the post-agreement period, the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro addresses the 'wide range of issues that would include violation of human and civil rights, social and political injustice and impunity', and thereby acknowledges the structural problems in society.[109]

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[106] GPH-MILF, Framework Agreement on the Bangsamaro, VIII. Normalization, signed on 15 Oct. 2012, p. 14; and GPH-MILF, Annex on Normalization, G. Socio-Economic Development Program, signed on 25 Jan. 2014, p. 8.

[107] GPH-MILF, Annex on Normalization (note 106); and GPH-MILF, Annex on Revenue Generation and Wealth Sharing, XII. Gender and Development, signed on 13 July 2013, p. 7.

[108] See Republic of the Philippines, Annex on Revenue Generation and Wealth Sharing, point VIII on Normalization. 'Annex on Revenue Generation and Wealth Sharing signed on 13 July 2013 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia', *Official Gazette*, 27 Mar. 2014.

[109] GPH-MILF, Framework Agreement on the Bangsamaro, VIII. Normalization (note 106), p. 11.

Table 1. Four dimensions of a gender perspective in the peace processes of Colombia and Mindanao

Dimension	Colombia	Mindanao
Including women and other gender identity groups in peace processes	• Women in key positions from both the government and FARC at the negotiation table. • Direct representation; consultations; inclusive commissions; and public decision-making. • Recognizes the importance of women's involvement in decision-making processes. • Sets up various instruments to promote women's participation at all levels of society.	• Women in key positions at the negotiation table. • Direct representation; consultations; and public decision-making. • Non-discriminatory political participation is mentioned as basic human right. • The efforts of the women's movement at the local level did not lead to women's rights being addressed in the peace agreements.
Addressing the special needs of women and other gender identity groups	• Ranges from social development and security guarantees to others addressing sexual and gender-based violence. • Identifies various types of gender-based violence that go beyond violence against women and include LGBTI. • Emphasis on women's reproductive role and protection of motherhood. • Addresses root causes of violent conflict, and structure of violence and discrimination; raises awareness of historical mechanisms of discrimination.	• Specifically mentions the concerns of female combatants. • Basic principles of human rights that are not broken down. • Arranges systematic instruments e.g. a clear funding mechanism and funding quota for women's special needs and gender equal opportunities.
Considering the gendered impact of peace agreements	• Gender-sensitive legal changes related to various topics e.g. illicit drug use, preventing HIV/AIDS, land titling and ownership. • Promotes instruments for integration of female FARC combatants.	• Considers gendered impact to a limited extent. • Suggests support programmes in the post-agreement period with a consideration of gender differences and impacts.
Understanding and analysing power dynamics	• Language used in the agreement, such as 'just', 'mechanisms of discrimination' and 'inclusive society', to emphasize structural forms of violence that should be addressed in the long term. • Creation of commissions and task forces to support and learn how the conflict affected the LGBTI community, women and other groups.	• No clauses that explicitly address gender power dynamics.

Source: Authors' own table

Comparative analysis of the two peace processes

The above analysis illustrates that while the peace processes of Mindanao and Colombia applied a gender perspective to their processes and agreements, they did so to varying degrees. While the Colombian process reflects all four dimensions of a gender perspective, the Mindanao process is primarily limited to just two dimensions. Although it consistently includes references to women, the dimensions 'considering the gendered impact of peace agreements' and 'understanding and analysing power dynamics into account' can be seen as limited in the Mindanao agreements (see table 1).

The cases show similarities in the models for the participation of women in their processes. Both cases had women in key positions at the negotiation table. In addition to this direct representation, women participated in both

peace processes in the form of consultations, which created channels for civil society and women's groups to influence the processes by pushing for gendered language and a gender-related agenda in the peace agreements. While the discussion on women's participation in peace processes is often focused on seats for women at the negotiation table, the two cases in this study show diverse methods of inclusion, such as inclusive commissions and public decision making.

The two cases indicate that consultations with various actors and public decision making played an important role in facilitating the inclusion of a gender-sensitive agenda in the peace agreements. Agreements in both cases recognized the importance of women's involvement in decision-making processes, including the peace process (representation and incorporation). However, the Mindanao case mentioned non-discriminatory political participation as a basic human right instead of explicitly referring to a gendered dimension.

In addition to including women in the peace processes, both cases addressed women's special needs (protection), albeit to different degrees. The Colombian agreement shows a higher level of engagement with the special needs of women and LGBTI groups in its detailed and comprehensive language. It specifies women's rights, including their reproductive rights, and repeatedly addresses structures of violence and discrimination as well as systemic problems in society that require long-term planning for more inclusive societies. The Mindanao agreements, however, only address the basic principles of human rights generally, even if the gender-sensitive provisions in the Mindanao agreements are regarded as distinct from the peace agreements that the Philippine Government has signed with other groups.[110]

Consultations and public decision making were crucial in facilitating the inclusion of a gender-sensitive agenda in the peace agreements

The dimension 'considering the gendered impact of peace agreements' is more limited in the Mindanao agreements in comparison with the Colombian peace agreement, where gender is mainstreamed into a number of aspects and the gendered impacts of the peace agreement are addressed (recognition). It is notable that both agreements recognize women as combatants and both avoid the flawed notion of gender neutrality by including differentiated support programmes for female ex-combatants and using specifically inclusive terminology.

The fourth dimension of a gender perspective, addressing power dynamics, is the most complicated dimension to evaluate since it refers to how peace processes are defined and understood, as well as how to reshape the negotiations in order to make peace processes more inclusive. While the Mindanao process did not explicitly address gender power relations in the peace agreement, the Colombian agreement addresses structural barriers to equal rights and the root causes of violent conflict. This could be understood as an effort to question existing power structures and acknowledge that security may have different meanings for different groups in society. Addressing these different perspectives in a peace agreement and suggesting solutions on how to tackle structural inequalities could be seen as an effort

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[110] Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, 'Yasmin Busran-Lao: Peacebuilding from the grassroots to the peace table and back', *Kababaihan at Kapayapaan*, no. 1 (Mar. 2014).

to address and change power relations and the traditional understanding of security that often reflects a state-centred security approach based on patriarchal norms.

The Colombian peace agreement also moves beyond a binary understanding of gender by acknowledging the critical security situation of the LGBTI population—notwithstanding the anti-LGBTI backlash during the referendum and in practice.[111] The Colombian peace process is so far the only peace process in which LGBTI groups have been included in a peace deal.[112] This was achieved through the work of LGBTI activists who contributed to the Sub-commission on Gender. In this way, the Colombian peace agreement illustrates a comprehensive understanding of gender that moves beyond the interpretation of gender commonly addressed in the WPS agenda. This broader understanding of gender reflected in the peace agreement makes the Colombian peace process unique and opens up a pathway for how gender can be understood in future peace processes.

The Colombian case moves beyond a binary understanding of gender and illustrates how gender can be understood in future peace processes

V. Conclusions

This study has developed a simple framework for assessing four dimensions of a gender perspective and applied this framework to two cases: Colombia and Mindanao. The framework is an attempt to operationalize Bell's four dimensions of a gender perspective: (*a*) including women and other gender identity groups in peace processes, (*b*) addressing the special needs of women and other gender identity groups, (*c*) considering the gendered impact of peace agreements, and (*d*) understanding and analysing power dynamics. In order to break down the conceptual language of the four dimensions into practical measures, six indicators were used: (*a*) participation, (*b*) representation, (*c*) incorporation, (*d*) protection, (*e*) recognition and (*f*) gender power relations.

Having used the framework developed for this study it can be seen that the cases of the Colombia and Mindanao peace processes are similar models of women's participation but the extent to which different dimensions of a gender perspective have been applied in the peace agreements differs. The Colombian peace process provides an example of a peace process that moves beyond a binary understanding of gender to address the rights of LGBTI groups. Although this study does not aim to explain the factors that resulted in a greater application of a gender perspective in one peace process than the other, the findings indicate that quantifying women's participation is an insufficient way to explain gender perspectives in peace processes. This illustrates how important it is to look beyond the number of women who have participated to understand the implementation of a gender perspective in peace processes. However, more research is needed to explore the roles of the mobilization of civil society, key individuals, international pressure and

[111] Nagle, J., 'Peace deals are supposed to bring harmony, but they ignore sexual minority groups', *Independent*, 9 Nov. 2016.

[112] Hagen, J. J., 'Queering women, peace and security in Colombia', *Critical Studies on Security*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2017), pp. 125–29.

political will in explaining the different extent to which a gender perspective is applied in a peace process.

Evaluating the peace processes based on the framework has provided an indication of whether—and, if so, how—the peace processes incorporated a gender perspective. However, it has not provided any assessment of how well a peace process has fulfilled each element of an indicator. As the case studies illustrate, peace agreements can look very different in terms of format and length. The Colombian peace agreement is over 300 pages long. Other peace agreements, such as the Mali Peace Accord, for instance, have been as short as 30 pages. These differences present challenges when attempting to make comparative analyses. The question of whether, for example, 11 references to gender-specific security should be valued more highly in a peace agreement of 200 pages than 10 mentions in a peace agreement of five pages remains open. How to measure the depth or quality of a gender perspective in each dimension is a question that this paper leaves to be explored in future studies.

The indicator for the dimension of analysing power dynamics was operationalized using a discourse analysis of whether the peace agreements include language that addresses gender power relations, such as patriarchy, structural power imbalance or discrimination against women or other gender minorities. However, this indicator is not sufficient to enable an assessment of how peace processes are defined and understood, or how to reshape negotiations in order to make peace processes more inclusive. Devising indicators capable of analysing power dynamics in peace processes would be a valuable contribution to a field that often lacks mechanisms for operationalizing complex concepts around power dynamics.

Devising indicators capable of analysing power dynamics in peace processes would be a valuable contribution to the field

This study focuses on peace agreements and the processes of reaching such agreements. It does not cover discussions on trade-offs and the bargaining processes required to secure gender references in the peace agreement. Unofficial meetings in peace processes are not covered in this paper because they are not usually recorded, which also makes it difficult to fully trace the involvement of women in these crucial but less formal processes.

Nor does this study evaluate whether or how well peace agreements are implemented. The time frames for the implementation of peace agreements being evaluated will differ on a case-by-case basis according to the nature of the provisions.[113] Based on the time frames, it is probably too early to evaluate the overall implementation of the two peace agreements discussed above. The polarized presidential election results in Colombia, which gave victory to the conservative presidential candidate, Iván Duque Márquez, in June 2018, are likely to have an impact on the future implementation of the peace agreement in Colombia. The final version of the Bangsamoro Organic

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[113] E.g. in the Mindanao cases, the GPH and the MILF eventually agreed a timeline for implementation by 2016, which was the end of the presidential term, although the MILF had initially proposed a six-year period. In Colombia, the Committee for Monitoring, Promoting and Verifying the Implementation Process (Comisión de Seguimiento, Impulso y Verificación a la Implementación) was created the day after the final agreement was signed and is set to end its mandate in Jan. 2019, although this can be extended for up to 10 years. Herbolzheimer, K., *The Peace Process in Mindanao, the Philippines: Evolution and Lessons Learned* (NOREF: Oslo, Dec. 2015); and Castro, W. C., Beleño, A. B. and Beleño, E. B., *Guide about the Implementation of the Peace Agreement in Colombia* (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung: Bogotá, Mar. 2017), p. 3.

Law (formerly known as the Basic Law) establishing an autonomous political entity in Mindanao was approved by a bicameral conference committee and signed into law by President Rodrigo Duterte on 26 July 2018.[114] Certain provisions will require long-term social change. Increased awareness among actors and the wider population could take a decade or more, as will protection from all forms of violence, which the SDGs set out to achieve by 2030. More research on the implementation of peace agreements will be needed in order to explore the challenges that face ensuring a gender perspective in the implementation process.

[114] Elemia, C., 'Duterte signs Bangsamoro Organic Law', Rappler Inc., 27 July 2018.

Annex A. Seven modalities of inclusion in peace processes

Models	Meaning
1. Direct representation at the negotiation table	• Part of the so-called track one negotiations, which can be achieved by either: (*a*) including more actors in the main negotiation delegations; (*b*) enlarging the number of negotiation delegations at the table; or (*c*) including almost all relevant constituencies in society through a broad-based formula such as a national dialogue.
2. Observer status	• Direct presence during most or all sessions of a negotiation with observer status. • Usually not allowed to speak formally; nor do they have any decision-making power.
3. Consultations	• Used to gather opinion from a larger set of constituents to discover facts or create consensus. • Can be official or unendorsed as part of the negotiation, as well as broad-based or more elite-centred.
4. Inclusive commissions	• Participation of societal and political actors prior to and during negotiations or during the implementation phase.
5. High-level problem-solving workshops	• Take place unofficially and are generally not publicized. • Seek to strengthen the connection between representatives and leaders of the conflict parties, and offer them a space for discussion without the pressure to reach an agreement.
6. Public decision making	• Public decision-making processes such as elections and referendums are standard features of democracies. • Seek to provide democratic legitimacy to the process, ensuring public support and the sustainability of the agreement.
7. Mass action	• Method through which actors can make their voices heard, raising grievances or preferences related to a conflict or political transition. • Can occur before, during or after violent conflict or a political crisis.

Source: Paffenholz, T., *Preventing Violence through Inclusion: From Building Political Momentum to Sustaining Peace* (Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative: Geneva, Nov. 2017).

Abbreviations

CSO	Civil Society Organizations
WPS	Women, Peace and Security
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
IR	International Relations
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
FARC-EP	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo
LGBTI	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
CAB	Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro
ARMM	the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao
FAB	Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro
WE Act 1325	Women Engaged in Action on UN Security Council Resolution 1325

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CONTENTS

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