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Resolution 1325 in the Agency of Colombian Women in the Peace Process of 2012-2016

By Raket Oion-Encina¹

Abstract

The Security Council of the United Nations urges member countries of the United Nations to develop Follow-up Plans for Resolution 1325 of 2000, on women, peace and security. Colombia is a country with a long, armed conflict. The Government has not yet designed a plan to implement resolution 1325. During the 2012-2016 period, the Government held a round table of talks with the FARC that culminated in a peace agreement. The women's movement in the country, based on the resolutions of the Security Council, demanded the incorporation of women at the negotiating table and the incorporation of the gender perspective in the agreement under discussion. This article explores the importance of such resolutions in the political agency of women during the peace process. To this end, the mention of resolution 1325 in the political actions of the Colombian feminist movement during said period has been observed, through the review of women's work spaces configured around 1325, women's congresses systematization documents, and follow-up publications to the dialogue process in Havana, in addition to several interviews. The analysis carried out shows a prolific political agency of the women's movement and peace in Colombia, based on the resolutions of the Security Council. In conclusion, although the Government has not designed a plan to implement the resolutions of the Security Council, those have constituted an instrument for the enforceability of women's rights to the participation and incorporation of a 100 gender measures in the agreement reached.

Keywords: Resolution 1325; women's agency; peace negotiation; Colombia.

Introduction

This article describes the political impact of the women's movement in Colombia on peacebuilding. I focus on the local influence of the United Nations Security Council resolutions on woman, peace and security, as well as on the technical and financial support of international cooperation, based on these resolutions. As a result, there was a greater capacity for action when it came to demanding women's participation in the discussions and the incorporation of the gender perspective into the peace agreement signed between the Government and the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército Popular (FARC-EP – "Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army").

In order to do this, I have revised mentions of Resolution 1325 in various research documents and those on the systematization of experiences of political agency produced by the

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feminist/women's movement² in Colombia, as well as the final peace agreement. The article sets out the content of the Security Council resolutions, gives a brief contextualization of the armed conflict in Colombia and its social and gender impacts, the growth of the women's movement for peace in Colombia, its rise, parallel to the Security Council resolutions and the effect they have had, based on these resolutions, enabling them to participate in the 2012-2016 peace process, finishing with the agreement's main measures from the gender perspective, and some conclusions.

Security Council resolutions on women, security and peace

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) adopted the incorporation of the gender perspective into all the policies and programs of the United Nations (UN) system in 1997. The definition of gender perspective, the principles on which it is based, and the process of incorporation was defined in the ECOSOC Report of that year. The policy of incorporation of the gender perspective falls to all the levels of the system, including governing bodies, programs, funds, external offices and other dependencies. The ECOSOC indicated the need to strengthen the role of gender specialists in order to support the formulation of policies and strategies, the creation of instruments and methodologies, as well as supervision and assessment in areas such as the economic, the social and the political, human rights humanitarian aid, peace and security. Specifically, it gave importance to the continuity of drawing up reports on human rights by the Special Rapporteur and boosting the role of women and their full participation in all sectors of society within national politics.

So, in the year 2000 the UN Security Council (SC) approved the first of a number of resolutions on women, peace and security. Resolution 1325 recognized the important role that women play in the prevention and solution of conflicts and the consolidation of peace and underlines the importance of their participation in all initiatives and decision-making processes regarding the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. It also commended the observation of the different needs of women in the demobilization and social reinsertion of ex-combatants. In 2004 the SC asked the UN Secretary General to establish a plan of action on women, peace and security, which was updated in 2007, focusing on five pillars of action: prevention; participation; protection; relief and recovery; and normative aspects.

Later on, the SC approved seven resolutions on women, peace and security, as well as others regarding armed conflicts. Resolution 1820 of 2008 recognized the specific effect of sexual violence against women in armed conflicts, which constitutes a war crime. Armed groups were asked to adopt drilling and disciplinary measures to protect the civil population from sexual violence. In 2009, two resolutions were approved. Resolution 1888 covered sexual violence and established that the mandates for the operations involved in maintaining peace included provisions to protect women and children from sexual violence in armed conflicts. Resolution 1889 urged member states and regional organizations to improve the participation of women in all stages of peace processes, to give support to women's organizations and fight against negative attitudes towards their capacity to participate on equal terms. It asked that a set of indicators be drawn up in order to monitor the application of Resolution 1325.

² The women's movement in Colombia is very diverse. The identification with feminism, although it is broad, is not general. Therefore, I follow the nomenclature adopted by Doris Lamus (2009), feminist / women's movement, to reflect the plurality of it.

So, the Secretary-General's report S/2010/173 included 26 monitoring indicators, structured around four spheres of the action plan on women, peace and security: prevention, participation, protection and relief and recovery. The indicators with respect to prevention refer to measures in the direction of research, registration, making visible, dissemination, reporting and punishing violations of the human rights of woman and girls. The participation indicators refer to female representatives in political positions, observation missions and peace negotiating tables, as well as educating decision-makers in gender matters. The protection indicators refer to physical security for women and girls, mechanisms of control of small arms, protection laws, special courts, sentences on cases investigated and economic recovery programs. The relief and recovery indicators refer to the incorporation of gender-related analysis, targets, indicators and budgets in national policies, the funding of organizations that work for peace with a gender perspective, development of security, peace and recovery programs, measures for reintegrating ex-combatants and traditional justice mechanisms.

In 2010, Resolution 1960 recorded the seriousness and systematic nature of the violence against women and children and the penalty for human rights violations. It pointed out the lack of ceasefire mediators and supervisors trained to deal with cases of sexual violence, as well as the lack of women representatives at negotiating tables. It stated the possible weakness of national justice mechanisms and the wide range of other mechanisms of traditional justice for combatting impunity and promoting truth, justice and reconciliation. In 2013, Resolution 2106 tackled the impacts that rape as a weapon of war had on communities and relatives. The obligation to witness sexual violence affects the social fabric, women's opportunities to contribute, and achieving peace. It considered as necessary both empowerment and the involvement of men and boys in the prevention and eradication of violence against women, as well as legal reform in order to deal with sexual violence. The resolution also covered kidnapping and the forced recruiting of women and children, as well as infection with HIV (AIDS) and how it affected women. Resolution 2122 of that same year referred to the need to apply Resolution 1325 to the UN's own work. The last resolution, 2242 of 2015, covered the security problems that result from terrorism and the impact this has on the rights of women and girls in terms of their security, health, education and participation in public life.

The UN Women study (2015) states that before the SC resolutions, the incorporation of the gender perspective into peace agreements was at a level of 11%, and after 2000 at 27% (in Vargas, 2018). This set of resolutions, particularly Resolution 1325 and the indicators set to monitor it, have been essential instruments for women's organizations in Colombia in terms of having an impact on the peace processes, from 2000 onwards, and especially on the peace process and agreement signed in 2016 between the Government and FARC.

Feminist/women's movement for women's human rights and peace in Colombia

Different sources situate the origin of the armed conflict in Colombia in the 1960s with the rise of the revolutionary guerrilla groups and the conflict's deterioration with the creation of counterinsurgent paramilitaries in the 1980s (CNMH, 2014, Hilton, 2017). A number of presidents in Colombia have promoted peace processes with the different armed groups since 1984. Currently, there is a dialogue forum set up between the Government and the Ejército de Liberación Popular (ELN). It is worth pointing out that 40% of the guerrilla troops and 30% of the paramilitary groups have been made up of women (CNMH, 2013). Besides, according to the Defensoría del Pueblo (2006), 40% of the bases of the armed groups were children under 18 years, and of those 28% girls and young women (Springer, 2012).

The Official Register of Victims (RUV), created by Law 1448/2011 on Victims and land restitution, had recorded (1 August 2018) 8,375,858 victims of different crimes: 999,008 of homicide, 170,372 forced disappearances, 95,388 victims of assault or harassment, 36,728 kidnappings, 10,975 tortured, 11,437 victims of anti-personnel mines and 7,518 children recruited. Especially serious is the situation of 7,422,646 people displaced by force due to the conflict, 113,658 who lost property and 7,334 who were obliged to leave their lands. Women and children have been and are also victims of homicide, torture, threats, capture and recruitment. Women represent 49.64% of the victims recorded by the RUV, men 49.59% and the LGTBI population 0.026%. Children have also suffered cruelty from and use by armed actors, including sexual abuses, being accomplices, victims or witnesses of violence with serious consequences on their personal development (Bello, 2014).

Women have suffered the consequences of the war in their own particular way: through the loss of family members, of means of subsistence, and of infrastructure and public services, which in turn have forced them to move within the country. According to the 2015 report by the Norwegian Refugee Council, 63% of the displaced population lives in a situation of poverty and 33% in extreme poverty, affecting women differently. Furthermore, women have been the main victims of sexual violence. The RUV has recorded 26,952 cases. However, the first survey carried out by the Casa de la Mujer (2011) estimated around 489,687 cases of rape for the 2001-2009 period. The survey revealed that 17.58% of women in areas with the presence of armed actors had suffered sexual violence at their hands. Furthermore, the Instituto de Medicina Legal examined 120 cases of sexual violence in 2016, 85.83% corresponding to women. The attribution of the crimes was 43.7% to the armed forces of the state, 30.1% to paramilitaries and 26.2% to guerrillas (VVAA, 2017).

The magnitude of the impacts of the conflict are due to its long duration, the variety of armed actors, the vast areas under their control and the mutation and intensification of the violence aimed at the civil population, both with the aim of controlling territory and for funding and maintaining the war economy (Hilton, 2017). Furthermore, security policies have had negative effects by restricting liberties and through an increase in human rights violations, including by the armed forces of the state (Chaparro and Martínez, 2016). For all these reasons, civil society and feminist/women's organizations have had to play and still play an important role in peacebuilding in Colombia.

In the evolution of the feminist/women's movement for peace in Colombia, three stages can be distinguished. The first initiatives of civil society and of women's organizations with regard to peacebuilding in Colombia go back to the 1980s, but they began to gather momentum in the 1990s, within the framework of the design of the new constitution of 1991. In this period, a number

of peace agreements were signed with most of the guerrilla groups. In 1991 the Red Nacional de Mujeres (RNM – “Women’s National Network”) was created in order to influence the Constitutional Convention that was to approve the new constitution of 1991. Later, the RNM advocated the creation of the Consejo Nacional de Paz (CNP – “National Peace Council”), a body intended to advise the national government on the promotion of peace, approved by means of Law 434 of 1998. In 1996 a woman’s march against the war was organized in Urabá Antioquia. This gave rise to the configuration of the Ruta Pacífica de las Majeures (RPM – “Women’s Peace Route”). Its goals were to make visible the effects of the armed conflict on women and oppose the war from a feminist and pacifist focus. In 1997 the Movimiento de Mujeres Actoras y Autoras de Paz (MAAP – “Movement of Women Creating Peace”) was founded in order to defend the rights of women and girls in the context of the armed conflict. It also participated in the creation of the CNP. In 1998 the Confluencia Nacional de Redes de Mujeres (“National Union of Women’s Networks”) was created with the aim of increasing the impact of women’s organizations on politics. In 1999 a section of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) was created in Colombia and the NGO, Sisma Mujer, organized a workshop “Contributions from women and feminism to the matter of peace in Colombia”. In 2000 the Mesa de Trabajo Mujer y Conflicto Armado (“Women and Armed Conflict Working Committee”), and the Red Ecueménica Nacional de Mujeres por la Paz (“National Ecumenical Network of Women for Peace”) (Moser et al., 2006; Díaz Susa et al., 2012) were created.

Regarding to the second stage, the many efforts of the women’s movement linked to peace came together in 2001, with the Iniciativa de Mujeres por la Paz (IMP – “Initiative of Women for Peace”). This was an alliance of 22 women’s organizations and mixed groups that worked on women’s issues, which, based on Resolution 1325 and with the support of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), worked on the construction of an agreed agenda on the question of peace. This was done to influence the negotiation process between the Government and the FARC-EP. Andrés Pastrana’s government established a demilitarized zone in the Caguán during the 1999-2002 period. In this zone, public meetings were organized to include the voices of the most discriminated against social groups, including women. In this way, IMP organized an Asamblea Constituyente Emancipatoria de Mujeres (“Emancipatory Constituent Women’s Assembly”) to build a Women’s Agenda. 80 women’s organizations participated in the process and 700 women attended in Caguán. The peace process between the Government and the FARC-EP failed due to the simultaneous logic of dialogue and military reinforcement by both parties combined with an increase in paramilitarism. As a response to this, the IMP organized a mobilization, the Movilización Nacional de Mujeres contra la Guerra, in different regions of the country in July 2002. On 25 November 2003, it organized a second National March to Putumayo. The IMP continued working on the dissemination of the women’s agenda and maximising their impact on the negotiations between the Government and the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC – “United Self-defence Units of Colombia”) of 2003-2004, as well as on the Comisión Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación (“National Commission for Reparation and Reconciliation”) created in 2005, with regard to which the IMP created the Mesa Nacional de Incidencia por el Derecho a la Verdad, la Justicia y la Reparación (“National Committee for Action for the Right to Truth, Justice and Reparation”) with a gender perspective.

Next, Alvaro Uribe (2002-2010) implemented the so-called democratic security policy, based on the military and social struggle against the guerrillas by means of the strengthening of the armed forces and the collaboration of civil informants. This brought about a climate of

suspicion regarding the initiatives of civil society organized in favour of human rights and social transformations, and an increase in human rights violations. Women's organizations suffered an increase in threats and attacks on their lives. In 2004, during the process of negotiation between the Government and the AUC, the International Meeting of Women Against the War was organized in Bogota. This restated that women were valid participants in the processes of dialogue, in accordance with Resolution 1325 and it defended a negotiated solution to the conflict. However, at this point the Government stopped communicating with civil society and women's organizations. These redirected their efforts towards international political impact in order to make visible the effects of the armed conflict. They carried out research into and reports on the specific effects of the conflict on women, including sexual violence and forced displacement (Chaparro and Martinez, 2016).

Related to the dissemination of Resolution 1325, in 2010 different workshops were held in different regions of the country affected by the conflict (Meta, Caquetá, Huila, Nariño, Oriente Antioqueño, Montes de María), at meetings involving more than 600 women, who drew up proposals for putting the resolution into action. They worked on an agenda of eight points: security of women in situations of humanitarian crisis; justice in gender matters; citizenship, participation and leadership of women; equality in the reduction of risks of disasters; processes of recovery with a gender perspective; and governmental transformation to offer solutions for women (Díaz Susa et al., 2012). Furthermore, the organization Humanas, with the financial support of the Norwegian platform FOKUS, created the Observatorio Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad ("Women, Peace and Security Observatory"). This is an instrument for monitoring the observance of Security Council resolutions. In 2012 it published a Review Bulletin on Resolution 1325 in Colombia and since 2013 it has published four reports on the Colombian state's observance of Resolution 1325.

The third stage in Colombian women's activism for peace corresponds to the presidential period initiated of Jose Manuel Santos (2010-2018). He formally initiated a process of negotiation with the FARC-EP in 2012, where two women represented the government: Elena Ambrosio, Human Rights Director at the Ministry of Defense, and Lucia Jaramillo, Director of the presidential electoral campaign. The conversations were limited to six points: integrated agricultural development; political participation; the end of the conflict; a solution to the problem of illicit drugs; victims; implementation. When the process became official, women organizations mobilized in order to have an impact, under the motto "*no queremos ser pactadas, queremos ser pactantes*" ("we don't want to be agreed on, we want to participate in agreement-making").

In order to influence the process, in 2013, the 1st Women and Peace Summit was organized³, with the technical support of UN Women. Prior to the Summit, National Forums and Regional Consultation Tables were organized. 449 women from different groups and sectors of the population, from 30 of the country's 32 departments, participated at the Summit. Committees were organized in order to draw up proposals for the six points of the agreement, three of which had already been agreed on. The Women and Peace Summit achieved significant media attention and took three matters to the Mesa de Conversaciones negotiations arguing the resolutions of the SC:

³ This was integrated by Alianza Iniciativas de Mujeres por la Paz (IMP), Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas, Negras e Indígenas de Colombia (ANMUCIC), Casa de la Mujer, Red Nacional de Mujeres (RNM), Colectivo de Pensamiento y Acción "Mujeres Paz y Seguridad", Conferencia Nacional de Organizaciones Afrocolombianas (CNOA), Grupo de Seguimiento de la Resolución 1325, Liga Internacional de Mujeres por la Paz y la Libertad (LIMPAL), Mujeres por la Paz and Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres (RPM). The Summit received funding from the Embassies of Sweden, Norwegian, Switzerland, Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional al Desarrollo (AECID) and the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA).

their unconditional support for the dialogue process; the demand for actors to reach an agreement; and the equal participation of women at the negotiating table.

In this way, two women from the Government, Nigieria Rementeria, High Presidential Councillor for the Equality of Women and Paulina Riveros, Human Rights Director at the Ministry of the Interior, joined the Mesa de Conversaciones. For the FARC-EP, Tanja Nijmeijer was already present. This resulted in a total of 3 women out of 20 plenipotentiaries, which was a minimal participation, but one that was better than the initial group. More than parity was achieved in the Supporting Committees to the Negotiating Table, with 25 women and 13 men, with women chairing four of the five committees⁴. Among the 81 experts called on for advice by the Mesa de Conversaciones, 37 were women, although 36 were exclusively on the topic of victims, and so in other areas their contribution was limited. Furthermore, the Summit managed to achieve the creation of a Gender Subcommittee, made up of members of the Government and the FARC-EP. The Subcommittee took on the task of incorporating the gender and intersectional focus into the points of the agreement already settled or pending negotiation. To do so it convened three meetings with 22 organizations representing women and the LGTBI collective, who attended to present studies on the violence, including sexual violence, impacts, dynamics, those presumed responsible and obstacles faced by women from different groups and social sectors and the LGTBI collective in the armed conflict.

Women and Peace Summit monitored closely the negotiating process. In October 2015, on the 15th anniversary of Resolution 1325, the National Women and Peace Summit announced its full support for the peace process and reminded the Mesa de Conversaciones of the disproportionate impact of the armed conflict on women and the need for equal participation in all areas of the negotiation: protocol events, top positions and subcommittees. Furthermore, it insisted on the point regarding implementation, verification and endorsement, urging the creation of a high-level institution for the articulation of the matter of gender in all post-conflict stages. It recommended a reduction in military spending and the elimination of obligatory military service, investment in education and equality in political participation and in the mechanisms for strengthening democracy. In September 2016, before the national plebiscite to endorse the Final Agreement, the 2nd National Women and Peace Summit was organized for support and in order to reflect on the points of the final agreement, territorial peace and implementation. 575 women, from different departments of the country and social sectors, participated, and they insisted on the importance of implementation and of undertaking a process of dialogue between the Government and the ELN.

On 1 October 2016, the agreement between the Government and the FARC-EP was put to a referendum in the country. With a low participation of just 37.43% of the electoral census, the results were as follows: 50.21% said no to the *Final agreement for the termination of the conflict and the creation of a stable and lasting peace* and 49.78% said yes. The favorable vote was from the peripheral regions, most affected by the conflict and rural areas (Alvarez and Garzón, FIP, October 6, 2016). Supporters of the No campaign argued that the peace agreement contented the

⁴ The Support Tables were thematic tables on the points of the agreement, where several of the plenipotentiaries listened to experts and civil organizations. Of 60 victims who came to Havana to give their testimony and recommendations to this point, 36 were women (Chaparro and Martínez, 2016). It is important to note that more than 3,000 victims participated in previous forums promoted by the United Nations and the National University. According to the Final Agreement, more than 17,000 proposals sent to the Table of Conversations in Havana were counted. On the other hand, following the Office of the High Commissioner of Peace, 26% of 5,461 proposals received were sent by women

"gender ideology" against traditional family. They also said that small and medium owners would lose their lands, which would be destined to ex-combatants and that those would be given salary without a real demobilization. And that the peace agreement would carry cuts on social spends (Semana, August 17, 2016).

In the days following this, there was large-scale citizen mobilization in favour of peace, with the participation and active political lobbying by the women's movement. The Final Agreement was revised with the inclusion of new contributions by representatives of the No campaign. With regard to the gender focus, this was redefined as the recognition of the equality of rights between women and men, recognizing that women had been made victims of during the conflict, and guaranteeing affirmative measures in order to promote equality, as it is covered in the Agreement. The text was revised so that it fitted this two-fold definition. However, the text did state that nothing in the agreement would be understood as the negation of or reduction in the rights of people, whatever their sex, age, religious beliefs, opinions, ethnic identity, whether they belong to the LGTBI community or for any other reason⁵.

After the peace agreement, in 2017 the Women and Peace Summit urged the Government and the ELN to make progress in negotiations in order to build a sustainable, stable and lasting peace in the country. On 17 June 2018, presidential elections in the country raised Ivan Duque to rule the national government, precisely the candidate of the previous No position. Currently, the efforts of the feminist/women's peace movement are aimed at monitoring implementation, reporting the human rights violations that continue to be committed by armed actors, monitoring Resolution 1325 in the country and supporting the peace dialogue between the Government and the ELN.

1. Inclusion of the gender perspective in the Final Peace Agreement of 2016

As result of feminist/women's movement agency, on the basis of the compliment of the Resolution 1325 and next, and through the Gender subcommittee of the negotiating table in Havana, the Final Peace Agreement integrated the gender focus in 100 measures within the six points (UN Women, 2017): 27 measures within Integrated Rural Reform, 17 on Political Participation, 16 with regard to the end of the conflict, disarming and reinsertion, 14 on victims, and 8 on implementation, verification endorsement. The main aspects are summed up below:

- i.** Towards a New Colombian Countryside: Integrated Rural Reform. That the conflict affects the rural population and women as autonomous subjects of rights in differential and gender-based forms is recognized. In this regard, their right to the property of land, to productive projects, funding of and access to technical services, training and infrastructure is recognized. Measures are adopted to recognize and promote rural women's organizations and their priority access to the fund of land and to integrated rural development programs. Differentiated health needs during the life cycle, and the need for sexual, reproductive and psycho-social health measures are recognized. It is established that voluntary return processes will be put in motion for displaced women and advice will be given on the subject of rights and access to justice.
- ii.** Political participation: Democratic action in order to build the peace. The social and institutional barriers that women face in terms of participation are recognized, the contribution of women to public life is valued and there is an inclination towards putting

⁵ The main modifications to the six points of the agreement can be consulted in CNMH Notices, November 15, 2016.

a high value on their social agendas and protecting their participation. In this regard, the new Integrated Security System for the Exercise of Politics will adopt the differential and gender approach. Affirmative measures will be adopted to strengthen their political and social inclusion, and the participation of women's organizations, within territorial development programs and in the Special Transitory Peace Constituencies, will be promoted.

- iii. The end of the conflict. Acts of violence that put at risk the lives of the civil population, especially for gender reasons, are qualified as behaviors that violate the bilateral and definitive ceasefire. Measures of protection, medical care, hygiene kits, personnel training and the incorporation of women into the Monitoring and Verification Mechanism (MM&V)⁶ are specified, as is the application of the gender approach in the Special Research Unit for the dismantling of criminal organizations.
- iv. Solution to the Problem of Illicit Drugs. Research projects will be carried out into the reality of women with regard to crops for illicit use, their participation will be guaranteed on replacement programs and food and security and day care for very young children will be guaranteed in order to facilitate work opportunities for women. Plans to prevent consumption will be designed and education will be given in order to fight the gender violence linked to drugs. Priority will be given to the most vulnerable populations, such as homeless people, women and the prison population in actions against their stigmatization. A culture against drug trafficking and asset laundering will be consolidated and the judicial process against the rural population dedicated to illicit crops will be treated differentially.
- v. Victims. The Creation of an Integrated System of Truth, Justice, Redress and Guarantees of Non-repetition that will adopt the differential and gender approach, which will contribute to revealing the truth and will respond to the special suffering of women, excluding pardons for cases of sexual violence. It will incorporate their equal participation in the Transitional Justice System and will promote the participation of women in collective redress.
- vi. Implementation: A Framework Plan will consider the practical and strategic needs of women. A gender commission will be created⁷ in order to monitor implementation, impact indicators will be included that make it possible to verify progress with regard to the gender and territorial approach, the participation of women victims and their organizations will be promoted in spaces for the definition of priorities with regard to collective measures of redress. Organized and non-organized victims will be guaranteed integrated attention and redress.

The Final Agreement, of 24 November 2016, is a long and complicated document that makes extensive reference to the discussions between the parties and the proposals received by the Mesa de Conversaciones related to the six points that the negotiating process tackled, as well as modifications suggested by the opposition. It is an intermediate agreement, between the minimums

⁶ Presidential Decree 899 of 2017 establishes that the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) process will have a differential focus in all the components with an emphasis on the rights of demobilized women.

⁷ This commission will be composed of four women from territorial organizations, of which one will represent an organization of victims of the armed conflict, two women from national organizations and one from LGTBI organizations.

and maximums that any of the parties might have aspired to as a solution to the conflict. However, it brings an enormous advance for the country, since it has brought about the demobilization of the largest guerrilla group. This has been the first disarmament process in Colombia in which the handover of one weapon per combatant has been registered, which is a higher rate than other demobilization processes (FIP, 2017).

Conclusions

The Colombian Government does not have an Indicative Action Plan for observing Resolution 1325. The peace process between the Government and the FARC-EP and the Final Agreement did not use as a reference the Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security and in fact the Final Agreement does not mention these resolutions. However, as has been shown, 100 important gender measures have been incorporated with regard to agricultural reforms, guarantees of political participation, truth, justice and redress for victims and mechanisms for implementation that incorporate the gender perspective, thanks to the political influence of the feminist/women's movement. The Peace Agreement is considered to be one of the most advanced in terms of gender approach.

The SC resolutions have been essential to allowing the feminist/women's movement to demand the inclusion of plenipotentiaries at the negotiating table, the equal participation of women in other agencies, the installation of a Gender subcommittee at the Mesa de Conversaciones and the revision of the points of the agreements from a gender perspective in order to guarantee the full incorporation of women, attending to the territorial and intersectional approach. Furthermore, the resolutions have brought technical and financial support from different international cooperation agencies for strengthening the capacity of the women's movement to affect the situation during the peace process, with support for running regional meetings and workshops, national summits and monitoring research and reports. Thanks to this, feminist organizations have created specific spaces and tools for reviewing the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Colombia, such as the Resolution 1325 Coalition; the Women, Peace and Security Observatory; the Resolution 1325 Review Bulletin; and the reports for monitoring the Colombian state's observance of Resolution 1325. These made it possible to currently monitor the process of implementing the agreement.

As at the 2nd Women and Peace Summit, Marina Gallego, National Coordinator of the RPM shared, there were a series of milestones and key points in achieving an impact by women: the union of the women's platforms and networks (around Resolution 1325 compliment); holding the 1st Summit with the goal of reaching the Mesa de Conversaciones and insisting on the inclusion of women's voices and the gender approach in agreements; the participation of women in citizen forums related to the peace agreements that were organized by the United Nations and the National University of Colombia; Influence through the production of documents; the alliance with UN Women for the identification of strategies and creation of specific proposals; influence with the Office of the High Commission for Peace and the Presidential Council for the Equality of Women; insurgent women in the FARC-EP; the Embassies of Cuba and Norway and the Havana Gender Subcommittee.

In summary, UNSC Resolutions on women, security and peace have been a main tool for women's political agency in Colombian 2012-2016 peace process. They managed to have two plenipotentiary women appointed by the government to the talks table, besides the one already

appointed by the FARC. They achieved the revision and inclusion of the gender perspective in all the point regarding the negotiation of the signed peace agreement, with one hundred specific measures aimed at women. In conclusion, SC resolutions are a normative instrument that makes possible the pressure of the women's movement towards the government in the fulfillment of women's rights in the context of war and post-conflict.

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