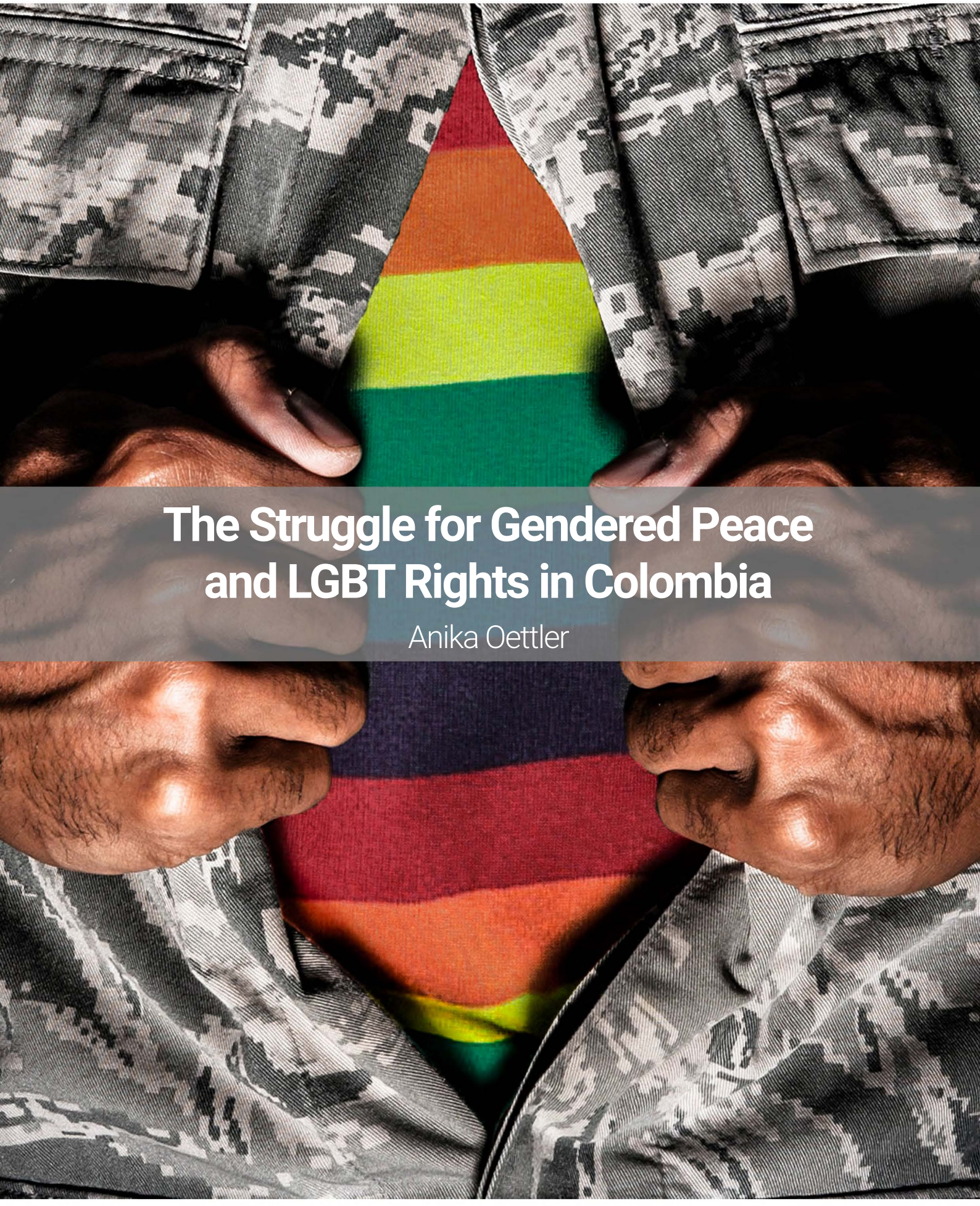
LSE Latin America and Caribbean Centre

GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies
Leibniz-Institut für Globale und Regionale Studien

THE GRADUATE INSTITUTE GENEVA

CENTRE ON CONFLICT, DEVELOPMENT AND PEACEBUILDING



The Struggle for Gendered Peace and LGBT Rights in Colombia

Anika Oettler

Violence, Security, and Peace Working Papers • No.2 • July 2019

About LSE Latin America and Caribbean Centre

Opened in January 2016 to serve as a focal point for LSE's research and public engagement with Latin America and the Caribbean, the LSE Latin America and Caribbean Centre builds upon the School's long and important relationship with the region.

The Centre supports the research of faculty from nearly every department across the School whose research is principally focused on or relevant to the region. Research expertise covers themes on which Latin America and the Caribbean has been at the forefront of the social sciences and humanities such as democratisation, citizenship and human rights, decentralisation and governance, violence, inequality and inclusionary initiatives for women, indigenous groups, and youth.

The Violence, Security, and Peace Network

Building on their joint participation at the 2018 annual congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), the LSE Latin America and Caribbean Centre, the Institute of Latin American Studies of the GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, and the Centre on Conflict, Development, and Peacebuilding (CCDP) at the Graduate Institute Geneva have together created a European collaborative research partnership on violence, security, and peace: the Europe-Latin America VSP Network. The collaboration aims to generate research-based knowledge and understanding of the crisis of violence and security in Latin America, inform policy debates on Latin America's pathways to peace, and produce lessons relevant to other situations of violence, war, and post-war.

The Struggle for Gendered Peace and LGBT Rights in Colombia

Anika Oettler

Violence, Security, and Peace Working Papers

No.2 • July 2019

About the author

Anika Oettler is a professor of sociology at Philipps Universität Marburg, Germany. She has published on transitional justice, collective memory, and public insecurity. She has been conducting fieldwork in Guatemala, Nicaragua, Argentina, and Colombia since the 1990s.

Abstract

In the midst of armed conflict, Colombia has managed to become a pioneer in the implementation both of LGBT rights and of women's agency in peacebuilding. This paper traces the debate around the 2016 peace agreement back through decades of interrelated struggles for democracy, peace, and women's and LGBT rights. Given that the twists and turns of Colombia's complex history of peace and conflict have been consistently unpredictable and sometimes paradoxical, how best might the achievements of recent years be interpreted? This paper argues, on the one hand, that there has been a significant aggregate impact from long-term efforts to locate gender-based violence within the frame of armed conflict and to articulate coherent strategies for change. It finds, on the other, that specific social conditions such as the rise of an urban middle class facilitated uneven co-constitutive processes of agenda-setting that involved diverse local, national, and international actors. By outlining both the long process of agenda-setting and also the seizing of intermittent discursive opportunities amidst ongoing violence, this paper feeds into debates in gender studies, peace research, norm diffusion research, and social movement studies.

Something that is not named does not exist. One of the characteristics of discrimination – a principal factor that impedes access to the full enjoyment of human rights and that causes suffering to millions of beings on the planet – is the non-recognition of identities, differences, and diversities.

Magdala Velásquez Toro, 2001[1]

Peace without women is an asymmetric and fragmented peace.

Marina Gallego Zapata, 2013[2]

Introduction[3]

In the political history of Colombian gender relations, the year 2016 clearly represents a watershed moment, yet any judgment of its long-term significance remains somewhat ambiguous. On 28 April, the Colombian Constitutional Court formally legalised same-sex marriage, which was an important breakthrough for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) rights.[4] But the following October saw the rejection by plebiscite of a peace deal between the Colombian government and the FARC-EP (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army).[5] After nearly four years of negotiations, this result left both Colombian supporters of peace and international observers in shock. The reasons behind the rejection were manifold, but debates on "gender ideology", "*Castro-Chavismo*", transitional justice, and cash payments to demobilised guerrilla fighters were particularly prominent (de la Calle, 2019, pp.294-7; Oettler, 2016). In the immediate aftermath of the defeat, President Juan Manuel Santos announced a broad national dialogue to produce a revised version accommodating the concerns of those who had voted "no" to the peace agreement. A revised deal was signed only two months later, and in his Nobel Peace Prize lecture of December 2016, Santos stated that the new agreement "incorporate[d] the majority of the proposals we received" (Santos, 2016).

[1] A leader of the National Women's Network (Red Nacional de Mujeres) and coordinator of the public hearing on the gender and women's focus before the government-FARC thematic roundtable in El Caguán, Caquetá, 29-30 March 2001 (quoted in Villaraga Sarmiento, 2013, p.306).
[2] National Coordinator of the Women's Pacific Route (Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres), Las Mujeres y la Paz Dialogada, Bogotá, April 2012 (quoted in Villarraga Sarmiento, 2013, p.64).
[3] For their comments, suggestions, and insights, I am thankful to Humberto de la Calle, Asa Cusack, Camila de Gamboa, Gareth Jones, Juanita Millán, Eucaris Oloya, Jenny Pearce, Erika Rodríguez Gómez, Marcela Sánchez, Victoria Sandino, and Hunza Vargas. All translations are by the author unless otherwise stated.
[4] In Colombia, the acronym LGBT is the most common way of representing non-heteronormative and non-cis-gender individuals: lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual people. Major judicial milestones include the decriminalisation of consensual homosexual activity in 1980, the recognition of same-sex couples in 2007, the criminalisation of discrimination based on sexual orientation in 2011, the 2015 Constitutional Court ruling in favour of full adoption rights for same-sex couples, and the 2015 approbation of the right to change one's legal gender without first consulting with psychologists.
[5] Turnout for the plebiscite was just 38 per cent, and the margin of victory was small: 50.2 per cent for "no" versus 49.8 per cent for "yes" (see Fundación Ideas para la Paz, 2016).

The failure of the plebiscite was an unanticipated yet brief moment of crisis, which did not ultimately lead to the collapse of the peace process. The rejection exposed intersecting divisions, and it was a moment of disruption that was highly gendered in both its causes and its effects. The objective of this paper, however, is not to re-examine the debate on "gender ideology" and the plebiscite.[6] Instead, it explores the diverse, multifarious, yet interrelated events that defined Colombia's winding route towards LGBT rights and a gendered peace agenda. In this view, the "setback" of the plebiscite is simply a reminder that history does not proceed as a linear progression but rather by uneven, unpredictable, and sometimes paradoxical swerves and shifts. Improvements in human rights may occur iteratively and incrementally, whereas "rights-based institutions develop unevenly, and in various sequences, but always on the back of advocates who continue to push for their cause" (Dancy and Sikkink, 2017, p.52).

More specifically, this paper deals with the "local-global co-constitution of normative change" in violent contexts (Wiener, 2018, p.1), examining the intertwined histories of advocacy for gendered peace and for LGBT rights in Colombia. Its overall theoretical agenda draws on and speaks to the localisation debate in norm-diffusion research (Acharya, 2004; Björkdahl and Gusic, 2015; Merry and Levitt, 2017). The intersecting history of international norms, peace processes, and women's and LGBT movements reveals the need for a more fine-grained understanding of the spread and institutionalisation of norms. While current debates tend to focus on the translation of international human rights norms into local contexts (Merry, 2006) or on related frictions – "the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference" (Tsing, 2005, p.4) – this paper emphasises the uniqueness of change. Colombian advocacy for a gendered peace and LGBT rights followed a particular path due to the changing involvement of an array of actors, shifting agendas, and contingent political events. In Colombia, a peace agreement with gender and LGBT provisions was achieved as a result both of structural conditions and of the constellation of local, national, and international factors that obtained during the process. Rather than being defined by a unidirectional order or set of "independent" variables, progress towards these provisions was directed by the complex sequences of past events and struggles explored below.

There are numerous ways to address the history and development of international norms, peace processes, and women's and LGBT agency. Beyond political process approaches in social movement theory (Tarrow, 2011; Tilly and Tarrow, 2015; Snyder, 2017), this paper also returns to classic questions in social movement research, analysing interactions amongst actors, framing strategies, and especially dynamic political contexts and their changing opportunity structures. Within advocacy networks there exist a variety of actors: social movements, nongovernmental organisations, foundations, academics, state actors (elected officials, judges, or professionals), religious organisations and institutions, the media, international organisations, and transnational NGOs (Keck and Sikkink, 1998, p.9). The evolution and spread of these kinds of networks advocating for LGBT rights and a gendered peace in Colombia is an

[6] For more on this issue, however, see Posada-Carbó, 2017; de Gamboa, n.d.; Beltrán and Creely, 2018; Fundación Ideas para la Paz, 2016.

important part of this account, with this case "remind[ing] us that there is much that can be done in the absence of a national peace process to prepare for peace" (Bouvier, 2016, p.28).

Understanding the political context of mobilisation and negotiation in Colombia is key to understanding dynamics and differences in collective action and normative change. In general – and in contrast to "Western" new social movements – women's and LGBT movements in Colombia emerged amidst collective violence, limited opportunities for political participation, and widespread impunity. As Foweraker highlighted in the mid-1990s, "[in] contemporary Latin America a large proportion of its populations do not enjoy the minimum material and social conditions for social movement activity, living as they do in physical penury, social deprivation and fear" (1995, p.4). Despite these adverse conditions, women's and LGBT movements did indeed emerge, equipping themselves with international norms and drawing lessons from previous struggles before going on to make real gains both in terms of organisation and of rights over the following decades.

This paper's analysis of this process consists of five parts. The first part locates the Colombian case within global trends in women's peacebuilding activity and examines the evolution of LGBT rights in Latin America. The second part introduces the uneven history of Colombian democracy and a peace process that for decades has swung back and forth like "a pendulum that alternates between national efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement and efforts to win the war" (Bouvier, 2009, p.432). The third part covers the mobilisations of the 1980s and 1990s, before the fourth section goes on to examine the stuttering progress of LGBT rights and gendered peace during the presidencies of Álvaro Uribe and Juan Manuel Santos. The fifth and final part concludes by considering successes and failures in light of the prevailing external and internal conditions.

Global Trends: LGBT Rights and Women in Peacebuilding

At the global level, the 1970s were "the moment of take-off for the modern human rights revolution" (Hopgood, Snyder, and Vinjamuri, 2017, p.6), bringing both the declaration of the UN Decade for Women (1976-1985) and the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which was ratified by Colombia in 1981. With the end of the Cold War, various other human rights were also fully institutionalised in a variety of domestic and international arenas. The 1993 Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted by the UN Conference on Human Rights, explicitly highlighted the human rights of women and girls. In the same year, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (resolution 48/104), and a year later the UN Commission on Human Rights established the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women. Also in 1994, the membership of the Organization of American States adopted the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women (Convention of Belém do Pará). In terms of global feminist movements, the fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, would prove to be an

important milestone. Meanwhile at the UN, the adoption of resolution 1325 in 2000 brought the issue of sexual and gender-based violence closer to the centre of the organisation's security agenda,[7] although LGBT individuals and "feminine" men did remain largely invisible within the international architecture of human rights for the time being.[8] In 2011, the UN Human Rights Council issued resolution 17/19 on human rights, sexual orientation, and gender identity, whereas the March 2015 report of the UN Secretary-General on conflict-related sexual violence took the fundamental step of recognising LGBT individuals as victims (Hagen, 2016). The message was strong, but as the UN was referring to the extremely controversial case of Iraq, it was a message that also came with geopolitical overtones.[9] However, queer theory was also now beginning to enter the arenas of international peace politics and transitional justice. A longstanding history of "gender under-enforcement" (Ní Aolaín, 2012) gradually gave way to the inclusion of gender-based violence in transitional justice discourse and practice. Of course, despite these many important steps towards addressing structural change, converting intersectional ideas into action and achieving feminist goals remains a challenge (Buckley-Zistel, 2016; Bueno-Hansen, 2017).

Turning to LGBT rights in Latin America particularly, some Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking Latin American countries have achieved remarkable progress in terms of non-discrimination norms, same-sex marriage, and adoption rights for lesbian and gay couples (Corrales, 2017; Encarnación, 2018). The region's pacesetter is Argentina, which became the first Latin American country to permit same-sex marriage (2010) and to pass a progressive transgender law (2012) that enabled formal changes in gender identity without the need for recourse to doctors or judges. Same-sex marriages have since become legal in Colombia (2016), Uruguay (2013), Brazil (2013), and several Mexican districts and states (2010-17).[10]

From the perspective of norm-diffusion research, "[an] intriguing puzzle in contemporary Latin America is the divergent speed and scope at which 'gay rights' have erupted across the region" (Encarnación, 2018, p.194). Latin America's cultural environment is marked by a long tradition of conservatism, Catholicism, machismo, homophobia, and widespread sexual and gender-based violence, including hate crimes against LGBT people. In these adverse conditions, those challenging dominant heteronormative gender norms still risk being ostracised by their families, discriminated against at work, and excluded from materially significant policies (on inheritance or health-system eligibility, for example). As a consequence, the closet – the practice of hiding one's desires and lifestyle – continues to play an important role in the lives of many LGBT

[7] Though it should be noted that this was in parallel with reports of sexual violence against women and children by peacekeepers (see Harrington, 2011).
[8] In UN documents the "words 'gender' and 'women' are often used interchangeably" and there is a "conceptual slippage between women and gender" (both Hagen, 2016, p.318). There are also instances of cisprivilege, heteronormative assumptions, and the exclusion of LGBT individuals (Hagen, 2016, p.318). While there have been important steps taken to bring attention to the issue of sexual and gender-based violence, the prevailing narrative "uses a limited conception of gender that primarily monitors the needs of women narrowly understood and captured within a heterosexual family and social structure" (Hagen, 2016, p.320).
[9] For a controversial critique see Puar (2007), who connects the US-American self-image of liberal "sexual exceptionalism" to the War on Terror and discursive war strategies embedded in processes of othering.
[10] Mexico City (2010), Quintana Roo (2012), Guerrero (2015), Colima (2016), and Baja California (2017).

individuals throughout the region. Nevertheless, the political, social, and legal environment climate has improved in terms of LGBT rights since the late 1990s, and even social attitudes towards LGBT people have begun to change (Corrales and Pecheny, 2010).

Changes in socio-economic structures, cultural patterns, political opportunity structures, and the framing strategies of social movements are often seen as major explanatory factors for the expansion of LGBT rights in Latin America. First, the "region's super achievers in terms of LGBT legal rights […] are without a doubt the richest, most urbanized, most middle-class countries in the region" (Corrales 2017, p.58). This argument establishes a strong connection between the rise of the urban middle-class, (post-)modernisation, changing values, and the expansion of LGBT rights. Second, the religious landscape in Latin America has changed dramatically over the last few decades, and there are important cross-national variations.[11] Catholic positions on LGBT rights are often ambiguous. While the Catholic clergy tends to support policies of anti-discrimination and tolerance, there are limitations with regard to same-sex marriage and sex education.[12] In 2016, a movement of Evangelical and Catholic "family values" conservatives mobilised in Colombia against LGBT-inclusive sex education in schools and especially against a Ministry of Education anti-bullying manual for teachers. This consistent contestation of LGBT rights relates to a third explanatory factor involved in their expansion across the region, namely the different framing strategies used by LGBT movements, as can be seen in the cases of Argentina and Brazil (Encarnación, 2018). The Argentine movement, for instance, was successful, because it presented its cause "as a human rights crusade and as part of a larger struggle by civil society for justice, citizenship, and democracy" (Encarnación, 2018, p.198).[13] Overall, the factors that can explain the successes of LGBT movements have been found to be diverse, but they can include socio-cultural patterns, the political-institutional framework, and the rhetoric and strategies of social movements.

[11] While Uruguay witnessed a sharp increase in people reporting no religious affiliation at all, there was a dramatic increase in the number of Evangelicals in Central America (Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala) but little or no increase in Evangelicals in Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, and Uruguay (Somma, Bargsted, and Valenzuela, 2017). LGBTI rights have expanded across solidly Catholic Latin American countries, but not in all of them (e.g. Venezuela, Bolivia, Paraguay). Catholicism itself is highly dynamic and heterogeneous, with progressive as well as conservative lay movements and clergy. While some Catholics are inclined to social action and human rights, others believe in Charismatic Renewal and "traditional" family values.

[12] In Argentina the Catholic Church rejected marriage equalisation (i.e. giving same-sex couples all the rights and responsibilities of heterosexual marriage, including adoption), but supported civil unions (Hiller, 2010, p.97).

[13] Argentina has a long history of violent homophobia, culminating in the repression of homosexuals by the military regime (1976-1983). The combining of human rights, democracy, and an opening up of the country's silenced history of homophobic repression was an important feature of Argentine LGBTI rights campaigns, though they also promoted a strong message of love, passion, and commitment. Revealingly – and provocatively – the gay activist Carlos Jáuregui stated that "the gays are the disappeared among the disappeared" (as cited in Encarnación, 2018, p.203). In the 2000s, activists formed strong networks (including politicians, celebrities, judges, human rights organisations, and transnational activists) to advocate for same-sex marriage. When polls revealed widespread public support for same-sex marriage, President Kirchner came out for marriage equality, stressing that this was "in line with her advocacy for equality for all Argentines" (Encarnación, 2018, p.208).

Between War and Peace: the Colombian Context

Unlike much of South America, Colombia did not suffer a long period of outright dictatorship. Rather, it has a unique history involving decades of coexistence between stable electoral democracy and collective violence with weak respect for the rule of law.

The first two major periods of this upward spiral of collective violence were the Thousand Days' War (1899-1902) and *La Violencia* (1948-1953). Both conflicts originated in the rivalry between the Liberal and Conservative parties, and the years following *La Violencia* witnessed both a power sharing pact between Liberals and Conservatives (Frente Nacional) and the emergence of guerrilla movements seeking to overthrow the regime. With conflict quickly spreading from Bogotá to rural areas under only limited state control, various violent actors were able to put down roots across large swathes of the country.[14] As the conflict became increasingly complex from the 1970s onwards, there were four main types of collective activism that involved women in broader struggles against discrimination, repression, and misery:

- the feminist movement;
- women's grassroots organisations;
- mixed-gender political parties;
- mixed-gender guerrilla groups.[15]

The 1980s witnessed the expansion and mutation of the drug economy, turning Colombia into one of the world's leading producers of cocaine. In response to – or in anticipation of – harassment by leftist insurgents, rural elites and drug cartels formed paramilitary groups that quickly became powerful actors that could occupy political spaces. They represented an important tool in countering the guerrilla, but they also served to suppress union organising and social movement activities. The strategy of massive internal displacement – used by insurgent, counterinsurgent, and criminal actors alike – led to alarming levels of violence and a chronic humanitarian crisis.

This rise in violence, moreover, "coincided with a period of legal defencelessness for LGBT social sectors" (CNMH, 2015, p.97) because although anti-homosexuality laws were struck down in 1980, LGBT people did not yet enjoy constitutional protection. This period of upheaval could easily be explained away as simple historical coincidence, but these overlaps had profound consequences for LGBT life. Homophobic, transphobic, and misogynist violence was systematically used by paramilitary groups, guerrillas, and state actors as a means of restructuring social life (Taussig, 2003; CNMH, 2015; Serrano

[14] Like most states in the world, the Colombian government has never been in full control of its entire territory. Areas of limited statehood are "those parts of a country in which central authorities (usually the government) lack the ability to implement and/or to enforce rules and decisions and/or in which the legitimate monopoly over the means of violence is lacking" (Risse, 2017, p.141). Limited statehood can stem either from a lack of capacity or a lack of willingness amongst ruling elites. There can be well-governed areas of limited statehood – including with respect for human rights – as well as other such areas where actors such as paramilitaries, guerrillas, multinational companies, local landowners, and mafias may systematically violate human rights (ibid).

[15] Women's participation in the FARC, however, remains a highly controversial issue, often being interpreted in terms of indoctrination, forced recruitment, and rape, as well as forced contraception and abortion. Women's rebelliousness, agency, choice, and free will represent the other side of this coin (see Herrera and Porch, 2008; Gutiérrez Sanín and Carranza Franco, 2017; Rodríguez Gómez, 2017).

Amaya, 2018). Non-heteronormative and non-cis-gender individuals experienced violence in many different forms, from "internal" to "external" violence, from symbolic to sexual violence, from assault to assassination (Esguerra Muelle and Sánchez Buitrago, 2006, pp.157-158). As Bouvier has highlighted (2016, p.14):

> The manipulation of gender norms and "social cleansing" operations conducted by the paramilitary AUC and its successor organizations have affected LGBTI individuals in particularly insidious ways, often making communities complicit in the physical and emotional persecution against homosexuals and other LGBTI individuals who fail to conform to traditional gender stereotypes.

At the time of writing, the official victim register (*Registro Único de Víctimas*) contains 8.8 million victims of the armed conflict. These figures include roughly 7.5 million victims of forced displacement, 170,000 disappeared, 880,000 killed, 27,000 kidnapped, and 28,000 victims of sexual and gender-based violence. The peak of this violence came in the early 2000s, with roughly 690,000 victims registered in 2000, 750,000 in 2001, and 870,000 in 2002. For 2017, the first year after the signing of the peace deal with the FARC, just over 100,000 victims were recorded (Unidad para las Víctimas, 2019).

One paradox of the Colombian case is the coexistence of such alarming levels of collective violence alongside serious and gradually expanding peace initiatives. From 1982 onwards, numerous presidents took part in peace negotiations, albeit with varying degrees of success (Nasi, 2009). Between 1982 and 2016, 61 accords and pre-accords were signed between the government and various armed groups – with 4.1 per cent of their signatories being female (Chaparro González and Martínez Osorio, 2016, p.11). In recent decades, actors such as the M-19 (Movimiento 19 de Abril), EPL (Ejército Popular de Liberación), MAQL (Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame), PRT (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores), CGSM (Coordinadora Guerrillera Simón Bolívar), and CRS (Corriente de Renovación Socialista) have all demobilised and ceased to exist as armed groups. But there were also always pendulum swings between peacebuilding initiatives and strategies of armed confrontation. For civil society, these swings came accompanied with unpredictable expansions and contractions of spaces for political participation. Peace initiatives and a climate of democratic openness during the Betancur administration (1982-1986) encouraged the FARC to create the Unión Patriótica (UP) political party. However, the space for left-wing party politics was narrow, and ultimately some 3,000 party members, mayors, parliamentarians, and presidential candidates were murdered by paramilitary forces.

Social Mobilisation in the 1980s and 1990s

During the 1980s, the emerging gay movement found itself immersed in the HIV/AIDS epidemic and confronted by the homophobic fears of wider society, but the women's

movement gained access to the peace process under President Betancur (1982-1986).[16] Over the years, a variety of organisations and activists crafted a nuanced agenda for peace that incorporated gender issues but also aimed to resonate with local practices. This process exhibits many features of the unstable collective creation of ideas that Merry and Levitt have termed "vernacularisation", whereby "issues, communication technologies, and modes of organization and work are appropriated and translated, sometimes in fragmented and incoherent ways, at the interface of transnational, national, and local ideologies and practices" (2017, p.234). In the Colombian case, there were some key alliances and coalitions that helped ideas travel despite adverse violent conditions.

The Women's House (Casa de la Mujer), founded in 1982, was the first women's organisation to bring a feminist agenda into peace negotiations. It quickly became a key player, acting within and against the state, creating spaces from which others could organise. But these small windows of opportunity for peace and democratic participation were always vulnerable to sudden closure, because peace-seeking strategies tended to coexist with practices of armed confrontation. The most emblematic episode was the M-19's attack on the Palace of Justice in 1985, which culminated in a military storming of the building that resulted in the deaths of all but two of the M-19 fighters and over 75 hostages (including 11 judges). Although key political actors remained committed to peace negotiations in the aftermath, real prospects for peace were significantly reduced, and the administration of Virgilio Barco (1986-1990) made little progress towards inclusive peace (Chaparro González and Martínez Osario, 2016, p.33).

The 1991 constitution: advancing the cause of human rights

Political conditions are constantly changing, and in the early 1990s, various factors converged to facilitate significant improvements in terms of human rights. The administration of César Gaviria (1990-1994) engaged in peace talks with various groups: talks with FARC-EP did not succeed, but negotiations did bring about the demobilisation of EPL, PRT, MAQL, CRS, CGSM, and the so-called Medellín Militias (Chernick, 1999; Paz Jaramillo and Valencia Agudelo, 2015). While these processes failed to include gender issues (Chaparro González and Martínez Osario, 2016, p.37), significant changes did occur in the broader political realm. Escalating violence led to a severe crisis of institutional legitimacy, leading to a call for a constituent assembly. Gaviria himself supported the constitutional reform project, which ultimately resulted in the promulgation of a new constitution in July, 1991.

This new constitution had an important impact on women's and LGBT rights. Beyond validating the idea of an inclusive political order and a general commitment to democratic values, it also emphasised the binding nature of international law and

[16] Before the advent of lesbian feminism in the 1990s, lesbians and lesbianism were mostly invisible in the gay movement. The first lesbian organizations (Grupo de Mujeres Lesbianas, Solidaridad Lésbica) were founded in the 1990s. Groups of transsexual and intersexual individuals entered the stage of LGBT politics in the 2000s.

introduced new rights and institutions. Key amongst these were the Constitutional Court and the *tutela* principle, which allowed citizens to launch legal action against the state when their fundamental rights were threatened or infringed. The constitutional reform project also provided an important opportunity for political participation, bringing together many civil society groups for the first time. Even though the feminist movement's proposals to include reproduction rights and legal abortion in the new constitution were unsuccessful, the constitutional campaign did help to smooth over longstanding internal divisions on the advisability of engaging with power and party politics (Chaparro González and Martínez Osorio, 2016, p.41). Crucially, as the head of the National Women's Network Beatriz Quintero has noted, the constituent assembly was significant because "the term 'rights' appeared [where] before it did not exist" (quoted in Chaparro González and Martínez Osorio, 2016, p.43). In a similar vein, the government's chief negotiator of the 2016 peace agreement Humberto de la Calle has stated (2018, p.394):

> A young person in today's world does not understand that, before [the 1991 constitution's] adoption, divorce did not exist for Catholic marriage, and the constitution recognised diverse forms of family configuration, but its cornerstone is the right to the free development of one's own personality. The architecture of LGBTI rights has been built on these foundations.

Overall, the constitution of 1991 represented a major turning point, and amongst its many consequences was the reinforcement and supplementing of feminist normative agendas.

It is no coincidence that these developments occurred in parallel with the increasing institutionalisation of human rights at the international level. The UN had made human rights a cornerstone of its post-Cold War agenda, and in 1992 UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali proclaimed his Agenda for Peace, which recognised the need to go beyond peacekeeping and support wider structures that would avoid relapses into conflict. The Samper administration (1994-1998) also adopted international norms like the 1994 Convention of Belém do Pará, whose section on "duties of the state" (OAS 1994, articles 7-9) requires preventative and pro-active measures on gender violence. In 1995, Samper's government also created the National Office for Women's Equity (Dirección Nacional para la Equidad de Mujeres) under the direction of Olga Amparo Sánchez, one of the founders of the Women's House. This new body became the institutional centrepiece of Colombian women's politics, enjoying close ties to feminist organisations and an appreciable degree of administrative independence.

The National Office for Women's Equity actively supported the Women's Peaceful Path (Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres), which was founded in 1996 to raise awareness on systematic practices of sexual and gender-based violence, to foment international support, and to work towards a gendered agenda for peace. The iconic founding event that established the Women's Peaceful Path was a demonstration against repression in which 1,500 women marched in solidarity with the people of Urabá, Antioquia (Ruta Pacífica de la Mujeres, n.d.). The Foundational Declaration of Colombian Women for a Peaceful Path Towards the Resolution of Conflicts was put forward in late 1996 and

highlighted the need for regional dialogue, local development, and fundamental changes in attitudes, values, and mentalities (Villarraga Sarmiento, 2013, pp.301-302). While the Samper years witnessed a strengthening of the women's agenda and an increase in gay visibility (albeit restrained),[17] violence skyrocketed, armed offensives continued apace, and the number of active paramilitary and guerrilla fighters increased (Nasi, 2009). At this point, the peace process was characterised by low-profile manoeuvring, as national politics was largely overshadowed by the so-called 8000 Process into alleged links between the Cali Cartel and numerous politicians, including President Samper himself.

The confluence of a strong feminist movement and nascent LGBT activism

In terms of the peace process, the Pastrana administration (1998-2002) saw the FARC-EP and the government return to a broad negotiating agenda. By 1999, the peace movement had grown to become a mass movement staging numerous marches and rallies (Zulaga Nieto, 2013, p 49). The women's and LGBT movements formed part of a larger crusade for peace involving myriad civil society actors, from trade unions, segments of the Catholic Church, and parts of the entrepreneurial sector to indigenous, Afro-Colombian, and victims' groups (Villarraga Sarmiento, 2013; Rettberg, 2012, pp.21-25). At the international level, donor agencies and a ten-strong group of supporting countries (*países amigos*)[18] also played an important role, as did the spread of particular norms. In the course of the 1990s, the liberal peace framework had become dominant in global peacebuilding discourse (Mac Ginty, 2008), and there was consensus amongst UN agencies, international donors, governments, and most social movements that democracy, political participation, good governance, human rights and the rule of law, human development, trade issues, and economic growth (with more equity) were necessary to address the root causes of violent conflict. During this period, the negotiation process centred on Caguán, an area twice the size of El Salvador, which the government declared a demilitarised zone in order to enable peace talks in 1998. Appropriating core principles of international peacebuilding, FARC-EP and the government agreed to establish a mechanism for civil-society participation made up of a number of "thematic forums" to be held in San Vicente de Caguán.

At the same time that peace efforts were becoming more sensitive to civil society participation, the LGBT movement began to gain ground in its struggle with the "apartheid of the closet" (Eskridge, 1999). Over the course of the 1990s, a number of organisations emerged, and the 1996 gay pride march – the first since the early 1980s – marked the beginning of an era of visibility.[19] This nascent LGBT movement was bolstered when diverse LGBT actors from different regions were brought together for the

[17] In 1997, Gustavo Gardeazábal, Governor of Valle del Cauca, was one of the first politicians in Colombia to publicly declare his homosexuality (Corporación Caribe Afirmativo, 2015, p.58).
[18] Canada, Cuba, Spain, France, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Venezuela.
[19] Amongst these organisations and groups were Generación Àngulus, Momegas, Proyecto Lamda, Liga Colombiana de Lucha contra el Sida, Equiláteros, Triángulo Negro, Colectivo Lésbico, Mujeres al Borde, Grupo de Estudio de la Diversidad de la Orientación Sexual (Universidad Nacional), and Grupo de Apoyo a la Diversidad de la Orientación Sexual (Universidad de los Andes). A significant academic platform was the Ciclo Rosa (Serrano Amaya, 2006).

very first time by the Peace Planet (Planeta Paz) platform, founded in 2000 by the Bogotá-based Latin American Institute for an Alternative Society and Law (ILSA) and given significant support by the National University (Corporación Caribe Afirmativo, 2015, pp.65-67; Serrano Amaya, 2011, pp.60-61; Planeta Paz, n.d.).

However, from the perspective of the women's movement, Peace Planet was just one of many peace initiatives during this period. The broader spectrum of feminist organisations, networks, and meta-networks was itself growing steadily and represented a variety of intersecting identities (Villarraga Sarmiento, 2013). Many focused on a feminist agenda, but some sought to raise public attention to the effects of violent conflict on specific groups, whereas others promoted local peace initiatives and female leadership for peace (Rojas, 2009). These groups were simultaneously pushing for a negotiated settlement of armed conflicts and for a gender perspective in peacebuilding. Although these organisations and networks converged on similar fundamental goals, they nevertheless had different priorities, strategies, and diagnostic and prognostic frameworks. The 1998 foundation of the National Confluence of Women's Networks, a meta-network in which many perspectives and organising experiences came together, spoke to the strength and multifaceted character of the women's movement at the time. This increasingly effective feminist movement would prove to be vitally important to development of a comprehensive peace agenda and an inclusive framing of peace.

As noted above, central to the Colombian women's movement has been the consolidation of strong organisations and networks, with the National Women's Network (since 1991), the Peaceful Path (1996), and the Women for Peace Initiative (2001) constituting the key feminist actors in national peace politics.[20] The National Women's Network in particular was highly visible in the late 1990s, playing a leading role in bringing a feminist agenda into the Pastrana-FARC negotiations. Collective actions included participation in the thematic forums, preparation of documents, organisation of a public women's hearing in Caguán, participation in the National Council for Peace at the end of the Samper administration, and talks with the ELN and other civil society representatives in Germany. During the Pastrana administration, the women's movement managed to cement various local peace deals (Bouvier, 2016, p.18), gain representation at pre-talks and consultative forums, and produce a detailed agenda for gendered peace. Despite these achievements, however, the women's movement did not manage to ensure that its agenda would be included in parties' statements and official documents (Chaparro González and Martínez Osorio, 2016, p.55). And ultimately the tide turned against peace once again when outbreaks of violence led to the collapse of negotiations in 2002. Although the women's movement organised a massive demonstration for peace in July, 2002, the inauguration of President Álvaro Uribe just a month later marked an important shift towards a more belligerent policy that was paralleled internationally by the incipient War on Terror following the 9/11 attacks in New York and Washington.

[20] There are hundreds of groups and organisations participating in these networks, ranging from academic feminist groups to *campesina*, indigenous, Afro-Colombian, and victims' groups (see Rojas, 2009; Quintero 2003).

Negotiating Gender and LGBT Rights under Uribe and Santos

In the 2000s, a majority of Colombians embraced moves by President Álvaro Uribe (2002-10) towards a policy of "Democratic Security" that sought to extend the state's monopoly of violence into conflict-ridden areas where statehood was perceived to be limited. Uribe framed the FARC-EP as a terrorist threat and resorted to military counterinsurgency practices against armed actors and civilians. At the same time, however, the Uribe administration successfully brokered a deal with the paramilitary United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia (AUC) that led to the demobilisation of over 30,000 of its members by 2007 (Tate, 2009, p.112). The Uribe and Santos administrations also created a victim-centred peacebuilding structure, with the Peace and Justice Law of 2005 (Law 975) and the Victims' Law of 2011 (Law 1443) representing important legal milestones. Since the early 2000s, tens of thousands of fighters from guerrilla and paramilitary groups have turned in their weapons, while impressive state-sponsored reparation programmes, land-restitution initiatives, and historical clarification institutions have been created. Thus, despite ongoing conflict, the Uribe and Santos administrations began to clear a path towards a post-conflict setting.

Intensifying mobilisation despite adverse conditions

The Uribe years (2002-2010) witnessed the growth and consolidation of an inclusive political culture even though the conditions for this kind of shift appeared distinctly unfavourable. The contingencies of the political process continued to shape opportunities and block certain paths, yet by this point feminist organising had become self-sustaining, and it was also capable of exercising its own agency. With the Women's Initiative for Peace now taking the lead, the wider movement called for a Women's Emancipatory Constituent Assembly that would produce a new feminist framework for action. Over the course of 2002, the original 600-point document shaped by the input of more than 700 women was boiled down to a shorter agenda for gendered peace (Rojas, 2009, p.212). Given that an uptick in violence had left the peace negotiations at an impasse, the women's movement redirected its efforts toward raising international awareness of the ongoing humanitarian crisis and the gendered consequences of displacement. At the same time, the movement pushed for demilitarisation of civilian life and a return to peace talks in which women would have a real voice. A July 2002 call for mobilisation laid out the broad range of issues affecting women:

> retaliation for the way of loving; the killing of women for being partners, friends, mothers, sisters, lovers, of policemen, soldiers, guerrilla fighters, or AUC members; hanging and public scorn for the way of dressing; loss of the right to circulate freely in streets, neighbourhoods, and villages; selective killing for supposed assistance to one group or another; women of all ages raped by diverse armed actors; internal and external displacement…[21]

Interestingly, repression against LGBT individuals is implied but not directly stated. As Patricia Buriticá noted in November 2002, the "war fosters traditional violence against the body and the lives of women and provides new arguments to limit female freedom gained through arduous struggles during the last century".[22] During this period, the women's movement for peace framed many demands in terms of international humanitarian law and women's human rights "without distinction as to ethnicity, belief, age, sexual orientation, political, social, and economic position or other status".[23] This rights-based approach to peace was also closely tied to a development agenda addressing economic, social, cultural, territorial, rural, environmental, and political exclusion.

Peace processes ebb and flow, and during the Uribe years there began a marked change of direction. The demobilisation of the various blocs of the paramilitary United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia (AUC) led to the creation of a comprehensive legal and institutional framework for transitional justice. After the Peace and Justice Law (Law 975) was enacted in 2005, the government created the National Commission for Reparations and Reconciliation (CNRR) to address the needs of victims. The women's movement critically accompanied these processes, elaborating a number of reports and proposals. Yet there was also discord, and the appointment to the CNRR of Patricia Buriticá from the Women for Peace Initiative's was particularly divisive, foregrounding the issue of whether or not the women's movement should cooperate with a right-wing political establishment (Rojas, 2009).

Meanwhile, the increasing visibility of LGBT individuals within party politics and the peace movement led to growing discursive and institutional inclusion of LGBT issues – albeit accompanied by incidents of aversion and homophobic harassment (Gómez Rodríguez, 2008, pp.31, 75-76). Though at this point the LGBT movement represented relatively small niches of non-heterosexual "ghettos", activists had significant success in achieving human rights during this period. This success is all the more notable because it relied on alliances with politicians, lawyers, and the peace movement in the otherwise toxic environment of the Uribe years. The LGBT movement was not a mass

[21] Movilización Nacional de las Mujeres Contra la Guerra: Unimos todas nuestras voces y acciones contra la guerra. Convocatoria de iniciativas, redes y organizaciones de mujeres, Bogotá, July 2002, in Villarraga Sarmiento, 2013, p.314.
[22] Patricia Buriticá; Las mujeres definimos un pacto social por la paz y contra la guerra, las violencias y el patriarcalismo. Discurso Instalación de la Constituyente Emancipatoria de Mujeres. Congreso de la República, 25 November 2002, in Villarraga Sarmiento, 2013, p.315.
[23] Las Mujeres proponemos al país una agenda de paz. Constituyente Emancipatoria de Mujeres, Bogotá 25 November 2002, in Villarraga Sarmiento, 2013, p.317.

protest movement but rather a coalition of interest groups that exerted pressure in three main arenas.

First, there was the legal-judicial arena, with important milestones achieved via Constitutional Court decisions that recognised same-sex civil unions, extended social security and health entitlements to same-sex civil unions, and provided pension benefits to same-sex civil unions.[24] Achievement of these milestones was enabled by the 1991 constitution, which broadened fundamental rights and established the *tutela* mechanism. This mechanism exists to protect constitutional rights by allowing individuals to submit petitions when their fundamental constitutional rights are violated – or even threatened – by public authorities. Indeed, many achievements in terms of LGBT rights in Colombia were not caused by public pressure but rather by court decisions related to the evolution of national and international judicial norms.[25] As such, the *tutela* mechanism has proved to be a valuable political resource which advocates and activists have utilised to protect fundamental rights (Esguerra Muelle and Sánchez Buitrago, 2006, pp.160-161).

The second arena for struggle, debate, and confrontation was local and municipal life in Bogotá, a world city that is home to many LGBT-friendly businesses and organisations (Corrales, 2017). During the presidential election campaigns of 2002, LGBT activists managed to make a significant mark on the manifesto of the leftist candidate Luis Eduardo (Lucho) Garzón. This alliance was renewed when Garzón went on to run for mayor of Bogotá in 2003, with LGBT rights becoming one of his flagship issues. His subsequent years in office witnessed public awareness campaigns, institutional reforms, and official support for LGBT projects (Corporación Caribe Afirmativo, 2015). One of the first openly lesbian politicians in Colombia was Angélica Lozano, who served as the local district mayor of Chapinero, in Bogotá, from 2005 to 2008, and she was succeeded by another openly lesbian politician, Blanca Inés Durán. LGBT causes also found new political allies at municipal and national levels of agenda-setting and policy formulation.

The third important arena for the LGBT movement was the heterogeneous social movement for peace and democracy. The reframing of Gay Pride as the March of LGBT Citizens in 2003 testified to an important discursive shift. While the nascent gay movement of the 1970s and 1980s mainly advocated for sexual liberty and tolerance,[26] the LGBT movement increasingly framed its demands in terms of human rights. LGBT activists drew closer to the peace movement in the early 2000s, with Peace Planet representing an important forum in which to develop a common agenda. The second encounter of LGBT activists in 2002, which was supported by Planeta Paz, led to the elaboration of a document entitled The Body: First Territory of Peace. This would come

[24] Decisions C-075/2007, C-811/2007, and C-336/2008 respectively.
[25] Legal milestones included reform of the Penal Code in 1981, leading to the decriminalisation of homosexuality (during the Turbay Ayala administration, 1978-1982, Liberal Party); decision C-481 (1998) against a law defining homosexuality as misconduct in the teaching profession; and decision 507 (1999) on the inclusion of LGBT individuals in the Armed Forces.
[26] A slogan of the first Gay Pride in 1982, in which 31 people participated, was “Neither criminals nor anti-social, simply homosexual!” (Gómez Rodríguez, 2008, p.22).

to constitute a key piece of the mosaic of Colombia's human-rights and gendered-peace discourses (Serrano Amaya, 2011). In subsequent years, LGBT activists increasingly broke their silence and attempted to expose systematic repression against LGBT individuals (Colombia Diversa, 2011).

The political context of peace negotiations in Havana

Over the course of the 20th century, the two-party system had eroded, complex divisions between rural and urban elites had sharpened, and personalistic parties had emerged. In 2010, the U Party – formed to unite supporters of Álvaro Uribe – put forward as its candidate Juan Manuel Santos, one of the party's founders and also Uribe's former Minister of Defence. At a time of significant change, Santos' offer of establishment continuity was enough to win the presidency. But growing tensions between Uribe and Santos, particularly over the latter's decision to initiate peace talks with the FARC in 2012, led Uribe to found the Democratic Centre party. By the time of the 2014 elections, Democratic Centre constituted the most serious opposition to Santos' continuation in power, but ultimately he was re-elected. Parliamentary elections in 2014, however, gave Santos' U Party 19 per cent of the Senate, closely followed by Uribe's Democratic Centre on 18 per cent, the Conservative Party on 17 per cent, and the Liberal Party on 15 per cent. Smaller shares went to Radical Change (8%), the Alternative Democratic Pole (5%), Green Alliance (5%), and a number of others. Crucially, this distribution of power provides the backdrop to implementation both of LGBT rights and of the Santos-initiated peace process. While the presidential candidates of Alternative Democratic Pole, Patriotic Union and Green Alliance declared support for marriage equality and full adoption rights for gay couples, the National Union coalition (U Party, Radical Change, and Liberal Party) proposed only to respect rulings of the Constitutional Court (Corporación Caribe Afirmativo, 2015, p.104).[27]

The initial discourse and policies of President Santos reflected the liberal legacy and focused on the export-oriented exploitation of primary resources as well as the so-called "orange economy" of knowledge-based creative industries. Paradoxically, neo-extractivism went hand-in-hand with eco-modernisation, and socially there was an embrace of post-materialist and cosmopolitan values, including principles of democratic participation and human rights (Aparicio, 2017). Yet, once established in office Santos rearranged his priorities, making advances in the peace process the central concern of his government. Though military operations continued, he first opened exploratory talks with FARC-EP before moving on to formal negotiations in Havana in November 2012.

The women's movement enters the peace talks

Although the 2012 talks began without the participation of women, the Women for Peace meta-network was soon formed to demand women be represented, in part based on

[27] Green Alliance, Democratic Pole, and the Liberal Party fielded openly LGBTI candidates for either the Senate or Congress in the 2014 elections (Corporación Caribe Afirmativo, 2015, p.104).

guidelines for the inclusion of women and gender perspectives in peace negotiations that stem from UN Security Council resolution 1325 (Céspedez-Báez and Jaramillo Ruiz 2018, pp.92-95; Chaparro González and Martínez Osorio, 2016, pp.68-72). Women's groups organised a series of events and demonstrations, most notably the National Summit of Women for Peace (23-25 October, 2013). This gathering assembled almost 450 women from a variety of organisations and networks, ultimately producing a comprehensive list of concrete points to be included in the negotiating framework and the final agreements (Cumbre Nacional de Mujeres, 2014a; 2014b).[28] Colombian advocacy for a gendered peace was also strongly supported by international organisations (especially UN Women) and Norwegian facilitators of the peace negotiations (Salvesen and Nylander, 2017).

In November 2013, the government appointed Nigeria Rentería and María Paulina Riveros as plenipotentiary negotiators. Continued pressure from the women's movement and international actors led to the establishment of the sub-commission on gender, which was a mechanism for coordinating, monitoring, and reviewing draft chapters of the agreement. While the negotiating parties held five hearings with victims of the armed conflict in 2014 (with 36 of the 60 victims' representatives being women), the sub-commission on gender met with a multitude of actors. Sessions and informal meetings with representatives of women's and LGBT organisations were held in early March 2013, mid-September 2014, and mid-February 2015. A meeting with the UN Special Representative for Sexual Violence in Conflicts, Zainab Hawa Bangura, soon followed, as well as an encounter with female ex-combatants from Indonesia, Northern Ireland, South Africa, Guatemala, Uruguay, El Salvador, and Colombia (M-19, Quintín Lame, PRT, and EPL). But although the sub-commission on gender was formally recognised, it was often deemed a minor issue or even a "women's issue". Members had to eke out time and space to carry out these functions, essentially "sacrificing themselves a bit more", as one interviewee put it.[29] Nevertheless, bolstered by support from experts and feminist activists, the sub-commission had a strong influence on revisions to early drafts of chapters on agrarian reform, political participation, and illegal drugs, which had initially reproduced an outdated image of women as passive victims, mothers, and caregivers (Céspedez-Báez and Jaramillo Ruiz, 2018, pp.99-100). The sub-commission's success in introducing a more complex picture that reinforced both female victimisation and female agency represented a significant shift in how the issue of "victims" was framed.

Members of the sub-commission on gender believe this kind of role is internationally unprecedented, and they have stressed the importance of raising awareness of its achievements though meetings and public events. On 24 July, 2016, for example, the negotiating parties publicly laid out the impact of the sub-commission on gender. The

[28] Feminist demands were strengthened by the historiographic approach of the Commission for Truth and Memory of the Colombian Armed Conflict. Its final report (Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres, 2013) recounted lived experiences of suffering, survival, and resistance. Moreover, it was based on the insight that social identity is multiple and that convincing strategies must be connected to diverse social and institutional contexts. Women in Colombia have mobilised as women, but also as peasants, indigenous people, Afro-Colombians, workers, professionals, academics, and/or LGBT people.

[29] Interview with member of the subcommission, in Corporación Humana / CIASE, 2017, p.29, but see also p.43.

head of the governmental delegation, Humberto de la Calle, highlighted the role of women's and LGBT movements, the importance of the 1991 constitution, and the overall relevance of gendered peace, concluding that "talking about a gender perspective means talking about freedom" (Presidencia de la República, 2018, p.394). Months later, various women's organisations stressed the importance of the sub-commission on gender as a concrete, institutional recognition of decades of struggle and resistance. Moreover, they expressed their hope that the establishment of the gender commission might be "the beginning of women as pact-makers in the Havana agreements rather than pact-takers" (Presidencia de la República, 2018, p.335). Ultimately, the real achievement is that after more than 30 years of struggle, women's advocacy has managed to make strong gender provisions an important part of a comprehensive peace agreement.

Conclusions: Seizing Opportunities in a Violent World

In Colombia, the silence around various forms of discrimination has at last been broken. Even the revised version of the 2016 peace accords includes a strong, intersectional response to gender-related dimensions of human rights violations, with women's participation and empowerment openly recognised as key to rural development, eradication of illicit drugs, and democracy. Moreover, the peace accords recognise difference and diverse identities, focusing on the victims' right to truth, justice, reparation, and guaranteed non-repetition. It was over 15 years ago that the leader of the National Women's Network Magdalena Velásquez Toro, weighing up the prospects of peace negotiations in Caguán, concluded that "the women of Colombia face the challenge of making the Colombian experience the first contemporary experience to equally incorporate women, civilians, and armed actors within the spaces of decision-making on peace" (quoted in Villarraga Sarmiento, 2013, p.306). Despite setbacks like the razor-thin 2016 referendum defeat and the downscaling of the peace process by the Duque government (2018 onwards), the significance of the gendered agenda for peace cannot be overstated.

Yet, achievements in terms of LGBT rights and the politics of recognition and diversity under Uribe and Santos have come in the midst of ongoing repression. Proponents of the concept of pinkwashing (e.g. Schulman, 2011; Puar, 2007) might argue that these governments have utilised women's and LGBT rights policies as a public relations tool to divert attention away from state violence amidst ongoing conflict. But this paper suggests instead that there has been significant aggregate impact from long-term efforts to locate gender-based violence within the frame of armed conflict and to articulate coherent strategies for change. The formation of coalitions and durable umbrella organisations in particular has helped to secure significant feminist and LGBT gains despite the enormous personal risks posed by Colombia's context of political violence. As stated in the 2016 manifesto Women Going for Peace (Cumbre Nacional de Mujeres por la Paz II, 2016, p.1):

> What has been achieved in terms of rights within the final agreement is the historical legacy of the women who came before us and of the organisations all over the country that have dedicated their lives to the objective of peace.

There were a number of key explanatory factors behind these successes. First, as with other Latin American countries, Colombia witnessed the emergence both of an urbanised middle-class that embraced post-materialist values and of a variant of liberal, cosmopolitan "transnational business masculinity" (Connell, 1998). Second, the struggle for women's and LGBT rights evolved not only in areas of limited statehood dogged by conflict but also in urban contexts mostly unaffected by periodic escalations of violence. And third, progress towards a gendered peace and LGBT rights in Colombia took place in parallel to the "justice cascade" (Sikkink, 2011) and international evolution of women's and LGBT rights. Parallel does not mean straightforward, however, as the implementation of international norms in Colombia was a messy and uneven process involving diverse non-state actors with complex understandings of positive peace that built on ideas of gender justice and equality. International norms may activate national or local processes but local actors are key to subsequent norm development. In Colombia, this process was one of alliances, internal division, and rhetorical strength despite growing discursive complexity.

What this represents is a triple process of "co-constitution of normative change" (Wiener, 2018, p.1). First, there is national-global co-constitution, with national and international actors engaging in norm constitution, contestation, and modification. Second, there is a local-national co-constitutive process of normative change, with local actors and Bogotá-based activists, researchers, and state officials engaging in critical dialogue on framing and strategies for collective action. And third, there is network-to-network co-constitution, with the women's advocacy movement creating a pool of norms with which the LGBT movement was then able to align its key issues.

The longer-term perspective provided by this paper has demonstrated that the struggle for LGBT rights and a gender-based agenda for peace have different yet entangled origins and trajectories. In both cases, twin struggles against violence and for basic civil liberties and citizenship rights have been the central concern. Though the Colombian LGBT movement arose as a specific response to the challenge of criminalisation, anti-homosexuality laws, and legal vulnerability, it shares the women's movement's central objective of recovering spaces of freedom and non-violence. Together the two movements have helped in the development of the peace process and of international norms. The same peace process and international normative frameworks themselves then went on to help to open up spaces for women's and LGBT rights to be advanced further still. Though the process has been complex and uneven, with conditions swinging between favourable and downright hostile, its ultimate achievement has been to add consistency and vigour to a normative agenda that has concrete, positive effects on the lives of women, of LGBT people, and of an entire population that has suffered for too long from multiple forms of violence.

Bibliography

Acharya, A. (2004) How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism. *International Organization*, 58(2), pp.239-275.

Aparicio, J.R. (2017) Affective Capitalism, Humanitarianism and Extractivism in Colombia: Old and New Borders for Future Times. *Cultural Studies*, 31(2), pp.331-352.

Beltrán, W.M. and Creely, S. (2018) Pentecostals, Gender Ideology and the Peace Plebiscite: Colombia 2016. In *Religions*, 8(12), pp.1-19.

Bouvier, V.M. (ed.) (2009) *Colombia: Building Peace in a Time of War*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Bouvier, V.M. (2016) *Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process*. New York: UN Women.

Björkdahl, A. and Gusic, I. (2015) 'Global' Norms and 'Local' Agency: Frictional Peacebuilding in Kosovo. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 18(3), pp.265-287.

Buckley-Zistel, S. (2016) Truth Commissions, Human Rights and Gender: Normative Changes in Transitional Moments. In Debiel, T. et al (eds.), *Peacebuilding in Crisis: Rethinking Paradigms and Practices of Global Cooperation*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2016, pp.137-145.

Bueno-Hansen, P. (2018) The Emerging LGBTI Rights Challenge to Transitional Justice in Latin America. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 12(1), pp.126-145.

Céspedes-Báez, L.M. and Jaramillo Ruiz, F. (2018) Peace Without Women Does Not Go! Women's Struggle for Inclusion in Colombia's Peace Process with the FARC. *Colombia Internacional*, 94, pp.83-109

Chaparro González, N. and Martínez Osorio, M. (2016) *Negociando desde los márgenes: la participación política de las mujeres en los procesos de paz en Colombia (1982-2016)*. Bogotá: Dejusticia.

Chernick, M. (1999) Negotiating Peace amid Multiple Forms of Violence: The Protracted Search for a Settlement to the Armed Conflicts in Colombia. In Arnson, C. (ed.), *Comparative Peace Processes in Latin America*, Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, pp.159-195.

CNMH (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica) (2015) *Aniquilar la diferencia: lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y transgeneristas en el marco del conflicto armado colombiano*. Bogotá: CNMH.

Colombia Diversa (2011) *Todos los deberes, pocos los derechos: situación de derechos humanos de lesbianas, gay, bisexuales y transgeneristas en Colombia 2008-2009*, Bogotá: Colombia Diversa.

Connell, R.W. (1998) Masculinities and Globalization. In *Men and Masculinities*, 1(1), pp.3-23.

Corporación Caribe Afirmativo (2015) *Una mirada de la participación política de personas LGBTI en movimientos y partidos políticos en Colombia – 2014*. Bogotá: Afán Gráfico.

Corporación Humanas / CIASE (Corporación de Investigación y Acción Social y Económica) (2017) *Viviencias, Aportes y Reconocimiento: Las Mujeres en el Proceso de Paz en la Habana*. Bogotá: Corporación Humanas / CIASE.

Corrales, J. (2017) Understanding the Uneven Spread of LGBT Rights in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1999 - 2013. *Journal of Research in Gender Studies*, 7(1), pp.52-82.

Corrales, J. and Pecheny, M. (2010) Introduction: The Comparative Politics of Sexuality in Latin America. In Corrales, J. and Pecheny, M., *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp.1-30.

Cumbre Nacional de Mujeres por la Paz (2014a) *Sistematización del Cumbre, Bogotá 23-25 Octubre 2013*. http://alvaroaraujo.com/projects/cumbredemujeresypaz/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Sistematizacion_1-Cumbre_mujeres_y_paz.pdf [accessed 24 Apr. 2019]

Cumbre Nacional de Mujeres por la Paz (2014b) *Sistematización del Cumbre, Bogotá 23-25 Octubre 2013: Anexos*. http://alvaroaraujo.com/projects/cumbredemujeresypaz/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/ANEXOS_1_Cumbre.pdf [accessed 24 Apr. 2019]

Cumbre Nacional de Mujeres por la Paz II (2016) *Manifiesto político: mujeres vamos por la paz*. http://cumbrenacionaldemujeresypaz.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/manifiesto-2016.pdf [accessed 24 Apr. 2019]

Dancy, G. and Sikkink, K. (2017) Human Rights Data, Processes and Outcomes: How Recent Research Points to a Better Future. In Hopgood, S., Snyder, J. and Vinjamuri, L. (eds.) *Human Rights Futures*: Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, pp.24-59.

De Gamboa, C. (n.d.) *¿Ideología de género en el Acuerdo de la Habana?* Unpublished manuscript.

De la Calle, Humberto (2018) Discurso Inclusión del enfoque de género en los acuerdos. In Presidencia de la República, *Biblioteca del Proceso de Paz con las FARC-EP, Tomo VII*, Bogotá: Presidencia de la República, pp.392-396.

De la Calle, Humberto (2019) *Revelaciones al final de una guerra: testimonio del jefe negociador del gobierno colombiano en la Habana*. Bogotá: Penguin Random House Grupo Editorial.

Encarnación, O.G. (2018) A Latin American Puzzle: Gay Rights Landscapes in Argentina and Brazil. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 40(1), pp.194-218.

Esguerra Muelle, C. and Sánchez Buitrago, M. (2006) Atención a la violencia contra personas LGBT en Colombia In Serrano Amaya, J.F. (ed.) *Otros Cuerpos, Otras Sexualidades*, Bogotá: Instituto Pensar, pp.154-167.

Eskridge, W.N. Jr. (1999). *Gaylaw: Challenging the Apartheid of the Closet*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Foweraker, J. (1995) *Theorizing Social Movements*. London: Pluto Press.

Fundación Ideas para la Paz (2016) *Radiografía del plebiscito y el posplebiscito*. http://www.ideaspaz.org/especiales/posplebiscito/ [accessed 22 Apr. 2019]

Gómez Rodríguez, C.A. (2008) *Logros y desafíos del movimiento LGBT de Bogotá para el reconocimiento de sus derechos: una mirada desde la acción colectiva, las estructuras de oportunidad y la política cultural*. Tesis para el título de Politólogo, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. https://javeriana.edu.co/biblos/tesis/politica/tesis178.pdf [accessed 22 Apr. 2019]

Gutiérrez Sanín, F. and Carranza Franco, F. (2017) Organizing Women for Combat: the experience of the FARC in the Colombian War. In *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 17(4), pp.770-778.

Hagen, J.J. (2016) Queering Women, Peace and Security. In *International Affairs*, 92(2), pp.313-332.

Harrington, C. (2011) Resolution 1325 and Post-Cold War Feminist Politics. In *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13(4), pp.557-575.

Herrera, N. and Porch, D. (2008) 'Like going to a fiesta' – the role of female fighters in Colombia's FARC-EP. In *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 19(4), pp.609-634.

Hiller, R. (2010) Matrimonio igualitario y espacio público en Argentina. In Aldao, M. and Clérico, L. (eds.), *Matrimonio igualitario: perspectivas sociales, políticas y jurídicas*, Buenos Aires: Eudeba, pp.85-130.

Hopgood, S., Snyder, J. and Vinjamuri, L. (2017) Introduction: Human Rights Past, Present, Future. In Hopgood, S., Snyder, J. and Vinjamuri, L. (eds.), *Human Rights Futures*, Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, pp.1-23.

Keck, M.E. and Sikkink, K. (1998) *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Mac Ginty, R. (2008) *No War, No Peace: The Rejuvenation of Stalled Peace Processes and Peace Accords*, Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Merry, S.E. (2006) *Human Rights and Gender Violence: Translating International Law into Local Justice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Merry, S.E and Levitt, P. (2017) The Vernacularization of Women's Human Rights. In Hopgood, S., Snyder, J. and Vinjamuri, L. (eds.), *Human Rights Futures*, Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, pp.213-236.

Nasi, C. (2009) Colombia's Peace Processes, 1982-2002: Conditions, Strategies, and Outcomes. In Bouvier, V.M. (ed.), *Colombia: Building Peace in a Time of War*, Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, pp.39-64.

Ní Aolaín, F. (2012) Gender Under-Enforcement in Transitional Justice Contexts. In Buckley-Zistel, S. and Stanley, R. (eds.), *Gender in Transitional Justice*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.59-87.

Oettler, A. (2016) Gender Trouble im Friedensprozess. *an.schläge*, VIII/2016, pp.10-11.

OAS (Organization of American States) (1994) *Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence against Women* (Convention of Belém do Pará). http://www.oas.org/es/mesecvi/docs/BelemDoPara-ENGLISH.pdf [accessed 2 Feb. 2019]

Paz Jaramillo, L. and Valencia Agudelo, G.D. (2015) Atipicidades del proceso de paz con las Milicias Populares de Medellín. *Estudios Políticos* (Universidad de Antioquia), 46, pp.263–282.

Posada-Carbó, E. (2017) The Difficult Road to Peace in Colombia. *Current History*, 116, pp.74-76.

Presidencia de la República (2018) *Biblioteca del Proceso de Paz con las FARC-EP, Tomo VII*. Bogotá: Presidencia de la República. http://www.altocomisionadoparalapaz.gov.co/Documents/biblioteca-proceso-paz-farc/tomo-7-proceso-paz-farc-mecanismos-participacion-mesa-conversaciones.pdf [accessed 2 Feb. 2019]

Puar, J.K. (2007) *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Quintero, B. (2003) *Cartografía de las mujeres*. Bogotá: Red Nacional de Mujeres.

Rettberg, A. (2012) Construcción de paz en Colombia: contexto y balance. In Rettberg, A. (ed.), *Construcción de paz en Colombia*, Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, pp.3-50.

Risse, T. (2017) Human Rights in Areas of Limited Statehood: From the Spiral Model to Localization and Translation. In Hopgood, S., Snyder, J. and Vinjamuri, L. (eds.), *Human Rights Futures*, Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, pp.135-158.

Rodríguez Gómez, E. (2017) From suffrage to insurgency, female rebelliousness has always been crucial to peace in Colombia. *LSE Latin America and Caribbean*. https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/latamcaribbean/2017/09/20/from-suffrage-to-insurgency-female-rebelliousness-has-always-been-crucial-to-peace-in-colombia/ [accessed 22 Apr. 2019]

Rojas, C. (2009) Women and Peacebuilding in Colombia: Resistance to War, Creativity for Peace. In Bouvier, V.M. (ed.), *Colombia: Building Peace in a Time of War*, Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, pp.207-224.

Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres (n.d.) *Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres Antioquia*. https://rutapacifica.org.co/wp/ruta-pacifica-regional-antioquia/ [accessed 23 Jul. 2019]

Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres (2013) *La Verdad de las Mujeres: Víctimas del Conflicto Armado, Versión Resumida*. Bogotá: G2 Editores.

Salvesen, H. and Nylander, D. (2017) Towards an inclusive peace: women and the gender approach in the Colombian peace process. *NOREF: Norwegian Centre for Conflict Resolution*. https://noref.no/Publications/Regions/Colombia/Towards-an-inclusive-peace-women-and-the-gender-approach-in-the-Colombian-peace-process [accessed 15 Jun. 2019]

Santos, J.M. (2016) *Peace in Colombia: From the Impossible to the Possible*, Nobel lecture, Oslo, 10 Dec. 2016. https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2016/santos/26112-juan-manuel-santos-nobel-lecture-2016-2 [accessed 2 Feb. 2019]

Schulman, S. (2011) Israel and 'Pinkwashing'. *The New York Times*, 22 Nov. 2011. https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/23/opinion/pinkwashing-and-israels-use-of-gays-as-a-messaging-tool.html [accessed 2 Feb. 2019]

Serrano Amaya, J.F. (2006) Introducción. In Serrano Amaya, J.F. (ed.), *Otros Cuerpos, Otras Sexualidades*, Bogotá: Instituto Pensar, pp.8-15.

Serrano Amaya, J.F. (2011) Agenciamiento e (in)visibilidad de la diversidad sexual y de género en la construcción de paz. In Baird, A. and Serrano Amaya, J.F. (eds.) *Paz paso a paso: una mirada desde los estudios de paz en los conflictos colombianos*, Bogotá: Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, pp.53-78.

Serrano Amaya, J.F. (2018) *Homophobic Violence in Armed Conflict and Political Transition*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sikkink, K. (2011) *The* Justice Cascade*: How Human Rights Prosecutions Are Changing World Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Snyder, J. (2017) *Empowering Human Rights Through Mass Movements, Religion, and Reform Parties*. In Hopgood, S., Snyder, J. and Vinjamuri, L. (eds.), *Human Rights Futures*, Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, pp.88-113.

Somma, N.M., Bargsted, M.A. and Valenzuela, E. (2017) Mapping Religious Change in Latin America (Research Note). In *Latin American Politics and Society*, 59(1), pp.119-142.

Tarrow, S.G. (2011) *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tate, W. (2009) From Greed to Grievance: The Shifting Political Profile of the Colombian Paramilitaries. In Bouvier, V.M. (ed.), *Colombia: Building Peace in a Time of War*, Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, pp.111-131.

Taussig, M. (2003) *Law in a Lawless Land*. New York/London: The New Press.

Tilly, C. and Tarrow, S.G. (2015) *Contentious Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tsing, A.L. (2005) *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connections*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Unidad para las Víctimas (2019) Registro Único de Víctimas (RUV). https://unidadvictimas.gov.co/es/registro-unico-de-victimas-ruv/37394 [accessed 2 Jun. 2019]

Villarraga Sarmiento, A. (2013) *Biblioteca de la Paz 1980-2013, Tomo IX: Movimiento Ciudadano y Social por la Paz*. Bogotá: Fundación Cultura Democrática.

Wiener, A. (2018) *Contestation and Constitution of Norms in Global International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zulaga Nieto, J. (2013) El movimiento por la paz y contra la guerra. In Villarraga Sarmiento, A. (ed.), *Biblioteca de la Paz 1980-2013. Tomo IX: Movimiento Ciudadano y Social por la Paz*, Bogotá: Fundación Cultura Democrática, pp.41-55.

Managing Editor, VSP Working Paper Series
Asa K. Cusack

Cover Photo
Michael Smith, US Air Force, public domain

lselacc
lse_lacc
lse_lacc

LSE Latin America and Caribbean Centre
London School of Economics and Political Science
Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE

lse.ac.uk/lacc