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# Implementing the Final Colombian Peace Agreement, 2016–2018

*Are gender stipulations and women's inclusion lagging behind?*

In 2000, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 called for peace agreement implementation to take women's situation and security into better account and to forward women's inclusion. Despite this urging, knowledge on how to realize such gender stipulations in an agreement remains limited. For this reason, the international community is following the implementation of the Colombian Final Peace Agreement – a model agreement in terms of including gender stipulations – with interest. But do the promising wordings of this agreement appear to be resulting in actual action? Presenting data from the Barometer Initiative in Colombia, this brief highlights both challenges and opportunities.

## Brief Points

- As we approach the 20-year anniversary of the first UN Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace and Security, implementing peace agreements in a manner that considers both men's and women's security and forwards women's inclusion remains a key challenge.
- Much can be learned from Colombia's efforts. 130 of the 578 stipulations in the 2016 Final Peace Agreement aim to address issues relating to the inclusion, security, and situation of women and gender more broadly.
- To track implementation, the Peace Accords Matrix Barometer Initiative in Colombia, based at the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, has developed an inclusive form of measuring that involves key stakeholders.
- The first results show that the implementation levels are significantly lower for gender stipulations than for the stipulations that do not mention gender.
- More research is needed, but economic support, capacity building and political pressure during the implementation phase appear to remain central for creating a peace that benefits both men and women.

**Rebecca Gindele**

*Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame*

**Madhav Joshi**

*Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame*

**Louise Olsson**

*Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)*

**Jason Quinn**

*Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame*

**Elise Ditta**

*Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame*

**Rebecca Méndez**

*Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame*

## Introduction

In October 2000, the [United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325](#) on Women and Peace and Security called on all actors involved in negotiation and implementation of agreements to adopt an approach that considered both men's and women's situations and security needs (a so-called 'gender perspective'), and to "involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements."

In spite of this, the [Colombian Final Agreement of 2016](#), negotiated between the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army (FARC-EP), is among the first where this approach more fully informed the negotiation process, the content in the agreement, and the implementation mechanisms.

In the agreement, 130 (22.5 percent) out of 578 stipulations explicitly state the need to consider aspects of women's situation, security, and inclusion (henceforth called 'gender stipulations'). Of these, a total of 17 stipulations (13 percent of total gender stipulations) are directly targeted towards improving women's political, social, and economic conditions; the remaining 113 stipulations refer to gender perspective, women's inclusion, and representation of women in mechanisms of implementation.

The inclusion of gender stipulations was the result of a long process and concerted advocacy during the Havana negotiations which made the government and the FARC-EP invite and listen to the Colombian civil society groups representing women and gender issues more broadly, including LGBTQI rights. A key development was the establishment of a formal [gender sub commission](#). Through engaging with women's organizations and civil society actors, the sub commission on gender succeeded in incorporating gender inclusion into the peace agreement framework.

The number of included stipulations in the formulation of the agreement is commendable. However, the implementation phase of a peace process has its own specific challenges. Learning from the ongoing efforts in Colombia is thereby central for progress on realizing the aims set out in resolution 1325.

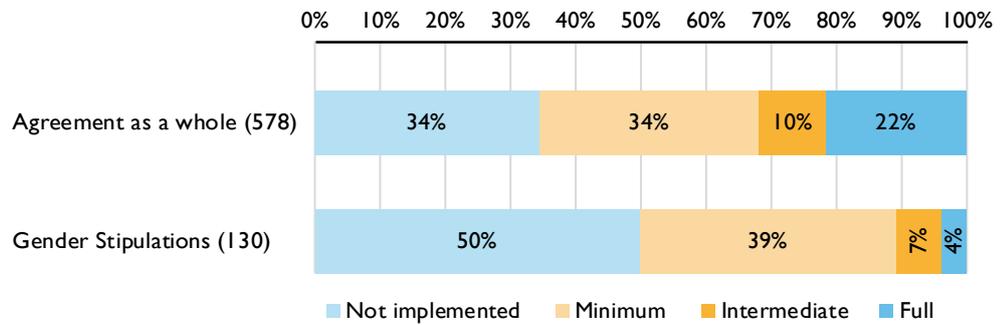


Figure 1: Implementation as of July 2018.

Covering the period from December 2016 to July 2018, this brief presents a first analysis of unique data on implementation from the [Peace Accords Matrix Barometer Initiative in Colombia](#), based at the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. The data has been collected through an inclusive methodology. The brief also draws on insights from ongoing projects on peace agreement implementation and Women, Peace and Security at PRIO and at Uppsala University.

## A Lower Level of Implementation

Overall, implementation of the Colombian Final Agreement is progressing. As of July 2018, as shown in Figure 1, 66 percent of all stipulations in the Colombian Final Agreement have reached some level of implementation. Measured on a scale from no implementation to fully implemented, nearly 32 percent of all stipulations are either in the intermediate or full implementation category. By comparison, only 11 percent of the 130 gender stipulations are in the intermediate or full implementation category.

Moreover, as also shown in Figure 1, the implementation of 50 percent of gender stipulations has yet to even be initiated. This should be compared to 34 percent of the stipulations which do not mention gender.

## A Coincidence?

In order to better understand the extent to which gender stipulations are being prioritized – or not prioritized as the case may be – in the implementation of the Colombian Final Agreement, we group the 130 gender stipulations into two categories: (a) inclusion of

women in building institutions and programs, and (b) participation and representation of women in implementation mechanisms.

We then test these in a statistical analysis. This underscores the results displayed in Figure 1: gender stipulations have a lower probability of being implemented compared to those stipulations that are not gender related ( $p < 0.01$  or above).

Figure 2 then displays the marginal effects of (a) and (b) on overall implementation levels. As can be seen, a probability of "not initiated" (0) is positive and significant for both these categories. A probability of advancing from "not initiated" to either a minimum (1), intermediate (2) or full implementation (3) categories is negative and significant ( $p < 0.01$ ).

This means that the significant involvement of women- and gender-focused organizations during the negotiation process, and the incorporation of gender stipulations into the accord do not automatically translate into actions being taken by those responsible during the implementation phase.

This clearly underlines that ensuring that a peace agreement implementation fairly addresses gender stipulations and includes women will require specific efforts.

## What Can We Learn from These Results?

The Barometer's information from Colombia indicates at least three potential explanations for the lower level of implementation of gender stipulations.

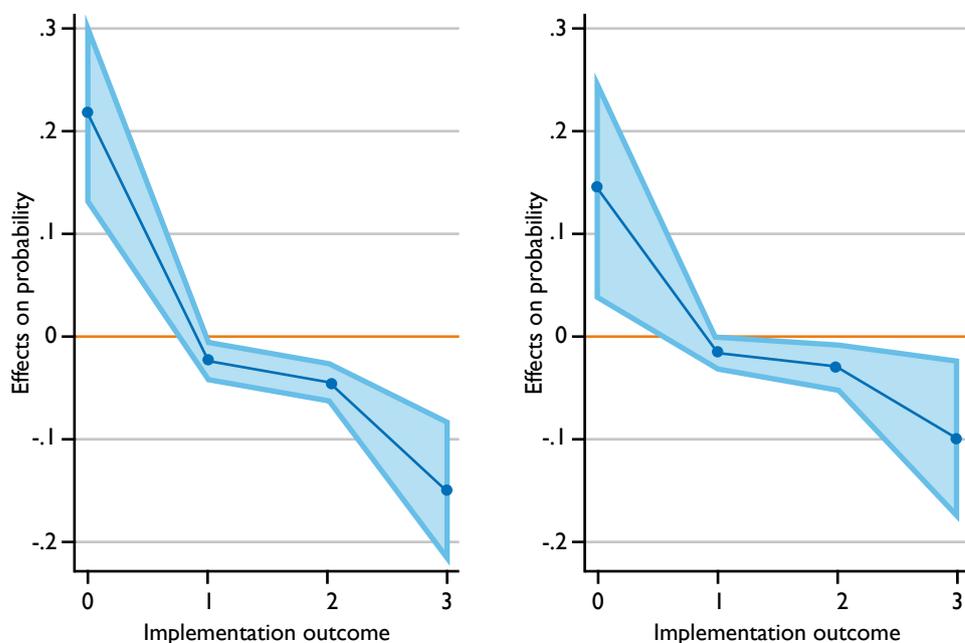


Figure 2: Average marginal effects (with 95% confidence interval).

First, peace agreement implementation is a highly demanding process in terms of resources and capacity. It involves translating stipulations into programs that are then implemented at the national and community levels. A new set of actors needs to be included and trained in the process of devising and implementing the programs, as existing capacity is either insufficient or else not oriented to take on new responsibilities. Hence, the result could be a function of low bureaucratic and institutional capacity. In general terms, all procedures and rules on peace agreement implementation simply create backlogs. As a result, intended reforms cannot be brought about in a way that satisfies immediate expectations. Furthermore, gender stipulations might be even more sensitive to low levels of capacity. Research often highlights the particular need for capacity building – for example, training or expert functions – in order for institutions to be able to work effectively with improving the conditions for both men and women.

Second, it is possible that the implementation gap of the gender stipulations could be a matter of sequencing. With limited resources and institutional capacities, there is a limited amount of stipulations that can be addressed in the implementation process at one time. If

gender stipulations are judged to be less of a priority – which research indicates is often the case – then these will be addressed later in the process, if at all. However, this explanation does not capture why a gender perspective is not used for those reforms and programs that are already underway.

The third possible explanation underlines the role of power and hierarchies. Peace agreement implementation is a dynamic process that mobilizes social, economic, and political actors at the national, regional, and local levels. Women’s organizations and actors pushing for gender equality often start from a weaker power-base. In addition, their efforts challenge existing power hierarchies at the national and local levels. This can explain why they are less successful in pushing for implementation. In fact, resistance to the gender stipulations in the peace agreement became evident as early as 2016 in the political debate leading up to the referendum.

#### Inclusive Research Methodology

The Barometer presents an additional contribution: in order to develop better knowledge and to accurately capture the implementation of gender stipulations, it uses an inclusive methodology. The Barometer’s

methodology is built on the first real-time monitoring of implementation that engages key stakeholders in the Colombian peace process who promote local women’s rights and a gender representation, participation and equity agenda.

A total of 20 organizations were consulted or involved in developing the method. Figure 3 provides an overview of their organizational objectives. As can be seen in the figure, these organizations work on a range of peace process issues in Colombia. This also highlights the importance of recognizing that the women’s organizations often do not represent one interest.

The gender stipulations that were developed in this process were then shared and compared with the other monitoring initiatives in Colombia. Most notably, discussions with UN Women, FARC-EP, Government, and civil society organizations working on women, gender and peace were held to ensure the quality and relevance of the Barometer methodology.

Notably, this methodology provides a process for gathering empirical evidence that can help identify the extent to which the gender stipulations are being implemented, but it does not monitor improvements in the social, political, and economic status of women in the post-agreement period. This is an avenue for future research.

#### Conclusions and the Way Forward

The results in this brief underline the urgency of improving our knowledge of Women, Peace and Security in the context of peace agreement implementation. A growing number of studies have indicated that when moving to the implementation of a peace agreement, the creation of a more peaceful society for men does not automatically mean the creation of a more peaceful situation for women. Discouragingly, the data for this brief supports that finding and shows that between December 2016 and July 2018, overall implementation of gender stipulations is significantly lower compared to non-specific stipulations in the intermediate and fully implemented categories.

It is fair to assume that a continued failure to address gender stipulations and inclusion of

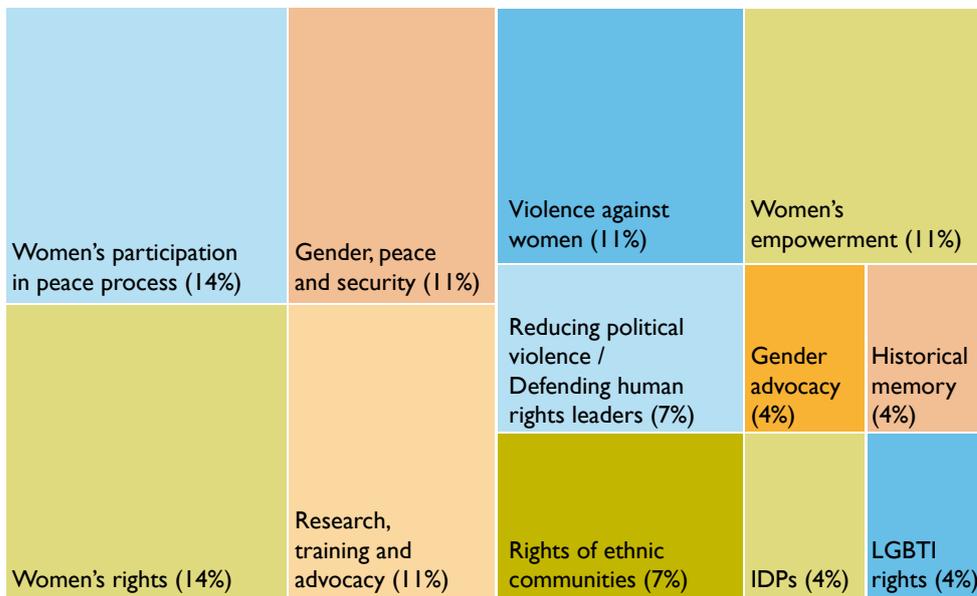


Figure 3: An overview of objectives of women- and gender-focused organizations.

women in the Colombian peace process will result in a failure to create a more equal peace: that is, a peace that ensures the security and well-being of both men and women. Moreover, 50 percent of the population – women – might feel a lower level of ownership of the process if it does not meet stipulated expectations on improving their situation.

Failure will frustrate or discourage significant numbers of civil society organizations working at the local level. These organizations are pivotal for safeguarding the implementation process for the victims and marginalized communities. Lastly, as the Final Peace Agreement in Colombia gained such a high level of international attention and support, a dismal implementation outcome would be a setback for civil society and women's organizations in countries around the globe working on issues related to Women, Peace and Security.

In a reverse scenario, an implementation success on gender stipulations in Colombia would have a significant impact on future negotiations and implementation of agreements in other settings. Colombia would set new standards. There are ample opportunities for creating such a scenario. As the implementation process is still unfolding, input can be provided. Moreover, thanks to the Peace Accords Matrix Barometer Initiative and evaluation reports by civil society, key domestic and international actors have access to empirical evidence on areas where improvements are urgently needed.

Finally, and importantly, the unique data collected in Colombia will provide the basis for future research that can help us understand what the actual effects of the implementation process are for women's security and empowerment over time. Shedding light on this question is central in the continued efforts

to realize the Women, Peace and Security Agenda as the 20-year anniversary of resolution 1325 now quickly approaches. ■

### Further Reading

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### THE AUTHORS

Rebecca Gindele is a specialist on gender & participation in the implementation of the Colombian agreement. Elise Ditta & Rebecca Méndez are Research Associates; Jason Quinn is Research Assistant Professor; Madhav Joshi is Research Associate Professor & Associate Director of the Peace Accords Matrix at University of Notre Dame. Louise Olsson is Senior Researcher at PRIO.

### THE PROJECTS

The Peace Accords Matrix Barometer Initiative in Colombia, the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at University of Notre Dame. From Hopeful Agreements to Disillusioned Peace? The effects of peace agreement implementation on women's security and empowerment, Dept. of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University, and PRIO.

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